

CATHOLIC ACTION

A MENACE TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

*"Let truth and falsehood grapple; whoever knew truth
put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"*

- John Milton -

A REPLY TO THE CATHOLIC UNION OF CEYLON

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FOREWORD

In presenting this publication to the people of Ceylon, we find it necessary to state in the clearest terms possible that it is an attempt not to raise communal or religious issues, but to warn our countrymen against the menace of Catholic Action to the unity and security of the nation.

The facts and figures set forth in the following pages will show how Catholic Action, wearing the mask of religion, infiltrates silently and steadily into the life and work of the people, and plans to make Ceylon a colony of a foreign power.

We believe that our Catholic brethren, no less than our Hindu, Muslim and Protestant brethren, will appreciate the spirit in which we give this warning. We know that many of our Catholic fellow-countrymen, who are patriotic, are not very happy about the foreign affiliations of the Catholic Church, and that as a rule they place their loyalty to the Nation above their loyalty to the Church.

Although the Catholic Church opposed free education, Catholics, especially those belonging to the poorer classes among them, who might never have known the inside of a University, have received a University education. At the same time we appreciate the attitude of the Protestants that have welcomed the new trends of national development.

With regard to the Hindus and the Muslims, it must be said that they have suffered from Catholic Action as much as the Buddhists. Their common suffering and their mutual goodwill have brought them closer together than ever before. Our complaint, therefore, is against Catholic Action and not against Catholics.

A case is established in this book for the Government to conduct an immediate inquiry into the manifold activities of the Catholic Action Movement, to abolish exclusive privileges and to ensure justice and fair play to all citizens alike.

L. H. Mettananda

President, Bauddha Jatika Balavegaya
Colombo, March 1963.

1

THE CHURCH AND POLITICS

The mounting criticism of the anti-social and anti-national activities of the Roman Catholic Church and its lay auxiliary, the Catholic Action Movement, has prompted the Catholic Union of Ceylon to issue a pamphlet in defence of the Church and the Catholic Action Movement. The pamphlet is entitled "*The Church, the State and Catholic Action*".

The Catholic Union pleads for understanding and appreciation of the Catholic point of view.

It says:

"The Church has been accused of interfering in politics. In our own country the charge has been levelled against us at election time and also on other occasions, both in Parliament and outside and especially in some of our local publications. We appeal to our countrymen in the name of justice and fair play to listen with an open mind to our explanation and satisfy themselves as to the truth and error of the charges brought against us".

This is a fair appeal. It behoves us Buddhists who comprise the greater majority of the people of this country, and who profess a religion with a long and unbroken tradition for tolerance and goodwill towards people of other faiths, to give a fair hearing to the Catholic point of view. Let not anyone point the finger of accusation against us and say that the Buddhists of Ceylon have deliberately and wilfully misrepresented the legitimate activities of a section of their fellow citizens or that they have made unjust and unfounded accusations against the Catholic Church, an institution the Catholics hold in great reverence, merely to gain some temporary and temporal advantage over them.

The Nature of the Church

"Among many persons who wish to be fair" says the Catholic Union, "there is a genuine misunderstanding about the nature of the Church and of its objects and ideals. Because the Church is a visible society, its spiritual purpose is not realized".

What exactly are the claims made on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church?

The Roman Catholics claim that their Church is of Divine origin and therefore superior to any other organisation of human origin.

They assert:

That the Universe in which we live and which comprises millions of suns - some of them tens of thousand times larger than our sun, - and thousands of millions of planets, - some of them perhaps inhabited by beings of greater intelligence than man, was created by an Omnipotent, Omniscient, Eternal, Immutable and All Loving God;

And that this God created man in His own image, and also every living thing there upon this earth;

And that man was created to be an angel possessing eternal life; but owing to his disobedience towards his Creator, he fell from grace and became a mortal;

And that birth, decay and death came to him and the rest of the creation as a result of this Original Sin on the part of the First Man;

And that (after nearly a million years) this Creator God, feeling compassion for man, came down from heaven some 1960 years ago, and was born in human form, to a Jewish virgin in Palestine named Mary;

And that this God-man performed diverse miracles and also preached for a very short period of three years;

And that he was taken prisoner at the insistence of the Jews, his fellow nationals, by the then Roman Governor of Palestine, Pontius Pilate, and was crucified and later buried;

And that he rose from the death on the third day and went to heaven;

And that by virtue of his great sacrifice it has become possible for every man to gain redemption from sin and attain everlasting life in heaven after death by re-establishing friendship with God, through grace;

And that before he went to Heaven to sit on the right hand of God, this God-man, Jesus Christ, established the Roman Catholic Church, with Peter his Chief Disciple as Head by saying *"Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound also in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed also in Heaven"* (Mathew XVI. 18);

And by virtue of this Testament, Peter became the Vice-regent of God on earth, and that every Roman Pontiff who occupies the Throne of Peter in apostolic succession is himself the Vice-regent of God having plenitude of power;

And that according to the command of Christ, *"He that believeth and is baptized shall he saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned"* (Mark XVI. 15), all those who do not believe in the Christian creed as stated above will after death burn in ever-lasting hell-fire.

We Buddhists are not required by our religion to hold such beliefs. Nevertheless, we do not question the right of the Roman Catholics to believe in them. We unreservedly subscribe to Article 18 of the U. N. O's Declaration of Human Rights which reads as follows:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or beliefs and freedom either alone or in community with others, and in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance".

However, if the Roman Catholic Church's doctrines constitute a threat to our democratic liberties, or if they violate the sovereignty of the democratic state, or if those who profess these doctrines contrive overtly and covertly to undermine and ultimately destroy our national and religious institutions, then it is our duty to expose the hollowness of the grandiose claims of the Roman Catholic Church and to warn our fellow Buddhists against its machinations.

Paul Blanshard says in his book, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*:

"The policy of mutual silence about religious differences is a reasonable policy in matters of personal faith; but when it comes to matters of political, medical and educational principle, silence may be directly contrary to public welfare. When a Church enters the arena of controversial social policy and attempts to control the judgement of its own people (and of other people) on foreign affairs, social hygiene, public education and modern science, it must be reckoned with as an organ of political and cultural power."

"The Catholic problem as I see it is not primarily a religious problem; it is an institutional and political problem. It is a matter of the use and abuse of power by an organization that is not only a Church but a state within a state, a state above a state, and a foreign controlled society within American Society". (Pages 1 and 2)

Blanshard goes on to say:

"When they (the Americans) come to apply tolerance in the world of religion, however, they often forget its affirmative implications and fall back on the negative cliché, "you should never criticize another man's religion". Now, that innocent sounding doctrine, born of the noblest sentiments, is full of danger for the democratic way of life. It ignores the duty of every good citizen to stand for the truth in every field of thought. It fails to

take account of the fact that a large part of what man calls religion is also politics, social hygiene and economics. Silence about "another man's religion" may mean acquiescence in second-rate medicine, inferior education and anti-democratic government." (Ibid - Pages 2 & 3).

Is Roman Catholicism merely another religion, with purely spiritual objects and ideals or is it in addition to being a religion also an organ of economic and political aggression, which has at its ultimate objective the subjugation of the entire human race for the greater glory of the Pope?

This is the question we propose to answer in this Pamphlet.

2

THE STATE AND THE CHURCH

Having defined the nature of the Roman Catholic Church in orthodox terms, the Catholic Union goes on to indicate the distinction between the Church and the State. However, it nowhere attempts to define the nature of the State. It merely states that *“the object of the State is to promote the common good of Civil Society”*.

There are many types of States

Absolute Monarchies and Constitutional Monarchies; Dictatorships and Republics; Oligarchies and Theocracies; Totalitarian States and Democratic States. But one feature is common to all types of States. That is the sovereignty of the State.

Harold Laski says in his *Grammar of Politics*:

“The modern State is a sovereign State. It is, therefore, independent in the face of other communities. It may infuse its will towards them with a substance which need not be affected by the will of any external power. It is, moreover, internally supreme over the territory that it controls. It issues orders to all men and all Associations within that area; it receives orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitations of any kind. What it proposes is right by the mere announcement of its intention”. (Page 44).

The word ‘state’ in some countries is equated with an autocratic king who rules by “Divine Right”: or with a Dictator who rules by the naked power of the sword. But in a Democratic State the Government represents the will of the People and the sovereign power is vested in the people collectively; the Government being administered by representatives chosen by the people and by officers appointed by the people. According to Abraham Lincoln’s famous definition; Democracy is *“Government by the People, of the People and for the People”*; and as such in a democratic set-up there can be no conflict of interests between the People on the one side and the State on the other. The interests of the democratic State are also the interests of the People in that State.

The democratic State, being an institution representing the will of the People, will naturally aim at the greatest good of the greatest number, regardless of race, creed or class. It will not accord any rights or privileges to one section of the People, which are also not accorded to other sections of the People.

The democratic State by its very nature will not, and cannot, recognize the primacy or the supremacy of any authority or institution external to it or within it. If it does, it will violate its own sovereignty?

The democratic State also by its very nature, is obliged to accord all the democratic freedoms to its People, viz. freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of conscience, freedom of the Press, etc.

The democratic State is also obliged to give equal levels of opportunities in education and in employment to all its citizens regardless of race, creed or class.

In a democratic country, there may be many racial, religious, and cultural groups. It is the duty of the democratic State to render help to all these groups, without any discrimination whatsoever, to preserve and develop their separate cultural and spiritual values, in so far as they are within the bounds of decency and morality, and are not in conflict with the unity and sovereignty of the State. The modern democratic state with a heterogeneous population will naturally aim at attaining unity in diversity.

The Spiritual and the Temporal

With this background, let us study the Catholic point of view as regards the relations between the Church and the State.

The Catholic Union of Ceylon says:

“The Church and the State being two autonomous bodies, they will normally carry out their respective missions in agreement and harmony. But as there are certain questions, which concern both societies, conflict may arise between them unless the principle of the primacy of the spiritual is loyally and whole-heartedly accepted. Such matters as education, marriage, the stability and vigour of family life, purely religious associations, as regards their temporal aspects - income, right to administer and transfer property - other associations concerned with justice or charity, freedom of worship, etc. are all subjects that impinge both on the State and the Church. In these and similar matters due subordination of the one to the other is the indispensable condition of harmonious cooperation between them. Unless the temporal yields to the spiritual, conflict is inevitable and the citizen who belongs to both societies is faced with the agonizing prospect of having to reject the claims of the state as being untenable and in fact as unjust” (Pages 5 and 6).

On the surface, this argument appears to be reasonable and even convincing. We in the East have always accepted the primacy of the spiritual over the temporal, and that being so, must we not accept its logical sequel, that the temporal must always subordinate itself and yield to the spiritual?

The truth or falsehood of this theory depends on what exactly we mean by the word “spiritual”.

It was Humpty Dumpty in *Through the Looking Glass* who said “*When I use a word it means just what I want to mean, neither more than less*”. The technique adopted by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is somewhat similar to that of Humpty Dumpty. They use a word in a sense favourable to their point of view and build up a specious argument on that restricted sense of the word. The word ‘spiritual’ in the paragraph quoted above has been used in that manner.

The word ‘spiritual’ has several meanings:

It may mean those values that pertain to the spirit, “soul”, or mind or the higher faculties of mind, as opposed to material values.

It may mean values pertaining to the other world, which is said to be eternal, as against values pertaining to this temporal world.

It may also mean things ecclesiastical as opposed to things secular.

The word ‘spiritual’, in the sense of pertaining to the higher faculties of the mind, has been succinctly defined by Professor Susan Stebbing in her book, *Ideals and Illusions*.

“These spiritual excellences are intellectual and moral capacities lacking which the life of human beings would be nasty and brutish; length of days could not redeem it. The excellences I call Spiritual include love for human beings, delight in creative activities of all kinds, respect for truth, satisfaction in learning to know what is true about this world (which includes ourselves), loyalty to other human beings, generosity of thought and sympathy with those who suffer, hatred of cruelty and other evils, devotion to duty and steadfastness in seeking one’s ideals, delight in the beauty of nature and in art; in short, the love and pursuit in what is worth while for its own sake. In this pursuit an individual does in fact have at times to suffer pain and to surrender what it would be good for him to have were it not for the incompatible needs of others, needs which he recognizes as claims upon himself. This is another spiritual excellence. These excellences are to be found in this world, no heaven is needed to experience them”. (Pages 29/30).

Spiritual values in this sense are to be cultivated by the individual, it being the duty of educational and religious organizations to guide and help the individual in this pursuit. The question whether one is to pursue spiritual values or material values, and whether primacy of status is to be granted to the spiritual or to the material, is entirely a matter for the individual and the State has nothing to do with that choice.

As a matter of fact, there cannot be any conflict between the spiritual values enumerated above and a Democratic Socialist State, which has as its ideal the greatest good of the

greatest number. Such a state would naturally attempt to create conditions under which unspiritual conditions like ignorance and poverty and exploitation of man by man would be eliminated, and genuine spiritual values would flourish. And the religious organization within the State, if they are genuinely spiritual, would work in close co-operation and harmony with the State to attain its ideal; the good and the happiness of the many.

In the sense that the *spiritual* means the pursuit of salvation from sins and evils of this world, in the hope of eternal joy and happiness in the next world, that too is a matter for the individual. The State would not interfere as long as this pursuit is carried out within bounds of morality and decency and without endangering the good of the community. In this connection let us not forget that there have been religions in the past which believed that salvation could be attained by indulging in orgies and even by human sacrifice.

Even today there are religious sects which claim that nakedness is a prerequisite to the attainment of salvation.

Here, too, the question of the primacy of the spiritual values is a matter for the individual, and the secular State has nothing to do with them, provided, as said earlier, these values do not conflict with the common good.

When, however, the spiritual is identified with the ecclesiastical, as has been done by the Catholic Union, the question assumes quite a different aspect.

The Roman Catholic Church equate the “spiritual” with the ecclesiastical, and the ecclesiastical, from the Church's point of view, is ultimately that which comes within the purview of the Pope.

So, when the Catholic Union of Ceylon demands that the State should recognize the primacy of the spiritual, it really means that a predominantly Buddhist country like Ceylon should recognize the supremacy of the Pope, who to the majority of us is a foreign Power.

In so far as the Pope has laid down that in “mixed matters” such as education, marriage, divorce, taxation of Catholic temporalities, etc., the Church has the right to over-rule the wishes of the State (Canon Law 1553 - 2). The Catholic Union of Ceylon argues that in these matters the non-Catholic State of Ceylon should “*yield to the spiritual*”, i. e. the Pope.

According to the Canon Laws of the Church, obedience to the Pope is a matter of conscience for the Catholic. He is in conscience bound to obey the Canon-Laws and Encyclical Letters issued by the Pope from time to time. Thus if a democratic State, for the purpose of achieving the greater good of the community, enacts any laws that are at variance with the Pope's directives, the Catholic is required to obey his conscience, that is, the Popes directions, rather than the laws of State of which he is a citizen.

This is a proposition that no self-respecting State, least of all a non-Catholic State, can acquiesce in without betraying its people and without violating its own sovereignty. The democratic State can take no orders from any institution within or without, not even from the Pope.

The Catholic Union of Ceylon, warns the State of the consequences of ignoring the Roman Catholic Church's primacy over the State or of rejecting the Roman Catholic Church's claims for the right to over-rule the State in "mixed matters".

"Unless the temporal yields to the spiritual, conflict is inevitable and the citizen who belongs to both societies is faced with the agonizing prospect of having to reject the claims of the state as being untenable and in fact as unjust". (Page 6)

The conflict is surely of the Church's own making. For example, a conflict is inevitable when the Church attempts to foist the commands of the Pope on a predominantly non-Catholic State, or when the Church attempts to bend the will of the State to its own. For such conflicts the Roman Catholic Church alone must be held responsible. Similarly, if there are citizens of the State, who in obedience to a foreign power, the Pope, reject the laws of the State, then those citizens must be made to pay the penalty. It must be pointed out in this connection that when the Catholic Union of Ceylon, argues that the laws of the State that are at variance with the Canon Laws of the Church are to be rejected by the Catholic citizen, it simply "waters down" the papal teachings. Actually, the Popes enjoin the Catholic citizens in every country to revolt against the State in such circumstances. Pope Leo XIII tells the Faithful in his Encyclical, *Sapientiae Christianae* (Jan. 10, 1890) that when there is a conflict between the Church and the State, the Catholic "*should obey God rather than man*". Here "*God*" really means the so-called God's Vice-regent on earth, the Pope.

The Pope goes on to say:

"But if' the laws of the State are manifestly at variance with the Divine Law containing enactments, hurtful to the Church, or conveying injunctions adverse to the duties imposed by religion, or if they violate in the person of the Supreme Pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then truly, to resist becomes a positive duty, to obey, a crime".

3

PAPAL CLAIMS TO SUPREMACY

“Receive Thou the threefold Crown of the Tiara and know that Thou art the Father of Princes and Kings, the Ruler of the round Earth, and here below the Viceroy of Jesus Christ, to whom honour and glory for ever. Amen”. With these words the senior Cardinal places the triple tiara on the new Pope’s head at the height of the most solemn and splendid ceremony of the Coronation of the Pope.

These words do not constitute merely a customary pronouncement uttered on a ceremonial occasion. They are, for the Roman Catholic Church, very real words pregnant with meaning. On the one hand they express the tremendous claim of the Pope for universal sovereignty. On the other they express the purposes and aspirations of the Church to make that claim a reality - the fulfilment of the Church’s dream of a theocratic World Government with the Pope as the Universal Ruler. As Avro Manhattan states *“They are the essence of the spirit and of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and even more, the foundation stone of the Papacy and of the Vatican”.* (Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom, Page 56)

There was in fact a time in Europe when Papal supremacy was a very real thing. During the Middle Ages (800-1500) the entire Christendom recognised the supremacy of the Pope and acknowledged the Pope’s right to direct Kings and Emperors, not only in spiritual matters, but also in purely temporal matters. Mighty rulers trembled at the slightest expression of displeasure or disapproval on the part of the Pope, for, if the Pope did not approve of a particular ruler, he could depose that ruler instantaneously by issuing a Bill excommunicating him and absolving his subjects from allegiance.

Thus Pope Gregory VII (1073-1086) excommunicated and dethroned Henry IV, Emperor of Germany in 1080.

Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) deposed King John of England, declaring *“him and his posterity for ever incapable of occupying the English Throne”.*

Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) excommunicated and deposed Emperor Frederick II in 1245.

Pope John XXII (1316-1334) ordered the contenders for the Imperial Crown, Frederick of Austria and Louis of Bavaria to resign all power and submit their claims to him. Upon their refusal, the Pope declared the throne vacant, confirmed the nomination of Robert of Naples as Imperial Vicar, demanded that all who held office by appointment of the late

Emperor should resign under pain of excommunication and interdict, and in 1323 absolved all subjects of Louis of Bavaria from their allegiance.

The Roman Church had achieved such a dominant position by the end of the 12th Century that the Pope was able to assert that royal power was inferior to Papal power and in fact was derived from the latter. Pope Innocent III for example declared:

"As God, the Creator of the Universe, placed two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, so, for the firmament of the Universal Church which is called by the name of heaven, he had appointed two great dignitaries, the greater to rule souls, as it were days, and the lesser to rule bodies, as it were nights. These are the pontifical authority and the royal power. Further, as the moon obtains its light from the sun and is indeed less than it hath in size and quality, though alike in place and effect, so the royal power obtains the splendour of its dignity from pontifical authority". (Bull: Ad Acer bum).

Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) declared in his famous Bull Unam Sanctam . (Nov. 18 1302) as follows:

"That there is only one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church we are compelled to believe and to hold, our faith urging us and this we do firmly believe and simply confess; and also that there is no salvation or remission of sins outside her".

Boniface VIII continued that the two swords referred to by Jesus Christ on the eve of his capture are *"the spiritual sword"* and *"the material sword"*. *"Wherefore"* said the Pope *"both are in the power of the Church, namely, the spiritual and material swords; the one, indeed, to be wielded for the Church, the other by the Church; the spiritual by the Priests, the material by Kings and Knights, but at the bidding' of the Priests. The temporal authority should be subjected to the spiritual"*.

The Pope concluded by saying:

"Consequently we declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

The medieval Popes in the exercise of their authority as *"Rulers of the round earth"*, not only deposed Kings and Emperors and replaced them by papal stooges, but also gave Catholic rulers authority to invade non-Christian lands and enslave the peoples therein.

Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) sanctioned the conquest of Ireland by Henry II, King of England, by his Bull Laudabiliter issued in 1155. Henry II was required *"to conquer Ireland and extend the boundaries of the Church"*, and to *"advance the Christian religion"*.

Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) as the supreme ruler of the Earth issued a Bull entitled *Romanus Pontifex*, transferring the continent of Africa to King Alphonso of Portugal and granting him *“full and free permission to invade, search out, capture, conquer and subjugate all Saracens and Pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ, wherever they exist, together with their Kingdoms, duchies, counties, principalities, lordships, possessions and goods of these people and to bring their persons into perpetual slavery . . . ”*

Again, Pope Alexander VI, that notorious profligate and debauchee, as the *“sole owner of all Islands of the Oceans”* granted the American continent, only one year after its discovery, to the most Catholic King Ferdinand of Spain. In a Bull issued on 4th May, 1493 entitled *Inter Caetera Divinae*, he proclaimed that all lands discovered West of a line one hundred leagues beyond the Azores belonged to Catholic Spain.

Such claims for *“plenitude of power and universal supremacy”* made by medieval Popes like Innocent III and Boniface VIII are hardly operative now, but they have not been officially repudiated and in fact they are still held by the Church to be technically *“de fide”*.

Even in this Twentieth Century, Pope Pius X claimed the right *“to direct all men, and each in particular, those who govern and those who are governed, because all are sons of the same Father who is in Heaven; to direct them according to the principles of right thinking and just living, in public and in private life, in the field of sociology and politics, as well as that which is strictly religious”* (Quoted by Dr. Nathaniel Micklem in his *Papalism and Politics*, Pages 13 and 14).

Dr. Nathaniel Micklem also cites the following from a pastoral letter issued by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Canada in 1942:

“Sincere and loyal Catholics that we are, we must acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope with all that it implies. He is the Supreme Teacher whose doctrine we must accept; our intellects, enlightened by faith, must assent to it... For us Catholics this obedience should extend to all the teachings of the Sovereign Pontiff, not only on questions of faith or morals, but also on the principles that should guide us in a social, economic or political problem”. (Ibid Pages 14 and 15)

This is nothing but the medieval doctrine of Innocent III and Boniface VIII in a modern garb.

As a matter of fact, the main argument of the Catholic Union of Ceylon’s pamphlet under review, is based on this medieval doctrine of the Church *“the primacy of the ecclesiastical over the temporal”*.

In modern times no country, not even a Catholic country, acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope. But the Roman Catholic Church has not given up its dream of a World Government presided over by the Pope in which Presidents or Kings, Dictators or Emperors will rule by the grace of the Pope at his will, and pleasure, when the Pope will be in a position to depose apostate rulers and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, and when the temporal sword will be used once again to make every one a Catholic *“as it is altogether necessary to salvation for every creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff”*.

Indeed, all the activities undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church have one object in common. Its theory and practice of education, its social service and trade unionism, its laws relating to marriage, divorce and birth-control, its medical ethics, its censorship of books and films, its political doctrines and alliances, its fasts and feasts, its festivals and pilgrimages, its promotion of the superstitious and the miraculous, its confessional and its mystique are all directed towards one end, namely:

Consecratio Mundi - the Catholicisation of the World or the subjugation of mankind for the greater glory of the Pope!

4

DIVINE OR HUMAN?

In every age, and in every country, the priests as the self-appointed intermediaries between man and his Gods were wont to make the most extravagant claims on behalf of themselves. The priests of Ancient Egypt and Babylon claimed that they were the sole representatives of Gods on earth and demanded implicit obedience from the people on that ground. The Brahmin priests of Ancient India claimed that they, unlike the rest of mankind, were twice born, once in the natural way and a second time, super naturally, from the shoulders of the Almighty Creator God, Brahma Himself. On this basis they reserved for themselves the sole right to study the Vedas and to interpret them to the others. Man's salvation according to them depended entirely on certain rites and rituals, which they alone were able to perform. The Brahmin priests further arrogated to themselves the right to order and regulate the society according to the scriptures.

The claim made by the Pope to be the sole *“Vice-regent of God”* and *“Ruler of the Round Earth”* falls into this category. There is, however, a great difference between priesthoods of other faiths and their Roman Catholic counterpart. While the priests of other religions have been content with exploiting the ignorance and the credulity of the people, the Roman Catholic priesthood has, throughout its history, resorted to mental and physical aggression, in addition to exploiting ignorance and credulity in order to extend its dominion over men's minds.

We do not propose to enter into a discussion here as to whether Jesus Christ, titular founder of Christianity, was the incarnation of God. Eminent biblical scholars have in fact raised doubts as to whether a person called Jesus Christ ever existed.

They argue that Jesus Christ was a mythical person of a pattern with Attis, Adonis and Osiris; the saviour gods of the peoples of the Mediterranean region at the time.

Even among those biblical scholars who accept Jesus as a historical figure, there are those who are of the view that he did not found a religion or a Church. His message, they point out, was: *“the Kingdom of God is at hand”*, which implied that the end of the Satan-ridden world was also at hand.

Dr. Rudolf Bultman, Professor of New Testament, University of Marburg says in his book, *“Theology of the New Testament”*:

“The dominant concept of Jesus' Message is the Reign of God. Jesus proclaims its immediately impending eruption now already making itself felt. Reign of God is an eschatological concept. It means the regime of God which will destroy the present

course of the world, wipe out all the contra-divine Satanic power under which the present world groans, and thereby, terminating all pain and sorrow, bring in salvation for the People of God which awaits the fulfilment of the Prophet's promises. The coming of God's reign is a miraculous event, which will be brought about by God alone without the help of men". (Page 4)

Dr. Bultman goes on to say:

"He (Jesus) himself renounced his relatives "whoever does God's will, he is brother, sister and mother to me" (Mk. 3: 35 Bit). And evidently he also uprooted by his words a band of men out of their homes and occupations to accompany him in his wandering life as his 'disciples' i. e. his pupils (Mk. 1: 16-20: 2: 14). Still he did not found an order or a sect: far less a "Church" nor did he expect that every one should or could forsake house and family."

"The saying about the building of the Church (Ecclesia)/ Mt. 16: 18, is like the whole of Mt. 16: 17-19, a later product of the Church". (Ibid. Page 10)

Alfred Loisy, the eminent authority on Christian origins says in his book *"The Birth of the Christian Religion"*:

"We may conclude then, that Jesus proclaimed if not the end of the world - for we should have to ask whether he had an idea of the "World" and if so, what - at least the end of the present age, the end that is of Satan's Kingdom and of the earthly powers set up by him, the coming of God, the reign of the Just, the resurrection of the dead, and the Great Assize at which wicked everywhere would be sentenced to extermination. With the view before him of Judgement about to fall, let the wicked man repent and change his life..."

"But Jesus had no intention of founding a religion; the idea never entered his mind" (Pages 75-76).

Dr. A. Powell Davis says in his book – *"The First Christian"*.

"The book of revelation for instance is a fiery summons to get ready for the cataclysm which will usher in the messianic reign; it does not in the least contemplate an institutional Church. In the "New Jerusalem" which will come down from heaven there will be no house of worship for, the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are the temple thereof". (Rev. XXI. 22) (Page 60).

The message of Jesus *"The Kingdom of God is at hand"* was indeed a revolutionary cry. The coming of the Kingdom of God also meant the passing away of the much-hated Roman Empire. Jesus also proclaimed that it is not the high and the mighty that will inherit the Kingdom of God, but the poor and the downtrodden. If we reflect on the rapid growth of revolutionary Marxism in modern times with its slogan, *"Workers of the world*

unite You have nothing to lose but your chains”, we can understand the tremendous impact of Jesus’ Message; “The Kingdom of God is at hand” on a people who were suffering under the Roman yoke. We also can understand why that puppet of the Roman Imperialists, King Antipater, executed John the Baptist and why the Roman Procurator, Pontius Pilate crucified Jesus Christ.

After the crucifixion of Jesus, the Christian message began to spread in the Mediterranean region; mostly among the Hellenized Jews. It was at this stage that Jesus began to be idealized and deified on the lines of the Mediterranean Saviour Gods such as Osiris, Attis and Adonis; and Christian communities on a pattern very much similar to the Pagan communities began to be founded.

Christianity also assimilated many beliefs, rites and rituals from these Pagan religions, which are called Gnostic religions.

Sir James Jeans describes the revolutionary nature of early Christianity thus:

“Christianity, after starting from the humblest of beginnings, conquered the Mediterranean world more thoroughly than ever the Roman Legions had done. The Roman conquerors had introduced a new technique of government, but the Christian conquerors brought with them a new technique of life and a revolutionary conception of human aims and destiny - how revolutionary it is hard for us to-day to understand. Their citizenship was in heaven, their life here only a preparation for future else where, so that they saw the world of matter only as prison house, and the vault of heaven only as a Veil; both were transitory and utterly insignificant in comparison with what lay beyond. Within the lifetime of some of them, a day was to come when the stars would fall from heaven and the sky be rolled back like a scroll to reveal a Judge seated on his Throne. Then God whom Jesus had declared to be the loving Father would change his character, reverting to the ferocity and tyranny of his Old Testament habits: even Jesus himself who had once prayed “Father, forgive them” would now lay aside mercy and deal out justice and vengeance: sinners for whom he had formerly sought as a shepherd for his lost sheep would now be flung into hell and there would suffer endless flames and torments - a spectacle to increase the beatitude of heaven. Tertullian had written, ‘How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many sage philosophers blushing in red-hot flames with their deluded scholars’. What would it profit a man on that last day of wrath that he had spent laborious years in examining how the bars of the prison-house were made, or in studying the heavenly veil that had already passed away? Surely it was better to prepare for the judgement to come?”

“Holding such beliefs, the Christians could hardly be sympathetic to the study of science especially as many of them were narrow fanatics; their religion was their all and, unlike the paganism is it was supplanting, it knew nothing of tolerance or of magnanimity towards those of other opinions. This mattered little at first for the Christians were few and un-influential. Even at the beginning of the fourth century, only a small fraction of the

population was Christian; the pagan writers barely mentioned their existence, even the great moralists such as Seneca and Marcus Aurelius either passing them over in silence or speaking of them with contempt."

"Then came the year 312, a landmark in human history, when Constantine the Great, the illegitimate son of a Roman Officer and a Serbian innkeeper, who had been elected Emperor of Rome by the Army in the field, suddenly embraced the Christian religion. In 390 the pagan religion was forbidden by edict throughout the Empire, and henceforth Christianity reigned supreme, save in out of the way, country places, where the simple villagers would still assemble to sing hymns and offer modest sacrifices to the Gods of their fore-fathers."

"Twenty years later Rome was captured by Alarie and his barbarians, and when these too embraced the Christian faith, the dark ages fell upon Europe, the ages of domination of all human thought and of most human activity by the priesthood, ages which should probably be placed as the darkest in the history of mankind. A boundless intolerance of all divergence of opinion was united with an equally boundless toleration of all falsehood and deliberate fraud that could favour received opinions. Credulity being taught as a virtue, and all conclusions being dictated by authority, a deadly torpor sank upon the human mind which for many centuries almost suspended its action". (The Growth of Physical Science Pages 71)

Joseph McCabe tells us in his book *"The Popes and their Church"* how the Catholic Church came to be established.

"Of all the fictions which still shelter from the storm of modern criticism under the leaky umbrella of "Catholic Truth", the legend of the divine foundation of the Papacy and the Papal system is quite the boldest and the most romantic. No divine force but a pitifully human series of forgeries and coercions of pious fraud and truculent ambition, perpetrated in an age of deep ignorance, built up the Papal power, hierarchy, and creed."

"The Christian hierarchy arose in a very simple way. In the primitive community, which met at times to break bread in memory of Christ and meditate on his words, some division of labour was needed. It fell to "the elder" to break the bread and address the little group. It fell to a few of the younger men to carry round the bread, to be "ministers" or servants. Then, as scandals grew among the brethren and sisters, it was just as natural to appoint an "overseer" for each group of communities. In Greek, which these early Christians generally spoke (even at Rome), elder is presbyteros; minister or servant is diaconos; and overseer is episcopos. Hence the words priest, deacon, and bishop."

"Certain of these primitive communities were believed to have been founded by the immediate followers of Christ, the apostles, and 'they were called "apostolic churches",

and entitled to especial respect. Until the fifth or sixth century, the Roman Church was just one of these “apostolic” churches. Its bishop was called ‘Pope’ only because every bishop was called ‘Pope’ (as every priest is in the East to-day) during the first few centuries.”

“But the Roman Pope had two peculiar advantages and these formed the foundation of his ambition to rule the whole Church. In the first place Rome was the metropolis of the Empire, the greatest city of the world. In the second place, it was somehow generally believed by the end of the second century, though there is no other serious evidence of the fact, that the Roman Church had been founded by Peter.”

“In the Gospels Peter has a remarkable position; Christ is represented as saying to him (Mathew XVI, 18): “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock (Petra) I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.” This poor little pun on Peter’s name was obviously not made by Christ. The word “Church” had no meaning at all in the days of Christ and Peter. A Galilean fisherman would have asked in astonishment what this mysterious thing was which was to be built upon him. There was no such word in Aramaic. Christ would have had to say “synagogue”, and he hated synagogues. The pun belongs to a later date. There came a time when Peter and Paul quarrelled, as Paul tells us, and there was a party of Peter and a party of Paul; and some zealous Petrist, possibly of the Roman Church, got that passage interpolated into the Gospel. That crude little pun has changed the course of history and made the life-work of Christ a mockery”. (Pages 3 and 4)

The authenticity of the facts set forth in the earlier paragraphs will reveal to the intelligent reader whether the supremacy claimed by the Roman Catholic Church and its head, the Pope, is of divine or human origin.

Greek word: “Ecclesia”

5

THE CHURCH AS AN ENGINE OF AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION

During the first three centuries of the Christian Era, the Christians were persecuted intermittently by the Roman Emperors. The persecution of Christians during this period has been the theme of a number of Hollywood films produced in recent times and these have received wide publicity all over the world. But what has not been publicised is the fact that almost immediately after Christianity became the State Religion of the Empire in the fourth century, the Christians in turn began to persecute non-Christians and heretics on a grand scale and that this persecution went on for over 12 centuries. Even today in predominantly Catholic countries like Spain, Portugal and Colombia, non-Catholics are discriminated against and persecuted.

Professor J. B. Bury says in his book, *"A History of Freedom of Thought"*:

"During the two centuries they had been a forbidden sect, the Christians had claimed tolerance on the ground that religious belief is voluntary and not a thing which can be enforced. When their faith became the predominant creed and had the power of the State behind it, they abandoned this view. They embarked on the hopeful enterprise of bringing about a complete uniformity in men's opinions on the mysteries of the universe, and began a more or less definite policy of coercing thought" (Page 52).

The numerous religions practised by the peoples in the countries ruled by the Roman Emperors naturally stood in the way of the Christian Church in achieving this uniformity of belief.

The Church therefore persuaded the Emperors to issue a series of Decrees prohibiting the worship of religions other than Christianity and some of these Decrees made worship at Pagan shrines a crime punishable with death. Here are some of those Imperial Decrees:

Decree 2 of 341 *"Let superstition cease and insanity of the sacrifice be abolished. Whoever shall dare to offer sacrifices against the law of the blessed Prince our Father (Emperor Constantine) and against the command of our clemency shall be fittingly punished and present sentence carried out"*.

Decree 3 of 346 *"Although all superstition is to be entirely abolished, we never-the-less wish to have all temple buildings outside the walls preserved intact"*.

Decree 4 of 346 *"It is our pleasure that in all places and cities, the temples be closed forthwith and permission to approach them be absolutely refused. It is our will also that all shall abstain from offering sacrifices. If any man does anything of this nature let him suffer the avenging sword. Their resources shall, we decree, be confiscated to the Treasury and the Governors of Provinces shall be similarly punished if they neglect to carry out the law"*.

Decree 6 of 356 *"We command that any who offer sacrifices or worships idols shall be put to death"*.

Decree of 361 *"If any man, in a mad and sacrilegious contempt for authority, shall resort to the forbidden sacrifices, whether by day or by night, and shall presume to think that he may approach a shrine or temple for the commission of this crime, let him know that he is subject to the provision of the law (viz; death penalty and confiscation of property)"*.

Decree of 380 *"We desire all people to whom the benign influence of our clemency rules, to turn to the religion which tradition from Peter to the present day declares to have been delivered to the Romans by blessed Peter the Apostle, the religion which it is clear that the Roman Pontiff Damasus and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness, follow; this faith is that we should believe, in accordance with apostolic discipline and Gospel teachings, that there is one God-head, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in an equal Majesty and Holy Trinity. We order those who follow this doctrine to receive the title of Catholic Christians, but others we judge to be mad and raving and worthy of incurring the disgrace of heretical teachings, nor are their assemblies to receive the name of Churches. They are to be punished not only by Divine retribution but also by our own measures which we have decided in accordance with Divine inspiration"*.

In 391 a Decree was promulgated imposing heavy fines on the Pagans. In 392 a further Decree was issued condemning officials of various kinds who claimed exemption. Similar Decrees continued to be issued from time to time till 428.

When the funds of their temples were confiscated and the doors were sealed and put under guard, the Pagans began to resort to secret meetings. Thereupon secret meetings were prohibited by Decree. In 399 permission was given to destroy the Pagan Temples in rural areas, and, though the law still demanded the preservation of the buildings in the cities, Catholic priests and monks led mobs and destroyed them without any discrimination.

Gibbon says in his *"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"*, *"The Temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles was judiciously converted into a Christian Church; and similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome. But in almost every province of*

the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those barbarians who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction". (Every Man's Library) Vol III Page 129.

The immense wealth belonging to these Pagan temples invariably flowed into the coffers of the Church and by the end of the 6th century the Roman Church was the richest and the most stabilised institution within the Empire.

There is not the least doubt that the Imperial Decrees cited above were inspired by the Church. No less a person than St. Augustine (354 - 430) wrote of upholding the principle of persecution, basing it on the firm foundation of the scriptures on words used by Jesus Christ in one of his parables: *"Compel them to come in"*.

The ultimate effect of these Imperial Decrees and the consequent destruction of Pagan temples was to efface all religions within the Roman Empire excepting Christianity and Judaism within the short period of one hundred years.

Christian opposition to Pagan learning also resulted in the closure of schools and libraries throughout the Empire and was directly responsible for ushering in the Dark Ages (500-1,100) described by Dr. Inge as *"several centuries of unredeemed barbarism, the most protracted and dismal retrogression which the human race has suffered within the historical period"*. (Christian Ethics and Modern Problems 1930. Page 13).

Under cover of the darkness of the Dark Ages the Roman Catholic Church built its temporal and spiritual power using means which were far from moral or spiritual.

Dr. W. A. Hunter, an authority on jurisprudence says in his book, *"The Past and Present of Our Heresy Laws"*.

"You will search in vain through the laws of Rome for any traces of reform under Christianity; but there are two things of which you will get more than enough. You will get laws intended to aggrandise the priests, to shield them from civil and criminal responsibility, and to enable them to extort money with ease and hoard it with safety. You will also find many statutes passed to despoil of their property, to banish, and even to kill, all those sects of Christians who did not bow the knee to Rome, but were guilty of the crime of understanding the teaching of Christ differently from the Roman Bishops. Few people are aware of the ruthless violence with which all dissent from the Church of Rome was stamped out. Before a century had passed under the Christian Emperors the catalogue of Rome's victims was to be reckoned by hundreds of thousands. In a statute passed in the year 428 against heretics we have a curious enumeration of sects, as regards some of whom even ecclesiastical antiquaries are silent. They were: Arians and Macedonians, Pneumatomachi and Appollinariani and Novatiani or Sabbatiani, Eunomiani, Tetradite, Valentiniani, Papianiste, • Montanists or Priscillianists,

Marcianists, Borboriani, Messaliani, Eutychite or Enthusiaste, Donatists, Audiani, Hydroparastate, Tascodrogite, Batrachite, Hermeiecianni, Photiniani, Pauliani, Marcelliani, Ophite, Encratite, Apotactite, Saccophori, and worst of all, the Manichaeans and Nestorians. Here is a list of about thirty sects who were broken up and destroyed by the criminal law". (Page 8).

Professor W. Homer Smith says in his book, "Man and his Gods". (1953):

"In later centuries the Christians accused the Saracens of cruelty and bloodiness, but in their own missionary work they set a ruthless example. They went about procuring converts on the grand scale by appealing directly to Kings and Chiefs, since these leaders, once convinced that Christianity was to their interest, could force the baptism of their subjects en masse. Thus Augustine claimed to have had ten thousand Angli baptized in one day, and Heraclius baptized one hundred thousand people in one year. Charlemagne decreed that any who rejected baptism should be put to death, and there is no estimate of the number upon whom the decree was executed in the thirty-three years of relentless warfare which he pursued in building the Holy Roman Empire. It required over two centuries of warfare to Christianize Scandinavia, and almost as long to spread the light across Middle Europe. The cost of Christianizing the whole of Europe is Estimated at from eight to ten million lives, while the necessarily late introduction of Christianity into the New World was to cost twelve million native lives and utterly destroy the civilization of the Aztecs and the Incas" (Page 251).

During the Dark Ages, when even Kings and Emperors could not read or write, the Church did not shrink from uttering forgeries and using them to further its spiritual and temporal power. In 774, Pope Hadrian summoned Emperor Charlemagne to the Vatican and laid before him a document purporting to be a deed executed by Constantine granting Central Italy "until the end of the world" to Pope Sylvester and his successors.

The document which is known as "the Donation of Constantine" is now universally acknowledged to be a palpable forgery.

The document say inter alia:

"To correspond to our own Empire and so that the supreme Pontifical authority may not be dishonoured but may rather be adorned with glorious power greater than the dignity of any earthly empire; behold, we give to the often-mentioned most holy Pontiff, our father Sylvester, the Universal Pope not only the above-mentioned palace, but also the City of Rome, and all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy and Western regions relinquishing them to the authority of himself and his successors as Pontiffs by a definite Imperial grant. We have decided that this should be laid down by this our divine, holy and lawfully framed Decree and we grant it on a permanent legal basis to the holy Roman Church".

Charlemagne, a rough, unlettered man accepted the document as genuine and ceded the territory to the Pope, and the Pope by virtue of this forgery, became the temporal ruler of a sizable kingdom. These states called "THE PATRIMONY OF PETER" remained the property of the Pope till they were incorporated in the Italian State by Garibaldi in 1870. It is interesting to note in this connection that under the Financial Convention attached to the Lateran Treaty between Pope Pius XI and Mussolini dated February 11, 1929, the Dictator agreed to pay the Pope a sum of 1,000,000,000 Italian Lire about Rs. (555,500,000) as compensation for the loss of the Papal States.

Numerous other forgeries, all intended to bolster up papal claims for supremacy and plenitude of power, appeared during this period. These are now known as False Decretals.

The Muslim Arabs invaded Spain in 711 and within a short time conquered both Spain and Portugal. They built a fine civilisation in the territory they conquered. They established a network of schools where free education was given. They also established libraries and universities in all the principal towns. The Arabs also revived classical learning and encouraged the study of arts, science, medicine and philosophy.

Gradually light from Muslim Spain began to penetrate the darkness of Christendom. Christians like Abelard (1080-1142) who received their education in Muslim Universities began to think for themselves and as a result "heretical ideas" began to spread in Europe particularly in South Western France, close to Muslim Spain. The Pope's answer to this was to declare a Crusade against heretical opinions. As Bury observes, *"there, is reason to think that in the pursuit of heresy the Church was mainly guided by consideration of its temporal interest, and was roused to severe action only where the spread of false doctrine threatened to reduce its revenue or seemed a menace to society"* "A History of Freedom of Thought". (Page 56)

Pope innocent III (1198-1216) found that the Church was getting far too little money from the people of Languedoc in South Western France. They were an austere and disciplined people, but anti-clerical. The Pope announced a Crusade against them and as a result *"there were wholesale burnings and hangings of men, women and children"* (Bury). Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, Papal Legate and Inquisitor in this Crusade against Albigenses is reported to have urged one of the Crusaders: *"Kill them all, my son, at the Last Day, God will know to distinguish between them"*.

In 1215, Pope Innocent ordered all civil authority, under penalty of excommunication and loss of their thrones, *"to exterminate from the Lands subject to their obedience all heretics who have been marked out by the Church for due punishment"*.

The organized system of searching out heretics known as the Inquisition was founded by Pope Gregory in 1233, and fully established by Pope Innocent IV in 1252 by his bull "Ad Extirpanda". The bull authorized confiscation of property, imprisonment, torture and

death and the machinery of persecution was set up as an integral part of the social edifice in every city and every state.

The Inquisition existed for over six centuries with varied intensity until it was finally abolished in 1820. There is no estimate as to how many thousands of innocent persons rotted in dungeons or were maimed at the rack or were burnt at the stake, merely because they dissented from the Pope about matters pertaining to the next world. Will Durant says in his book, *"The Age of Faith"*:

"Compared with the persecution of heresy in Europe from 1227 to 1492, the persecution of Christians by Romans in the first three centuries after Christ was a mild and humane procedure". (Page 784)

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in his book, *"Eastern Religions and Western Thought"*, comments about the Inquisition as follows:

"In the Dark Ages, which may be regarded as extending from the end of the fifth century to the establishment of feudalism in the eleventh century, Europe weltered in ignorance and misery and lived in constant peril and pressure."

"In the Middle Ages; eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, faith was dominant and doubt was suppressed. The ecclesiastical tyranny was so ubiquitous that it was perilous to breathe a word against accepted dogmas. Authority was supreme and the Inquisition was actually established at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The heretic was the enemy more than the infidel. In Spain under the Moorish Caliphs, Averroes, the Muslim thinker, developed an independent movement which was suppressed by Pope John XXI. The Church endeavoured by the stake and the thumbscrew to preserve the faith once delivered to the saints and became alienated from the spirit of Jesus. If He had returned to Europe in the Middle Ages, He would certainly have been burnt alive for denying the dogmas about His own Nature. During three centuries, three hundred thousand persons were put to death for their religious opinions in Madrid alone. The lurid fancies of theologians about the torture chambers of Gehena did not outrage their moral feelings. Since they thought these were permitted by divine justice, they did not shrink from adopting refinements of cruelty in human affair". (Pages 276-277).

Even the moral feelings of a great thinker and saint like Thomas Aquinas do not appear to have been outraged by the atrocities committed by the Inquisition. On the contrary, he used his great intellectual power to find reasons to justify persecution. He put the full weight of his authority on the side of the Inquisitors by advocating the right to kill heretics. He says in his *"Summa Theologica"*:

"The question must be considered as regards the heretics themselves and as regards the Church. On the side of heretics is sin, for which they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication but even to be excluded from the world

by death. Now, it is a much more grievous thing to corrupt the faith, through which the soul has life, than to falsify money, which serves the need of temporal life. So, if falsifiers of money, or other-malefactors, are at once justly consigned to death by secular princes, far more may heretics, when once convinced of their heresy, be not only excommunicated, but even justly put to death". (Summa 2 da, 2 dae Qu Xi. art 3)

With the dawn of the 16th century there began the era of European aggression against the rest of the world. The Portuguese and Spanish Conquistadores invaded territories in America, Africa and Asia and not only did they enslave the peoples of these countries and drain the wealth of these countries to Europe, but also destroyed their religions and culture beyond repair. By using both fair and foul means, they also converted a large number of the inhabitants of these territories to Roman Catholicism. Our country was one of the territories invaded by the Portuguese at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

Missionary Methods in Ceylon

The Portuguese first lauded in Ceylon in 1505, and not long after this, they began their spiritual and temporal conquest of Ceylon. In their spiritual conquest, they resorted to fraud, force and grant of preferment rather than to preaching, healing and exemplary living as enjoined by their Master, Jesus Christ.

On 18th March, 1546, nearly 40 years after the advent of the Portuguese in Ceylon, King John III of Portugal despatched a remarkable letter to his Viceroy at Goa. After bewailing *"the idol worship which prevailed in the territories in India (and Ceylon) subject to Portuguese authority"*, the King commanded:

"We charge you to discover all the idols by means of diligent officers, to reduce them to fragments and utterly to consume them, in whatsoever place they may be found, proclaiming rigorous penalties against such persons as shall dare to engrave, cast, sculpture, limn, paint or bring to light any figure in metal, bronze, wood, clay or any other substance, or shall introduce them from foreign parts; and against those who shall celebrate in public or in private any festivities which have any Gentile taint, or shall abet them, or shall conceal the Brahmins, the pestilential enemies of the name of Christ".

While emphasizing the necessity of severe punishment he added:

"And because the Gentiles submit themselves to the yoke of the Gospel not alone through their conviction of the purity of the Faith and for that they are sustained by the hope of Eternal Life, they should also be encouraged with some temporal favours, such as greatly mollify the hearts of those who receive them; and therefore you should earnestly set yourself to see that the new Christians from this time forward do obtain and enjoy all exemptions and freedom from tribute, and moreover that they hold the

privileges and offices of honour which up till now the Gentiles have been wont to possess”

The fact that this type of Royal Instructions were inspired by the Roman Catholic Church is clearly shown in a letter St. Francis Xavier had written from Cochin on 20th January, 1548 to King John III of Portugal. The Saint demanded of the King:

“You must declare as plainly as possible . . . that the only way of escaping your wrath and obtaining your- favour is to make as many Christians as possible in the countries over which they rule” (Quoted By A. L. Macnicol in his book *“The Living Religions of India”*, (1934)P. 268)

So the work of converting the heathens was made one of the duties of the conquistadores and they did an excellent job of it by raising Buddhist temples and Pirivenas in the maritime provinces to the ground, by driving away the Buddhist Monks from the territories conquered by them, or by killing them, and by baptizing the Buddhists in these areas en masse.

According to Professor C. R. Boxer, *“there was no resident Bishop in Ceylon and it was at Goa that the- lines of ecclesiastical and missionary policy were laid down.”* An Ecclesiastical Council held in Goa in 1567 made certain decisions, which received the force of law by a vice regal decree of the same year.

He says:

“This decree enacted, inter alia, that all heathen temples in Portuguese controlled territory should be demolished; that the name of the Prophet Mohammed should not be invoked in the Muslim call to prayer from a mosque; that all non-Christian priests, teachers, and holy men should be expelled; and that all their sacred books, such as the Koran, should be seized and destroyed wherever found. Hindus and Buddhists were prohibited from visiting their respective temples in neighbouring territories, and even the transit passage of foreign pilgrims to such destinations was forbidden. A ban was also placed on that ritual bathing which is such a feature of Hinduism”.

“Non-Christian marriage ceremonies and religious processions could not be celebrated publicly, and no conversions were allowed from Islam to Hinduism or to Buddhism and vice versa, but only to Christianity. Monogamy was decreed for everyone, irrespective of their religion, and men who were already living with more than one wife (or co-habiting with more than one concubine) were ordered to dismiss all save the one whom they had first married. All orphaned children were to be given Christian tutors or foster-parents, and if one of the partners in a pagan marriage was converted, the children and property were to be given into his (or her) keeping. Christians were not allowed to live or lodge with non-Christians, nor were the former to have other than strictly business dealings with the latter. Nominal rolls were to be made of all heathen families, and they were to

be sent in groups of fifty to hear Christian propaganda in the local churches and convents on alternate Sundays. A sharply increasing scale of fines was levied on those who tried to evade this obligation. Non-Christians were to be officially and legally discriminated against, and converts equally favoured, in competition for public offices and remunerative posts. Most of these regulations were tightened by the latter enactments of successive Councils, though a few were relaxed; and it is not long before Muslim mosques shared the fate of Hindu and Buddhist temples in places where they had not already been destroyed by the crusading fury of the original conquistadores”.

“It is obvious that these discriminatory and coercive measures, if they did not actually force people to become Christians, gave them every inducement to do so, and made it very difficult for them to remain anything else. Deprived of their priests, teachers, holy men, sacred books, and places of worship, not to mention the public exercise of their respective cults, it was confidently expected that the “false heathen and Moorish”, religions would wither and die on territory controlled by the Portuguese Crown;” (Article on “Christians and Spices, Portuguese Missionary Methods in Ceylon”, (1518-1658) in History Today, May, 1958, Pages 348 & 349).

Boxer also says that the Christian puppet King Dharmapala (1552-1597) *“followed the example of his suzerain in trying to confiscate the temple lands and divert their revenues to the maintenance of Christian churches”* (Ibid Page 350).

Persecution in the 20th Century

It is often argued that this kind of thing happened in the Middle Ages and the Roman Catholic Church nowadays does not resort to force or violence to achieve its ends. *“Semper Eadem (Always the same)”* is the proud boast of the Church and in the matter of resorting to force and violence it has not changed one dot from the days of the Inquisition. Only world opinion restrains it.

It was only the other day, during the war years 1941-44 to be precise, that with the connivance of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia, nearly 250,000 Serbians belonging to the Orthodox Church were forcibly converted to Catholicism and another 800,000 were massacred in cold blood by Ante Pavelic’s Army called the Ustashi. *“Christ and Ustashi March together”* was the slogan raised by Pavelic’s Army, Catholic priests not only encouraged the massacre but themselves actually took part in it. The harrowing tale of this massacre is told by D. Martin in his, *“Ally Betrayed”* (Prentice Hall, New York, 1946) and by Avro Manhattan in his, *“Terror Over Yugoslavia”* (Watts London 1953.) Both books are fully documented.

Avro Manhattan quotes from a letter written by Dr. P. Grizogono (former Minister in the Royal Yugoslav Cabinet and a devout Catholic) to Archbishop Stepinac. Dr. Grizogono wrote to the Archbishop from Belgrade, February 8, 1942:

"Your Grace:

I write this to you as man to man, as a Christian to a Christian.

Since the first day of the Independent Croatian State the Serbs have been massacred (in Gospich, Gudovac, Bos, Krajina, etc.) and this massacring has continued to this day."

He follows with a detailed enumeration of some of the crimes perpetrated. After which he concludes:

"Why do I write this to you? Here is why: In all these unprecedented crimes, worse than pagan, our Catholic Church has also participated in two ways. First, a large number of priests, clerics, friars and organized Catholic youth actively participated in all these crimes, but more terrible, even Catholic priests became camp and group commanders, and as such ordered or tolerated the horrible tortures, murders and massacres of a baptized people. None of this could have been done without the permission of their Bishops, and if it was done, they should have been brought to the Ecclesiastical Court and unfrocked. Since this did not happen, then ostensibly the Bishops gave their consent by acquiescence at least."

"The Catholic Church has used all means to catholicize forcibly the remaining Serbs. The province of Srem is covered with the leaflets of Bishop Aksamovitch, printed in his own printing shop at Djakovo. He calls upon the Serbs, through these leaflets, to save their lives and property, recommending the Catholic faith to them."

"What will happen to us Croats if the impression is formed that we participated in all these crimes to the finish?"

"Again it is the duty of the Church to raise its voice; first because it is a Church of Christ; second because it is powerful."

"I write to you this, about such terrible crimes, to save my soul, and I leave it to you to find a way to save yours."

"Signed, Prvislav Grizogono. Former Minister of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At Zemun, February 8, 1942."

It is not strange that the Archbishop took no action in the matter as even today the Church maintains *"the right to kill heretics"*. In a book on Church Law entitled *"Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici Publici"*, published in 1901 with the blessings of Leo XIII, the author Dr. Marianus de Luca, Jesuit Priest and Professor of the Papal University argues:

“A perfect society has the right of using the sword. The Catholic Church is not only perfect but perfectissima. Therefore the Catholic Church has the right to kill heretics”.

As for Archbishop Stepinac’s attitude in this matter, he was merely acting in terms of the Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, which he took on his consecration. For, every Roman Catholic Bishop has to swear at this august ceremony:

“With -all my power I shall persecute and make war upon all heretics and those who rebel against our Lord (The Pope) and all his successors. So help me God and those the holy Gospels of God”. (Quoted by Ex R. C. Priest, Emmet McLoughlin in his, “AmericanCulture and Catholic Schools” (Page 125).

6

TOLERANCE, ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

St. Alphonsus Ligouri, canonized in 1839, is considered to be the greatest authority on Moral Theology in the Catholic Church. His *"Moral Theology"* is still the recognized text book on all questions on conscience and all who are trained for the Catholic priesthood have to master this book.

St. Alphonsus Ligouri teaches:

"Although it is not lawful to lie, or to feign what is not, however, it is lawful to dissemble, what is, or to cover the truth with words or other ambiguous and doubtful signs for a just cause, and when there is not a necessity of confessing." (Moralist Theologica - P. 364 - Vol. II Vesuntione)

Ligouri defines a just cause for which dissembling, covering the truth with words, mental reservation, double thinking, equivocation, etc. may be used:

"A just cause is any honest end in order to preserve things for the spirit or useful for the body." (Ibid. P. 119).

It is precisely this Ligourian Doctrine that the Catholic Union employs in discussing the question of tolerance. We are told that there are two types of tolerance; "dogmatic tolerance" and "civil tolerance". Dogmatic tolerance is defined as the attitude of mind, which *"regards all forms of belief or unbelief as equally acceptable"*, and civil tolerance is that which *"seeks to unite on the plane of civil life, citizens of a single country but of varying religious beliefs"*. It would appear that the Catholics do not practise "dogmatic tolerance", but stand for "civil tolerance". The Catholic Union also quotes a passage from an address delivered by Pius XII to the Italian Jurists on 6th December 1953, to indicate the difference between these two types of tolerance.

An attitude of mind *"which regards all forms of belief or unbelief as equally acceptable"* is indeed a rare phenomenon. The man who practises tolerance is not obliged to accept any such thing. Tolstoy in the 19th Century, and Mahatma Gandhi in this Century were both saintly and tolerant men who, while appreciating all religions, rejected most beliefs and doctrines contained therein. There are also the eclectics, who believe that all religions are basically good and are designed to lead man ultimately to the same Summum Bonum; but even they are selective in the matter of beliefs contained in these

religions. The Vedanta school of thought in Hinduism accepts all religions as different Paths to the same Goal, but rejects the belief in a Personal God as taught in Christianity and the doctrine of Anatta (No Soul) as taught in Buddhism. This type of tolerance (Swami Vivekananda prefers to call it acceptance) is found at the higher levels of intellect and spirituality. A pre-requisite to this state of mind is the spirit of enquiry and the sympathetic study of all religions and philosophies.

The “civil tolerance” advocated by the Roman Catholic Church is only one aspect of tolerance and it does not cover the sphere where tolerance is most essential - the sphere of religion. It is this type of semantic artifice which makes it possible for the Church to deny freedom of worship and of conscience to non-Catholics in predominantly Catholic countries and to discriminate against non-Catholics in non-Catholic countries and undermine their institutions while pretending all the while to be cooperating with them in the legislature, in education, in social services, in the field of sports and other planes of civil life.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines tolerance as *“the recognition of right of private judgement in religious matters; liberty to uphold ones religious opinions and forms of worship or to enjoy all social privileges, etc. without regard to religious differences”*. “Tolerance” says Paul Blanshard, *“should mean complete charity towards men of all races and creeds, complete open-mindedness towards all ideas and willingness to allow peaceful expressions of conflicting views”*.

The community of Nations meeting in General Assembly has included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the principle of tolerance as one of the Human Rights:

Article 18: *“Every one has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance”*.

Article 19: *“Every one has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”*.

Tolerance, therefore, like peace, is indivisible and of universal application. It must be practised both in the plane of religious life and of civil life.

In the light of this universally accepted definition of tolerance, let us examine the Roman Catholic Church’s theory and practice of tolerance.

During the early part of the Nineteenth Century when ideas relating to freedom of thought, freedom of worship and freedom of teaching began to spread throughout

Europe, Pope Gregory XVI (1831-46) fulminated against these ideas in his famous Bull *"Mirari Vos"* (1832) thus :

"All liberty is a delirium and a pestilence. There is no healthy man's delirium. All delirium is that of a sick man. There is no praiseworthy and harmless plague; every plague is deadly. Hence it is never a good thing to introduce liberty into civil community. It is only permissible to tolerate it in certain cases, in the same way a pest is tolerated".

Pope Gregory went on to say:

"Out of this most foul fountain of indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous opinion that liberty of conscience ought to be asserted and secured by everybody" (Emphasis ours).

His immediate successor Pope Pius IX (1846 -78) anathematised as some of *"the Principal Errors of Our Times"* the following propositions:

Error No. 15: *"Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe to be true, guided by the light of reason"*.

Error No. 77: *"In the present day it is no longer necessary that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the State to the exclusion of all other modes of worship"*.

Error No. 78: *"Whence it has been wisely provided by the law in some countries called Catholic, that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the free exercise of their own worship"*.

The concept of modern liberties was fully discussed by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) in his Encyclical, *"Libertas Praestantissimum Donum"* (1888). He said in the course of this Encyclical:

"And, first, let us examine that liberty of individuals which is so opposed to the virtues of religion, namely, the liberty of worship, as it is called. This is based on the principle that every man is free to profess as he may choose any religion or none ... This kind of liberty, if considered in relation to the State, clearly implies that there is a reason why the State should offer any homage to God, or should desire any public recognition of Him; that no one form of religion should be preferred to another, but that all stand on equal footing..."

"Justice, therefore, forbids, and reason itself forbids, the State to be godless; or to adopt a line of action which would end in godlessness, namely, to treat the various religions (as they call them) alike, and to bestow upon them equal rights and privileges. Since then, the profession of one religion is necessary in the State, that religion must be

professed which alone is true and which can be recognized without difficulty, especially in Catholic States, because the marks of truth are, as it were, engraven upon it”.

The Pope went on to discuss other modern liberties such as “liberty of speech”, “liberty of the Press” and “liberty of teaching” and said *“from this it follows, as is evident, the liberty which we have been speaking of is greatly opposed to reason, and tends absolutely to pervert men’s minds in as much as it claims for itself the right of teaching whatever it pleases, a liberty the State cannot grant without failing in its duty”.*

If this is the actual teaching of the Church on tolerance how is it that the Catholic Union of Ceylon asserts that Catholics stand for “civil tolerance”. If we carefully read the passage quoted by the Catholic Union from the address given by Pius XII, we shall find that this so-called “civil tolerance” is a very limited form of tolerance. Pope Pius XII asks whether *“Non-impedire or toleration is allowable in certain circumstances, and positive repression not always a duty?”* Toleration according to the Pope is to be allowed only in certain circumstances. The normal duty of Catholics is positively to repress other religions.

This is in fact a re-iteration of the teaching of Pope Leo XIII. He would permit toleration only as a matter of expediency. He says in his Encyclical *“Libertas”*:

“Yet with the discernment of a true mother, the Church weighs the great burden of human weakness and well knows the course down which minds and actions of men are in this our age being borne. For this reason while not conceding any right to anything save what is true and honest, she does not forbid public authority to tolerate what is at variance with truth and justice, for the sake of avoiding some greater evil, or obtaining or preserving some greater good”.

Truth and justice in this context are, of course, Catholic truth and Catholic justice.

The Pope also utters a warning:

“And although in the extra-ordinary condition of these times, the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them, in themselves but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty”. (Ibid)

There we have in a nutshell the attitude of the Church towards modern liberties such as “freedom of conscience”, “freedom of worship”, “freedom of thought”, “freedom of the Press”, etc.

From these citations it is clear that the Catholic Church is opposed to the principle of tolerance. However, where Catholics are in a minority, the Roman Catholic Church

keeps on appealing to the very same principles of tolerance and religious freedom, which it rejects as grievous errors in countries with a Catholic majority.

In the course of a lecture delivered on 2nd March 1953, at the Pontifical Athenaeum of the Lateran, Cardinal A. Ottaviani sought to reconcile this manifest contradiction in the Catholic Church's attitude.

After quoting Pope Leo XIII's dictum that Catholicism should be the State religion of every State where Catholics are in a majority, the Cardinal said:

"The Pope appeals to justice and reason, because it is contrary to justice to accord the same rights to good and evil, to truth and to error. Reason rebels against the idea that to satisfy the demand of a tiny minority, the rights, the faith, the conscience of almost an entire nation should be betrayed by permitting those whose aim is to set snares in the way of its faith, to introduce into it division with all the consequences of religious strife".

What of the countries where Catholics are in a majority? The Cardinal expounded the Church's policy in such countries thus:

"Some times the following criticism is directed again at us. You maintain two principles, two different standards of action, according to your own convenience. In a Catholic country you maintain the ideal of the confessional state, on which is laid the duty of protecting the Catholic religion and it alone. Where you are in the minority, you claim the right to toleration, or even to the equality of all religions before the law. That means two weights and two measures; a real inconsistency which is embarrassing and from which Catholics, who take account of the present development of civilization would rather gladly be free." Why yes! Exactly so! Two weights and two measures!! One for truth, and the other for error!!! (Quoted by Professor Giovanni Miegge in Religious Liberty: World Christian Books. Pages 21 and 22).

The official world organ of the Jesuits, La Civiltà Cattolica of Rome published in April, 1948, a striking statement concerning the Catholic theory and practice of tolerance and freedom for non-Catholics:

"The Roman Catholic Church, convinced, through its divine prerogatives of being the only true Church, must demand the right of freedom for herself alone, because such a right can only be possessed by truth, never by error. As to other religion, the Church will certainly never draw the sword, but she will require that by legitimate means they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrines. Consequently, in a State where the majority of the people are Catholic, the Church will require that legal existence be denied to error, and that if religious minorities actually exist, they shall have only a de facto existence without opportunity to spread their beliefs".

"In some countries Catholics will be obliged to ask full religious freedom for all, resigned at being forced to cohabitate where they alone should rightfully be allowed to live. But in doing this the Church does not renounce her thesis, which remains the most imperative of her laws, but merely adapts herself to de facto conditions, which must be taken into account in practical affairs".

"The Church cannot blush for her own want of tolerance, as she asserts it in principle and applies it in practice". (Reproduced in the Christian Century, June 23, 1948 and in Time June 28, 1948)

In a country where Catholics are in a majority, it is obligatory on the part of the State to declare Catholicism as the State religion and incorporate same in the constitution. The implications of a State declaring Catholicism as the State religion are set out by Dr. H. A. Rommen in his book *"The State in Catholic Thought"*.

"It would mean the acknowledgment of the canon law in matters that are admittedly of a spiritual nature (e.g. matrimony, hierarchy, clerical education, and legal exemption of the clergy from secular jurisdiction in certain matters), the recognition of the Catholic religion as the religion of the people with these consequences: privilege of exclusive public cult, recognition of Church holy days, Catholic public schools, protection of the Church, her institutions, sacraments, and doctrines against libel, contempt, etc., in the penal law, membership of higher state officials in the church, and financial support by the State for the ecclesiastical institutions in so far as they cannot fulfil their functions on their own resources". (P. 593)

Answering the question *"Should non-Catholics be permitted to practice their own form of worship in a Catholic State?"* Monsignor John A. Ryan and Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar say in their standard work: *"The State and the Church"*:

"If these are carried on within the family, or in such inconspicuous manner as to be occasion neither of scandal nor of perversion to the faithful, they may properly be tolerated by the State ... Quite distinct from performance of false religious worship and preaching to the members of the erring sect, is the propagation of false doctrines among Catholics. This would become a source of injury, a positive menace, to the religious welfare of true believers. Against such an evil they have a right to protection by the Catholic State ... If there is only one true religion; and if its profession is the most important good in life for States as well as individuals, then the public profession, protection and promotion of this religion and the legal prohibition of all direct assaults upon it, becomes one of the obvious and fundamental duties of the State" (P. 35).

On the other hand in a Buddhist or a Hindu or a Muslim or a Protestant country, the State must accord parity of status to Catholicism with the majority religion. Monsignor George O. Toole, Professor of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America says in *"The Liberal Illusion"* (1939).

"It is clear, then, that no Catholic may positively and unconditionally approve of the policy of separation of Church and State. But given a country like the United States (or Ceylon), where religious denominations abound and the population is largely non-Catholic, it is clear that the policy of treating all religions alike becomes, all things considered, a practical necessity; the only way of avoiding a deadlock. Under such circumstances, separation of Church and State is to be accepted, not indeed as the ideal arrangement but as a modus vivendi". (Page 10)

Monsignor Ronald A. Knox, one of Britain's greatest Catholics expounds in his book *"The Belief of Catholics"* The Catholic theory of "Toleration".

"A body of Catholic patriots, entrusted with the Government of a Catholic State, will not shrink even from repressive measures in order to perpetuate the secure domination of Catholic principles among their fellow-countrymen".

"It is frequently argued that if Catholics have at the back of their system such notions of "toleration", it is unreasonable in them to complain when a modern State restricts in its turn, the political or educational liberty which they themselves wish to enjoy. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The contention is ill-conceived. For, when we demand liberty in the modern State we are appealing to its own principles not to ours".(Page. 143)

This Roman Catholic brand of "tolerance" is practised in clerically-dominated countries in Europe like Spain and Portugal and in South American countries like Argentina, Colombia and Brazil.

Take Spain for example. Rev. J. D. Hughey Jr. says in his book *"Religious Freedom in Spain"* (1955).

"Catholic religions enjoy only a very limited toleration in Spain to-day. Protestant worship has been authorized in certain chapels, but they can have no signs on them, and there can be no preaching or religious services in streets, or other public places. With only three or four exceptions, permits to open new chapels have not been given since the latter part of 1947. Proselytism and evangelism are officially forbidden though not fully suppressed. The Bible and other religious literature cannot be published legally by Protestants, and such literature sent from abroad often does not pass the censor."

"Spanish Protestants are not permitted to have their own schools, and their children are generally subject to Catholic instruction in the State and parochial schools. Members of the armed services are required to participate in public religious functions unless excused by their officers, and Protestants are denied the right to serve as army officers. Burial with Protestant rites is sometimes forbidden, and marriage outside the Roman

Catholic Church is often impossible for those baptized in that Church even though they have become members of another". (Page 1)

According to the Churchman's Magazine, February 1954, Protestant religion has been banned by law in the greater part of Colombia. It says:

"The National Government, by an order dated September 3, 1953, directed Departmental Governors to stop every form of religious activity distinct from the Roman Catholic Church in eighteen parts of the country designated as Catholic Mission Territories".

"Effect of the order: The Government's directive means the abandonment of thousands of Protestant Christians and tens of thousands of Protestant sympathizers. Forty-one foreign missionaries and about twenty Colombian pastors are presently stationed within the Mission Territories. The Protestants affected own twenty five Churches and Chapels, with an equal number of manses, one Bible Institute, three dispensaries, a dozen cemeteries, and some twenty-five primary day schools. The value of their property in the Mission Territories is approximately 364,000 pesos (equivalent to £50,000). No Protestant religious services are to be allowed, not even under the direction of Colombian Pastors. The sacraments, as a consequence are also proscribed. Protestant primary day schools and health centres are disallowed".

"The Government's Order was issued on September, 3rd last, in the form of a Circular signed by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Government, Sr. Carlos Valderrama Ordonez. The circular makes the surprising statement that since 1902 Protestant pastors and missionaries have been excluded from the Mission Territories. The truth is that Protestant Christian work has been carried on in the Territories for many years openly and with the knowledge and permission of the Colombian Government."

"The Mission Territories referred to in the Government injunction are eighteen regions of the Republic enumerated in a 1953 Treaty on Missions between Colombia and the Vatican. Made up of eleven vicariates and seven Prefectures Apostolic, they cover all area of 331,000 square mile and are equal in size to the combined area of France and Italy".

It would appear from all this that the Roman Catholic Church's policy in democratic countries is to exploit the democratic liberties and to build up its membership, wealth, power and prestige, and when it is sufficiently powerful, to destroy those very liberties and create conditions for the establishment of a Catholic State subservient to the interests of the Vatican.

7

Democracy and the Church

The People of Ceylon have by common consent, chosen the democratic form of government. They have also, chosen the democratic way of life. The democratic form of government implies; firstly, that the majority of the people have the right to determine the future of the country and its people by free choice based on free discussion, with certain inalienable rights guaranteed to minorities: and secondly, that the government derives its authority and sovereignty from the consent and the will of the people. The democratic way of life, implies among other things, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of worship, freedom of the Press and, above all, tolerance or preparedness to give heed to the other man's point of view, both, at the individual level and at the collective level. It also implies that every man in the democratic state has equal rights and is equally entitled to happiness.

It must be conceded that democracy as it is practised today has its own defects. It presupposes an intelligent and an educated electorate that can choose its representatives wisely. That kind of electorate is yet in the making. As Harold Laski observes. *"The defects of democracy are most largely due to the ignorance of democracy and to strike at that ignorance is to attack the foundation upon which these defects are built"*. (*Grammar of Politics*) Only a democratic Government can and will strike at that ignorance. With all its defects, democracy is the only form of government that is capable of working for the good and the happiness of the many, and there has not yet been found a better alternative to it. The only alternative to it is autocracy, whether it is monarchical or oligarchical or theocratic or dictatorial.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, is opposed to both the democratic form of Government and the democratic way of life. This attitude really stems from the belief that the authority to govern is derived solely from God, through his Vice-regent on earth, the Pope. The Church is naturally opposed to any political theory or a way of life which does not recognize the supremacy of the Pope and which stands against the realisation of its ambition to bring the world to God, under one Christ, one Church and one Pope.

The basic tenet of democracy is that the government derives its authority and sovereignty from the consent and will of the People. Pope Leo XIII characterised this principle as pernicious and false. *"The origin of public power"* he said in his Encyclical, *Immortale Dei* (Nov. 1, 1885) *"is to be sought for in God Himself, not in the multitude"*.

It must be pointed out in this connection that when the Pope used the name of God, he did not mean a genial or un-denominational Deity of all the people. He meant the particular Catholic Deity who established Roman primacy through St. Peter and whose

Vice-regent on earth is the reigning Pope. Witness also the Pope's contemptuous reference to the People as *"the multitude"*.

Leo XIII anathematized again and again, the idea that Government derives its authority from the will of the people. He said in his Encyclical:

"Modern men have set themselves to construct theories about the origin and nature of the State according to their fancy, and even to declare that all authority comes from the people, so that those who exercise authority in the State do so as exercising not what is their own but what has been entrusted to them by the people".

In his Encyclical *"Immortale Dei"* he dwelt at length on the modern democratic principles and their *"evil consequences"*.

He said:

"Amongst these principles the main one lays down that as all men are alike by race and nature, so in like manner all are equal in the control of their life; that each one is so far his own master as to be in no sense under the rule of any other individual; that each is free to think on every subject just as he may, choose, and to do whatever he may like to do that no man has any right to rule over other men. In a society grounded upon such maxims, all government is nothing more nor less than the will of the people, and the people, being under the power of itself alone, is alone its own ruler. It does choose nevertheless some to whose charge it may commit itself, but in such wise that it makes over to them not the right so much as the business of governing, to be exercised, however, in its name. The authority of God is passed over in silence, just as if there were no God, or as if He cared nothing for human society; or as if men, whether in their individual capacity or bound together in social relations, owed nothing to God; or as if there could be a government of which the whole origin and power and authority did not reside in God himself. Thus, as is evident, a State becomes nothing but a multitude, which is its own master and ruler. And, since the populace is declared to contain within itself the springhead of all rights and of all power it follows that the State does not consider itself bound by any kind of duty towards God. Moreover, it believes that it is not obliged to make public profession of any religion; or to inquire which of the very many religions is the only true one; or to prefer one religion to all the rest; or to show to any form of religion special favour; but, on the contrary, is bound to grant equal rights to every creed, so that public order may not be disturbed by any particular form of religious belief".

"And it is a part of this theory that all questions that concern religion are to be referred to private judgment; that every one is to be free to follow whatever religion he prefers, or none at all, if he disapproves of all. From this the following consequences logically flow; that the judgment of each one's conscience is independent of all law; that the most unrestrained opinions may be openly expressed as to the practice or omission of Divine

Worship; and that everyone has unbounded licence to think whatever he chooses and to publish abroad whatever he thinks”.

The Pope went on to say:

“The sovereignty of the people, however, and this without any reference to God, is held to reside in the multitude, which is doubtless a doctrine exceedingly well calculated to flatter and to inflame many passions, but which lacks all reasonable proof, and all power of ensuring public safety and preserving order. Indeed, from the prevalence of this teaching, things have come to such a pass that many hold as an axiom of civil jurisprudence that sedition may be rightfully fostered. For the opinion prevails that princes are nothing more than delegates chosen to carry out the will of the people; whence it necessarily follows that all things are as changeable as the will of the people, so that risk of public disturbance is ever hanging over our heads”.

The sum total of the Pope’s teachings is that a people cannot rule themselves. They have neither the capacity nor the right to do so. They have no authority; hence they can confer no authority on others. The modern theory that people can choose their government and grant power is, therefore, basically false. So also are the modern theories about freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, etc. false as well as pernicious.

The Pope, however, realized that elections to appoint governments have come to stay. But such elections according to the Pope, must be designed only to select the rulers, but not to grant them authority; the authority must come from God. Leo XIII asserted in his Encyclical *Diuturnum Illud*:

“Such selection points out the ruler; it does not confer the right of rulership, nor is authority then handed over, but it is determined by whom authority shall be exercised”.

The Pope goes on to say that it is from the erroneous belief that authority is derived from the people that such *“pernicious doctrines as Socialism and Communism have derived their main strength”*. However, the Church would acquiesce in a democratic form of government, on one condition. Leo XIII says in his Encyclical *Libertas*:

“Again, it is not wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and exercise of power”.

That is to say, a democratic government must, in order to be acceptable to the Roman Catholics and to win their goodwill and co-operation, accept the theory that it derives its authority and power not from the people who elected it, but from God through his one and only Vice-Regent on earth, the Pope. In the exercise of power, it must always consult the wishes, not of the people primarily, but of the Roman Catholic Church. It is in accordance with this teaching that the Catholic Union of Ceylon demands that in matters

such as education, marriage, income of the Church, and the Church's right to administer property and similar matters which impinge both on the State and the Church *"the due subordination of the one (the State) to the other (the Church) is the indispensable condition of harmonious co-operation between them"*. Catholic Church's hostility towards democracy has not abated by one iota since the days of Leo XIII. Pope Pius XII in his address to members of the world movement for World Federal Government on 6th April, 1951 is reported to have said:

"Today everywhere, the life of nations is disintegrated by the blind worship of numerical strength. The citizen is a voter. But, as such, he is in reality none other than one of the units whose total constitutes a majority or a minority, which, a shifting of some voters, even of only one, is sufficient to overturn". Quoted by Avro Manhattan in his *"Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom"* (Page 148) Modern society according to the Pope was being disrupted by democracy, *"that blind cult of the value of numbers"*.

In the *"Syllabus of the principal errors of our times which are stigmatised in the consistory allocutions, encyclical and other apostolic letters of our most holy Lord, Pope Pius IX,"* Error. Number 80 has been defined thus.

"The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to and agree with progress, liberalism and modern civilisation".

Therefore, who-so-ever occupies the throne of Peter, the hostile attitude of the Church towards liberal and democratic principles will never change.

In the chapter on "Tolerance" we have already discussed the attitude of the Church towards tolerance and freedom of worship, which are values integral to the democratic way of life. The Church would exercise tolerance only *"under certain circumstances"* as a matter of expediency. As regards freedom of worship, the Church would ask full freedom for Catholics in countries where they are in a minority; but would restrict the freedom of non-Catholics where the Catholics are in a majority. Its attitude towards other factors, which are essential to the democratic way of life, such as freedom of thought and freedom of the Press, is also one of open hostility.

Pope Leo XIII says in his encyclical *Immortale Dei*:

"So too, the liberty of thinking and of publishing whatsoever each one likes, without any hindrance, is not in itself an advantage over which society can wisely rejoice. On the contrary, it is the fountain head and origin of many evils".

Again in the same Encyclical he says:

"The unrestrained freedom of thinking and of openly making known one's thoughts is not inherent in the rights of citizens, and is by no means to be reckoned worthy of favour and support".

We have quoted earlier the Pope's condemnation of the freedom of the Press and the liberty of teaching. It must, however, be conceded in this connection that democratic freedoms such as freedom of speech and freedom of the Press can be abused, and used against public good and to undermine morality. But these freedoms involve responsibilities as well as self-restraints. Freedom of speech does not mean that one may make damaging statements about another with impunity. Freedom of the Press does not mean that a Press Baron who has the monopoly of the Press in a country can use his newspapers as instruments to create confusion or to make and unmake Governments. In the last analysis, it is a healthy public opinion that can exercise a check on the abuse of these democratic freedoms. As Laski says, *"It is wise to trust the free exercise of the mind rather than to seek Ex-cathedra to put it in swaddling clothes"*.

But the Church is not concerned with this aspect of modern democratic freedoms. It is only concerned with the impact they have on itself and on the faithful. The Church has a genuine fear that once these freedoms are granted, the Catholics themselves will begin to think for themselves and question the authority of the Church and the validity of its doctrines.

The Roman Catholic Church's political philosophy has been clearly set out by the well known British Catholic writer, Christopher Dawson in his book *"Religion and the Modern State"*. He says:

"There seems to be no doubt that the Catholic Social ideas set forth in the Encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI have far more affinity with those of Fascism than with those of either Liberalism or Socialism. In the same way, it is clear that Catholicism is by no means hostile to the authoritarian ideal of the State. Against the liberal doctrines of the divine right of majorities and the unrestricted freedom of opinion, the Church has always maintained the principles of authority and hierarchy and high conception of the prerogatives of the State. The ruler is not simply the representative of the people; he has an independent authority and a direct responsibility to God. His primary duty is not to fulfil the wishes of the people but to govern justly and well, and so long as he fulfils this duty, any resistance on the part of the people is a grave sin". (Page 134, Sheed and Ward, 1935).

It is then no accident of history that all Fascist States in modern times have been, without exception, Roman Catholic States too. Avro Manhattan says in his *"Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom"*.

“After the First World War the Corporate State became synonymous with Fascism. Wherever Fascism flourished, the corporate system was to be found. Fascist Italy, Dolfuss’s Austria, Petain’s France, were Corporate States. Portugal and Spain, as well as various Latin-American countries prided themselves on Corporativism. The Corporate State was a creation of the Catholic Church. Its foundation Stones: Leo XIII’s Rerum Novarum and Pius XI’s Quadragesimo Anno”. (Page 163)

8

SUBJECTS OF THE POPE FIRST, CITIZENS OF THE STATE NEXT

The Pope as the self-appointed "*Vice-regent of God on Earth*", "*The Father of Princes and Kings*" and "*Governor of the World*" claims supremacy at three levels:

1. De fide (In faith) the Pope claims to be the spiritual ruler of all human beings. According to the Roman Catholic Church, all human beings have been created by God in his own image, and as such they ought to recognise and obey not only the Creator but also his sole Vice-regent on earth, the Pope. This claim is typified in Boniface VIII's declaration that "*all human beings are subject to the Pontiff of Rome*" and that "*this tenet is essential and necessary for salvation*". (Bull: Unam Sanctam)

2. De Jure (By right) The Pope claims spiritual sovereignty over all those who are baptised as Christians, whether they are Catholics or non-Catholics. According to "*La Civiltà Cattolica*", the powerful journal of the Jesuits: "*Every baptised person is more the subject of the Pope than he is of any earthly governor*". (Vol. VI p. 293)

The Roman Catholics are the loyal subjects of the Pope. The non-Catholic Christians such as the Anglo-Catholics, the Episcopalians the Orthodox, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Coptics, etc. are the disloyal subjects, or heretics and are in principle liable to coercion. Even in this twentieth century, the Church has re-asserted its right to kill heretics. The claim is made in two commentaries on Catholic Canon Law; one written by Cardinal Lepeicier and the other written by Monsignor Marianus de Luca and published by the Vatican Press in 1900 and 1901 respectively. Both books have been published with the consent and the approval of the reigning Pope. Canon Law 1325 (2) defines a heretic as "*any baptised Christian who stubbornly doubts or denies any truth of the divine and Catholic Faith*".

3. De facto (In actual fact) the Pope is the Head of the Roman Catholic Church and the spiritual sovereign of "*all Christians who acknowledge him as their head and hold as an article of faith that communion with and submission to the authority of the See of Rome is essential for the effective membership of the Catholic Church as founded by Christ*", i.e. The Roman Catholics.

We are concerned here with the third category.

There is a remarkable difference between Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics as regards their relations with their respective religions and with the clergy.

A Buddhist for example is an adherent of Buddhism and a follower of the Buddha. He regards the Buddhist monk as a friend, guide and philosopher. A Hindu similarly is an adherent of Hinduism and the Hindu priests are those who administer to the needs of his soul. The Protestant Christian and Muslim position is not dissimilar to the Hindu. As a matter of fact, in most Protestant Christian sects, the laymen have a voice over the administration of their churches. In the case of the Roman Catholic, he is not only a "member" of the Roman Catholic Church, but also a subject of the Pope. His "membership", however, does not give him any voice or confer on him any rights over the administration, even the temporalities of the church. The Catholic priest is not only one who administers sacraments and pronounces absolution, but also an agent of the Pope who rules over the Catholics and administers the temporalities on behalf of the Pope. *"The administration of Catholic affairs"* says Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae*, *"subject to the immediate control of the Roman Pontiff, appertains to the Bishops, who although they attain not the summit of pontifical powers, are nevertheless truly princes in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; and as each one of them administers a particular church, they are master-workers ... in a spiritual edifice and they have members of the clergy to share their duties and carry out their decisions. Everyone has to regulate his mode of conduct according to this constitution of the church which it is not in the power of any man to change"*. Under Canon Law 1518 *"The Roman Pontiff is the supreme administrator and the dispenser of all ecclesiastical property"* all over the world.

The Pope states in the same encyclical:

"The supreme teacher in the church is the Roman Pontiff. Union of minds, therefore, requires together with a perfect accord in the one faith, complete submission and obedience of will to the Church and to the Roman Pontiff as to God Himself. This obedience should, however be perfect, because it enjoyed by faith itself, and has this in common with faith, that it can not be given in shreds".

The Pope defines the extent of obedience that is required of the Roman Catholics thus:

"In defining the limits of the obedience owed to the pastors of souls but most of all to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, it must not be supposed that it is only to be yielded in relation to dogmas of which the obstinate denial cannot be disjoined from the crime of heresy. Nay, further, it is not enough sincerely and firmly to assent also to doctrines which, though not defined by any solemn pronouncement of the Church are by her proposed to belief, as divinely revealed, in her common and universal teaching, and which the Vatican Council declared are to be believed with Catholic and Divine Faith. But this likewise must be reckoned amongst the duties of Christians, that they allow

themselves to be ruled and directed by the authority and leadership of bishops and above all of the Apostolic See” (Sapientiae Christianae).

The Church also claims the right to enact laws for the obedience of her subjects and to judge and to punish them.

Leo XIII says in his Encyclical, *“Libertas”*:

“Others oppose not the existence of the Church, nor indeed could they; yet they despoil her of the nature and rights of a perfect society; and maintain that it does not belong to her to legislate, to judge, or to punish, but only to exhort, to advise, and to rule her subjects in accordance with their own consent and will. By such opinion they pervert the nature of this divine society and attenuate and narrow its authority, its office of teacher and its whole efficiency”.

The Pope is alive to the fact that this total and perfect obedience demanded by the Church from the Catholic as a subject of the Pope will bring him into conflict at one time or another with the State of which he is a citizen. The Pope provides for such an eventuality.

He says:

“For instances occur where the State seems to require from men as subjects one thing, and Religion, from men as Christians, quite another; and this in reality without any other ground than that the rulers of the State either hold the sacred power of the Church of no account, or endeavour to subject it to their own will. Hence arises a conflict, and an occasion, through such conflict, of virtue being put to the proof. The two powers are confronted and urge their behests in a contrary sense; to obey both is wholly impossible. “No man can serve two masters” (Matt. VI. 24), for to please the one amounts to condemning the other. As to which should be preferred no one ought to balance for an instant. It is a high crime indeed to withdraw allegiance from God in order to please men; and act of consummate wickedness to break the laws of Jesus Christ, in order to yield obedience to earthly rulers, or under pretext of keeping the civil law, to ignore the rights of the Church; we fought to obey God rather than men”. (Sapientiae Christianae)

The Catholic citizen of every country is reminded again and again that his first loyalty is to the Church. He is told that *“the faithful, where ever found, are subject to the Church and not to the will of the State”* ^ (La Civiltà Cattolica - Vol 1 652-3), that the Pope is *“Supreme Judge, even of civil laws, and therefore is incapable of being under any true obligation to them”* (Ibid VIII - 163), and that *“the Christian people, to whatever nation they belong, if subjects of the State as things temporal, are also subjects of the Pope as things spiritual and more of the Pope than of the State”*. (Ibid YU- 652-3) Recently, in the course of a controversy in U.S.A. as to whether a Catholic Judge should obey the laws of the State or those of the Holy See (the Vatican), District Judge Luis Armijo of Las

Vegas said *"I may be a Catholic, but I am a citizen of the U. S. A. first"*. The Judge was reprimanded by a leading American Catholic Journal *"The Commonweal"*.

The Journal said:

"Judge Armijo, in fourteen short words has managed to distort the meaning both of what it is to be a U. S. citizen... Being a Catholic... involves such things as personal conviction, belief, and conscience. When a man is a Catholic, it should be because he couldn't be anything else and remain true to himself. Obviously that comes first. The real glory attached to being a citizen of the U. S. A. is that it always comes second. Being a Catholic comes first. That is what being a Catholic means. Being a citizen of the U. S. A. comes second". (The Commonweal 2. 12. 49)

During the schools takeover controversy, the Catholic Church put forward the argument that the Government of Ceylon, by taking over the control of the assisted schools, was violating article 26 (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The article reads as follows:

"26 (3). Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children".

The protagonists of the move thereupon pointed out that if as the Church interpreted, the words *"right to choose the kind of education"* meant the *"right to choose the type of school"*, the Church itself was guilty of violating the letter and the spirit of the Article in question as Canon Law 1374 of the Church gave no choice what-so-ever to the Catholic parent in the matter of selecting a school for his child. The Canon Law reads as follows:

"Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools; that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics. It is for the Bishop of the place alone to decide, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated without danger of perversion to the pupils".

The Catholic hierarchy's reply to this was significant. They said that the Catholic parent was in conscience bound to obey the Canon Laws, while there was no such obligation on his part either to obey the laws of the State or to conform to the principles enunciated by the United Nation's Organisation.

The Catholic is a subject of the Pope first. He is a citizen of the State next.

In fact the entire aim and object of the Catholic schools is to train children from their most formative years as loyal and obedient subjects of the Church. Everything else is subordinated to this end.

Pope Pius XI declared in his Encyclical *"Divini Illius Magistri"* (1929):

"The right of the Catholic Church and the family are not safeguarded merely by having the doctrine of (Catholic) religion taught in schools as a class (it is generally done sketchily) even by Catholic teachers. To have these rights satisfied in a school, it is necessary that all instruction and doctrine, the entire organization of the school teachers, curriculum, text-books, the atmosphere of discipline, must be so saturated with and include the Catholic spirit under the rule and maternal vigilance of the Catholic Church, that the Catholic religion itself shall be the foundation and the Crown of all education. This perspective shall obtain, not only in elementary schools but in higher schools as well. *For it is necessary, if we may use the words of Leo XIII (Enc. Militantis Ecclesiae August 1, 1897), not only at certain hours to teach Catholic religion to children but that all other subjects must also be made fragrant with the odours of piety. If this be not done, if this holy habit should not pervade and permeate the souls of both teachers and pupils, little benefit will accrue from any teaching but generally very great harm.*"

The aim of the Catholic school is then not to give a broad education but to indoctrinate; not to train the pupil to be a good citizen, but to train him primarily to be a loyal subject of the Pope. Emmet McLoughlin, an Ex-Roman Catholic priest gives his experience of the so called "Catholic Education" in his book, *"American Culture and Catholic Schools"*:

"Throughout my Catholic Education, I was well grounded in subjects that could be learned by rote, or practice. I achieved excellence in the Palmer method of penmanship. I did well in spelling bees. Arithmetic was easy till I reached logarithms. The nuns drilled me in geography until I knew the capital of every obscure land on earth. The history of America was hazy, but I knew that it was based on Catholic teachings. I also knew the date of every major event in the advance of Catholicism in Europe."

"But I did not learn to think. As the years of childhood slipped through a frustrated adolescence (in the Seminary) into the days that were supposed to be those of manhood, my mind was moulded in an intellectual pattern as effectively as though it had been cast in concrete. The term "brain washed" is applied to Chinese Communism, but the practice is as old as the Catholic school system ..."

"In short - I was not educated. I was merely indoctrinated. I had achieved the level of the rigor mortis of intellectual mediocrity."

"I had become an automaton; a priest of sacred, half-known rites and meaningless in their efficacy as the chants of a Puerto Rican voodoo priest or the blessings of Tibet's sacred Lama". (Pages 36 - 37)

The Roman Catholics often contend that they are obliged to obey the Pope only in matters concerning faith and morals, and that this obligation will not come into conflict with their duties towards the State as citizens as long as the State on its part does not

interfere with, in matters pertaining to faith and morals. The difficulty, however, is to define the areas falling within the scope of faith and morals. Questions relating to faith and morals are essentially social questions and they very often transmute themselves into political questions. The Catholic Union of Ceylon too admits that there are certain questions that impinge on both the Church and the State. And, if and when a dispute arises between the Church and the State in such matters, who should be the arbitrator? Who, but the Pope himself. According to the Canon Law 1553-2 the Pope has the right to over-rule the wishes of the State in all "mixed matters".

In a strict religious sense the word "faith" means belief in the truth of revealed religion. The Roman Catholic Church, however, adopting the strategy of Humpty Dumpty, gives the word a far wider meaning and brings the entire mental attitude of the individual within its compass. Apart from the *"faith that was once delivered to the Saints"* the Roman Catholics are bound in conscience to believe with *"Catholic and divine faith"*, all the dogmas and doctrines promulgated by the Holy See from time to time. They are also, in conscience, bound to obey the Canon Laws and the Encyclical instructions issued by the Popes from time to time. These Laws and instructions cover such matters as education, marriage, divorce, family planning, medicine, health, censorship of films and books, private property, Democracy, Socialism, Communism, etc. As a matter of fact, the Popes have anathematized every religious creed that is not Catholic, every philosophical creed, that refuses to be a handmaiden of Catholic theology and every political creed, that is not inspired by the Catholic Church and the Catholic, as a matter of faith, has to accept the judgment of the Pope as infallible in every one of these matters. He is precluded from coming to an independent judgment by himself. In other words, the Catholic must blindly submit himself to the Pope in all matters that concern his intellect.

St. Robert Bellarmine, one of the greatest authorities on the Catholic Church defines the type of obedience that the Catholics owe to the Pope thus:

"The Catholic Faith teaches, that every virtue is good, that every vice is bad. But if the Pope could err in commending vice, and forbidding virtues, the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and that virtues are bad, unless she should sin against conscience". (De Rom, Pontif. L. 4 C. 5) (Quoted by Avro, Manhattan in his *"Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom"*). (Page 26)

"As regards morals, the Church claims the entire range of human relationships, as coming within the sphere of morality - and hence, under the Church's jurisdiction. "It is the opinion of some" said; Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical "Graves de Communi" (1901) "the social question", as they call it, is merely, "economic". The precise opposite is the truth; that it is first of all moral and religious, and for that reason, its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and the pronouncements of religion". The Pope, of course, meant the Catholic Religion.

Pope Pius XI declared in his Encyclical *"Quadragesimo Anno"* (1931) that *"It is our right and our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems..."*

"For, the deposit of truth entrusted to us by God and our weighty office of propagating, interpreting and urging in season and out of season the Entire moral law, demand that both social and economic questions be brought within our supreme jurisdiction in so far as they refer to moral issues". When we remember the fact that according to the Catholic Church's teaching all social and political issues are ultimately moral issues, we can appreciate the import of the Pope's claim.

In practice the Church's teaching means this The Roman Catholics in every country, individually and collectively, must not only themselves be guided by the Vatican in matters that pertain to social, economic and political questions, but also make every effort to persuade the State of which they are citizens, to guide itself by the principles laid down by the Vatican. On the other hand, if the State ignores the Church's teaching or acts Contrary to principles laid down by the Church, however reactionary, such teachings and principles may be, it is the duty of the Catholics to resist such a State and even to revolt against it and overthrow it.

Dr. Nathaniel Micklem, Principal Emeritus, Mansfield College says in his book *"Papalism and Politics"*:

"It may be deemed a delicate question how far the claims made by the Pope upon his 'subjects' in the Queen's dominions are consistent with the claim of national loyalty. It is, however, constantly claimed that the Vatican does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and that the Pope only claims authority in matters of faith and morals".

"It would be nearer to the truth to assert that the Pope does not often interfere in the internal politics of foreign countries, but he claims to be the sole judge of what issues should be marked as moral; any issue that affects the power, influence or purse of the Church at once falls under his claimed jurisdiction, and in any issue of that kind the Roman Church is organised as a political pressure group controlling votes in a manner to impress the legislature ... "

"The fact that pressure is exercised through a national hierarchy does not materially alter the case". (Pages 16 and 30)

As a matter of fact, there have been a number of instances within the first half of this century where the Roman Catholic Church, through its local Hierarchy, organized the faithful to overthrow the duly constituted democratic Governments by extra-Parliamentary methods, merely because the Governments of those countries refused to be dictated by the Church. Spain and Argentina are cases in point.

In matters over which the Pope claims jurisdiction, Catholics who are employees of the State must, as individuals, obey the directives of the Pope rather than those of the State, or the moral code set out by their respective professions.

A Catholic surgeon in a Government Hospital for example, must not remove the unborn fetus in order to save the mother in a difficult case of childbirth, where the surgeon is morally certain that the mother cannot be saved without sacrificing the child. (*"Moral and Pastoral Theology"* by Father Henry Davies).

"A Catholic judge may never oblige any person to perform an act contrary to the law of God or of His Church ... wherefore, he cannot pronounce a penal sentence which would be equivalent to approval of such a law".

"To take a particular case, a Catholic judge cannot pronounce a sentence of civil divorce, when it is a question of a marriage that is valid before God and His Church." (Pope Pius XII in an address to the conference of Italian Jurists on 6. 11. 1949)

Again, in a country (like Ceylon) where Catholics are obliged to maintain unaided Catholic Schools at their own expense in order to satisfy the Canon Laws of the Church, and are at the same time called upon to pay taxes to the State to meet the cost of State Schools, a Catholic may refuse to pay (or not disclose in his income tax return) a portion of his taxes - his portion of that part set aside for the Catholic School. If in such circumstances he is charged before a Court of Law *"the Catholic judge should do what he can to show the law's injustice and to avoid its application. The most mitigated penalty possible should be inflicted"*. (*"The Moral Obligations of Catholic Civil Judges"* by Fr. Francis J. Connell)

"If an individual (Catholic) alleges money spent for charity that he has not spent, and also expenditure in making money that he has not actually made, he seems justified in evading taxation by so doing". (*"The Homiletic and Pastoral Review"* April, 1949).

In other words, where a Catholic feels that the taxes are penal and excessive, he is under no moral obligation to furnish correct tax returns. The Catholic Income Tax Assessor on his part would overlook such tax evasion and the Catholic judge would deal leniently with him if the fraud is discovered and the offender is charged in Courts.

Catholic nurses in State Hospitals must do all they can to convert non-Catholic patients to the Catholic religion. Even the dying should receive their attention in this regard. Detailed instructions as to how to baptize unconscious and dying non-Catholic patients are given in a pamphlet by Rav. Fr. William S. Bowder S. H. entitled *"The Catholic Nurse and the Dying"*, published by the *Catholic Truth Society* of India.

Catholic teachers and lecturers teaching History in State Schools and Universities must give the Catholic Church's version of historical events such as the Holy Inquisition, the

Reformation, and the French Revolution. That is to say, there must not be any objective evaluation of these events. In dealing with moral and social questions too, the Catholic teachers in a State School must toe the Roman Catholic Church's line (*"Morals in Politics and Profession"* by Fr. F. J. Connell).

Considering all this, as Avro Manhattan says in his book *"Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom"*, *"Catholics, consequently, cannot be loyal citizens. They are a potential fifth column, potential traitors to the State of which they are citizens, potential rebels against the society of which they are members. This, in virtue of the essence of their religion's tenets and of the binding allegiance they owe to their religious leader"*. (page 128)

9

CATHOLIC ACTION, THE MODERN CRUSADE

Discussing the aims and objects of the Catholic Action Movement, the Catholic Union of Ceylon says in its pamphlet:

“There are Catholic Action Organizations at parish or diocesan levels to which Catholics who are in the Public Services, or the professions or workers' groups belong. Similarly, there are Guilds and other apostolate groups in offices and for members who belong to professional bodies. These are well known and they do not work in secret. The charge that they are meant to promote the interests of Catholics through the use of official positions of its members, as we already wrote in 1957, is a hideous calumny. As we then pointed out, there are numerous Buddhist Organizations in the offices and in various institutions such as the Buddhist Brotherhood, Buddhist fellowship, the Asoka Society, the German Buddhist Mission, the Buddhist Students' Federation, etc. We were under the impression that these were religious organizations meant to further the religious interests of the members, and therefore perfectly legitimate”. (“The Church, The State and Catholic Action” Page 2!)

Is the Catholic Action Movement an organization having purely religious objectives like the Buddhist societies referred to by the Catholic Union of Ceylon? Is this movement solely *“meant to further the religious interests of the members”*? Catholic Action is also called *“the Lay Apostolate”* or Catholic Missionary work undertaken by laymen. Are the methods recommended by the Catholic Hierarchy to the laymen for adoption in their missionary activities in keeping with religious principles and spiritual values? And, can these methods be described as fair, just and moral; and above all, are they conducive to peace and goodwill among the People?

These are some of the questions we propose to answer in this chapter.

In the next two chapters we shall cite certain specific instances in which Catholics in key positions in political parties, in the armed services, in the civil administration and in the private sector have used their positions to advance the power and prestige of their Church and to grant place and preferment to their fellow Catholics and generally to build up the power and influence of the Catholic community in Ceylon, described in theological terms as the “Mystical Body of Christ”. These are not isolated cases. They have a certain pattern and an objective behind them. What is more, these activities are altogether in keeping with the directives given by the Popes to the members of the

International Catholic Action Movement in connection with the Church's programme for Catholicizing the whole world. They are not merely actions of Catholic individuals, but organized Catholic Action. They have all the appearance of being guided and masterminded by the local Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

Referring to the ultimate aim of Catholic Action, Pope Pius XI said in his Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (March 19, 1937):

"After the clergy, we appeal paternally to our dear children among the laity who are fighting, in the ranks of our beloved Catholic Action, described by us on another occasion as an ally granted by special divine Providence to the Church in these most difficult times. The ultimate aim of Catholic Action being to bring about the effective reign of Jesus Christ in family and civil society as well as in individuals, its work may be described truly as a social apostolate. Its chief and constant task must therefore be that of carefully trainings and preparing its members to fight God's battles. This training, especially urgent and necessary in these times, and an essential preliminary to any successful action, will be greatly assisted by study circles, weekly schools on social subjects, series of conferences and other schemes for making better known the Christian answers to economic questions and problems".

We have it, therefore, on the authority of no less a person than a Pope, that *"the ultimate aim of Catholic Action is to bring about the effective reign of Jesus Christ in family, and civil society as well as in individuals"*. It would appear that Catholic Action is an organization of Catholic laymen who are especially trained with a view to attaining this objective. The Popes use various phrases such as *"Bringing about the effective reign of Jesus Christ"*, *"Conquering the world for Christ"*, *"Sanctifying the masses"*, *"Building up the Mystical Body of Christ"* or *"Consecratio Mundi"* or *"Consecrating the World"* but they all mean one and the same thing, namely, the Catholicisation of the entire human race. In days gone by the Catholic Church used the armed might of Catholic Powers to subjugate and convert peoples of less powerful countries. In modern times it uses the nationals of every country who owe allegiance to the Pope, as fifth columnists to infiltrate into public and private institutions and to *"Christianize"* them, or, in other words, to transform them to sub-serve the global ambitions of the Church. These trained fifth columnists constitute the core of the Catholic Action Movement.

Pope Pius XII in his Encyclical letter on the *"Mystical Body of Christ"* (i.e. the Catholic Church) made it an obligation for all Catholic laymen to extend the membership and the power and influence of the Church.

He said:

"We desire that all who claim the Church as their Mother should seriously consider that not only the sacred Ministers and those who have consecrated themselves to God in religious life, but the other members as well of the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, have

the obligation of working hard and constantly for the up-building and increase of this Body”.

We must note in this connection that when the Pope “*obliges*”, the disobedient incur the penalty of sin.

Pius XII said in his 1955 Christmas Message:

“If ever Christians neglect this duty of theirs by leaving inactive the guiding forces of the Faith in Public Life, to the extent that they are responsible, they would be committing treason against the God-man who appeared in physical form among us in the cradle in Bethlehem”. (Social Survey, Feb. 1956. Page 4)

The Pope meant that it was obligatory on the part of every Catholic to seek to guide the policies and programmes of the Government of his country in accordance with the principles laid down by the Church and in the interests of the Church. Catholics who took no interest in furthering the interests of the Catholic Church were committing treason against Jesus Christ, “*the incarnation of God on Earth*”. The fact that the principles are anti-liberal, anti-democratic and even anti-social is not to be questioned by the Catholics. The Catholic must interest himself in public activities primarily not for the common good, but in order that he may safeguard and promote the interests of his Church and his community.

In his message for Christmas, 1957, Pius XII repeated his demand that every Catholic should become active and co-operate in the work of converting the institutions and Governments of his country to Catholic principles – and that he should ignore possible opposition on the part of non-Catholics to his activities in this connection. He said:

“Intervention in the world to maintain divine order is a right and duty which belongs essentially to a Christian’ responsibility and permits him lawfully to undertake all those actions, private or public or organized, which aim to and are suited to that end”.

“Subtle pretext made up to excuse laziness of some Christians or suggested by an unfounded jealousy on the part of adversaries cannot permit the evasion of such responsibility. It is asserted that Christian action in the world is a mask for seeking power which is contrary to the spirit of Christ, that it arouses opposition to the Christian faith among those already ill-disposed, that it is a lack of confidence in God and His Omnipotent Providence and that it has the flavour of arrogance on the part of the creature. There are some who even hint that it is Christian prudence to return to the so-called modest ambitions of the period of catacombs”.

“On the contrary, it would be wiser to return to the inspired wisdom of St. Paul, who, writing to the community at Corinth, with a zeal worthy of his great soul and founded on the complete sovereignty of God, opened all paths of actions to Christians. For all things are yours ... or the world, or life, or death or things to come; for all are yours. And you are Christ’s. Christ is God’s.”(Corinthians 3; 25-23) (Catholic Documentation – March, 1958, Pages 16-19)

The Church has a special call to those Catholics who are elected or appointed to positions of power and authority in democratic countries. They may have been elected by the people as their representatives or they may have been appointed by a democratic government and paid from public funds; but they owe their first duty to God, or, to speak more precisely, to the Pope as the Vice-regent of God on earth. Arch-bishop Carboni, the Apostolic delegate to Australia said in the course of an address to members of the Institute of Social Order:

"I refer to those who, in the designs of Providence, have been called upon to bear the burdens of office either in the industrial organizations or in the realm of government itself. In a democratic society, you are the repositories of influence and power. It is a great but onerous possession. You can do great good. You can by apathy, negligence on positive wrong doing, accomplish evil. This much, however, is certain. You may have been elected by the people. But your authority comes from God Himself. He will demand a heavy reckoning. Whatever authority, whatever power is reposed in you, is given to you in trust; to use it not for yourself, for your own aggrandisement, but for your neighbour, for your country, for God and for the Church".

"When you examine your conscience, search well to ensure that you are faithful to the great responsibilities of public office which God has entrusted to you. 'The field of politics, said our Holy Father, Pius XI, is the field for the vastest charity of all ... of which it can be said that none other is superior save that of religion'".

The Apostolic delegate went on to say:

"If then, you are called to serve God not simply as an ordinary soldier of the line, but as one in whom authority is reposed, remember always that your work is not merely a job. It is a vocation". (Social Survey. Oct., 1954. Page 9)

Catholics, who are especially recruited to the Catholic Action Movement and trained, have a special mission. They are to act as shock-troopers of the Pope, and to fight under the Command of the Hierarchy and to carry out their orders promptly and obediently. In the course of his address to the First World Congress of the Lay Apostolates in October 1950, Pope Pius XII said:

"Catholic Action ... represents the official lay apostolate; it is an instrument in the hands of the Hierarchy; it must be as it were the prolongation of its arm, it is by that very fact subject to the direction of the ecclesiastical superiors". (Quoted by Social Survey the official organ of the Australian Catholic Action Movement)

Earlier, in 1940, Pope Pius XII had told the Members of the Lay Apostolate:

"The hierarchy has the right to command and issue instructions and directions and Catholic Action must place all its energies at the disposal of the Hierarchy".

Addressing the second World Congress Of the Lay Apostolate in Rome on October 5, 1957, Pope Pius XII gave the reasons for enlisting the support of the Catholic laity in its programme for Catholicising the world.

He said:

"If history shows that ever since the origin of the Church, laymen have taken part in the activity which the priest carries out in the service of the Church; it is true more than ever today that they must lend this collaboration with greater fervour for building up the Body of Christ (i.e. the Catholic Church) in all the forms of the apostolate; especially when it is a matter of making the Christian spirit penetrate all family, social, economic and, political life".

"One of the reasons for this appeal to the laity lies without doubt in the lack of priests. Furthermore, the relations between the Church and the world require the intervention of lay apostles. The Consecratio Mundi (the consecration or Catholicising of the world) is essentially the work of laymen themselves, of men who are intimately a part of economic and social life, who participate in the government and in legislative assemblies. In the same manner the Catholic cells, which must be created among workers in every factory and in all working environments for bringing back to Church who have strayed from her can be constituted only by the workers themselves ... Just like any other apostolate, the lay apostolate has two functions, that of preserving and that of conquering". (Catholic Documentation Dec. 1957- Pages 1-19)

Father W. G. Smith, S. J. strikes a similar note in the course of an article in the Social Survey Aug. 1957 on *"The Less Strictly Dependant Lay Apostolate"* (Page 216). He says:

"The layman is the only member of the Church who has permanent contact with and business in the world of ordinary commercial and social life. He alone can reach all its activities, and deal with them effectively. The work of the Hierarchy, the priesthood, the religious orders, require a certain withdrawal from the world of the laymen, and they are not able to work long and painstakingly at the task of penetrating the world with Christian principles. The layman is able to do this".

The infiltration of non-Catholic institutions must be done by trained Catholic Actionists surreptitiously without creating opposition. The Catholic Action manual and Ward (Page 116) says:

"The layman is not surrounded by that net of prejudice and distrust that secularism has woven around the sacred person of the priest; he is not suspect of pleading his own cause or fulfilling a professional job, and so he can penetrate into areas where the priest can never set his foot; and can gather great sheaves where the priest would find nothing but dry and prickly stubble".

The Catholic Actionist's missionary method is not individual approach. He does not believe in winning over individuals to his Faith. He does not believe in preaching the Gospel of Christ to people. His technique is to Christianize institutions. We know that

one can “Christianize” another by baptising; but how does one “Christianize” an institution? The Catholic Action’s technique of Christianizing institutions is by infiltration - by capturing key positions in public and private institutions and moulding them and transforming them to further the ultimate objective of the Church - namely Catholicisation of the entire country.

In the course of an official statement under the title *"Catholic Action in Australia"* the Catholic Hierarchy of Australia state:

"While sodalities and other pious organizations exist for the sanctification and spiritual perfection of their own members, Catholic Action has a far wider scope and objective. Sodalities fulfil their objective or end when they sanctify their members. Catholic Action only begins there. It kindles the flame of personal sanctity first in Catholic Actionists and then reaches out to spread that fire throughout this world. It does not stop with the individual but aims at the sanctification of the masses, using as its means the Christianizing of the institutions of this modern world and the whole modern way of life. It must always be remembered that Catholic Action is a missionary work, the objectives of which are not limited to defensive work among Catholics". (The emphasis is that of the Bishops).

The Australian Bishops further declare in their official statement that the task of Catholic Action is, *"to modify social pressure and to direct it to make it favourable to the spread of Christian life, to let Christian life create a climate, an atmosphere in which the Christian can breathe easily and stay a Christian"*.

It matters little to the Church if non-Catholics get asphyxiated in that atmosphere.

The Bishops go on to say:

"Catholic Action cannot act unless it takes flesh in temporal institutions, the spirit incarnate in matter. Lest this creative task which the Catholic body takes upon itself should be misrepresented by sectarian influences as unwarranted interference in the temporal order (non-religious aspect of the nations' life) it is well to recall that this very principle has been expounded by the foremost minds among the different Protestant denominations". (*Catholic Action in Australia*. Pages 8-9).

The Bishops also refer to the need for coordinated action among Catholic Actionists in their task of capturing the national institutions in Australia. They say:

"The very magnitude of the objective demands organizations which are national in scope. The Christian transformation of our national institutions which is at the summit of the aim of Catholic Action cannot be achieved by isolated groups working in un-co-ordinated fashion, however excellent their own internal spirit may be. Naturally, every national organization will permit these variations of programme and activity which are

inevitable in view of the widely scattered nature of the Australian Continent. They will also allow the members of their constitutional groups a reasonable latitude for that experimental activity which is the roadway to progress. It must be emphasized, however, that once an organization of Catholic Action has been set up on a national or diocesan basis, the individual group is expected to follow the policies laid down by the constituted authorities and to divert from them only, with the express permission of these authorities". (Ibid Page 16)

The duly constituted authorities are the Australian Catholic Hierarchy.

The Australian Catholic Hierarchy make no secret of their long-term aim to Catholicize Australia by making use of the "Keep Australia White" policy - and eventually to make that country the base to convert the whole of Asia to Catholicism.

The Bishops say in a statement entitled "The future of Australia" (1951):

"In the last analysis there is only one valid argument which will evoke the great sacrifice which will be needed to preserve Australia as a nation of primarily European texture ... The programme of European migration, which is already under way, will add greatly to the strength of the Christian (i.e. Catholic) elements in this country. If these European migrants are properly absorbed into the Australian community, within a century Australia can become a great Christian (i.e. Catholic) Commonwealth. A Christian nation located so close to Asia as Australia could be a major force in the conversion of Asia to Christianity". (i.e. Catholicism).

If the Marxists aim at a total reconstruction of the social order, the Catholic Church aims at nothing less. "The Catholic solution, however, is very different from the Marxist pattern of a new society", says the leading Catholic Journal in Australia, Social Survey. "It also involves a revolutionary change which will go down to its very fundamentals, and envisage what the Popes have called the Corporate Society, based on vocational ordering of the whole social structure. Call it the 'Organic Society' or the 'Corporate Society' but it is a complete plan for reconstruction of the social order and was authoritatively outlined by Pius XI, in cyclical Quadragesimo Anno. "

"There you have the Catholic answer to social problems that is convulsing the Western World in this Twentieth Century".

"In that sense Catholics too, are revolutionaries. Their answer is revolutionary, but they don't aim to bring it about by violence. For them, the end, no matter how desirable, can never justify the means. But it will involve the, transformation of existing institutions and the creation of others which must be achieved by a determined but friendly (and not aggressive) permeation of the vital organizations of the industrial, economic and political, and social spheres of national life". (Social Survey - Editorial Comment - March, 1955 - Pages 3)

What is called “permeation” or “Christian penetration” is the tactic that is more widely known as infiltration and is the principal technique adopted by the specialised section of the Catholic Action called the *“Apostolate of Public Institutions”*.

We shall see in the next two chapters how this Christian penetration or infiltration by Catholic Action has been going on in our national institutions from the time our country gained its political Independence.

Besides *“the Apostolate of Public Institutions”*, there is yet another specialized agency of the Catholic Action Movement - the Apostolate of Propaganda. This agency is referred to by the Catholic Union of Ceylon in its pamphlet euphemistically as *“the Apostolate of the spoken and written word”*. (Page 17)

The members of the *Apostolate of Propaganda* specialize in what one may call the cold war tactics. They spread false rumours against *“the Church’s enemies”*, indulge in character assassination, send insulting and threatening post cards and letters to those who dare to criticise the Church, brand the critics of the Church as extremists and fanatics, write letters to the Press, upholding and defending the Church, sell Catholic newspapers and magazines at street corners, and in times of crisis mobilise the faithful in the defence of the Church.

“Catholic Action, itself”, says The Catholic Action Manual, *“is an army involved in a holy war for religion”*. The Manual, of course, means the Catholic religion. Commenting on this, Paul Bianshard says:

“The military symbolism is not accidental; the whole: emphasis of the organisation is upon a crusading faith, inspired with militant confidence that the Catholic Church can conquer the earth if its followers obey their priest with military precision”. (*“American Freedom and Catholic Power”*. Page 307).

Farther James J. O’Tool says in an official pamphlet entitled *“What is Catholic Action?”* that its aim is to create a civilization in which the Catholic Church will be *“the mistress and guide of all other societies”*.

The term societies here includes political parties, parliaments and governments in every country in the world, governments and mercantile organisations, and cultural institutions, the national Press and non-Catholic religious institutions. Catholic Action, thereby, seeks to create a civilisation in which, the political, the medical, the economic, the religious, the cultural and, in fact, the total aspect of man’s life will be directed and guided by the Catholic Church according to Catholic principles, and where the Catholic Hierarchy in every country will, under the direction of the Vatican, lay down laws and regulations for the obedience of King or President; Dictator or Parliament.

It will thus be seen that Catholic Action is not the innocent religious organization having as its objective *"the welfare of the Catholic religion"* and *"the furtherance of the religious interests of its members"*, as it is represented to be, but a modern crusade against the non-Catholic World. It is a subversive and conspiratorial organization working under cover of religion, and having as its objective the destruction of every institution that is not Catholic and the reconstruction of society according to the reactionary and authoritarian principles laid down by the Catholic Church. Its strategy is to infiltrate unobtrusively into all public and private institutions and to transform them from within to sub-serve the global ambitions of the Vatican and incidentally, the material interests of the local Catholics.

In marked contrast to this, the Buddhist Societies referred to by the Catholic Union of Ceylon, far from infiltrating into public and private institutions to destroy non-Buddhist religions and eventually to create an alleged Buddhist World Empire, are concerned solely with the promotion of the Buddhist way of life. Can you imagine the Banks' Asoka Society, for example, setting out to infiltrate into the key positions in all the Banks and utilising them to undermine non-Buddhist religions in order to bring about an alleged conquest of the earth by Buddhism?

10

CATHOLIC ACTION IN CEYLON (PART I)

The very term “Catholic Action” was not known even among the non-Catholic English educated intelligentsia of Ceylon until the publication of the Report of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry, or more popularly known as the Buddhist Commission Report, in February, 1956. There had of course been a general feeling among the Buddhist public Servants that some of the Roman Catholic officers occupying key positions in various Government Departments were pursuing a policy of discrimination against Buddhists and in favour of Roman Catholics in administrative matters such as appointments, promotions and scholarships. They, however, attributed this to the clannishness of a minority community rather than to the deliberate scheming of an organized body. The same allegation was in fact levelled against Tamil officers in key positions. It was the Buddhist Commission Report which revealed that these discriminatory acts were the result of the machinations on the part of an organized movement called Catholic Action.

Discussing the non-religious activities of religious bodies, the Buddhist Commission Report said:

“The most prominent among them (non-religious activities) is the movement designated “Catholic Action”. “Catholic Action” is a movement started by the Pope all over the world among Catholic layman, embracing all activities from the intellectual to the manual, from the social to the political. It emphasizes the promotion of Catholic aims by the lay apostolate. Fr. B. G. Perera explains the political aim of Catholic Action in a lecture published under the title “Catholics and Civic Responsibilities” as the “devising of means to bring about harmonious agreement between Church and State in politics”. Catholic Action groups are found in every Government Department and Mercantile Firm directed and guided by the Catholic Hierarchy furthering Catholic interests and promoting the interests of Catholics through the use of official positions. In this way the Hierarchy is kept informed of Government activities and the public servants given directives as regards their official acts. This is how harmonious agreement between Church and State is brought about”. (The Betrayal of Buddhism. abridged version of the Report of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry, Page 21).

The revelation that there was an organized movement called Catholic Action and that the members of this movement, most of whom were high officials holding key positions in public service, were being given directives by an outside body with regard to such matters as appointments, promotions and scholarships, gave entirely a different

complexion to the situation, and soon Buddhist public servants, began to be vigilant about the activities of Catholic officers in their Departments.

On 20th January, 1957, the Venerable Narada Maha Thero of Vajiraramaya, Bambalapitiya, addressed an open letter to the late Prime Minister, Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, pointing out to him the extent to which Catholic Action had infiltrated into key positions in the Armed Services, the Police and various other Government Departments and warning him of the danger of the movement. This letter which contained matters of vital importance to the people of this country, and written by a monk well-known for his piety, learning and disinterestedness in politics, was entirely blacked out by the daily Press. As a matter of fact, by this time the daily Press had been successfully "*permeated with the Christian Spirit*" by Catholic Action, and hence would not publish anything which put the Catholic Church or the Catholic Action Movement in an unfavourable light.

The Catholic Action Movement, in fact, appears to have become very active in Ceylon from the time it realized that Ceylon would become politically independent and that as a result there might be a revival of Buddhism and Hinduism, the two indigenous religions which had been suppressed for centuries. Under British rule, every Christian Church had been incorporated by law and this legal act had given them very wide powers. The Roman Catholic Church had been incorporated under Roman Catholic Archbishop Ordinance No. 19 of 1906 and under this enactment, the Archbishop had become a corporate sole, having perpetual succession and vested with full powers "*to acquire, purchase, take hold and enjoy movable and immovable property of every description, and to sell or otherwise dispose of the same*". In terms of this Ordinance, the Roman Catholic Archbishop also had the right to invest money in business or industrial undertakings and in fact he possessed every power the law was capable of granting. On the other hand he, as a corporate sole with perpetual succession, was not liable to death duty. He was not obliged to render accounts either to the members of the Church, or to the Government. In addition he was also exempted from all taxes including Income Tax. The net result of all this was that when this country gained Independence, the Roman Catholic Church was the Wealthiest and the most powerful organisation outside the Government.

Thus, when the Roman Catholic Church realized that political independence was soon becoming a reality, it sought to perpetuate its powers under the changed conditions, by having them safeguarded by the new constitution which granted Independence to the country.

Sir Ivor Jennings who drafted the Order-in Council (Independence of Ceylon) has revealed that proviso to Section 29 (2) (d) "*was slightly amended in final drafting to meet the views of the Roman Catholics*" The amendment is as follows:

“Provided that in any case where a religious body is incorporated by law, no such alteration shall be made except at the request of the governing authority of that body”.

Discussing the effect of this proviso the Buddhist Commission Report says, *“Parliament in Ceylon, may reduce the powers of the Queen but it cannot reduce the powers of the Christian religious bodies. Over Ceylon, Christianity sits enthroned, and Ceylon bound hand and foot has been delivered at the foot of the Cross”.* (Betrayal of Buddhism - Page 31)

United National Party

Just one year before the grant of Independence, the United National Party was formed by the amalgamation, or to be more precise, by the coalition of several political parties. Such diverse elements as the Ceylon National Congress, the Sinhala Maha Sabha, the Tamil Congress and the Muslim League went to form the United National Party. There was no Catholic Party as such, but the most united group within the United National Party with a strong sense of purpose and determination was the Catholic group in the Party. We are in a position to reveal that there was an Inner Cabinet to advise the first Prime Minister of Independent Ceylon, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, on State policy as well as on the day-to-day administration, and that this Cabinet comprised entirely of Catholics. Three Catholic Knights and a Catholic historian used to meet Mr. D. S. Senanayake at lunch once a week at the Senate Building and State affairs were discussed at this meeting. We are sure that the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake did not for a moment suspect that these gentlemen were Catholic Actionists, who were acting under the direction of the Catholic Hierarchy and were seeking to influence his policies so as to make them favourable to the Church. But in retrospect we see how all his actions were influenced by the advice tendered by his Catholic Inner Cabinet.

This Inner-Cabinet saw to it that the newly formed Armed Forces; the Army, the Navy and the Air Force were subjected to *“Christian penetration”*. More than 75% of the staff posts in the Army, 95% in the Navy and more than 60% in the Air Force, were manned by Roman Catholics and practically every key post was filled by one of them. Care was taken to see that even the post of the Civilian Administrator, post filled by an officer belonging to the Accountants’ Service, was always held by a Catholic or a Christian in the Armed Forces.

Once the key positions were captured by Catholics, they saw to it that the Catholic power within the Armed Forces was maintained unimpaired. They did this by discriminating against Buddhists and other non-Catholics in the matter of recruitment, training and promotions. This goes on in the Armed forces even today.

In fairness to the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake it must be said that he was quite ignorant of the fact that there was a worldwide organization called the Catholic Action Movement, which had as its ultimate objective the Catholicisation of every country, and which

resorted to infiltration tactics to achieve that objective. Mr. Senanayake had a genuine fear of Communism, and the Catholics in the United National Party and especially the members of the Inner-Cabinet who were in close contact with the Roman Catholic Hierarchy worked on that fear and led Mr. Senanayake into the belief that while a Buddhist or a Hindu may be a Communist in secret, a Roman Catholic will always be an anti-Communist. It was thus that the Armed Services of a country with a 75% Buddhist population came to be dominated by Roman Catholics who comprise only 7% of the total population.

This all-Catholic Inner-Cabinet was in no small measure responsible for the rift between Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, which ultimately led to the latter's resignation from the post of Minister of Local Administration and his break away from the United National Party. Mr. Bandaranaike as the Leader of the House and the most senior member of the Cabinet was the virtual successor to Mr. D. S. Senanayake as the Prime Minister. But his policies were far too socialist and nationalist for the liking of the Catholic Church. Worst of all, Mr. Bandaranaike was insisting that due place must be accorded to the Buddhist religion and the Sinhala language.

There is also no doubt that this inner-Cabinet was responsible for getting down Dr. H. W. Howes, a leading Catholic Actionist of England who was functioning at the time as the Director of Education in the tiny British Catholic Colony of Gibraltar and installing him as the Director of Education of Ceylon. We shall refer to his activities later.

Another act of Mr. D. S. Senanayake, which worked against the interests of the Buddhists, was the manning of the Public Service Commission entirely by non-Buddhists. The Soulbury Commission intended the Public Service Commission to be an independent body immune to pressure from outside, political or otherwise. The P.S.C. however, soon became the champion of minority religious and racial groups and sought to maintain the Colonial structure of the Public Service which favoured the Christians and Tamils. This was generally done by "packing" the selection boards with Catholics, Christians and Tamils. Catholic Action naturally lost no opportunity in making full use of this attitude on the part of the P.S.C. and to grab as many posts as possible for Catholics in the Public Service. As a matter of fact, within six years, i.e. 1948 to 1954, the Apostolate of Public Institutions of the Catholic Action Movement was able to infiltrate into the Treasury, the Customs, the Education Department, the Government Stores, the Department of Social Services, the Department of National Housing, the Income Tax Department, the Fisheries Department, the State Mortgage Bank, and various other Government Departments and to "Christianize" them systematically in accordance with the instructions from the Vatican.

Buddhists who expected that discrimination against them would cease once and for all, now that the country was politically independent, soon realised that discrimination of a far more subtle and far more pernicious nature was being exercised against them in the new set-up. It was at this stage that a Buddhist Congress deputation led by Dr. G. P.

.Malalasekera met Mr. D. S. Senanayake and asked him to appoint a Commission to look into the grievances of the Buddhists. Mr. Senanayake was most sympathetic to this demand and asked the deputation to meet him again and submit a list of names of persons who should be appointed to the proposed Commission. However, when they met the Prime Minister the next time, his attitude had undergone a radical change. He was brusque in his attitude to the deputation which comprised a number of Venerable Theras in addition to prominent Buddhist leaders. He asked the delegation whether, *“the Buddhists wanted a fourth refuge in Government in addition to the Three Refuges: Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha”*. Could it be that the Inner-Cabinet was responsible for this change of attitude on the part of Mr. D. S. Senanayake?

It was after this rebuff that the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress took steps to appoint the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry at its Annual Sessions at Kegalle held on 27th December, 1953.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake died in March 1952 and his son, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, became the Prime Minister. Mr. Dudley Senanayake resigned in September 1953 and Sir John Kotalawala succeeded him as the Prime Minister.

In March 1955, the Government appointed a Commission to go into the question of taxation and this Commission recommended inter-alia that the income earned by religious bodies from lands, rents, investments and other profit-earning activities should be brought under the provisions of the Income Tax Ordinance and taxed like any other Commercial Undertaking. The Government prepared a draft amendment in terms of this recommendation. This was, however, vehemently opposed by the Catholic Church. When the draft came before the Cabinet for discussion, the Rev. Father Peter A. Pillai, leader of the Catholic Action Movement in Ceylon, was invited to the Cabinet meeting to present the Catholic Church's point of view and after this mooted the proposal to tax the profit-earning, non-religious activities of religious bodies was quietly dropped by the Government and the Catholic Church continued to be exempted from taxation.

The invitation to an outsider to be present at a Cabinet meeting was quite an unprecedented thing in the history of Parliamentary Government.

It was only in 1959, after a great deal of agitation on the part of the Buddhists, that legislation was introduced to bring religious bodies within the scope of the Income Tax Ordinance.

During the years 1954 and 1955 the Official Language question came into the forefront and there was a general demand that Sinhalese should be declared the Official Language of the Country. The Catholic Hierarchy realized that it would soon lose its dominant position if Sinhalese was made the Official Language of the country and accordingly advised the Prime Minister Sir John Kotalawala to hold a snap election in 1956. It will be remembered that 1956 was the year when the 2,500th anniversary of the

Parinibbana of the Buddha was due to be celebrated and the entire Buddhist population of the country was looking forward to this event. The decision to dissolve the Parliament and to have a General Election during the Buddha Jayanthi Year came as a surprise and a shock to them.

“Janatha”, the Lake House Sinhalese evening daily reported in its issue of 10th September 1955 under banner headlines: *“General election is at hand”*.

“It is learned that a leading member of the Christian Hierarchy in the Island, has advised the Prime Minister that the time is most opportune to have a general election as the demand to make Sinhala the official language was again spreading like a wild fire. This was bound to create divisions in the country and if that happens, it would be a serious blow to the Government Party ... This has become a very serious problem to the Catholic Hierarchy”.

Sir John Kotelawala, a Buddhist Prime Minister, took the advice given him by the Catholic Hierarchy and dissolved the Parliament prematurely ignoring the vehement opposition of the Buddhist clergy and the laity and held the elections during the Buddha Jayanthi Year with disastrous results to himself and his party! Such was the influence wielded by the Catholic Hierarchy and the Catholic Action Movement over the leaders of the United National Party.

Mahajana Eksath Peramuna

The report of the Buddhist Committee of Enquiry was published in 1906 and Mr. Bandaranaike and all other candidates fighting on the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna ticket gave an undertaking in writing that if their Party came into power they would implement its proposals. The most important proposal made by the Committee was with regard to education. The Committee proposed that all assisted schools should be taken over by the State and a unified system of education be established.

Mr, Bandaranaike's Party had a landslide victory at the 1956 elections and the pledge to the Buddhists was in no small way responsible for this victory. Mr. Bandaranaike became the Prime Minister.

However, notwithstanding the promise that Mr. Bandaranaike, as the leader of the M. E. P., had given to the People, the Catholic members of the Government Party, Messrs. Stanley de Zoysa, Jim Munasinghe, Hugh Fernando and Aloysius Weerakoon began to assert from public platforms that it was not in the interest of the country to take-over the assisted schools, that the demand was made by a few Buddhist extremists, and that the Government had never given an undertaking to take-over these schools or to establish a unified system of education. The Catholic Church was somehow able to win over Mr. W. Dahanayake, Minister of Education, to its point of view. Earlier, Mr. Dahanayake had

been an ardent advocate of a unified state school systems and had demanded that *“Denominationalism must be rooted out neck and crop”*.

In August 1959, exactly a month before he met with his tragic death, Mr. Bandaranaike gave a firm undertaking to a deputation from the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress that he would soon take steps to take-over all assisted schools and reform the entire system of education.

The proposed Commission to inquire into the political aspects of the Bandaranaike assassination may reveal how far this decision of Mr, Bandaranaike contributed to his tragic death.

It is, however, significant that Mr. Bandaranaike met with his death at the hand of a Buddhist monk who was addicted to dope, and that the prime mover of the crime was another Buddhist monk moving closely in Catholic circles.

We now come to more recent events.

In the manifesto issued by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party under the leadership of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike at the General Elections July, 1960, the Party gave a definite undertaking that if it was returned to power, it would take-over all assisted schools and establish a unified and national system of education. Despite this pledge, the Party Candidate for Trincomalee, Mr, E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy, a Catholic, assured his voters at election meetings that the assisted school system will never be disturbed by a Freedom Party Government - thus showing that a Catholic's loyalty to his Church was above his loyalty to his country, to his people, and to his party. Mr, Coomaraswamy's statement naturally caused a great deal of embarrassment to the other Freedom Party Candidates.

When the schools take-over Bill came before the Parliament, Catholic action tried its utmost to prevent it from becoming law. It organized mass protest meetings of Catholics and attempted to get the support of Buddhist monks who were managers of schools to oppose the Government move. It organized parents' rallies, mothers' rallies and students' rallies. It started a character assassination campaign against the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, the Minister of Education and the Prime Minister. The bill became law despite the massive Catholic opposition. Once the Bill became law, however, Catholic Action hired men and women to occupy the Catholic Schools, and thus attempted to prevent the implementation, of the Law. The Government, however, stood firm and the Hierarchy was compelled to get down Cardinal Gracias from India to find a way out of the tangle which they had created for themselves.

Federal Party

To what extent the Catholic Church and Catholic Action has been responsible for bedevilling the relations between the Sinhalese Buddhists and the Tamil Hindus it is difficult to say. The Catholic Church, however, appears to have wielded great influence over Tamil politicians who adopted an anti Sinhala policy or a separatist policy. Messrs G. G. Ponnambalam and C. Suntheralingam recently declared publicly that they took up ministerial posts in the Senanayake Government on the advice of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Jaffna.

The policy of the Roman Catholic Church since Independence, has been to exploit the political and linguistic differences between the Sinhalese Buddhists and the Tamil Hindus, and thus prevent these two communities from being united. A Hindu-Buddhist unity would naturally militate against the expansionist activities of the Catholic Church both in the North and in the South and the Church appears to be determined to prevent this.

In a pamphlet written by Rev. Chas Wickramanayake and circulated among the members of the Diocesan Council of the Church of Ceylon in October, 1958, he says *“Long before the politicians raised the cry, a Bishop of God in Jaffna is said to have raised the cry “Tamil is in peril” and the Christian Church of God in Jaffna is accused of having persisted in this policy, even though a Mrs. Menon from India said that this cry was absurd”*.

A Catholic priest may not write to the Press without the express permission of his Bishop, Canon Law is very clear on the point. It declares that *“any priest who writes articles in daily papers or periodicals without the permission of his Bishop contravenes Canon 1286 of the Code of the Canon Law.”* Tamil Catholic priests like Rev. Fr. Xavier S. Thaninayagam and A. Mathuranayagam, however, not only wrote to the Press against the language policy of the Government and demanded parity of status for Tamil with Sinhala as an official language, but also took an active part in protest meetings and demonstrations organized by the Federal Party over this issue. Rev. Fr. Thaninayagam went so far as to bring grave accusations against the government before foreign audiences. (C. D. N. 15. 8.56) There is no doubt that these Tamil Catholic priests had the blessings of their Hierarchy. We are also aware that Sinhalese Catholic priests like Rev. Fr. Joe Quintus Perera who supported the Government's language policy were silenced by the same Hierarchy by threatening action under the Canon Law.

Next to the United National Party the Federal Party has been subjected to the process of *“Christian penetration”* by Catholic Action. The Federal Party is predominantly a Tamil Party with only a handful of Muslims. It must be pointed out in this connection that while only 7% per cent of the Sinhalese population is Catholic by religion, the percentage of Catholics among the Ceylon Tamils is as high as 21. The pressure of the *“Pope's block votes”* must, therefore, naturally be greater on the Tamil politicians than on the Sinhalese

politicians. This explains why the members of Parliament belonging to the Federal Party have become champions of the Catholic Church and the Catholic Action Movement, inside and outside Parliament. The Federal Party has also toed the Catholic Church's line on all important issues that came up before the Parliament, although their stand has been against the interests of the greater majority of the Tamil Hindus. Some such issues were the Paddy Lands Bill, the Taxation of Religious Bodies Bill and the Schools Take-Over Bill. The Federal Party is also for the continuance of the Catholic domination in the Armed Forces although the Tamil Hindus, just as much as the Sinhalese Buddhists, have been discriminated against by the Catholic High Command in these Forces.

The Press

In its task of *"permeating the temporal order with Christian principles"* Catholic Action in every country pays special attention to the Press. Speaking of the influence of Catholic Action on the American Press, Emmet Mc Loughlin says in his book *"American Culture and Catholic Schools"*:

"The most important channel for Catholic Censorship and propaganda is still the Press. The Hierarchy does its best to keep unfavourable news out of the daily papers and our national magazines. This would include un-American activities of the clergy in other parts of the world, negotiations of the Vatican with totalitarian powers, questionable actions of the American clergy such as the arrest of a priest for drunk and reckless driving (especially with a parishioner's wife in the same car). This censorship is usually achieved through Catholic members of the newspapers' local staff and the ever present Damocles sword of the threat of a subscription boycott of the large Catholic public or an advertising boycott of the Catholic merchants". (Page 140)

The daily press in Ceylon is no less subservient to the Catholic Church than its counterpart in America. Catholic Action has been very successful in infiltrating into both the important newspaper groups in Ceylon. The Times Group of newspapers is in fact managed and edited by militant Catholic Actionists, although some of the important shareholders of the Group are prominent Buddhists like Messrs. Henry Amarasuriya and Donald Ranaweera. This group of papers is well and truly run as a propaganda machine of the Catholic Church, supporting what the Church supports and opposing what the Church opposes. The policy of the Times Group of papers is said to be formulated by no less a person than the Archbishop of Colombo himself.

In the course of an address delivered at the presentation of the Buddhist Commission Report to the Maha Sangha and the Buddhist public at Ananda College on the 4th February, 1956, Mr. L. H. Mettananda referred to the Lake House Newspapers and said:

"The Roman Catholic Church with its vast resources is openly and blatantly exploiting the poverty, the ignorance and the helplessness of the Buddhist masses. The Buddhists have no way of ventilating their grievances and getting them redressed in this

democratic land of ours. The Lake House Newspapers, which support the Government and the Roman Catholic Church, pay no heed to the grievances of the Buddhists. On the other hand these papers publish glowing tributes to the Catholic Clergy and Nuns and prominence to Roman Catholic parades and processions. They also suppress any form of local news critical of or detrimental to the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time they advise the Buddhists to be tolerant. The Dinamina, the Silumina and the Janata fool the Bhikkhus and the Sinhalese reading public, while the Daily News, and the Observer ridicule the Bhikkhus, the Sinhalese teachers and the Ayurvedic physicians and the Sinhalese reading public in general. Government rejoices at all these; so does the Roman Catholic Church."

Mettananda went on to say:

"We are asking that the youth of the country be freed from missionary control. Today it is not only the education of the young that is endangered. The adults receive their education largely through the Press. We have no grievance against the Times, which is a Catholic controlled paper. But we have every right to expect the Lake House Newspapers, the Daily News, the Observer, the Dinamina, the Janata and the Silumina to be run as national News papers. They were started by a great patriot of this country, the late Mr. D. R. Wijewardena, at the request of another patriot, the late Sir D. B. Jayatilake. It was the late Mr. Wijewardena, who left by will two lakhs of rupees for the construction of the University Sangharama. The Lake House Newspapers are now run by his son-in-law, Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe, who happens to be a member of a Christian family. He has filled the editorial staff and other key posts of the Lake House with Christians, especially Roman Catholics. His general policy is to decry the Sinhalese language and Buddhism and to extol the virtues of Christianity and English. He runs his papers as the official organs of vested interests and foreign interests. There is scarcely anything national in his English newspapers. But as his income comes chiefly from the Sinhalese reading public he gives his Sinhalese newspapers a local look which, however, rapidly undergoes a change when it suits him. His inconsistency can be seen from the fact that his English newspapers support English as the State Language and ridicule the Sinhalese medium child as a monkey-faced idiot, and Dutugemunu as a pot-bellied drunkard, while his Sinhalese newspapers appear to support Sinhalese as the State Language and appear to ridicule the denationalized section of our society".

11

CATHOLIC ACTION IN CEYLON (PART II)

Radio Ceylon

More than the Press, the Radio has become today the most potent and powerful instrument for moulding mass opinion; while the Press reaches only the adult and the literate, the Radio reaches both young and old, literate and illiterate. For example, the Radio Ceylon has a listening public ranging from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000, while the Sunday Newspaper with the largest net sales, has a circulation of about 130,000 with a reading public, say about 650,000. This is the position in every country in the world.

For this reason, the Catholic Action Movement in every country is directed by the Vatican to make every effort to infiltrate into the Radio of the country, to obtain the maximum Radio time on it, to disseminate through it views and opinions favourable to the Catholic Church and to suppress views and opinions which are not favourable to it.

It is a practice in democratic countries that all religious broadcasts are confined to exposition of the doctrines pertaining to the particular faith, that they are directed only to members of that particular faith; and that they are not used as a means of converting those of other faiths. It will be agreed that this is a wholesome practice.

But the Catholic Church's aim of religious broadcasts is avowedly the conversion of listeners of other faiths to Catholicism, and as such they are primarily directed to non-Catholics. This was revealed in the course of an article in *"The Annunciation"*, the organ of the Catholic Radio Guild of the British Broadcasting Corporation in its issue for June, 1956 (Page 4).

The Annunciation said:

"Our religious programmes are not directed principally to Catholic audiences. They are aimed at the non-Catholics and more particularly at the non-Christians. What then is the aim of the Catholic priest in front of the microphone? Assuredly, it is to bring as many as possible within the fold of the Church. And, let it be noted, that the B.B.C. assumes that this is his aim. It encourages him to pursue it; it will make the most of his abilities. It is my conviction that if we are true to our evangelical doctrines and simple and fervent in proclaiming them we shall under God yet bring our country to the old faith".

So, the Catholic Church's aim is to use the B.B.C., an organization maintained with public funds to Catholicize England, a predominantly Protestant country!

The Catholic Action Group in Radio Ceylon like its counterpart in the B.B.C., appears to assume that it is their primary duty to use their official positions in Radio Ceylon to Catholicize Ceylon.

The Catholic Church's task of infiltrating into Radio Ceylon was facilitated by the U.N.P. Government's importing Mr. John Lampson, a devout Catholic, and placing him as the Director-General of Broadcasting. Incidentally, Mr. Lampson was recruited more or less at the same time the noted Catholic Actionist, Dr. H. W. Howes was recruited as the Director of Education and both of them worked in close co-operation in organizing programmes for Radio Ceylon.

Mr. Lampson was virtually given a free hand by the then Government in the matter of recruiting staff of Radio Ceylon and he saw to it that every position of vantage, every position of importance, whether it be a Programmes Assistant's post, an Announcer's post, a Receptionists post, Technical Assistant post, an Engineer's post or even a Stenographer's post, was filled by a loyal agent of the Catholic Church. If Buddhists received any consideration at his hands, they were either those who had come under the influence of the Church through their Roman Catholic spouses, or those who were indifferent toward their religion and were prepared to toe the Catholic Action line. In this connection, it is interesting to note that for the last twelve years the post of Establishment Clerk in Charge of programmes Personnel in Radio Ceylon has been held by a Roman Catholic - the brother of a well known Roman Catholic priest. Another Roman Catholic, a brother of yet another Roman Catholic priest, served as the Office Assistant, Radio Ceylon for a number of years.

A glaring case of discrimination as well as dishonesty on the part of Radio Ceylon authorities at the time was the recruitment of a number of men and women as stenographers who did not have even an elementary knowledge of shorthand? These men and women were appointed to key positions as Secretaries to Staff Officers and drew salaries appropriate to the Stenographers Grade. A test conducted about five years later revealed that, even after that long period, they had not obtained any proficiency in stenography. They were, therefore demoted as typists. It was strongly rumoured that these "stenographers" had first registered themselves at the Roman Catholic Employment Exchange, and had been sent for interviews through the Government Employment Exchange, which worked in close co-operation with the Catholic Employment Exchange at the time.

In order to accommodate Roman Catholic candidates, the Radio Ceylon authorities at one stage changed the procedure connected with the recruitment of Junior Technical Assistants. Instead of recruiting them through the Central Employment Exchange, to the Colombo Head Office, arrangements were made to recruit them through the Negombo

Employment Exchange to the Ekala Transmitting Station. The large majority of registrants at the Negombo Exchange were naturally Roman Catholics.

During Colonial times more Radio time was given to Christian denominations for their religious broadcasts than to the Buddhists or Hindus, and this practice was continued after the country became Independent. It was as a result of the persisted efforts made by the Venerable Narada Maha Thero that due weightage was given to the Buddhist programmes.

Christian propaganda on the Commercial Service continued to be broadcast on the Commercial Service until 1956, when, on the representations made by the Venerable Narada Maha Thero, the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, ruled that the Commercial Service should not be used as a medium of religious propaganda.

Until very recently, the Programmes Organizer in Charge of the English Buddhist Programmes was a Roman Catholic lady. A former Director General of Broadcasting, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, said at a conference held at the Ministry of Education 23rd February, 1962 that the poor quality of Buddhist (English) programmes was *"more or less due to the carelessness"* of this lady and that "she, being a Roman Catholic, seemed to have some Sort of prejudice". Mr. de Mel was putting things somewhat mildly. On a previous occasion at a conference between the representatives of the Bauddha Pracharaka Sabha and the Radio officials, with the Director General presiding, this lady branded as a "turncoat" a gentleman who had become a convert to Buddhism from Catholicism, and who was the author of several books on Buddhism.

The policy pursued by the Catholic actionists in Radio Ceylon appears to have been to keep particularly the English Buddhist Programmes at the lowest possible level and to eliminate from them on some pretext or other all those speakers who laid emphasis on the non existence of a Creator God and of a permanent soul; two doctrines which are fundamental to Buddhism.

On the other hand, Catholic and Christian priests were allowed full freedom to propagate the idea of a Creator God and that of a permanent soul. Catholic priests were even allowed to appeal directly to non Catholics *"to acknowledge the Mother God and to seek refuge in her"*, as was done in the course of a sermon on the occasion of the 500th Novena at the All Saints' Church, Borella broadcast over Radio Ceylon.

On 25th January, 1962, the Christian hymn *"Onward Christian Soldiers"*, was played outside the normal Christian programme on the National Service. Of course such pieces as Schubert's Ave Maria, Handel's Messiah, etc, with a Christian religious significance are often broadcast over Radio Ceylon and many non-Christians listen to them with delight and appreciate them for the lofty music in them. But *"Onward Christian Soldiers"* is a hymn of quite a different category. It urges the Christians against the heathens; as will be seen from its contents:

*"Onward, Christian Soldiers,
Marching as to war,
with the Cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Christ the Royal Master
Leads against the foe;
Forward into battle,
See, His banners go!"*

*"Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as go war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before."*

*"At the sign of triumph
Satan's host doth flee;
On then; Christian soldiers,
On to victory.
Hell's foundations quiver,
At the-shout of praise;
Brothers, lift your voices,
Loud your anthems raise."*

"Onward, &c."

*"Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God;
Brothers, we are treading
Where the Saints have trod;
We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity."*

"Onward, &c."

*"Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane,
But the Church of Jesus
Constant will remain;
Gates of hell can never
'Gainst that Church prevail;
We have Christ's own promise,
And that cannot fail."*

"Onward, &c."

*“Onward, then, ye people,
Join our happy throng,
Blend, with ours your voices
In the triumph song;
Glory, laud and honour'
Unto Christ the King,
This through countless ages
Men and Angels Sing”.*

“Onward, &c.”

On 25th January 1962 Radio Ceylon broadcast this militant hymn. On 26th January 1962 information was received by the Government about an alleged coup d'état, and on the 27th January, a number of Army and Police officers were arrested and taken into custody in this connection. With the exception of two or three, all those who were taken in as suspects were either Catholics or Christians.

The broadcasting of the militant hymn *“Onward Christian Soldiers”* on 25th January, 1962, may have been a mere coincidence or the Catholic Actionists in Radio Ceylon may have been aware of the shape of things to come!

Education

The Roman Catholic Church claims the right to educate not only Catholic children, but also non-Catholic children. Pope Pius XI says in his Encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929) which is known as the Bible of Catholic education:

“Education is first and super-eminently the function of the Church, and this by a twofold supernatural title which God has conferred upon her alone and which therefore transcends in authority and validity any title of the natural order ... The Church's mission in the sphere of education extends to all peoples, to all places, and to all times, according to the command of Christ: “Teach ye all nations” and there is no power on earth that can legitimately oppose or hinder it.”

“It concerns in the first place all the faithful, for whom she has the greatest care and solicitude of a most loving mother ...”

“... her educational mission extends also to unbelievers, for the destiny of entering the Kingdom of God and attaining eternal life is appointed to all men”.

This means that the educational policy of even a predominantly non-Catholic country like Ceylon must be formulated having regard primarily to the so-called super-natural rights of the Catholic Church. It also means that the Church must be given a free hand in

education and the State must recognize the Church's right not only to educate the Catholic children, but also non-Catholic children. Matters such as the needs of the country, the aims and aspirations of its people, its historical background and its religious composition and the State's obligation to give equal levels of opportunities to all in education are but secondary. That is precisely what the Catholic Union of Ceylon means when it says that *"in matters such as education ... the due subordination of the State to the Church is the indispensable condition of harmonious co-operation between them"*.

On the other hand, a Government, which ignores the so-called supernatural rights of the Church and adopts policies in the sphere of education, which are designed to serve the larger interests of the people, will be treated as a hostile Government by the Church and the faithful will be advised to resist it, to foment opposition against it and even to revolt against it and overthrow it.

We shall now see how, from the time this country became independent, the Catholic Church has tried on the one hand to obstruct and even sabotage all progressive measures in the field of education and on the other hand to force, often successfully, papal doctrines on education on the Government of a predominantly non-Catholic Country.

During the last lap of the British Colonial rule, in 1947 to be precise, a Bill designed to provide for free education from the Kindergarten to the University was passed and became law after assent by the Secretary for Colonies in the British Government. The Bill was framed in accordance with the recommendation of the Special Committee on Education set up by the Government in 1943.

The Bill was opposed bitterly by the Roman Catholic Church and the ruling Party which feared the Catholic block vote was not very enthusiastic about its passage into law. However, owing to the massive support given to the Bill by the Buddhists and to the untiring efforts of Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara, the then Minister of Education, it ultimately became the law of the land.

There were two important provisions in the Education Bill against which the Church fought a last ditch battle. It was also precisely these two provisions that the Buddhists most enthusiastically supported. They were:

- a) the grant of free education from Kindergarten to the University and
- b) the payment of grants out of public funds *"only in respect of pupils whose parents profess the religion of the proprietor of the school"*.

Although the Bill became law with these two provisions included, the Church did not admit defeat. It began to work behind the scenes to nullify the effects of these provisions.

In 1947 General Elections were held and Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara, who was hailed as the Father of Free Education, was defeated at the polls, mainly owing to the half-hearted support given by his Party leaders. The campaign of vilification and character-assassination carried on by Catholic Action against Dr. Kannangara was in no small measure responsible for his defeat.

In 1948 Ceylon became independent. One of the first acts of the National Government was to recruit as the Director of Education Dr. Henry William Howes, a Roman Catholic, who was then functioning as the Director of Education in the tiny British Catholic Colony of Gibraltar. Dr. Howes was known in England more as a leading light of the Catholic Action Movement, than as an educationist. The new Director's primary task was to implement the new Education Ordinance. Incidentally, this was the first time after the founding of the Education Department during the British Colonial period that a Roman Catholic was appointed to guide the destinies of our children, and there is every reason to believe that he was got down at the instance of the Church *"to heal the wound inflicted on the Church by Dr. Kannangara"*.

From the time Dr. Howes became the Director of Education, he began blatantly to discriminate against the Buddhists and to favour the Catholics and the Christians.

Dr. Howes' policy of discrimination against the Buddhists in the matter of grading schools became a public scandal. Catholic and Christian schools were accorded preferential treatment and Buddhist and Hindu schools were discriminated against. The following were the results of Dr. Howes' grading of schools as on 1st -January 1955:

	Buddhist	Hindu	Christian & Catholic
Collegiate Schools	9	12	35
Posts of Principal	9	12	35
(Rs. 5,520 - 9,360)			
Grade I Teachers	36	48	140
Senior Schools	15	9	32
Posts of Principal	15	9	32
(Rs. 3,660 - 6.,540)			
Grade II Teachers	60	36	128
Junior Schools	31	21	138
Posts of Principal	31	21	138
(Rs. 3,600 - 5,820)			

During the time of grading schools, Catholic Schools were informed well in advance of the dates on which Education Department officers would visit a particular school for the purpose of grading it. These schools were thus enabled to borrow laboratory equipment from elsewhere and qualify themselves for upgrading. Officials of the Department connived in these underhand activities.

On the contrary, Buddhist schools were not given prior notice of these official visits and applications from Buddhist schools were rejected on the most trivial grounds. Thus leading schools like Sri Sumangala, Panadura, Moratu Vidyalaya, Moratuwa, Sri Rahula Vidyalaya, Matara and Anula Vidyalaya, Nugegoda were refused upgrading.

Applications for higher status made by Buddhist Schools were rejected on the ground that no more schools would be upgraded during a specified time, under a proposed system of division. Yet during the same period, the Chilaw Catholic Boys' School received Grade I status.

The net result of Dr. Howes' discriminatory activities was that the Government was committed to spend on a Catholic child annually twice as much as on either a Buddhist or a Hindu or a Muslim child. In 1959, the year immediately before the new Education Bill enabling the take-over of all assisted schools became law, the Government was spending approximately Rs. 120/- per annum on a child attending a Roman Catholic school while it was spending only about Rs. 60/- per annum on a child attending either a Buddhist or a Hindu or a Muslim or a State School.

If the idea of the framers of the Education Ordinance of 1947 was to give equal levels of opportunities to all children regardless of class, creed or race, that was very cleverly and systematically defeated by the discriminatory policy pursued by Dr. H. W. Howes.

Dr. Howes also appointed a number of Catholics as Principals of Central Schools and posted them to schools in predominantly Buddhist areas. Even Matrons appointed to these Central Schools by Dr. Howes were largely Roman Catholics and instances have been reported where these Principals and Matrons obstructed Buddhist religious activities in these schools.

SCHOOLS WITH SCIENCE CLASSES			SCHOOLS WITH UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE (SCIENCE) CLASSES		
			PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND TUTORIES EXCLUDED		
DISTRICT	POPULATION		NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		
A'PURA	★★★★★		△		
BADULLA	★★★★★★★★★		△△		
B'CALOA	★★★★★★		△△△		
CHILAW	★★★★		△		
COLOMBO	★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△		
	★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△		
GALLE	★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△		
HAM'TOTA	★★★★				
JAFFNA	★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△		
			△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△△		
KALUTARA	★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△△△△△△		
KANDY	★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△△△△△△△△		
KEGALLE	★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△		
K'NEGALA	★★★★★★★★★★★		△△△△△		
MANNAR	★				
MATALE	★★★★		△△△		
MATARA	★★★★★★★★		△△△△		
N'ELIYA	★★★★★★		△△		
PUTTALAM	★				
RATNAPURA	★★★★★★★★★★		△△△		
TRINCO	★★		△		
VAVUNIYA	★				
EACH ★ REPRESENTS 50,000					

Prepared on the basis of the information given in the Final Report of the National Education Commission. (S. C. XVII , 1962)

We referred earlier to the law relating to the payment of grants to assisted schools only in respect of pupils whose parents professed the religion of the proprietor and to the opposition of the Church to this law. The Government of Independent Ceylon would not implement this salutary provision enacted by a Colonial Government! It was almost surreptitiously repealed in 1951 on the representations made by the Roman Catholic Archbishop and on the recommendation made by the Catholic Actionist Dr. Howes. Thus within a short period of 8 years the Roman Catholic Church was successful in more than recouping the ground it lost in the field of education as a result of the 1947 Education Act.

We do not propose to refer to many other acts of discrimination against the Buddhists on the part of Dr. Howes, as space does not permit us to do so.

Nor do we propose to deal with the activities of the Catholic Action Movement during the recent controversy over the Schools Take-over Bill. It is recent history and reference has been already made to these activities, though briefly, in our earlier pages.

It must be mentioned however that in recent times the Catholic Church has opposed every progressive and popular move in the sphere of education. It was opposed to free education; to making the mother tongue the medium of instruction, to imparting higher education and science education in Sinhala, to the teaching of Buddhism to Buddhist children in State schools and to a national and unified system of education.

Public Service Commission

We referred earlier to the composition of the P. S. C. under our first National Government, and how the P. S. C. consistently discriminated against Buddhist candidates to posts in the Public Service by the simple device of appointing non-Buddhist high officials to selection boards. The process was accelerated from 1952 when for the first time a Roman Catholic Civil Servant became the Secretary to the P. S. C. To what lengths Catholic high officials would go to obtain place and preferment for fellow Catholics can be seen from some of the actions of this officer during his tenure of office as the Secretary to the P. S. C.

In 1953, he was successful in persuading the P. S. G. to promote a junior Accountant, a Catholic, who held a minor post in the Postal Department, over the heads of 23 of his seniors, the majority of whom functioned in very responsible positions as Chief Accountants and Deputy Chief Accountants of large Departments, who held higher academic and professional qualifications, who held unblemished records of service and who had far wider experience.

This promotion, which was made against the recommendation of the then Secretary to the Treasury and in the teeth of opposition of the Accountants' Service Association, was a flagrant violation of the Public Service Regulations.

The promotee later retired from Public Service on the ground that he was not proficient in the Official Language.

The majority of scholarships under the Colombo Plan and other Schemes went to Roman Catholics during this officer's tenure as the Secretary of the P. S. C.

In 1955, another Roman Catholic officer belonging to the Accountants' Service was promoted by the P. S. C. over the heads of two of his colleagues, both of whom were Hindus. Although the latter was highly recommended by the then Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. L. J. de S. Seneviratne, the recommendation was ignored. Here again, Roman Catholic pressure was at work on the P. S. C. to secure the promotion of the Catholic Officer.

We are also informed that, with one solitary exception, all the merit promotions in the Accountants' Service were given to non-Buddhists; Catholics and Christians receiving the larger share.

More recently, the Roman Catholic pressure group tried its utmost to get a Roman Catholic Deputy Commissioner of Labour, appointed as the Commissioner. We shall comment on the anti-national activities of this officer under the head 'Labour Department.'

Ministry of Defence and External Affairs

Adrian Pigott says in his pamphlet on "Catholic Action." *"Collecting information about local trends, opinions and prominent personages is one of the tasks of Catholic Action Members. The Bishop of each diocese sends these collections of information to the Vatican Intelligence Department, which receives every week hundreds of similar parcels from all parts of the world, with the possible exception of Russia and China. They come from places stretching from Tahiti to Timbuctoo, from Persia to Patagonia. The contents of these parcels are then examined by a body of experts who specialise in sifting out the wheat from the chaff. Any valuable items of interest are carefully card-indexed and filed in the appropriate dossier pertaining to the country concerned. Scotland Yard has a similar system of cleverly collected evidence for use when required. Every five years each Roman Catholic Bishop travels to Rome and gives to the Vatican Intelligence Department an account of the position in his diocese."*

"Thus the Pope has at his disposal an up-to date picture of the local conditions existing in every part of the world, thanks to the devoted efforts of his Catholic Action workers. Like a giant octopus the Supreme Pontiff remains with his head in Rome and his tentacles stretching out to the uttermost parts of the earth where his fanatical servants await any command which he may care to give, should an occasion arise."

What better source of information can there be for the Catholic Hierarchy than the Foreign Office of the Government of a country?

It is the Foreign Office of a country which gets vital information about the country's relations with other countries. It is again the Foreign Office which receives intelligence on military matters and on internal security. In Ceylon the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, the equivalent of the Foreign Office in other countries, receives in addition information regarding political parties, party leaders and their doings and also information regarding trends in public opinion. This information would be normally treated as top secret by the Defence Ministry.

Catholic Action in every country is therefore directed by the Vatican to make special efforts to infiltrate into the Foreign Office of the country, so that it may gain access to vital information and pass on the information to the Vatican's local agents, the Hierarchy. Adrian Pigott says in the pamphlet quoted above *"Our (British) Foreign Office, the most inefficient of our Ministry Departments, is riddled with Roman Catholics."*

Dr. Nathaniel Micklem confirms Pigott's observations in his book *Papalism and Politics* and refers to the leakage of information from the British Foreign Office to the Vatican. He says: *"I am disquieted to find that the Vatican appears to have sources of information other than public information and diplomatic exchanges."*

"But, to confine myself for the moment to the record here dealing with Great Britain, I am troubled to find that information of a very secret character seems to reach the Vatican through sources other than that of Her Majesty's Minister to the Vatican. Subject to correction, it seems to me that the Vatican has a secret service which other States might envy, or that the Foreign Office sometimes passes on to private citizens information which I venture to say, should be kept strictly secret or that there is a serious "leakage" from the Foreign Office." (Page 33).

Our own Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has been very successfully infiltrated into by the Catholic Action Movement and there is not the least doubt that secret information is regularly passed on to the local Hierarchy for transmission to the Vatican. Until recently a number of key staff posts were held by Roman Catholics. Even among the subordinate staff an undue proportion comprised Roman Catholics.

A Roman Catholic Assistant Secretary of the Ministry recruited to the post of the Ministry's Telephone operator, no less a person than the Roman Catholic Archbishop's Telephone Operator. This fact came to the notice of the authorities during the schools take-over controversy and the Telephone Operator was transferred to another Department.

Four out of the five Cipher Clerks attached to the Ministry are Roman Catholics. The fifth is a Protestant Christian. Their duty is to code and decode the Government's secret correspondence with our Embassies abroad.

The Confidential Stenographer to the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and External Affairs until recently was a Roman Catholic. When there was a Cabinet crisis during the time of Mr. Bandaranaike, this gentleman was heard to raise the slogan "*Recall Sir John*", a parody on "*Recall de Gaulle*" slogan raised in France during the same period.

An Assistant Secretary, the very same person who recruited the Archbishop's Telephone Operator as the Ministry's Telephone Operator, was in the habit of utilising the services of a Ministry stenographer, herself a Catholic, in typing letters and other correspondence pertaining to Catholic Action. He is also alleged to have fraudulently drawn a monthly allowance from a charitable organization of which he was the Hony. Secretary by forging the signature of a Catholic Typist attached to the Ministry. Instead of prosecuting him for a criminal offence, he was allowed to retire at the optional age of retirement with a handsome pension!

Armed Forces

We have mentioned earlier how our first 'National Government' manned over 75% of the staff posts in each of the three Armed Forces with Roman Catholics at the inauguration of these Forces immediately after we became independent. Once the Roman Catholics "captured" the Armed Services they saw to it that their original strength was maintained unimpaired throughout. More than 75% of the Cadets taken in by the three Armed Forces for training as Staff Officers between 1949 and 1961 were Roman Catholics and Christians. Again, more than 75% of men from the ranks promoted to Staff Grades during the same period were Roman Catholic and Christians.

The strange thing about these promotions from the ranks is that although the rank and file in the Army comprise nearly 80% Buddhists, Roman Catholics have been given preference in the matter of promotions in practically every unit and all along the line.

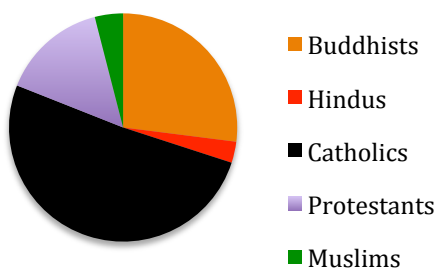
As the Venerable Narada Maha Thero queried in his open letter to the late Prime Minister in 1957, "*During the last twenty five years Ananda. and Nalanda have reigned supreme in cadetting and won the competitions. How is it that they fail to fill a larger number of places in the Armed Services and the Police?*"

Venerable Narada Maha Thero also pointed out to our national leaders the danger to the country in having our Armed Forces dominated by a group belonging to a militant minority. But that warning appears to have fallen on deaf ears. In the meantime, the Damocles' sword of a Catholic Dictatorship hangs over the head of Mother Lanka!

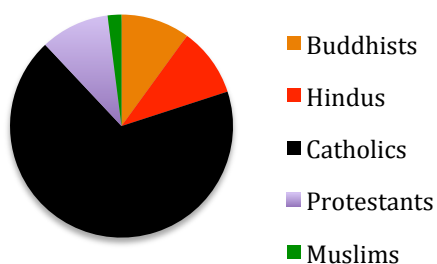
ARMED SERVICES

DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF POSTS ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS IN THE ARMED SERVICES AND THE POLICE

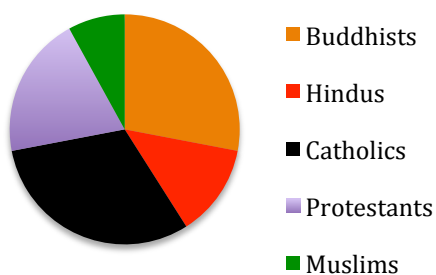
Army



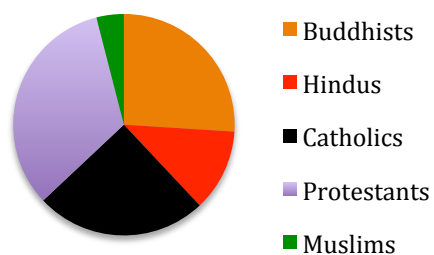
Navy



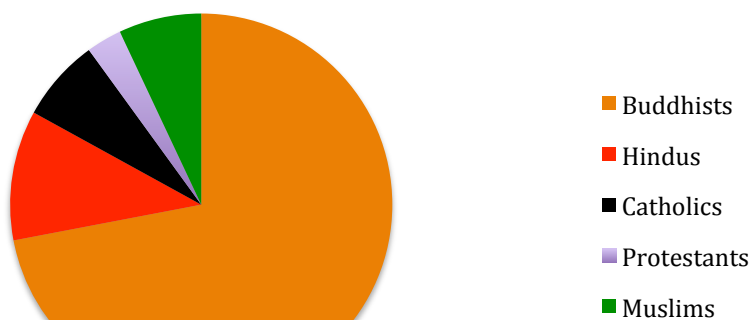
Air Force



Police



Total Population



Only citizens of Ceylon have been included

Prepared on the basis of the information given in the Hansard of 16. 2. 1962 (Vol: 16 No. 11).

The Ministry of Home Affairs

During the Financial Years 1955-56, the then Government obtained supplementary provision in a sum of Rs. 196,000th for celebrating the Buddha Jayanthi, a festival commemorating the 2,500 year after the Decease of the Buddha. The control of this money was vested in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

In July, 1951, there was a severe drought in Mannar District where the Roman Catholic shrine, the "*Church of Our Lady of Madhu*" is situated and the Commissioner of Local Government suggested that a number of wells be sunk in the Madhu tank bed and the water be pumped to meet the needs of the pilgrims during the pilgrim season. Certain Roman Catholic Officers saw in this suggestion an opportunity of obtaining a perennial water supply to the Madhu Church at Government expense and prepared a scheme accordingly. These Catholic Officers of the Ministry diverted a sum of Rs. 53,100 from the Buddha Jayanthi Fund for this purpose without obtaining either the Home Minister's authority or Treasury authority. They also diverted the material used in connection with the Buddha Jayanthi celebrations at Anuradhapura to Madhu Church for the same purpose.

Altogether the following amounts were spent in the Madhu Water supply Scheme.

1955 – 56 -	Rs. 53,100
1956 - 57 -	Rs. 16,500
1657 - 58 -	Rs. 95,000
1958 - 59 -	<u>Rs. 96,000</u>
Total	Rs.2,60,600

The last three sums were spent with Treasury authority.

The officers who sponsored the Scheme and brought it to a fruition were the then Senior Assistant Secretary of the Home Ministry, the then Government Agent of Mannar, the then Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health, the Chief Health Engineer and his Assistant. All these officers were Roman Catholics.

During the latter part of the same period, when a Buddhist Civil Servant became the Senior Assistant Secretary, the Ministry of Home Affairs applied to the Treasury for authority to spend a sum of Rs. 50,000 to provide sanitary facilities at Sri Pada for the Buddhist pilgrims. This was, however, turned down by the Treasury.

In the printed Estimates for 1958/59 a sum of Rs. 100,000 was voted for prevention of sea erosion in the entire coastal area of Ceylon. The Home Ministry's Catholic Officials submitted a Cabinet Memorandum proposing to spend Rs. 50,000 out of this money for putting up a barrier along the coast to prevent the damage done to the Talavila Church cemetery by sea erosion. These officers were not concerned that hundreds of houses of

the living were being washed away by the sea in other areas! This proposal was, however, turned down by the Treasury.

An Assistant Secretary to the Ministry, a Catholic, was instructed by the Minister to draft a Cabinet memorandum proposing to make the Madhu Church area a Holy Area. This officer smuggled into the Cabinet Memorandum a clause recommending the grant of all land within a radius of three miles of the Madhu Chrine to the Roman Catholic Church, i. e., about 20,000 acres. Fortunately, the then Minister of Home Affairs rejected the draft Cabinet Memorandum.

The General Treasury

Even in the more enlightened latter days of British rule, there were certain Government Departments which were considered “out of bounds” for the Buddhists. The Governor’s Office, the Chief Secretary’s Office, the Financial Secretary’s Office, the General Treasury and the Customs Department were some of them.

After Independence, the Chief Secretary’s Office and the Financial Secretary’s Office were merged in the General Treasury and even under the democratic and independent set-up, the policy of keeping the Buddhists out of key positions in the General Treasury is being continued. Even today out of the 34 staff posts in the General Treasury as many as 26 are being held by non-Buddhists, (vide National Education Commission Report 1961 P. 220).

The larger majority of senior clerks attached to this Department are also non-Buddhists. There are a large number of Senior Buddhist Civil Servants who have never had the opportunity of working in this key Department. If Buddhist Civil Servants, Accountants and Clerks are posted to the Treasury they are shunted out within a short time, while non-Buddhists officers generally stay put.

Since the coming of Independence, the General Treasury has become the citadel of reaction. Members of Parliament and even Ministers of successive Governments have often complained bitterly about its reactionary attitude. While it readily allows financial provision for grandiose building schemes like the Irrigation Department's Headquarters at Buller’s Road, which cost the tax payer Rs. 2,500,000, it has always been niggardly in allowing monetary provision for the Education Department's school building programme. Only a close investigation by experts can indicate how far the General Treasury’s fiscal policy has been responsible for the financial crisis the Government is now facing.

The General Treasury is in charge of appointments and transfers of officers belonging to the combined services, such as the Civil Service, the Accountants’ Service, the Clerical Services, the Stenographers’ Service and the Typists’ Service, and there is reason to believe that it uses this power to deploy Catholic Actionists in strategic positions in

various Government Departments, particularly in those Departments in whose activities the Catholic Church has an interest.

The Catholic Church for example has a vested interest in the Fishing Industry by virtue of the 10% tithe it levies on the Roman Catholic fishermen and the Treasury has seen to it that the officers belonging to the combined services such as Accountants, Clerks, Stenographers and Typists are in the main Roman Catholics or non-Buddhists. Until recently, the Director of Fisheries, an officer belonging to the Ceylon Civil Service was a leading Catholic Actionist and he administered the Department more as an adjunct of the Roman Catholic Church than as a Government Department. We shall comment on the discriminatory activities of this officer later.

A Commission was appointed by the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike to examine the marriage and divorce laws of the country and to make suitable recommendations to bring them into line with modern trends. The Commission presented its report in 1958 and several recommendations have been made in it to liberalise our marriage and divorce laws and also to do away with certain privileges now enjoyed by Christian and Catholic priests in connection with Church marriages. In the meantime a Roman Catholic Civil Servant reputed to be a leading Catholic Actionist has been appointed as the Registrar General and it is a safe bet that the recommendations of the Commission will not be implemented. These are certain Government Agents' posts which are invariably filled either by Roman Catholics, or by Christians. They are those in Colombo, Kalutara and Mannar. Is it a coincidence that these are the three Districts in Ceylon where Roman Catholics and other Christians are concentrated?

The posts of Civilian Administrative Officers in the three Armed Forces are, as a rule, filled by either Catholic or Christian Officers belonging to the Accountants' Service. The Stenographers' posts in the Ministries, the Public Service Commission Office and other important Departments such as the Treasury are invariably filled by Roman Catholics. These Stenographers have access to all the secret correspondence of the Ministries and the Departments.

In March, 1953, for the first time in the history of the institution, a Buddhist Civil Servant, Mr. L. J. de S. Seneviratne was appointed as the Deputy Secretary to the Treasury. Subsequently he became the Secretary to the Treasury. Mr. Seneviratne brought into the Treasury a number of Buddhist Civil Servants within the short period he served as the Secretary to the Treasury.

In 1956, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike came into power. It will be remembered that it was the support given by the Buddhist masses that gave Mr. Bandaranaike's party a land-slide victory.

For the first time since the coming of Parliamentary Government, a Roman Catholic, Mr. Stanley de Zoysa was appointed as the Minister of Finance and one of his first acts was

to retire Mr. L. J. de S. Seneviratne compulsorily and bring in a Roman Catholic, Mr. S. F. Amerasinghe to fill in the vacancy created by Mr. Seneviratne's retirement. It must be pointed out that Mr. Amerasinghe was not the most Senior Permanent Secretary at the time. The most Senior Permanent Secretary was Mr. Gunasena de Zoysa - a Buddhist. Apparently Mr. Stanley de Zoysa was very keen in having a Roman Catholic as his Permanent Secretary and Secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. Amerasinghe's bias in favour of Roman Catholic institutions was clearly shown in the now famous Aquinas affair.

The Colombo Plan Aid was formulated on two basic principles:

1. That the aid given under the Scheme was to be utilized for the development of underdeveloped countries. This meant that the aid should be utilized for the Common good.
2. That the aid must be given on a Government-to-Government basis so that the receiving Government may utilize same having regard to the needs of the country.

Arrangements, however were made in direct violation of these two principles for certain foreign Governments to give aid under the Colombo Plan in the form of science teachers, scientific equipment, science books, etc. to Aquinas College, a fee levying institution managed by the Roman Catholic Church. This at a time when State schools were sorely in need of scientific equipment and science books. It is true that the late Prime Minister assented to this arrangement. It is obvious, however, that the full facts of the case were not presented to him. In any event this was a matter where Cabinet approval was necessary in as much as it involved an entirely new principle.

The persons responsible for granting this special privilege to Aquinas College were Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, the then Finance Minister, Mr. S. F. Amerasinghe, the then Secretary to the Treasury and Mr. W. Dahanayake, the then Minister of Education. The first two are Catholics while the third, though a nominal Buddhist, has earned titles such as the *"Defender of the Faith"* and *"Father Dahanayake"* owing to his being the mouthpiece of the Catholic Church in Parliament.

Incidentally it must be mentioned that several applications from Buddhist educational institutions were turned down on the ground that Colombo Plan Aid was not meant for private institutions.

Catholic officers who would not normally stoop to bribery and corruption are often prepared to go to any length where a co-religionist is involved. A Catholic business magnate who has the reputation of being a racketeer, successfully tendered for the purchase of some 200 tons of scrap iron from the Government. One of the conditions attached to the contract was that the successful tenderer should remove the material from the Ratmalana Railway Yard within 3 months of the signing of the contract.

Treasury Catholic officers allowed this tenderer to keep the scrap iron at the Yard for nearly one year until the price of scrap iron went up in the world market. By virtue of the Treasury officials' accommodating attitude the business magnate was able to rake in a large profit.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Ministry of Trade and Commerce Tender Board rejected an overseas tender on the ground that it was received 30 minutes late.

The development of things indigenous like Ayurveda is apparently not in keeping with Vatican policies and Catholics in high positions in Government Service do not hesitate to obstruct and even to sabotage the Government's efforts in this direction. A case in point is the attempt on the part of two senior Catholic Civil Servants to obstruct the Department of Indigenous Medicine's project to build an Ayurvedic Hospital at Anuradhapura and to effect improvements to the Hospital of Indigenous Medicine, Colombo.

Estimates for these two projects were sent to the Treasury through the Ministry of Health well in time, in accordance with the Financial Regulations, to be included in the Draft Estimates of 1960-61.

The then Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health, a devout Catholic, not only delayed to forward them but also misinformed the Minister of Health by stating that the Estimates had been forwarded to the Treasury.

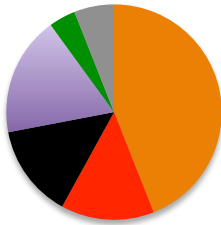
When it was discovered that the Estimates had not reached the Treasury in time (in terms of the F. RR.) to be included in the Draft Estimates, the Prime Minister herself gave an order to the effect that the two items be included notwithstanding the delay in their being received in the Treasury. The Treasury official, another devout Catholic, carried out the Prime Minister's order, but in a manner to nullify it. He inserted a wrong set of figures in the Draft Estimates. The total estimated cost was shown as Rs. 300,000 instead of Rs. 1,080,000 in one case and Rs. 300,000 was shown instead of Rs. 1,025,000 in the other case. This was discovered only after the Appropriation Bill became law and naturally the Public Works Department was unable to proceed with the projects that year.

This incident also shows how some Catholic high officials would even go to the extent of nullifying a direction given by the Prime Minister of the country.

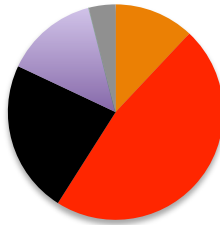
STAFF POSTS KEY SERVICES

DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF POSTS IN SOME KEY SERVICES

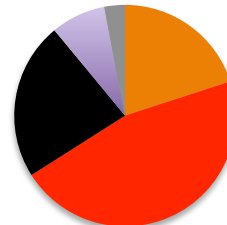
Civil Service



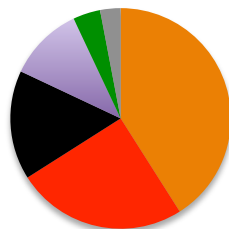
Audit Service



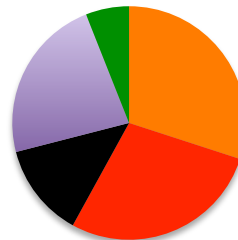
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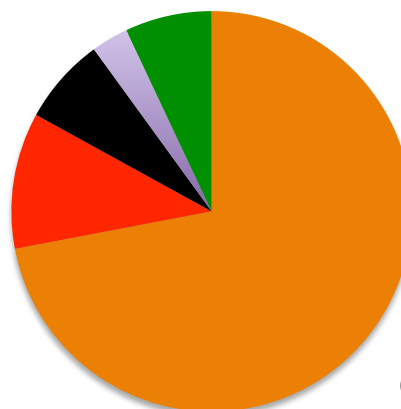
Health Services



Sales



Total Population



- Buddhists
- Hindus
- Catholics
- Protestants
- Muslims
- Others

Only citizens of Ceylon
have been included

Prepared on the basis of the information given in the Final Report of the National Education Commission. (S. P. XVII - 1962)

The National Housing Department

When the first set of Government Flats at Bambalapitiya were allocated it was found that out of 88 Flats as many as 59 had been allocated to Roman Catholics, 12 had been allocated to Buddhists, 11 to Hindus and 6 to Muslims. When the question was raised as to how so large a proportion of Flats went to the Roman Catholics, it was said in explanation that most of the Roman Catholic allottees were those who had submitted petitions to “Our Lady of Perpetual Succour” at the All Saint’s Church, Borella, asking her to obtain housing accommodation for them, and had attended the Novenas regularly and prayed to her for this favour. Two facts, however, created the suspicion that it was not purely divine intervention that was at work. A good many of the Roman Catholic applicants had given false information in their applications and had misled the Housing Department. It was also found that a Roman Catholic Nun, a sister of one of the high officials of the Department, had acted as an intermediary between the Petition Bureau attached to the All Saint’s Church at Borella and certain Roman Catholic Staff Officers in the Housing Department. Immediately after this disclosure a Roman Catholic high official of the Housing Department resigned his post.

The National Housing Department also used the provisions of the Land Acquisition Ordinance to purchase land at Pita-Kotte, the ownership of which was in dispute and transfer it to a society called the CAM Housing Society Ltd. The Department also granted loans to the society to build 31 houses on this land at the rate of Rs. 35,000 per house. In addition, the Housing Department spent Rs. 17,540. 35 on the water supply to this housing estate, and Rs. 11,696.07 on the electric supply.

In 1957 the Cabinet decided to restrict housing loans to Rs. 15,000. But the Department waived this restriction in the case of the members of the CAM Housing Society who applied for loans after the Cabinet had made this decision.

Why was such favoured and exceptional treatment accorded to this Society? The reason becomes obvious when we know that the letters CAM really represent the Catholic Action Movement and that the President of this Society is none other than the Very Rev. Father Peter Pillai, former Rector of St. Joseph’s College and Director of the Catholic Action Movement in Ceylon.

Labour Department

Senator C. D. S. Siriwardena writing to *the Buddhist Opinion* of February, 1959 said; *“I know there is a Catholic Employment Exchange, and I am reliably informed that the Protestants have a similar institution. In the Catholic Employment Exchange the principal officer was till late a staff officer of the Government Employment Exchange. Many instances of how he used his office for the purpose of discriminating against Buddhist applicants for posts, to provide employment for those sent up by the Employment Section of the Petition Bureau of the All Saints’ Church Borella came to my notice. I*

placed these facts before the Hon. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister for Labour. I understand on good authority that when asked for explanation, the officer concerned resigned his post. The incidents reported by me have been proved to-be true”.

Mr. Siriwardena continued:

“There is also the case of another Roman Catholic Officer of the Government Employment Exchange who created two posts of Sinhalese Translators so that one of them may be given to a certain woman referred to him by the same institution. Having rejected as unfit six unemployed Buddhist males registered at the Exchange, after making them submit themselves to written tests, interpretation tests and an interview, he obtained permission from the Ministry to advertise the posts. He then advertised the posts making it open to both men and women. He interviewed eight candidates and selected the only two Roman Catholics whose qualifications were lower than those of other candidates, one of them being the woman mentioned above. Finally, having recommended the two for appointment without any tests at all of any type, he himself approved and confirmed his own recommendations.”

“This is strange enough to be a miracle, but I have in my possession two photostats which will prove the truth of what I state. I sent the photostats together with the facts as known to me to the Hon. Minister. Two days later he rang me up and told me that he had looked into the matter and found my statement entirely true. He promised me that the officer would be removed from the Exchange. True to his word the officer has now been removed from the Colombo Exchange, promoted and placed in charge of all Employment Exchanges in the Island”.

Unfortunately for Ceylon our workers have been invariably represented in the International Labour Conferences by non-Ceylonese labour leaders and they have always used this international platform to misrepresent the Ceylon Government's policies regarding language, education, citizenship, etc. and bring the country to disrepute in international circles. Whenever Roman Catholic officials of the Labour Department represented the Ceylon Government on these conferences, they invariably extended their support to these non-Ceylonese labour leaders in an insidious manner. The latter on their side have openly poured encomiums on the Catholic officers and expressed their gratitude to them for their “liberal attitude”. It will be realised that in the long run, this kind of anti-national propaganda encouraged by Government delegates is detrimental to the interests of the country as a whole.

A Roman Catholic Assistant Commissioner of Labour who attended the I. L. O. Conference held at Geneva in July 1962 tried to pour ridicule on a fellow official delegate who wore the national dress to the Conference. This delegate tripped while climbing down the stairs of the Conference hall. The Roman Catholic officer, making a mountain out of a mole hill, went about narrating this incident in the delegates' circles. Not satisfied

with this, after returning to Ceylon, he got the columnist "Contact" in the *Ceylon Observer* to give publicity to this incident in his columns. The following comment appeared in the *Observer* of 26th July 1962.

DRESSING DOWN

"A Ceylonese delegate to the recent ILO conference in Geneva created a mild international stir when he fell down the steps of an august assembly hall. He had worn a brand new "silk national dress"."

"Stepping out in the unaccustomed garb he caught his shod foot in a fold of the silk cloth and in the words of a horrified spectator, "there was hell to pay!"

"The unfortunate delegate's cloth came loose and he tripped over the knotted folds and crashed headlong down a flight of polished stairs"

All this because he resented his colleague wearing the national dress of the country at an international conference.

Inland Revenue Department

Allegations of a very serious nature were made against certain Catholic high officials of this Department during the course of the Budget Debate 1961-62. It was alleged, among other things, that Buddhists appointed by the Public Service Commission as Probationary Assistant Assessors were systematically eliminated by using the Departmental Examination held for the purpose of confirming the probationers in their posts. It was also alleged that in the matter of assessing income tax, Catholic businessmen and Catholic landed proprietors were given favoured treatment by the Catholic officers of the Department. Similar allegations were also made by certain Trade Unions.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, the then Minister of Finance undertook to investigate into these allegations and the results of his investigations have not been made public as yet.

Fisheries Department

The Roman Catholic Church has a vested interest in the fishing industry by virtue of the 10 percent tithe it levies on the catch of every Roman Catholic fisherman. This tithe, which is a compulsory levy and which has been collected from the early days of the British rule, brings a regular annual income of about Rs. 1,000,000 to the Church. The levy is supposed to be made to render aid to fishermen in distress, but in practice whenever Roman Catholic fishermen are in real distress, the Government invariably has to come to their aid. The money collected by the Church is spent at the will and pleasure of the Hierarchy and they are not obliged to render accounts to the contributors. Roman

Catholic fishermen who dare to refuse to pay the tithe are visited with punishment by the Church under its Canon Laws relating to births, marriages, deaths and burials.

One great fear that the Church has is that legislation may be introduced to make this levy illegal. When an effort was made in this direction by the Colonial Government in 1938, Archbishop Masson declared that if the proposed draft legislation became law “it would create a monstrous machine of destruction aimed at the power and influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon”.

The draft legislation was later withdrawn owing to Roman Catholic Hierarchy’s opposition. From the words of Archbishop Masson, it is clear that the tax levied on the Roman Catholic fishermen is not used primarily to give aid to fishermen in distress, but to build up the power and prestige of the Church in this country.

Owing to its importance from the Church’s point of view, Catholic Action has made it a special point to infiltrate into the Fisheries Department and to Catholicise it.

We are informed that not only every key post in the Staff grades, but also practically every such post in the clerical and other grades in the Department is filled by a Roman Catholic. It was only recently that a Buddhist Civil Servant was appointed for the first time as the Director of Fisheries.

We mentioned earlier that under the former Director of Fisheries, a Roman Catholic, the Fisheries Department was run more as a branch of the Roman Catholic Church than as a Government Department. The truth of this statement can be verified by a perusal of the Administration Report of the Director of Fisheries for 1959. Out of the 116 Co-operative Fishing Unions organized during that year for the purpose of granting loans, as many as 99 were in Roman Catholic areas. In the predominantly Roman Catholic District of Negombo alone, 60 were organized, while only 8 had been organized among the Buddhist fishermen, (vide Appendix).

The “religious” character of these Co-operative Fishing Unions in Roman Catholic areas can be seen from the fact that almost every one of them bears the name of a Saint in the Roman Catholic Calendar. We are also informed that practically in all these societies, the office bearers such as Patrons, Presidents and Treasurers are Roman Catholic Priests and that the Committees are packed with Head Teachers of Roman Catholic schools and such others over whom the Parish Priests have a control.

It must be mentioned in this connection that about 35 per cent of the fishermen in Ceylon are Buddhists and that with the exception of a few communities at Moratuwa and Maggona, all fishing communities from Dehiwala to Hambantota in the South Western and Southern coasts are Buddhists. These Buddhist fishermen have always received stepmotherly treatment at the hands of the Fisheries Department.

According to the same Administration Report, loans amounting to Rs. 175,059,52 were issued to 13 Fishing Co-operative Unions during the financial year 1958/59. All these loans have been granted to Roman Catholic Co-operatives. Out of 101 societies organized for the purpose of granting loans for mechanization as many as 45 were from Negambo area alone. Every year the Government has to write off lakhs of rupees as irrecoverable loans, and we are told that the Parish Priests who control these Societies encourage the Roman Catholic fishermen not to pay back the loans to Government and that the Departmental officers connive at this.

We have received information regarding Catholic Action activities in various other Government Departments, semi-government Departments, and statutory bodies. Among the institutions which are said to be undergoing the process of "Christianization" are the Govt; Stores' Customs, Prisons' Department, Rural Development Department, State Mortgage Bank Commerce Department, Planning Secretariat, Tea, Rubber and Coconut Research Institutes, and the Ceylon Institute of Industrial and Scientific Research. Space, however, prevents us from incorporating all the information in this book.

Private Sector

We have received several reports to the effect that a number of European Firms as well as Ceylonese Firms managed by Roman Catholics, discriminate against Buddhists in the matter of employment. We have not been able to verify the truth of this allegation. It is, however, a fact that the Personnel Managers of a number of these firms are Roman Catholics and as such they are in charge of recruiting subordinate staff to these firms. We are told that whenever a vacancy occurs in his firm, the Roman Catholic Personnel Manager would call up the registrants at the Catholic Employment Exchange rather than those at the Government Central Exchange.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that the Assistant Labour Commissioner who had violated all the regulations of the Central Employment Exchange to secure jobs for fellow Roman Catholics and who resigned his post when called , upon to explain, obtained a job in a European Firm almost overnight as its Personnel Manager on twice the salary he received as a Government Servant!

Indulging in anti-national activities has become an 'open sesame' for lucrative jobs in certain foreign controlled firms and institutions in Ceylon.

12

CONCLUSION

The entire organisation of the Catholic Action Movement has been extraordinarily active ever since Ceylon gained its freedom. It would appear that surreptitiously and imperceptibly, the Catholic Action Movement has captured the key-positions in the Armed Forces, the Police and the Administrative Services, as well as in Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. By this means, it has succeeded in acquiring immense economic power in the land.

It has gone even further. It has used its familiar technique to infiltrate into areas where Buddhism is a great force. On the one hand, it has thrown ridicule on the practices that are enjoined by Buddhism, and on the other it has put a high premium on the social habits, like the drink curse, that are alien to Buddhism.

Designed as they are to undermine the hold of Buddhism on the lives of the people, these actions are most decidedly subversive of peace and goodwill in the country. By actions such as these, the Catholic Action Movement has set the stage to bring Ceylon under the suzerainty of the Vatican.

We are aware that it is by resorting to strategy of this sort that the Catholic Action Movement has already secured the bondage of Buddhist South Vietnam, Buddhist Formosa and Buddhist Korea to the Empire of the Vatican. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that the Government of Ceylon should with the least possible delay adopt effective measures to avert the impending national peril.

The Government should immediately appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate and report on the multifarious activities of the Catholic Action Movement.

APPENDIX

List of Co-operative Fishing Societies Organised in 1959 The Director of Fisheries states in his Administration Report.

“In addition, towards the end of the last year, loans were also given to enable members of Co-operative Societies to purchase mechanized boats. This became a special feature as a result of a decision that all loans for the purchase of mechanized boats should only be given to Co-operative Societies. As the number of Co-operative Societies that were really interested in mechanization was very limited, it became necessary to register as fast as possible a large number of new societies often composed of the minimum number of members and just as often organised specially, if not solely, for the purpose of becoming eligible to receive these loans.”

“The following is a list of the new societies that were organized during the year under review. The first 101 societies in the list were organized for the purpose of obtaining loans for mechanization.”

1. Thalavai Nagar Co-operative Fishing Society Ltd., Chenkalady,
2. Mihira Mechanized Fishing Co-operative Society, Aluthkurmva, 11, Pitipane, Negombo.
3. Pitipane Mangalle Fishermen's Production and Sales Co-operative Society Ltd., C/o R. C. Church, Pitipane, Negombo.
4. Bassiyawatte St, Pauls Fishermen's Production and Sales Co-operative Society Ltd., 91, Bassiyawatte, Negombo.
5. Aluthkuruwa St. Anne's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., C/o R. C. Church, Pitipane. Negombo.
6. St. Barbara F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 176 Talahena, Negombo.
7. Marawila St. Therasas F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Pansal Handiya, Mudukatuwa, Marawila
8. Duwa Pilomina F. P, and S. C. Society Ltd., 233, Duwa, Negombo.
9. **Telwatte F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd. Midigastuduwa, Telwatte.**
10. Aluthkuruwa St. John's Production and Sales Co-operative Society Ltd., C/o R. C. Church, Pitipane, Negombo.
11. Pitipane North St. Pedurus Production and Sales Fishermen's Co-operative Society Ltd., Pitipane North, Negombo.
12. St. Andrew's F. P. and C. C. Society Ltd-, 34/2, Elie House Road, Mutwal, Colombo.
13. Pitipane Jude Thaddeus F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Padumankare, Pitipane, Negombo.
14. Handapane St: Mary's Production and Sales Co-operative Society Ltd., Handapane, Pitipane, Negombo.
15. Aluthkuruwa St. Peter's F. P. and S. C- Society Ltd., 1041, Aluthkuruwa, Pitipane,

16. Negombo. IB Pitipane- Gamini F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Pitipane South, Negombo.
17. Bassiyawatta South F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 46, Bassiyawatta, Talahena, Negombo.
18. Bassiyawatta St. Pedum*s P. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Bassipawatta, Pitipane, Negombo.
19. **Moratumodera F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 286, Egodaunya, Moratuwa**
20. Kannya Suddha P. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 31, Pitipane, Weediya, Negombo.
21. Pitipane South Anura P. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 873, Pitipane South, Negombo.
22. Pitipane St. Sebastian's- C. P. S. Ltd., Pitipane South, Pitipane.
23. St. Sebastian's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 125, Elie House Road, Colombo, 15.
24. St. Rita's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., C o N. Camalius Fernando, 498, Pitipane, Weediya Negombo.
25. Erukkalampiddi Nazeer F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.,
26. Pitipane South Fatima P. P, and S. C. Society Ltd.
27. Pitipane St, George's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
28. Talahena Fatima, E. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., C/o M, Silvestri Fernando, Talahena, Negombo.
29. Duwa Sindartha F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 304, Duwa, Negombo.
30. Parithiaddaippu F. C. C. and S. S. Kayts.
31. Mankuliya St. Anthony's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 42/1, Mankuliya, Negombo.
32. Aluthkuruwa J5&. Anthony's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Aluthkuruwa, Pitipane, Negombo.
33. St. Christopher's P. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 170/2, Pitipane South, Negombo.
34. Thirumalai Munetha F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
35. St. Anthony's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Negombo.
36. **Kuda Waskaduwa F. P. aad S. C. Society Ltd.**
37. Pallimunai St. Lucia F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
38. Moderawila Marawila St. Anthony's F. P and S, C. Society Ltd.
39. Pitipane South St. Fabiola F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
40. Christ the King F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 101, Lewis Place, Negombo'
41. Mother of Assistance F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
42. Queen of Peace F. P. and S, C. Society Ltd., 2, Razor Road, Negombo.
43. Challi C. F. S. Ltd., Chato Sampaithivu.
44. St. Joseph F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 33. Lewis Place, Negombo.
45. Mullikulam F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Mulli-kulam.
46. Vidathaltivu F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Vidathaltivu.
47. Gu run agar St. James C. F. S. Ltd.. 16, 6th Cross Street, Jaffna.
48. Karadikuli Kilthiru F. P. and S. 0- Society Ltd., Karaddaikuli, Marachioddai.
49. Pitipane North St. Francis Xavier F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
50. Point Pedro St. Joseph's C. P. S. Ltd.
51. Aluthkuruwa St. Jusey F, P. and S. C. Society Ltd.
52. St. Lawrence F. P. and S. C. Society.

53. Nintavur Shajahan Deep Sea Fishermen's Cooperative Production and Sales Society.
54. Saintamarutliu Mohamediya Deep Sea F. C. P. and S. Society.
55. St. Joseph's F. P. and S. C. Society, Negombo.
56. Lady of Lanka F, P. and S. C.
57. Chakoddai Francis Xavier C. F. S. Ltd.
58. Valvettiturai Arthisakthi C. F. S. Ltd.
59. Maheswari C. F. S, Ltd. Negombo.
60. Gurunagar St. Peter's C. F. S. Ltd., Jaffna.
61. St. Joan of Arc. F. P. and S. C. Society, Pitipane, Negombo.
62. Nagarkovil Nagathanpiran C. F. S. Ltd., Naga-rkovil North, Kudathanai.
63. St. Benedicts F. P. and S. C. Society, Ltd., Pitipane, Negombo.
64. **Koralawella F.P. and S. C. Society, 3 92 Koralawalla, Moratuwa.**
65. Nageswara C. F. S., Nagarkovil East. Nagarkovil.
66. Kachchai Perumpadai C. F. S. Lte., Kachchai Jetty, Kodikamam.
67. Palaiyady Vinayagar C. F. S. Ltd., Musalai South East, Musalai.
68. St. Theresa's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 17/3, Perera Place, Negombo.
69. Maggona F.C. and S. S. Society Ltd., Galle Road, Maggona.
70. Sagara Kumudini F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., 19, Rajapaksa Broadway, Negombo.
71. St. Philomina F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd.,. Siriwardena Place, Negombo.
72. Manknliya St. Benedict P. P. and S, C. Cociety Ltd., 30/3, Mankuliya, Negombo.
73. Myliddy Sri Vallal C. P. S., Myliddy Coast, Kankesanturai.
74. Dakuna Thoduwa P. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Dakuna Thoduwa, Mahawewa.
75. Wellaboda Balapitiya F. P. and S. C. Society Balapitiya
76. Myliddy Nithiyananda C. F. S., Myliddy Cost, Kankesanthurai.
77. Irakakandy United F. C. S., Irakakandy, Nilaveli.
78. Uduthurai Veeraledchumy, C. F. S. Ltd.
79. Thalaiyadi St. Sebastian C. F. S. Ltd.
80. Colombuthurai Central C. F. S. Ltd.
81. Udutlmrai Jayaledchumy C. F. S. Ltd., Uduthurai. Cbempianpattu.
82. Sumanagala F. C. S. 439, Dockyard Koad, Trincomalee.
83. Gurunagar St. Mary's C. F. S. Ltd., 7, St. James Road, Jaffna.
84. Urany Parwathy C. F. S. Ltd., Urany, Poly-kandy, Velvettiturai.
85. Sri Mahaledchumy C. F. S. Ltd., Kaithadi Navatkuli, Kaithadi.
86. The Sindaththree F. C. P. and S. Society, Kalkudah.
87. Poonochimunai Ansar F.. C. P. and S. Society Ltd., Kattankudy.
88. St. Jude's F. P. and S. C., 121, Halawata, Road, Negombo.
89. Pitipane Nellalawatte Velakanni F. P. and S. C. Society, O/o. Mr. M. S. Manuel Martin Fernando, Nellalawatte, Negombo.
90. Kalawaithurai Iyanar C. F. S. Cheddipulam, Yelanai East, Yelanai.
91. Thirumalai Munnettra F. C. P. and, S. Society-85, Mudaliyar Street, Trincomalee.
92. Pitipane St. Theresa's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Haudapane, Pitipane.
93. **Akurala F. P. and S. C. Society, Akurala; Telwatta.**
94. Mullikulam F. P. and S. C. Ltd., Mullikulam.

95. Vankalai F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Vankalai.
96. St. Anne's Fisherman's P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Vankalai.
97. St. Lawrence F. P. and S. C, Society Ltd., Thalavupadu.
98. St. Anthony's F. P. and S. C. Society Ltd., Vankalai.
99. **Peraliya F. P. and S. C., Wellagoda, Hikkaduwa.**
100. St. Anne's F. P. and S. C. ^Society Ltd., Peraliya, Telwatta.
101. St. Ann's F. C. S., 248/1, Sea Street., Negombo.
102. **Kalutara North F. C. S.**
103. **Akurala Co-operative Society, Telwatta.**
104. St. Peter's F. C. S., Negombo.
105. Fatima F. C. C. and S. S., Arippu.
106. Arthivyravar F. G, C. and S. S.. Velvettiturai.
107. Udappu Valar Perai Madel Workers' F. C. S Udappu.
108. Maggona F. C. C. and S. S.
109. Sainthamaruthu Mohamediva Deep Sea F. C. C. and S. S. Ltd.
110. St. Theresa's F. C. C. and., Kudapaduwa.
111. Thirukovil Inland F. C. C, and S. S.
112. Hcndala St. Sebastian F. C. C. and S. 'S.
113. MiU'rokkoddanchenai F. C. S.
114. Pnnandurai F. C. S.
115. Kalutara Katukurunda Elanadel F. .C. C. and S. S.
116. Nintavur Shajahan Deep Sea F. C. S.

Societies organized among Buddhist fisherman are shown in **bold** type.

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