



# TRIBUNE

## Foreign Ring

### COPRA EXPORT

Of the various announcements made by Ministers of the new M.E.P. Government, the statement of Mr. P. H. William Silva certainly proved to be the most interesting. The Minister of Industries in the course of a lengthy statement outlined the future Industrial policy of the country with particular emphasis of the need to fully utilise the raw materials which are available on this Island. The Minister made it quite clear that he intended to ban the export of all raw materials which could be processed locally. It is evident that Mr. Silva would have all the co-operation necessary from the public in the implementation of his policy.

One particular industry which would no doubt benefit considerably from the export ban is the coconut industry. During the last

eight years, numerous requests had been made to the U.N.P. Government for a ban to be imposed on the export of Copra. The Government of that time which was only interested in collecting export duties turned a deaf ear to all these requests and the export of Copra was maintained without break. The result of this state of affairs was that the oil milling industry was badly affected and production came down sharply. A large number of

The proposal made by the Minister of Industries to ban the export of certain raw materials which can be processed locally evoked strong criticism from journals like *Financial Times* in London. *Tribune's* Special Investigator has made a survey of the position in the coconut industry and has sent in the following report with certain concrete suggestions. *Tribune* would welcome comment from its readers.

mills closed down altogether while the balance 'limped' at a skeleton output, which was always dependent upon the availability of supplies of Copra. Closure of these mills caused unemployment to hundreds of workers who had no other form of employment available.

#### Ransom

In the meanwhile the coconut producers were being held to ransom by the ring of foreign shippers who controlled the copra export trade. These exporters, assisted by local foreign banks with heavy overdrafts, were able to 'rig' mar-

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ket prices to suit themselves. The result was that producers were deprived of securing fair market prices in accordance with the world market of the day. There was absolutely no chance for any Ceylonese to break into the ring, as the local banks would never advance big overdrafts to 'naive' shippers who in their eyes were always unreliable. It is generally believed that the "L. C. P. A." has unwittingly aided these foreign shippers in maintaining an artificial market for copra at most times of the year. In spite of numerous requests to the contrary, the L. C. P. A. continues to publish Daily Market quotations, which very often have no bearing whatever to the correct market of the day.

Another unsatisfactory feature caused by the low productivity of the oil milling industry, is that an artificial shortage is created for coconut poonac. The market price of Rs. 270/- per ton, as it is today, is considered to be about the highest level the Poonac Market has reached in this decade. It would be absolutely impossible for dairy owners to produce low cost milk, if the coconut poonac market is permitted to remain at this summit level. At a time when the Government is doing its best to produce cheap milk for the people, it is quite clear that some kind of price control will have to be imposed on all local sales of poonac. The control price of sale Rs. 140/- per ton would give the oil miller a reasonable profit and the dairy owner an opportunity of reducing his high cost of production.

#### Immediate

An immediate operation of a compulsory sales room for Copra is an absolute necessity. This sales-room should be Government sponsored

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### TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW  
COLOMBO, May 19, 1956

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## North-Western Blue Line

I am a regular traveller on a bus line known as the North-Western Blue Line. It is perhaps the worst bus service in Ceylon. The Sansoni Report exposed the ramifications of this Company with its territory A and territory B and the utter callousness with which the officials of the Company approached the question of public transport. The Gentlemen's Agreement which gave this Company, as well as others, a respite to improve their services has made it worse for the traveller. So far as the North-Western Blue Line was concerned, it would seem that their interpretation of the Gentlemen's Agreement was to run the old buses to such a condition that they cannot run anymore. They seem to want to get the most out of these buses without putting anything more into the Company!

I believe I am right in stating that at the moment this Company is short of about 60 buses to reach even the minimum stipulated by the Commissioner of Motor Transport as being necessary to provide an adequate service. The result is that this Company is unable to operate even the bare time-table suggested by the Commissioner to meet the needs of the travelling public of this area. What is even more scandalous is that probably

more than half the existing buses are very many years old! And I am also almost certain that there is not a single bus which is under ten years old!!

In the circumstances, it is surprising why the Commissioner has not cancelled the route licence granted to the North-Western Blue Line!  
M. M. T.

### Foreign Ring (from page 1)

sored and maintained by the Department of Commerce. Neither the L.C.P.A., nor the Ceylon Coconut Board should be permitted to have any hand in the working of this organisation.

The Government should also take steps to take over the entire export trade of Coconut oil which is now in the hands of three foreigners. It would be most difficult for Ceylonese to take over this business as the financial outlay on a trade of this type is staggering. The Rubber Commissioner who has gained excellent experience from rubber trading could also handle this section of trade to advantage.

An immediate ban on the export of Copra should be the first step by Government in reorganising the Industry. Price control for Poonac, the establishment of a salesroom

### TO ENSURE YOUR COPY

On the suggestions of friends of *Tribune* we have been sending specimen complimentary copies of the paper to a large number of potential readers. To ensure the continuance of regular supplies of this paper, such readers should immediately send in their subscriptions. One such reader, a Professor at the University, has sent us the following letter with a cheque: "You have been good enough to send me copies of the *Tribune* for some weeks now; it is time I sent you a cheque to ensure its continuance. I enjoy well-written, hard-hitting journalism like yours, even when I disagree, as I often do, with what you write. To us, in these remote academic graves, your inside information is especially interesting and as one, greatly worried about the linguistic and other troubles with my many Tamil-speaking friends, I diligently read your views about Jaffna for enlightenment and for some solution. More power to your elbow!"

and the nationalisation of the coconut oil export trade should follow as quickly as possible.

### WEEK - END PAPER

From this issue, *Tribune* will appear on Saturdays and not on Thursdays. This is being done to meet the wishes of a very large number of our readers who want *Tribune* as their week-end reading paper. It will be our endeavour to see that readers in Colombo, and in the outstations as well, get their copies on Saturdays. Plans are also now reaching fruition to make *Tribune* bigger and brighter, and to provide reading material for a wide range of taste to make this paper the ideal week-end companion for all those who want to get the news behind the news, in politics as well as other fields like sport, cinema, social events and all other matters of public significance.

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# ASIAN REVOLT

The General Election, and the advent to power of "A People's Government" is an event of unusual significance both for the nation and the Church.

Colonial rule, western education, commerce and the Church have all, in different degrees, been factors in creating a deep division within the social life of the nation. On the one hand there is a small group (to which readers of this Bulletin all belong) whose way of life and thought have largely been determined by western culture; in religion it is partly Christian and partly secularist with a small number of practising Buddhists and Hindus. Economically it is middle class and dependent upon the capitalist system. It is the group in whose interests the government of the country has hitherto been carried on.

## Swabasha

There is a much larger group of swabasha-speaking peasants and labourers, outnumbering the first in the proportion of 13 to 1. Their religion is Buddhist and Hindu. They have been very little influenced by western culture, except that some elementary education and modern means of communication have made them politically conscious. In the South the thinking and attitudes of this group has largely been shaped by the Buddhist Sangha, and to a less extent by political leaders of the left. Between the two groups there has been a minimum of communication. There is no social mixing and no inter-marriage, and though from time to time individuals climb from the swabasha group to the western group, there is no movement in the opposite direction. The gulf which separates them is wider than that between caste, race or religion.

In the General Election, power has passed in a dramatic way from the first group to the second, and it seems unlikely that it will ever return. Henceforth we can look forward to a Government (whatever the party name) which will derive its support from those who

have been little touched by western culture or religion and who deeply distrust what they understand by the capitalist system.

That is a change which is true to the pattern of Asian life today. In almost every land from China to Pakistan the same thing has been taking place (with the single exception of Thailand). That the change should have been so successfully accomplished in Ceylon through the peaceful processes of democracy is a matter of great thankfulness.

The importance of this achievement, not only for Ceylon but for Asia, can hardly be over-stressed. To see it in its proper light it is necessary to understand the nature of the revolution which has transformed Asia in the last ten years. This is not simply the overthrow of Imperialism: the withdrawal of Colonial power from Asia is but a small accompanying by-product of what is, by any estimate, the most dramatic and far reaching revolution in human history. Quite suddenly the people of the land, as distinct from the intelligentsia, have awakened to life and demand-

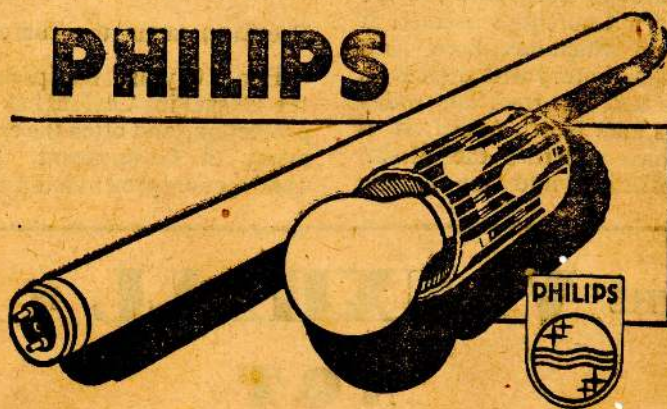
Short extracts from this article entitled the "Triumph of Democracy" from the May 1956 number of the "Christian News Bulletin" (issued by the Study Department of the National Christian Council) have been published in the daily press, but we publish the statement in full. We commend this to our readers as a truly thought-provoking and clear-sighted analysis of the dynamics of the change now taking place in Ceylon.

ed the freedom to order their own affairs.

Sardar Panikkar's important book *Asia and Western Dominance and Manikam's Christianity and the Asian Revolution* have already been noticed in this Bulletin (July 1954). A new Penguin has now to be added: *Spotlight on Asia* by Guy Wint. Wint is a leader writer on the Manchester Guardian, and the book had a long and very commendatory review in the *Spectator* by Sardar Panikkar himself. It is an authoritative and extremely readable account of the significance of events in Asia

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# ASIAN REVOLT

continued from page 3

during the last decade. Here you can see the interplay of the great forces which are shaping Asia's (and our) future: Russia and America, with their rapidly changing policies, adapting themselves to the changing scene as the giant power of Asia stirs and awakes, and between them the figure of Nehru, the astute statesman, who somehow within his statesmanship reflects something of the idealism of Asia. These glimpses of the Asian scene will help us to understand more clearly what is happening in our own land.

## The Election and America

The *New York Times* described the victory of the M.E.F. as "a setback for the cause of the free world". The *New York Herald-Tribune* called it "a distinctly ominous development". The cause of the dismay is of course Mr. Bandaranaike's declaration in favour of Nehru's policy of neutralism based on *Panch Sila*.

It is one of the mysteries of our day that an intelligent nation, whose own history is steeped in the concept of liberty, can be so lacking in understanding of what is happening in Asia, and that a Christian nation should be so ignorant of the things that make for peace. America and Britain have pursued a policy of "peace through deterrents", to use Sir Winston Churchill's phrase. It is a method which has been used twice in this century with disastrous results; it is being tried out today in Cyprus and North Africa. It is policy which underlies the formation of SEATO and the arming

of Japan and Pakistan. Nehru has given a lead for which every Christian may be thankful by declaring in clear terms that Asia does not accept western doctrine in this matter, that there is nothing in western history to persuade that it is a sound doctrine, and that the way of peace must be sought along the lines of *Panch Sila*. There is probably no one fact which discredits Christianity in Asian eyes today so much as the western advocacy of a policy so at variance with the teaching of the Gospel. That Ceylon, after sitting on the fence for a decade, has chosen a path in foreign policy when accords more closely with truth as the Christian understands it, is something in which the Church may well rejoice.

By "America", of course, is meant the present policy of the American government. That there are other "Voices of America" we can gratefully acknowledge. One of these is the American Friends Service Committee which organised the Conference of Diplomats at Peradeniya last December (See the CNB Sept. 1955). The Friends Committee have just published a booklet entitled *Speak Truth to Power* which is a realistic approach to modern international problems by people who believe "that military power in today's world is incompatible with freedom incapable of providing security and ineffective in dealing with evil." Though it does not deal with Nehru's doctrine of *Panch Sila*, it is a penetrating discussion of the Quaker version of it.

## The Election and the Church

For 450 years the preaching of the Gospel in Ceylon has had the protection, and often the encouragement, of Government. How far that encouragement has been a help

to the Gospel may be a matter for debate. That period is now ended. The new Government may not introduce any sudden drastic changes — the life of the Church may go on for a time without any awareness of change. Nevertheless the election of the M. E. P. with the strong support of the Eksath Bikshu Peramuna, and pledged to implement the recommendations of the Buddhist Commission's Report, is an event which may be taken as symbolic of a radical change in the relation between the Church and the State in Ceylon, which began a generation ago and is today approaching its climax. That change may prove disastrous, — or it may prove to be the greatest opportunity which the Church has had for a century.

It will be disastrous if we go on as we are today, — a middle-class group looking to the West for our nurture (and some of our income) and increasingly out of communication with the majority of the people of the country; our leaders (both clerical and lay) drawn from the English-speaking community because the Councils of the Church are conducted in English; our worship conducted in a manner which is unintelligible (and perhaps repellent) to the people of the land; our schools producing people like ourselves so that when we want to teach our children their own language and their country's classics we cannot find Christian teachers capable of undertaking it. Most of the vigorous movements of the Church (the growing interest in Reunion, the extraordinarily fruitful development of Youth Work, and the Bryan Green Mission are examples) are confined in their

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# Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation has recently come into the news as an American organisation doing work in Ceylon which is regarded by its critics with suspicion. That it is an American organisation nobody will deny. But the suspicion of its work in Ceylon largely arises from ignorance of what it is doing in the country.

Every nation has produced philanthropists who have given away a part of their wealth for the good of their fellow beings. It is only an outstanding name such as a Carnegie or a Rockefeller of the United States, or a Nuffield of the United Kingdom or a Tata of India that catches the popular imagination and makes world news. But the thousands in a country of more modest means who are equally generous with their wealth may not hit the headlines in the newspapers but nevertheless are philanthropists all the same. If the laws of the country favour them, their munificence can reach a wider geographical area.

## Experts

One such country is the United States. There, the idea was conceived by some persons who wanted to contribute to charitable purposes to band themselves together and pool their resources. Out of this idea arose the American Foundations of which there are thousands today in the United States distributing money for educational,

A correspondent has sent us an article in two parts explaining the work of Asia Foundation in Ceylon. This week we publish the first part. The second part will appear next week. *Tribune* has been very critical about the activities of this American Agency in Ceylon on the ground that its funds have been utilised to prop up and encourage reactionary forces, trends and groups and thereby interfere in the political life of the country.

Two weeks ago we published a special article on the Saman Press which is a creation of Asia Foundation, and our Special Investigator is now busy finding out what the Youth Councils set up by Asia Foundation really are. Consistent with our policy of giving every shade of opinion a forum in its pages, *Tribune* publishes this article by one who claims to know what Asia Foundation is doing in Ceylon.

cultural and charitable purposes. From the beginning of this century the growth of such Foundations has been rapid since American tax laws favoured them, for contributions to these Foundations were made free of income tax. With business-like efficiency these Foundations all employ talented experts to assess needs and give grants in deserving cases.

The objectives of a foundation are determined by its Trustees normally composed, as in the case of The Asia Foundation, of a number of businessmen, scholars, and civic leaders. The Asia Foundation's funds, for example, are to be used to assist groups working for social progress in Asia; to strengthen international co-operation among civic organisations; and to promote American understanding of Asia. All foundations are subject

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## REV. BUNKER

I am a reader of your interesting and useful journal. Once I used to pick it up wherever I could find it and read it. Now I am a regular subscriber. I appreciate it as it

seeks to give important and significant news which, for some reason or other, are blacked out by the other papers. I have also come to regard it, perhaps like many others,

### MISSIONARIES

"I.P.T." has written in defence of the American Missionaries in the North. Living as he does in Jaffna, he seems to be unaware of a great deal of what happened in the North before and during the elections. He also seems to forget that one does not need to mount a platform and make public pronouncements to be guilty of "active canvassing".

"I.P.T." cleverly seeks to shift the blame to the "agents" of the American State Department "in this country". The fact is that a great deal of evidence indicates the American missionaries and their local satellites were no better than agents of the State Department, and that some of them have spent more time recently echoing the cold war of John Foster Dulles than the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

*Tribune* has received a number of private representations on behalf of the American missionaries. But what is significant is that whereas the comments in this paper about the Missionaries started in March, the first of such private representation from a high dignitary came on April 12, after the defeat of the UNP and the decline of the American shadow over Ceylon. A public statement by Rev. Bunker and Rev. Kulendran, proclaiming the neutrality of the American Mission Church before polling, would have had some meaning and purpose.

But, if wisdom has come to the American missionaries and their satellites (who banker for scholarships to the US) after the defeat of the UNP and the sterile inactivity of the Federal Party, they should leave politics well alone, and persuade certain missionary workers not to spend their time in telling people (as some of them are even now doing) that Trincomalee must be retained as a base by the Americans and the British; and that a separate Federal Tamil State or an Independent Tamilnad would be a success overnight because Americans would pump in unlimited money into such a state. If "I.P.T." has ears to hear, he would have heard this line of propaganda with its increasing tempo in recent weeks.

as reliable. The *Tribune* is doing a great service to the country.

In view of this, your references in recent issues to the political activities of American missionaries in the North have come to me as a surprise. The information contained therein is far from correct and I have no doubt that it is your reporters who have responsible. Without going into details the impression one gets from the articles may be summed up as follows:

1. That the American missionaries in the North are separatists and have been lending their support to the Federal Party during the recent elections.
2. That in particular Rev. S. K. Burker of Jaffna College was "actively and openly canvassing for Federalist candidates" and that for this reason "he postponed his departure to Kodaikanal for his summer vacation to be in Jaffna for the elections."
3. That Jaffna College, of which Mr. Bunker is the head, lent its support as an institution to the Federal Party.
4. That Jaffna College receives "aid from the U.S." annually to the tune of six to eight lakhs and that "owing to the fact that this Mission organisation interfered in the politics in the North, there is a suspicion that the money is not being spent entirely for educational purposes."

It does not appear that Mr. Bunker has denied the charges. However, in the interest of truth and fair-play I am urged to write the following:-

1. Foreign missionaries, like any other human beings, react to the continued on page 12

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## WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

# JAYANTI

The Prime Minister flew last week to Mannar to persuade a group of Ceylon Army gunners to stop their hunger strike and to promise them that their complaints would be looked into. Mr. Bandaranaike made a special point of insisting that this was an exceptional case and that in future he would not countenance such strikes or rush to the hunger strikers.

One does not know the special reasons why the Prime Minister thought it necessary to rush to Mannar to satisfy a group of Army men. But if it needed Prime Ministerial interference, according to informed circles, to settle this matter, then, there is something gravely wrong with the affairs of the Ceylon Army.

Complaints about the Ceylon Army are many, but the least publicised have been the grievances of the rank and file. In the present instance, the trouble was about the vocational training promised to recruits at the end of their five years period (should they not want to continue in the Army). So badly has this question of vocational training been mishandled that there is really no proper scheme for the purpose. In addition, such promises were held out at recruiting that many armymen have lived in the belief that they would be given opportunities of being even trained as "film stars"!

It is felt by many who know a great deal of the Ceylon Army that the trouble lies in having lackadaisical officers who are 8.30 to 4.30 gentlemen having no interest in the welfare of the men under them, or in the Army itself.

### Home Guards

The Home Guards and the Departmental Military Units continue to flourish in spite of the new Government which was returned on a manifesto which undertook to dis-

band these semi-military organisations created by the UNP for its own special party needs. Questions have already been raised in Parliament as to the status and position of these units, but nothing seems to have been done to disband them. In the meantime, there are reports that certain departmental heads are continuing further recruitment to the units.

Questions have also been asked about the expenses of the Home Guards and the money which is wasted at periodical "camps" which are held in the salubrious climate of Diyatalawa for the pleasure and happiness of the gentlemen in the Home Guards. How much of the money is spent in "training" and how much on champagne parties is one of those questions that was asked under the old regime and which still remain unanswered.

### Jayanti

After the noise and bustle of the

meeting of Parliament to debate the Throne Speech, there is a kind of lull in public affairs. However feverish preparations are afoot for the Buddha Jayanti celebrations commencing on May 23.

Decorations and pandals and triumphal arches are coming up all over the city of Colombo. There is, however, some doubt as to the exact number of holidays which the Government would grant the public. Certain schools seem inclined to grant extra days whilst others seem to think that the bare minimum demanded by Government is all that is required.

The Jayanti celebrations will be spread out over a year, and visitors from foreign lands are expected at certain functions in the coming months. India which is also celebrating Jayanti in a big way, is also expected to draw large crowds from Ceylon in August.

### Meatless

In the meantime, Buddhist fervour has sought to impose a meatless month on the public to honour the Jayanti. Certain local bodies have adopted the meatless month and prohibited slaughtering; other local bodies have decided otherwise. Colombo and the other bigger municipalities have not yet come to any decision, but the Chief Veterinary Surgeon of Colombo has pointed out that if slaughtering is officially prohibited, illegal and

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With this issue, *Tribune* starts on its third year of existence. We started at a time when the repression of the UNP was at its greatest when all books not favoured by the Administration were burnt, and when it became "unpatriotic" to criticise the ruling coterie. It was during this time too that no daily newspaper would dare to expose the scandals that were rampant.

*Tribune* together with a number of other weekly and periodical papers in English and the national languages started a trend in the matter of criticism of public affairs and men and a fight for civil liberties which has borne results in the General Elections of 1956. Whether the change of government will ensure the fullest democratic liberties is yet a matter to be seen, but there is now hope that things will be far better than what it ever was under the UNP in its last days of neofascism.

*Tribune*, whilst recognising the fact that the MEP government ushers in a new era in the political history of the island, will continue its policy of being an independent non-party weekly newspaper. At the end of two years of difficult times, we can say that we are emerging into the third year with an island-wide circulation and an ever increasing readership. It can be said that our influence is great in the English-speaking section of the population because we have tried to be fair. Where we have gone wrong we have always corrected ourselves. The increasing advertisement support we have received is an indication of the confidence *Tribune* enjoys among the commercial and industrial circles in this country.

We cannot do better than to print the statement of policy which we published in our first issue and in two later issues. The two years of existence has shown that we have adhered consistently to this policy and we can do no more than assure our readers that it will be our constant endeavour to serve our readers by placing before them informed opinion on all matters of interest.

To interpret events in the context of Asian and world politics, to reveal the facts behind the complex news of the tumultuous days in which we live, and to explain how they affect the interests of the ordinary people and taxpayers in Ceylon, will be the primary function of this paper. Before us, will also be the constant objective of helping to build an economically independent and politically democratic Ceylon which will participate in the bigger task of creating a better world that will banish war and secure peace.

These aims, we believe, can be achieved by scrupulous adherence, in letter and in spirit, to the fundamental human rights embodied in the Charter on which the United Nations Organisation rests. We are convinced that it is practicable and necessary that negotiation should replace threat and aggression in international relations and that disputes should be solved through discussion at conference and not by resort to war.

Countries in Asia, awakening to new freedom after decades of colonial subjugation, have an unenviable role to play in the increasing conflict between the so called Western bloc and the Socialist group. We must emphasise that Asiatic countries should disassociate themselves from the cold war between the West and the East and that they should strive through friendly neutrality to both blocs to reduce tension, to remove suspicion, and do everything possible to establish friendly relations between the contending groups to pave the way for stable international peace.

In national affairs, this paper will zealously guard the fundamental rights and democratic civil liberties of the individual, of whatever creed, caste or race, who has made this country his home and who is prepared to work for its betterment and prosperity. Only a contented community, free of racial rancour, unhampered by political or economic disabilities weighing down under privileged sections, can constitute a proper basis for genuine economic reconstruction.

A better and happier Ceylon can emerge only through the combined efforts of all sections and groups of people inhabiting this country. We will untiringly promote all efforts directed towards the building of a truly free democracy in this island. For this purpose, we will measure all action, political and social, with the yardstick of national interest. We will support Government in all its endeavours that tend to promote the common weal; and we will not hesitate to criticise it when its actions adversely affect the people. In like manner, we will examine the policies and practices of the Opposition and other political parties. Every question will be discussed on its own merits and tested in the crucible of public good.

Conscious of our responsibilities, we will do the utmost we can to discharge the obligations a newspaper owes to the reading public. From our readers, we expect guidance, correction encouragement so that we might be the better able to analyse, discuss, comment, criticise or support, as objectively and impartially as is humanly possible, matters and events of importance and consequence.



For two years now I had maintained this column every week. That is, every week the *Tribune* has appeared, and it has done so regularly except for two weeks in August 1955 when it shifted its headquarters and the like. It has been fun doing this piece for the *Tribune*, but it has often meant a great deal of criticism. Where no offence has been meant, certain persons have shouted that their toes had been tread on. At other times, it has led to indignant protests.

I have at all times tried to be fair (this is no apologetic repentance) and attempted to give the news of some significance which other papers tend to blackout (spiced with comments of mine own). I have really no axe to grind, but it will probably take many more years to convince some persons that it is so. An example of how various persons have reacted to a recent comment of mine will indicate that each one affected thinks that some one else is being favoured. In Ceylon a great many who should have known better have not yet reached the stage of accepting comment as *bona fide* of the personality of a particular columnist. This is so perhaps owing to the sad record of certain columnists employed by particular daily papers who have consistently endeavoured to mislead the public with certain transparently ulterior motives.

**Rally**

My comments made about three weeks ago about events on May 1 has evoked the most peculiar reactions. Friends of the MEP have accused me of being an NLSSP sympathiser simply because I thought that the crowd at Galle Face was bigger than the one at the Town Hall. This complaint has come to me from not only members of the public but also Members of Parliament.

The fact is that I personally went to both meetings and it is still my humble opinion that the crowd at Galle Face was bigger. This is also the opinion of number of others who are even antagonistic to the NLSSP who saw both crowds. But it is just possible that I may be

wrong in that I did not take a physical census to base my claims. It would have been perfectly correct if these persons had pointed out that I was wrong, but what was unfair was that it was made out I was pro-NLSSP only for the reason I had thought the Galle Face crowd bigger.

It may surprise these persons to know that the NLSSP journal *Samasamjist* attacked me, *Serendib*, openly as a "joker" for making the suggestion in the same comment that there was a basis for the NLSSP and the CP to get together because Stalinism and Trotskyism were both dead as its chief proponents had been buried. There was an angry

was derogatory of the CP. In the comment (same as the one on the Galle Face Rally), I had stated that there was a likelihood of the CP and NLSSP "merging" together (because Stalinism and Trotskyism were dead) and I hinted that the merger might take the form of a new party with the name based on the popular term *Samas maja*. This was the cause of criticism that I was anti-CP because I had thought of the possibility of the name Communist Party being discarded in favour of *Samasamaja*.

This one comment about the May Day Rally led to the most curious reactions. The friends of the MEP thought me pro-NLSSP, the NLSSP journal regarded me a pro-bourgeois and the CP thought my comments derogatory of their party. Instead of trying to read motives into my comments, I would wish readers to take my comments to be what be the reactions of *Serendib*, the *Tribune* columnist, on various topics of public interest.

However, I must say that there are large number of readers (and they are daily increasing) who take me for what I am that *Serendib* is a journalistic personality who seeks to put into print his reactions to public matters. And what is my "axe"? Simply, I want to see a better Ceylon for all sections of people inhabiting this island. I have so far not developed any party affiliations or predilections. If and when I join a political party, I will stop writing this column, but it is unlikely I will do so because I enjoy being a puckish spectator and will be thoroughly unhappy to be a participant in the political arena.

**Missionaries**

The number of those who have thought it necessary to explain my comments as being partial and unfair will not be complete if I do not refer to some gentlemen from the North who think that I am hard on the Federalists and the erring American missionaries in Jaffna for reasons other than the good of this country.

I have been extremely hard, I must confess, on all communalists,

*continued on page 10*

**CORRECTION**

The bomb thrown by the Security boys at the Communist Party Headquarters, referred to in this column last week was not during the 1953 Hartal, but during the South-Western Bus Strike in 1953. The error is regretted, but it arose because the ex-Security person who told the story had also mentioned other similar matters connected with the Hartal of 1953 which the predecessors of the disbanded Security Department had been responsible for. These tales will be referred to at the right time in this column.

denunciation of *Serendib* in a full article to state what an ignorant idiot I was not knowing that Trotskyism was in a flourishing state and that it was the Marxism of this era. The suggestion was made indirectly that, through this line of propaganda of a *bougeois-capitalist* character, I was trying to detract from the worth and value of Trotskyism and place it on the same footing with Stalinism!

**Derogatory**

The matter did not end there. CP sympathisers have been at me to say that I had given a totally wrong impression of the "unity" talks between the NLSSP and CP which

# CRITICISM

continued from page 9

whether it be the Tri Sinhala or the Tamil Arasu. And as for the missionaries, I have only stated what I have reason to believe to be the truth. If my comment was pungent at times, it cannot be said that it was something which has been specially concocted for the Federals or the American missionaries.

This autobiographical catalogue of *Serendib* will not be complete unless I say that the number of boquets I have received has far exceeded the brickbats, and that is perhaps the only reason why I have been encouraged to carry on with this column. When I first started it, it was branded as a gossip column with slanderous intent. But as time went on, the big dailies started similar columns in their papers. They even started to employ their own version of Sherlock Holmes. The short-lived Clubman on the *Sunday Observer* had his own brand of snoopers, whilst *Andare* (who chameleon-like changed from egg-hoppers to kiribath) prides himself on his MI 5 in his interesting and informed column in the *Sunday Times*.

## Security

Speaking of Sherlock Holmes reminds me of a story he has brought me this week. It seems that a number of those gentlemen formerly in the now disbanded Public Security, particularly those in the upper brackets, are hoping to land jobs in a certain foreign embassy.

I do not know the reason why these gentlemen have so much faith that the particular embassy would favour them with jobs. But all I can say is that this Embassy would be most foolish to employ these gentlemen because a suspicion would grow in the public mind that this Embassy is endeavouring to set up a parallel MI 5 in this country. The Embassy may help to obtain jobs for these persons in firms of nationals of that country, but to give jobs in one of its allied agencies will create a great deal of public disquiet.

The interesting question is what the tie-up was between this foreign embassy and these top gentlemen of the late lamented Public Security Department.

## House Rent

Sherlock has also brought me the story of how a foreign embassy has

contracted to pay a rent of about Rs 2500 a month to a house owned by a leading journalist in one of the daily papers. The actual rent value of the building, by market rates prevailing today, Sherlock tells me, would be anything from Rs 800 to Rs 1250. But why pay about Rs 2500 a month? - It would be interesting to know how many years rent was paid in advance? And as a result of such payment, how much of the loan on which this building was erected has been paid up?

I am all for getting high rents from foreigners who can afford it (I have the mentality of the tout in the Fort who harasses the tourist in these matters) but what intrigues me is why this particular embassy was persuaded to pay so much. Sherlock may have got the figure Rs 2500 wrong, but if he has erred he assures me it will be not in the matter of rupees but only cents.

## Housing Loans

Journalists seem to be a favoured tribe; that is journalists working on the big daily papers. They seem to be getting all the boquets whilst the brickbats seem to be specially reserved for those working for the smaller weeklies which have a vigorous point of view.

A friend has mentioned that it would be an interesting insight into the manner the Housing Loans Scheme operated (at the beginning) to investigate the number of housing loans granted to newspapermen. Whether it was due to the fact that

newspaper people are alert, or for some other less palatable reason, it seems to be a fact that among the first big schemes sanctioned by the old regime were housing loans (even for rent purchase societies) for journalists in *Lake House*.

Whereas thousands of others were kept waiting (delays often attenuated by problems of probing title), gentlemen of the *Lake House* Fourth Estate had their applications rushed through with the same speed and expediency which only UNP stalwarts received.

## Lake House

And, mention of *Lake House* reminds me that there is a storm brewing up among the heirs and successors of the late D. R. Wijewardene which might result in litigation (unless a compromise is effected earlier) with far reaching consequences. Already one conference of lawyers, representing various members of the family, has been held with a view to settling the "dispute." But from what Sherlock Holmes tells me, a settlement is still not in sight.

This blow-up in *Lake House* is one of the curious repercussions of the change of government. I hope to be able to give more information about the happenings in the premier newspaper set-up shortly, unless of course the news gets spotlighted before by action in court.

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# COMMUNALISM

*Tribune* has received a number of letters from Tamil Arasu sympathisers. Owing to pressure of space we cannot publish them all, but the one appearing on this page is typical. The logic is the familiar echo of communal hysteria. "Citizens as well as other Tamil Arasu sympathisers make the mistake of analysing the situation in Ceylon from a racial angle and not on an economic basis and thereby fall into the dangerous pitfall of communalism. Furthermore, the motive force behind Tamil communal politics in this country has for decades been the ideology of the public servants and their blind obsession for maintaining their *status quo*. Unable to maintain the privileged position enjoyed by them under the British colonialists, Tamil public servants today want to re-create a similar privileged position in a Federal State of Tamilnad.

A racialist approach has many superficial attractions to the frustrated, but it cannot solve any basic problems. A Federal State or even a Tamilnad cannot solve any of the economic problems. Will the exploitation of the underprivileged and the have-nots be any different under Tamil Arasu Kadchi or the United National Party — both parties having one thing in common in that they had no economic programmes (in spite of loud protestations to the contrary).

The Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi (F.P. as how *Tribune* calls it) seems to be the target of Serendib. In the last two issues especially he has taken great pains to tell his readers of the danger of 'communalism' as how sometime back the *Lake House* warned its readers of "Marxists". "No amount of threats" can change his attitude." Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike talks about Switzerland of the East. What is the kind of government there?

Who began to speak of Switzerland first? Is it Mr. S. J. V. or Mr. S. W. R. D.?

Within a couple of weeks everywhere there seems to be *Sinhalese Only*, whether in Parliament, Radio Ceylon or replies to people in the North, Overnight Ceylon which has been hitherto secular has now turned into a Buddhist state. Minorities are not to be found in the Cabinet. Not a single M. P. from the Northern and Eastern Provinces is to be found in the Government benches. Don't you think that for the first time an important section of the population is without any representation at the Governmental level? The last two reasons are quite adequate to expose the carnard that the M.E.P. regime is a "Peoples regime". Our Government is nothing but a "Sinhalese Communal Government".

## Apprehension

I hope Serendib would appreciate the apprehension of the Tamils. The U.N.P. during the election openly said that they had disfranchised the "Indians" so that six more Sinhalese M.Ps. would be in Parliament. Regarding the language issue they said that even though the Leftists and people like Mr. S. W. R. D. clamoured for a switch over to Swabasha they had purposely avoided it so that at a later stage "Sinhalese Only" could be introduced. Even in the flag issue the U. N. P. had shown nothing more than rank communalism. The U.N.P. leaders who professed to be "National" in outlook were communal at heart. All the assurances of more moderate Sinhalese leaders to allay the fears of minorities have gone overboard. As far as the Tamils are concerned the U. N. P. secretly plotted against them and now the reactionary M. E. P. is openly doing things to complete the work began by the U.N.P. that is to make Ceylon a Sinhalese Buddhist Republic. The Tamils never trusted and can never trust Mr. S. W. R. D. who has been shouting hoarse right through out about Sinhalese and Buddhism.

As regards the other progressive forces they just cannot unite until there is difference between Trotsk-

ism and Stalinism (or commurism). By the time they come to power there would be nothing to fight; there would be a 'Sinhalese Buddhist Republic' firmly rooted. This is no fantastic imagination nor hallucination as how you would like us to believe, but grim reality. Unlike the U.N.P., the M.E.P. is extremely difficult to dislodge. The U.N.P. was bothered about the imperialists but the M. E. P. is all out to solve all the problems of Sinhalese Buddhists who are a preponderant majority.

## Realisation

The Federal Party had realised long ago the designs of the Sinhalese leaders. They knew that co-operation would only lead to liquidation and extinction of the racial and religious minorities. It is an organisation that was formed out of the racial and religious minorities. It is an organisation that was formed out of sheer necessity. At no stage did it ever even attempt to betray those who had placed confidence on it. It has an unblemished record. It does not want the division of the country. All it wants is the establishment of a Federal State taking its model as Switzerland. Though it has a clear cut economic program and other solutions to social evils it is forced by circumstances to pay attention to other pressing problems like the language issue.

To the Tamils Serendib is another "Political Correspondent" whose 'poisonous pen' is dangerous to their just cause.

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## Rev. Bunker

continued from page 6

environment in which they live. Hence the American missionaries in the North have their own personal views on the politics of this country. But not one of them has expressed his views publicly at any time or sought to influence the course of the elections one way or the other. They have been discreetly silent.

2. Rev. S. K. Bunker was a silent spectator like his fellow-missionaries and was far from "actively and openly" canvassing for Federalists Candidates." The College closed on the 28th. of March and he did postpone his departure to Kodaikanal. The Bishop was ill and Mr. Bunker was acting as its Commissary. In this capacity he had an important duty to perform Mr. & Mrs. Wagstaff — who medical missionaries — were arriving from America to join the Mission Hospitals. Mr. Bunker had to conduct the Installation Service. He went to Colombo to receive them. The Service was held on the 2nd. of April and Mr. Bunker flew to Kodaikanal on the morning of the 5th. This was five

days before the Jaffna elections. Hence it is not correct that he postponed his departure in order to be in Jaffna for the elections.

3. Jaffna College is an institution noted and acclaimed for the freedom of thought and speech that it allows to all its members. This has been its cherished virtue. It is not possible for Mr. Bunker or anybody else to regiment the staff into any one way of thinking or acting on vital matters. It is well known that there were teachers for and against the Federal cause. It is not true that Jaffna College took any part in the elections as an institution.

4. "Aid from the U.S." may be different from "U.S. Aid" but Jaffna College receives neither. During the latter part of the last century money was collected in England and America for Jaffna College. This was wisely invested in America. There is a Board of Trustees handling the investments. What Jaffna College gets annually is the income from its own funds. It is not aid from anybody. To clear a misapprehension without letting out any secret, Jaffna College receives a little less than one and a half lakhs annually. The state-

ment about six to eight lakhs apparently refers to the Building Grant recently received from the Board of Trustees from accumulated reserves. This is the first time such a grant has come. It certainly is not an annual feature. The statement that "there is a suspicion that the money is not being spent entirely for educational purposes" is only a suspicion and nothing more.

We may not like the foreign policy of the American Government or the part played by the State Department through its agents in this country. But it will be wrong to identify every individual American here or in America with the State Department or John Foster Dulles. There are good people and bad in America just as in any other part of the world. Mr. Bunker is one of those good people who have come this way. Plato said, "When men speak ill of thee, live so that nobody will believe them." Those who know Mr. Bunker will not believe what has been said of him. I have in mind those who may not know him.

Yours etc.,  
I. P. T.

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# Asia

## Foundation

*continued from page 5*

to restrictions which prohibit use of their funds for political purposes.

Only the Ford, Rockefeller and Asia Foundations are at present making extensive grants in Asia. Of these only The Asia Foundation maintains an office and extends assistance to Ceylon.

### Activities

In Ceylon, The Asia Foundation has awarded substantial grants to assist vocational training of youth, training of village workers, publication of inexpensive Sinhalese literature, training of social workers and representation of Ceylon civic groups at international conferences of voluntary agencies concerned with educational, cultural, and social problems.

In the cultural sphere the Foundation has contributed extensively to the development of a theatre for cultural performances, and to groups promoting Sinhalese dance, music and drama.

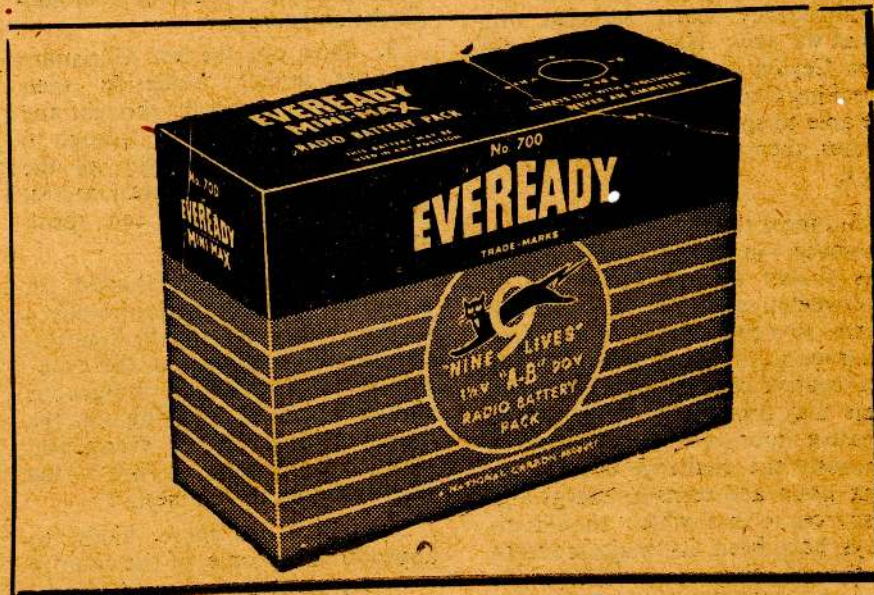
The Asia Foundation counts among its most significant projects a gift of printing presses to the trade unions of Pakistan to facilitate production of workers' education materials, and to the Buddhist Sasana Council of Burma for production of educational literature for schools. In Malaya the Foundation supports the Public Library Association of Malaya in its efforts to establish and supply village libraries. An entire library selected by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was presented to India by the Foundation at the request of Indian authorities. As part of its work towards promoting American understanding of Asia, the Foundation is assisting three Burmese scholars to lecture in the United States on Burmese culture. At the present mo-

ment there is being held in the U.S.A., under the joint patronage of the Foundation and UNESCO, a seminar of renowned Asian and American intellectuals on the subject of Asian-American cultural similarities and differences.

De Toqueville, the famous French writer, observed after visiting America many years ago that Americans have the peculiar habit of organising all manner of citizens groups (without so much as requesting leave from the authorities) to

set about work they consider important. The American foundations are an example of this tendency. Viewed in this light The Asia Foundation can be regarded as a unique expression of the interest of the American people in their fellow man in Asia — an expression which will no doubt find a sincere response as the work of the Foundation and its nature become more generally known.

*To be concluded next week*



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# Asian Revolt

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activities and influence to the English-speaking section of the Church; while the swabasha speaking members, at any rate in the South, are left unnourished, without any literature and without any opportunity of sharing in the life and thought of the Church outside their own restricted congregations.

Hitherto when we have wanted to gauge the strength of the Church and the influence it wields, we have looked at the size of our English congregations, and in our complacency been satisfied with what we saw. Henceforth in the new Ceylon it will be the swabasha speaking Church alone which will be able to speak to the nation. If it dies, then the Church in Ceylon dies.

But these things need not happen. Toynbee, in his *Study of History* has shown that the challenge of overwhelming difficulty, when it comes to a people may work their destruction, or many prove to be the creative hour of their salvation. This may prove to be the Church's creative hour in Ceylon if it takes seriously the challenge of the present hour and turns its energy and resources to that which should always have been its major concern — the planting of an indigenous Church which has no barriers, linguistic, economic or cultural, be-



tween itself and the people of the land. To do that will involve a radical change of the whole strategy of the Church's mission. The nature of the change becomes clearer when we begin to ask ourselves a few questions:

1. How far does a theological education in English on a western syllabus equip a man to speak meaningfully to a Sinhalese villager, a Tamil estate labourer, a Government school teacher with leftist leanings, or a Buddhist monk?

2. How can a congregation in a Sinhalese-speaking village be nurtured when the only modern literature available to it comes from non-Christian sources?

3. How can the few Christians who are in fact 'alongside' their fellow countrymen in thought and manner of life, help the Church to get alongside also, when all the chief offices, lay and clerical, are reserved for those who can speak English?

4. Which is more valuable for a minister of the Church in modern Ceylon,— a scholarship in America, or a year's experience of the evangelistic methods in an indigenous church which is carrying on the most exciting bit of evangelism which is being done in Asia — the Batak Church of Indonesia?

5. Which is more likely to appeal to the people of the country — our present institutions (schools, guilds, fellowship and conferences — all exact replicas of their parallels in England) or an ashram where men live in a community in which the simplest villager will feel at home?

6. What are we going to do about it?

So radical a change of policy will not be easy. It will be opposed by "the old school tie" (one of the things we imported from England along with the cricket bat), by those who have ambitions for scholarships in America, by all who equate middle-class respectability with Christian culture, and by all who forget that when the Church's preaching has ceased to be manifestly good news to the villager and the labourer it has ceased to preach the Gospel. But opposition or no, change there has to be. Once again, in the events of this year, God has appeared to His people saying, "See, I have set before thee this day life and death: therefore choose life that ye may live".

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# WEEK by WEEK

continued from page 7

unofficial slaughtering would flourish and that thereby many diseased and unfit animals would be killed and the meat sold to the public.

Whilst the sentiments of the Buddhist people regarding their religion is respected by all sections, it has been pointed that to enforce meatlessness would be to impose one's beliefs on another and at the same time penalise fresh meat eaters (as those who are used to cold stores meat would not be affected). Furthermore, such a ban is regarded as a step in the direction of taking this country along the path leading to making it a Buddhist State.

Other observers are of the view that this enthusiasm for banning meat, and practically everything associated with the West, is only the first phase of a resurgent nationalism.

## Infliction

As this goes to press, a news re-

port has appeared that the Mayor of Colombo has succeeded in persuading the butchers in Colombo to "voluntarily" agree not to slaughter any cattle during Wesak time.

It is felt by many that this is only another way of getting round the issue. Why should countless thousands be penalised, they ask, in order to satisfy the sentiments of a particular religious community, even if they be in a numerical majority?

The question has also been raised as to why the prohibition is only confined to meat of cattle. If the objection is to taking of life, what about fish is the query? Should there not be a ban on fishing?

A cynic has remarked that there is no killing involved in fishing and the supply of fish for the table. A fish or even a shoal of them die of their own accord when they are taken out of the water. It is a kind of voluntary suicide to satisfy the palate of human beings!

## Language

Mr. L. H. Mettananda, according to a press report in the *Daily News*, wants a Sinhalese Only

bill which gives no rights whatever to the Tamil language. He objects to any kind of concession to the Tamil language and his interpretation of what the Premier promised to the Eksath Bikshu Peramuna is interpreted to suit his own arguments. It must be remembered, according to a number of persons, connected with the MEP, that the election manifesto of the MEP made it quite clear that the reasonable use of the Tamil language and the minority rights will be adequately safeguarded.

It has also been pointed out that it is the *Lake house* press which is spotlighting the most reactionary trends in the language controversy and is providing the greatest publicity to men like Mettananda to sabotage any attempt to arrive at a reasonable solution of the matter. It was *Lake House* it will be remembered, that first triggered the language issue in an attempt to "oust" the Left. Now the same weapon is being used to stir up trouble against "Communists", and Communalists have been thrown in for good measure.

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