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TRIBUNE

Rs. 100 Million where did it go?

"Tribune" reliably understands that the commissions earned by middlemen and agents since Ceylon attained Independence for the purchase of agricultural and other machinery amounts to very nearly a hundred million rupees. It is the Ceylon tax-payer who ultimately foots this commission paid by manufacturers to its agents in this country.

Tribune is aware that suggestions made by the officials and others in the past to streamline the system of Government purchases by direct negotiations with different manufacturers were turned down by the old Government, under pressure presumably, from manufacturers agent, in this country who do nothing

to earn their fantastic commissions except to indulge in the art of keeping purchasing officials and top Government brass in good humour. Even in the capitalist system commissions earned by agents are regarded as the most parasitic form of earning an income, and even countries like Great Britain have rationalised forms of State purchasing to reduce such commissions to a minimum and to curb the activities of such agents.

Agents

The activities of such agents in Ceylon and the increased cost to the tax-payer can fill a large sized volume. To mention only one instance, four employees in charge of equipment and plant employed by a foreign company which executed the Gal Oya contract now hold lucrative posts in a Company which sold machinery to Gal Oya, on a monopoly basis, and are now posted in Spain, Pakistan, Turkey and Afghanistan. Their names are well-known to all connected with Gal Oya. The monopoly which this particular manufacturer was granted has since been broken by Gal Oya deciding to purchase from other manufacturers too; and what is even more significant that these same manufacturers have sold identical equipment for lower prices (even when their "catalogue" prices were unchanged).

Tribune is at the moment not interested in holding a post-mortem into the purchases made by Gal Oya (which has shown remarkable improvement in recent times in the matter of purchasing), the Departments of Agriculture, of Land Development, Irrigation and Electrical

Undertakings. But should it become necessary, Tribune will carry out an investigation into the past methods of purchasing for these departments which will reveal the most colossal waste of public funds.

The Government must immediately establish, as a top priority, a new, efficient and rationalised system of purchasing for Government. The present system of tenders and the Treasury regulations actually lend themselves to manipulation and jobbery by a ring of manufacturers agents who have reaped in millions without doing any concrete or socially-useful work (even in a capitalist sense). With a system of direct negotiations as done in Great Britain it would be easy to purchase the same equipment through a process of bargaining with different manufacturers (without giving them an opportunity to foist a monopoly ring to bolster up prices). With the possibilities of obtaining machinery from countries in Eastern Europe, Russia, Germany, Japan and even China, it would be easy to purchase economically. But by hard bargaining, even with the traditional suppliers from the USA and Britain, great reductions in price can be effected as shown from the experience in Gal Oya after the monopoly there was broken.

It is not merely the hundred million rupees of tax-payers money which has gone to swell the ranks of agents which is at stake. The enhanced prices paid, the unnecessary spares ordered, and the rebates granted to purchasing officers in the form of bribes, entertainment, lucrative jobs and the like, tend to increase corruption. In view of the large development projects that would be undertaken soon, Government must evolve a better system of state purchasing.

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, July 21, 1956

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FILMS

THE RAINS OF RANCHIPUR

English at New Olimpia

Burton, Nana Turner, McMurray

This is supposed to be a rehash of Louis Bromfield's novel, "The Rains Came" projected into the present. The only modern touch as far as I could see was the untouchability of Dr. Sathi, the Indian doctor who falls in love with — in this version — an American coquette married to an English baronet. The earlier film with Tyrone Power was shown nearly fifteen years ago, and I have no doubt that Dr. Sathi — in that film at any rate — whatever he may have been in the book which I haven't read and do not propose to — must have had some vestigial traces of blue blood flowing in his veins or to put it at its lowest plane, must have been a caste Hindu. It used to be considered an affront to the susceptibilities of Western film audiences, to allow an Indian — or for that matter any of the lesser breeds — to contemplate the butcher's daughter from Balham or Brooklyn romantically without his having earlier established beyond the shadow of a doubt that he had certain very definite royal connections. Well a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since those days — and in this film one sees a lot of water flowing through and under many bridges — and here we have an American society woman (if there is such a thing) falling in love with an untouchable. The subject of East — West relationships teems with dramatic possibilities. But neither the Americans (perhaps understandably) nor the British (in spite of 200 years of the Indian Empire) have ventured to tackle the problems with any degree of honesty except to dish up now and again the usual romantic twaddle about Indian maharajahs and English shopgirls surrounded by elephants and Bengal Lancers and hordes of "natives". Throw in a deluge and a tiger hunt, and you have *The Rains of Ranchipur*. More or less.

Richard Burton's Dr. Sathi wasn't convincing at all and somewhat phoney. (The makeup experts

browned his face but forgot his hands). He appears to have thought that the only attribute of an educated Hindu was a flawless English accent (and Burton has indeed a beautiful speaking voice) but otherwise ponderous and platitudinous. (Yes, Dr. Sathi did not forget to remind us that he remembered his Shakespeare) and completely lacking in humour and humanity. That scene where Dr. Sathi refuses to visit the woman he loves who is dying across the river because he had to tend his flock, rang very hollow. He did not make the character live. But rather made of it a sort of tailor's dummy with a perfect diction but without life. In short Dr. Sathi was very much the white man's Burton.

Fred McMurray has always been my idea of the typical American and here he is fairly typical. Lana Turner is beautifully adequate and the maharanee whoever played the part gave a much better impersonation of Maria Ouspenskaya in the earlier film (if I've got my spelling right) than the ranee herself.

Evidently it never rains in Ranchipur but it pours. And it also quakes.

N.

State of Sri Lanka

Thrash Them

A promise that the M.E.P. Government would strive to rejuvenate the Co-operative Movement by ridding it of its defects and strengthening its foundations, was made by Mr. Phillip Gunawardena, Minister of Food and Agriculture at a Co-operators' Day meeting held at the Ratnapura Esplanade.

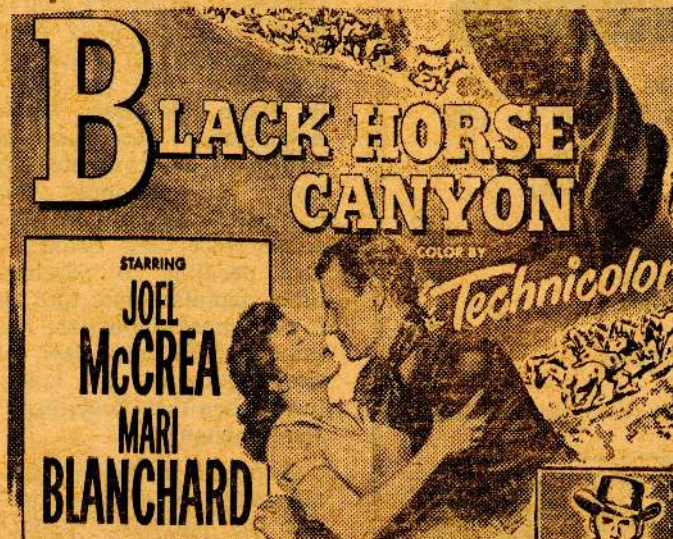
"There are many backmarker traders who pose off as great farmers and take paddy which they bought at Rs. 8 per bushel from the poor and sell at Rs. 12 to co-operative societies. If you catch them tie them up and send me a telegram so that I may join you in thrashing such rogues," he said.

"These is at present a cry to transfer ration books from the co-operatives to other dealers. I am opposed to this totally as I know well how dealers collect ration rice at 40 cents and sell at 68 cents thus making huge profits. Such dealers too must be tied up and thrashed."

Daily News, 16/7

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NO FOREIGN AID

down, if he proves we had any foreign aid to an Arbitrator he and I will agree upon. That is fair is it not?

Lies and misrepresentations are not going to help your correspondent. We beat him in the first round and we shall beat him in the next to the last.

The story is similar to the one which appeared in the *Vir. kesari* Tamil Paper that Mr. Crowe the American Ambassdor offered help to the Jaffna Tamils to break off from South Ceylon and join Madras against North India. The American bogey is too threadbare to affect anyone's opinions.

United Ceylon

The Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna stands for a united Ceylon, for one nation, and to achieve which it has succeeded to persuade the democratic Government of Ceylon to make only one language Official Language. This is the culmination of the fight started by Lorensz in 1867, fostered and developed by Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Arunachalam in the 1920s, ably helped by Sir James Pieris, Jayatileke and E.W. Perera. This was the creed and objective of the Ceylon National Congress in which were the ablest Tamil intellectuals. They stood for one nation for Ceylon irrespective of the individual nationals being Tamil, Sinhalese, Burgher etc., They coined the word Ceylonese to

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This is the second and concluding part of the statement sent to us by the Senadhipathy of the Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna, Mr. Rambukwella Wijeratne. In this article he contends that his Peramuna has not received any aid from foreign sources or organisations. We would refer the Senadhipathy to an article in *Silumina* on June 17 and the *Jana* of July concerning the manner, foreign money is introduced into the political life of this country. In view of the *Silumina* and *Jana* articles, the Senadhipathy should investigate whether the monies which have come into the coffers of the Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna have come from individuals who are in a position to afford such donations and who can also explain how they came by such money. No one imagines that foreign organisations would be foolish enough to make direct donations to political and other associations in Ceylon. The *modus operandi* is to make funds available to certain organisations as donations through innocuous (and sometime not quite so innocent) individuals. Such donors can be agents of foreign organisations passing monies they have received for the purpose. This is a matter which the Senadhipathy must investigate thoroughly particularly after the exposure in the *Silumina* and the *Jana* regarding the subversive tactics of foreign organisations operating in this country.

one single word or sentence to support his statement. The fact that there are two Christian Padres in our Propaganda Committee and numerous Christians working our ideal throughout the country gives the lie to your correspondent's statements as to our aim to make Buddhism our State religion.

It is well known that lawyers attack their opponents when they have a bad case, but importing lies is not only mischievous in the extreme but is positively beneath one's good breeding.

Why does he want to shelter behind the *Times of Ceylon* in saying that our propaganda Vans were traced to a foreign organisation in the Island? Does he fear a prosecution for libel for uttering that lie? Our vans were bought second-hand and on the instalment system. The Financial Credit Corporation can give the names of the persons we bought from and who paid the instalments.

I can show your correspondent who contributed to our funds if he calls for it. There is no secrecy about it. All the money is Ceylon money supplied by patriotic Ceylonese. I offer your correspondent Rs 1000/- cash

Your Correspondent says that the Tri Sinhala stood for a united Sinhalese race having Buddhism as Sinhalese State religion. He is certainly drawing on his imagination, for the Tri Sinhala does not stand for a Sinhalese race for Ceylon or Buddhism as the State religion. Let him show in our numerous publications or reported utterances

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Tri Sinhale

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create national consciousness. On that basis D. S. Senanayake obtained the present Ceylon Constitution which was accepted by the entire State Council of 1947 including all the Tamil members. It is a most up to date democratic constitution.

If anyone says the *Sinhalese Only* bill is discriminatory there is clause 29 of the Constitution and our Courts of Law even up to the Privy Council to correct the Ceylon legislature. *So why upset the Tamil masses, why resort to a make believe satyagraha, why blame the Parliament, why blame the Sinhalese and why this unnecessary hullabaloo?* Why these threats, why this make believe resistance and why give occasion and room for retaliation? Why this invitation to retaliation, Why this necessity for humiliation and why this call for violence? The Tamils also acted for and obtained the present Constitution. It was democratic and up to date in 1947. Why has it now become bad? Why throw aspersions at South Ceylon M. Ps? Have they not acted constitutionally within the law and in the most approved de-

mocratic way?

The present Tamil leaders have adopted a retrograde step. They are back sliding. They asked and got a united Ceylon with a unitary Government. Now they want a separate nation, a separate identity, and separate rights—*seperatism ad excelsis*. The present leaders are small compared to Tamils of the last generation.

The Tri Sinhala worked for one Official Language as a means to further strengthen the one nation idea. Whether it was Tamil, English or Sinhalese was not the essence. One language was the essence. It planked for the Sinhalese because it was the easiest and soonest to be established. They achieved it in the most approved democratic method. So why grouse? Let us play cricket and have to take defeat as just part of the game. The declaration there should be only one official language in Ceylon does not mean that the other languages such as English, Malay, or Tamil, will be wiped out and destroyed. They too can and will exist for purposes other than official, such as for social purposes, for domestic purposes, for religious purposes etc.. This rabble rousing upon a fear that

other languages will be killed outright is nonsense.

The Tamil Leaders will have to pay dearly for rousing the Tamil masses on wrong principles. Who will get the worst of satyagrahas, boycotts, resistance, etc.? Boycotting the Sinhalese language will hit stomach of over 500,000 out of a total of 900,000 Ceylon Tamils. South Ceylon will welcome this move. What has become of the Tamil brain that they cannot see beyond their noses?

Sir Kandiah Vaithianathan's protest on the language of the area clause in the Delhi Pact roused the suspicions of the Sinhalese. Chelvanayagam's attempted alignment with the South Indians in Ceylon added fuel to the fire. The demand for parity of languages *throughout Ceylon* hit the last nail of the coffin. The country saw that this move was only a ruse to Tamilise the five Kandyan Provinces at the expense of the indigenous Sinhalese.

Those who are for our heritage shed rivers of blood so that his country may be free of a foreign yoke. Will they stop and look on, weak as they are, while what they fought for is stolen before their very eyes?

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Prosperity without Colonies-3

It is not true to say that the possession of colonies was in the interest of all sections of the West-European population. It was a source of enrichment only to a narrow group of big businessmen and adventurers, who turned the natural resources of the colonies into their personal property, acquired concessions for a song, exploited the semi-slave labour of the native workers and made fortunes by acting as middlemen in the foreign trade of dependent countries. Others who made fortunes in the colonies were planters, colonial officials and hireling officers. Some crumbs from the monopolies' colonial profits also fell to the numerically small labour aristocracy of the metropolitan countries. But to the majority of the West-European population, colonial ventures were a direct loss. This was not only because they had to bear the huge burden of expenditure entailed by the unceasing colonial wars; it should be remembered that not the least of the causes of World War I, which devastated the territory of Europe, was the struggle for a redivision of the colonies.

Nowadays, the cost of colonial ventures is, from the purely economic standpoint, a factor which must weigh decisively with the European

This is the third and concluding instalment of an article entitled "Can Western Europe survive without Colonies" which we have reprinted with acknowledgements to the Soviet weekly *New Times*. The first part dealt with the contemporary historical background: the second with the political policies now followed by Western groups; and in this article the economic aspects are analysed.

countries. One example will suffice. If the colonial war against the six million Malayans has cost Britain, since World War II, 400 million pounds sterling, how much would the British have had to pay for a similar war against the 474 million Indians, Pakistanis and Burmese? And how would such a war have ended for Britain? No profits from colonial exploitation can now compensate the West-European countries for the gigantic expenditure involved in a struggle against colonial nations. The people of Western Europe will not — indeed, cannot — take this expenditure upon themselves.

The monopoly groups which specialized in colonial plunder and, in particular, derived huge profits from the seizure and exploitation of natural resources, will undoubtedly suffer severe loss when they are forced to surrender their privileges completely. That is why they are mustering all their energies to save the colonial system. They have the backing of the various financial allies of the colonial concerns, stock exchange speculators, and other direct and indirect accomplices in colonial exploitation. To them, indeed, loss of the colonies would be the worst disaster they can imagine. But for the overwhelming majority of the West-European population, it would mean relief from additional financial burdens and from the threat of being involved in colonial ventures that would exact a costly toll of life,

Improved Trade

The West-European supporters of colonialism argue that the secession of the colonies would fatally disrupt, if not entirely destroy, the foreign trade of the West-European countries, and that this would inevitably affect all sections of the population. That is not true.

Here, too, a big colonial power might be taken as a concrete illustration. In 1947, Britain exported goods to India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma — which were then her colonies — to a value of 39.2 million pounds. In 1955, nearly ten years after these countries were granted independence, she sold them goods to a value of 211.5 million pounds. Moreover, their percentage share in Britain's total exports has remained partially unchanged. In 1948, a year after India became independent, Britain held 72 per cent of the total foreign assets in that country; in 1955 she held 82 per cent.

In the past two years, Britain's trade with the independent Asian countries represented on the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East increased 20 per cent. The *Bulletin for Industry*, published by the British Treasury, recently discussed India's second five-year plan, which envisages a big increase in machinery imports in order to accelerate industrialization. Far from expressing any uneasiness at this fact, the bulletin pointed out that it offered Britain the opportunity to nearly treble her exports of industrial goods to India.

One might also point to Western Germany, which expects big foreign trade advantages precisely from the fact that she has no colonies. And, lastly, there is the example of France, whose foreign trade with the countries of Indo-China has dropped to a minimum in the post-war period precisely because of her prolonged refusal to recognise their independence.

These facts only confirm the truth that optimal conditions for trade between two countries are not provided when one is a highly developed country, and the other poor,

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SOVIET VIEWPOINT - 3

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backward and down trodden. Not only is the internal consumption of an underdeveloped country reduced to a minimum; so is its capacity to import foreign goods. The peasants of the colonial countries not only feed on a handful of rice and dress in rags, but are unable to buy valuable goods abroad, however badly they may need them. And at least four fifths of the population of the Asian colonial countries were semi-destitute peasants.

Equality

Only as independent equal and industrialized nations can the countries of Asia and Africa trade with the rest of the world, including Western Europe, to the full extent of their vast natural potentialities. The reason is clear: only the full development of their productive forces, the upbuilding of their national industry, and the raising of their national living standards can turn the former colonies and semi-colonies into markets commensurate with the size of their population.

What has been said concerning the prospects for West-European exports as the colonial era passes, equally applies to West-European imports from the former subject countries. The colonial diehards try to frighten the public with the prediction that loss of the colonies will deprive Western Europe of supplies of valuable raw materials, notably oil and nonferrous metals. There is no truth in that.

The termination of colonial rule cannot possibly imply cessation of exports from the countries concerned. In 1955, the Middle East, with an aggregate population of about 34 million people, produced 162 million tons of oil. Can it be believed that when the foreign oil trusts have been eliminated, the Middle East will itself consume all the oil it produces — nearly 5 tons per capita per annum? That is out of the question. The liberated countries of Asia and Africa will continue to export a considerable part of their raw materials. More, needing funds for the rapid development of their economies, they will be interested in increasing the production of raw materials, and not artificially restricting it, as has often been done by international

syndicates of concession-holders in order to boost prices. The former colonies and semi-colonies will sell their raw materials to the same countries that needed them before, since liberation of the colonies does not disturb the international division of labour.

Western Europe can acquire new and extensive markets in Asia and Africa and ensure the supply of the raw materials it needs, but only on condition that it deals with Asia and Africa as with equals.

This, in fact, is the conclusion arrived at by the third group of West-European commentators on colonial developments. These observers are sober-minded and urge a realistic and businesslike attitude to political and economic issues. Just as in former times there were feudal landlords who were not disturbed by the abolition of serfdom, and even foresaw that the consequences would be beneficial for agriculture so now there are sane minds in Western Europe which are not alarmed by the passing of the colonial era.

The London *New Statesman and Nation*, pointing out that Britain must willynilly face the fact of "colonial revolution" and the inevitability of her "imperial egress" from the Middle East, comes to the following conclusion!

"Possibly if we had been prepared to withdraw more rapidly, and with better grace, we might have retained more influence over our ex-proteges, and some of our privileges — What we must now do is to assess the extent of the damage, and draw the logical conclusions.... Provided we keep our heads, there is little risk that our indispensable supplies of Middle Eastern oil will be cut off — at least in the next few years. We shall continue to get our oil".

Not violence, but cooperation on an equal footing will ensure the requirements of Western Europe in its economic relations with the Asian and African peoples. To revolt against the course of history is futile and very costly. Recognition of its laws, and particularly of the inevitable decay of the colonial system, will make possible the establishment of new relations between Western Europe and the former colonies, relations which accord with the requirements of the time.

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

★ RADIO

★ GAL OYA

★ BASES

The Parliament met for three days after the Prime Minister returned from the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. On Tuesday July 10, the Appropriation Bill was tabled and on Thursday July 12 the Finance Minister presented his new budgetary proposals. Parliament also discussed the Food Minister's Radio Broadcast and the Gal Oya problem. A Private Member's motion on the need to remove caste barriers and untouchability was passed unanimously by both sides of the House on Wednesday July 13.

More and temples in Jaffna and Trincomalee were thrown open to the untouchables of the Depressed Castes in the course of the week. The reserve and volunteer army units, called up when the communal troubles over language flared up on June 5, were "de-mobbed" on July 17th.

Radio Talk

The "row" over Philip Gunawardene's tirade against the other parties on the State Radio ended with a statement by Minister Marikkar after Keneuman and other. Opposition speakers had raised the question in the House. NLSSP

speakers had stressed that the only parallel to the Food Minister's speech was when the former Labour Leader Goonesinha had similarly abused the privileges of Radio as Minister without Portfolio. That speech had brought forth an apology from the then Minister of Broadcasting.

Minister Marikkar's statement was not a forthright apology but a face-saving formula. He stated that it was wrong for such statements to be made over radio and was sorry it had happened. However he said that the Food Minister had to explain to the country the difficulties he had to contend with and that he could not do so adequately without referring to certain personalities. He ended finally with a promise that a new method would be discovered in regard to checking on the scripts of Minister's statements over the Radio.

Thus the Government endeavoured to "save its face." It is known that the entire Government Party and the Cabinet are rather shamefaced about this episode. It is also believed that a large number of Cabinet Ministers were in favour of Keneuman being given a "reply" over the Radio in respect of the personal attacks on him. The fact that this incident ended so tamely is indication, according to well-informed political circles, that neither the Government nor the Opposition want to have a showdown over the Food Minister. As far as the Government was concerned it is felt that Philip Gunawardene with his 9 or 10 supporters (and not 20 to 30 according to popular legend) was better inside Government than outside at this particular stage. The Opposition too seems inclined to the view that Philip Gunawardene continuing as Food Minister would provide them with a better target for criticism. The MEP cannot at this stage do without the Food Minister and his supporters to maintain its parliamentary majority. As things stand, events have not yet developed to anticipate any other grouping of forces to enable Mr. Bandaranaike and the SLFP to do

without the VLSSP (if there is a break however, not more than six or seven will follow the Food Minister). If sections of the UNP, the Muslims and others join the SLFP, as there are indications, the time may become ripe to expect a regrouping of forces on the Government side.

Gal Oya

The Opposition also raised the question of the troubles in Gal Oya. The Prime Minister, though he stated that he would pay a personal visit, declared that he would appoint an independent Commission to go into the happenings in the valley. He also indicated that Government had no intention of ordering a probe into the police conduct in Colombo on June 5th in spite of public misgivings arising from the disclosures in the Finance Minister's confidential report to the Cabinet.

T. B. Subasinghe, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, made a statement in Parliament on behalf of the fact-finding mission from the Government side. It was a reasoned and well-balanced speech in which he urged that a Commission should be appointed to go into the matter fully. The only discordant speech in that debate came from a VLSSP man Frank Hettiaratchi on the Government side who raised provocative slogans and endeavoured to paint a story about a "Tamil invasion" and "Tamil atrocities" in the Gal Oya Valley.

In the meantime, a newly formed association under the grandiose title Gal Oya Arakshaya Madalaya, consisting of the language extremists and hunger-strikers (viz. Mettananda, Rajaratna, Felix Jayasuriya and three others) was given publicity in Lake House papers demanding the "sacking" of Sidney de Soya, the Deputy Inspector General of Police (in charge of Gal Oya operations) and Kanagasunderam (Chairman of the Gal Oya Board).

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July 21, 1956

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BUDGET

The Budgetary proposals presented by the Minister of Finance on July 12 show no indications of any socialist bias or any major breakaway from earlier methods of budgeting. Indeed, it can be said that the current Budget is no more than a colourless, non-controversial but somewhat rationalised version of the kind of budget we have so far been used to. The Minister of Finance in a long series of apologies stated that he had not the time to do anything better. Time may be needed to work out detailed plans, but there was no excuse not to be able to reveal in the Budget the fact that the MEP government marked a turning point from the kind of economic policies and thinking which had led this country into a hopeless blind alley. The crux and the essence of a socialist budget lies in conscious and planned State direction in the matter of agricultural and industrial development (even in regard to defining and activating the private sector). A strictly "capitalist" budget of any value would have provided conditions under which private enterprise would have thought it advantageous to embark on new undertakings in agriculture and industry. The first MEP budget betrays not the slightest sign of any desire to give a socialist impetus to economic development nor does it frankly and boldly outline a progressive budget on the orthodox and classical tenets of regulated capitalism (which is undoubtedly yet capable of doing a great deal of good of this island). The Stanley de Soyza Budget falls between two stools and it must be regretfully stated that a glorious opportunity to lay the foundations for a new economic era has been delayed. Whether in another year the Finance Minister or the Government will be in a position to do any better is problematic for two reasons: firstly there seems to be confused thinking about the kind of economic policies which can draw the island's economy away from the mess it now finds itself; and secondly, the Treasury and the Planning Secretariat seem to be chock-a-block with officials who seem to think

that wasteful expenditure (which can attract votes) is socialism and that piratical capitalism (without regulation or direction) is the best form of free enterprise.

The Finance Minister's Budget Speech indicated, moreover, that even in the MEP era of *Sinhala Only* the Government Front Bench was capable of utilising the English language to create a mirage of a land which was shortly to flow with milk and honey. A reduction in the price of a tin of jam by about ten cents or fifteen cents in a pound of butter cannot take the people any further towards economic prosperity, but Stanley de Soyza made it out that Nirvana had been obtained. All that the Finance Minister told the country in his elegantly phrased Budget speech, delivered with oratorical flourish characteristic of a bygone age, can be summed up shortly. In the first place, he laboured hard to show that his MEP Budget was different from a UNP budget. He criticised earlier budgeting methods without letting the nation into the secret of how his was better or even different. Combined with venomous attacks on the UNP he had a few barbed darts for the economic policies suggested by the socialist leaders seated on the Opposition benches. In the second place, he pleaded that he had no time to frame the kind of budget he would have liked. He did not say what his kind of Budget was, but whatever it might be, it was to be pregnant with all the good things of life. Such was the *policy content* of the Budget speech, that is, if one can be permitted to regard backbiting of the UNP, apologising for present inability to have done something better, and promising the moon next year, as political arguments to support nondescript budgetary proposals.

Apart from this, the Budget did no more than to rationalise the normal kind of budgets we have known all these years. A

few anomalies were removed. Duties on a number of items mainly consumed by middle and upper class homes were reduced. The poorer classes benefited by getting cheaper dried and salted fish from abroad (any scheme to produce these locally was also put off for the next budget). The budget deficit of Rs. 150 million was called a deficit and this can be said to be the only the difference from a UNP budget. Whereas the earlier Governments had often been tempted to smuggle deficits into loan expenditures and the like and pretend the myth of *balanced budgets*, Stanley de Soyza must be congratulated for calling deficit a deficit. He endeavoured to meet this deficit by raising Rs. 25 million by new taxes which would fall on categories that would be able to bear them. Significantly enough, diesel oil was taxed (this amply proved that the Finance Minister did not have a soft heart towards bus companies). The extra five percent on Company tax still kept the rate lower than what it was in the United Kingdom.

As to economic development, like the UNP, this Government sought token votes on the proposed ileminite, salt and spinning industries (which had been initiated by the former government but had done nothing because of quarrels between groups of private entrepreneurs as to who should have the plums. Only two schemes for agricultural development (really old schemes in new bottles) were envisaged and these were sited in the constituencies of the Finance Minister and the Minister for Land Development. Indeed, the similarities between this MEP Budget and the UNP Budgets of the past are so great that no special attention to them need be drawn to convince the public about it.

A Tamil friend of mine has passed on a letter from a mutual Tamil friend in England who describes the inside story about the recent demonstrations that were staged in London for the benefit of Prime Minister Bandaranaike. The letter also gives some indication of the goings-on among the Ceylon Dravidians in London.

The letter is a rather long one and contains a great deal of gossip about persons and personalities from Lanka now sojourning in the "home" country. But I shall quote extracts from the letter to indicate the present political climate among Ceylonese there. The writer of the letter is by no means a political creature and if one can classify him he can be said to be somewhere around the *Centre* in matters political.

"Inadvertently I walked straight into the *Tamil-Camp*," he states describing how he first made contact with the fire-brands. "I was quite amazed at the violent and illogical nature of their conversation" and he proceeds to recount the familiar arguments of the Tamil communalists and separatists, and continues "... actually they were just raving and ranting. One main personage amidst the lot was a youngster who named the *Colombo Tamils* as traitors etc — I later found out that he was a Sinhalese fellow called (a UNP hero), and that he is having a romance with one of the Tamil girls here (a daughter of a retired Government official now acquiring "culture" in the U.K.)"

Banda's Visit

"Anyway the main topic of conversation was Banda's visit and that all Tamils in London were boycotting the meetings etc. and those who did go would be noted and would suffer serious consequences, especially if they returned to Ceylon. I was most perturbed to hear all this, and later when, some of us met at tea, Mrs. forbade her husband (whom I know to be quite sensible) from going anywhere near any function to Banda

"The next day", the letter continues, "I began to get further bits

of information, leading to the fact that there was a clique of young Tamil hot-heads in London who had formed an association and who were using fascist methods, e.g. terror and blackmail, to make other moderate elements of the Tamils into following their decisions..... At the Prime Minister's Party on June 30 there were a number of Tamils, but a great many who had wanted to attend had been kept out by the terror tactics of this gang. There were some Tamil youngsters standing outside in the street taking down the names of the Tamils who went in....."

The letter goes to describe the Ceylon Students Meeting which Bandaranaike addressed and where he explained his language policy. "The meeting was quite a success and Bandaranaike rendered a very good speech — the only sad part was that there was not a single Tamil around who was interested in asking a few questions... .."

The letter then recounts the happening in the Ceylon Students Association which has been wrecked, according to the writer, by the tactics of a few Tamil students and which has also led to a deep and unnecessary cleavage between the Sinhalese and Tamils in London. But that is another story.

Resistance Group

What interested me most in the letter was the activities of the miniature separatists in far away London. "Now recently prior to the arrival of the P.M.", the letter went on, "a secret meeting behind closed doors was held by about 60 Tamils. As a result an Association called the *Tamil Resistance Group* was formed. The invitations for the meeting for the formation of the above group were restricted to only Tamils and few selected Muslims". (The letter gives the names of the leading lights in the London Resistance Group but it is unnecessary to repeat them here except to say that an unduly large proportion of them seem to belong to a Christian denomination in Jaffna which is in the forefront of the separatist movement in the Island).

There was drama in the first meeting, for "Sir C. Corea heard about this and had sent the press officer of Ceylon House as his agent who went in unobserved and began to take notes. But he was discovered half way through and the meeting abruptly terminated..."

"The Resistance Group took root", continues the letter, "from the so-called Tamil Cultural Organisation called the *Tamil Sangam* formed sometime back. This Group then set out to publicly disown the P.M. and began other blackmailing tactics. This group was approached by some leading Sinhalese members of the C.S.A. for joint discussions on the language problem, but the Resistance Group would have none of it..... The group then secretly organised and carried out a demonstration at the London Airport on the day of the P.M.'s arrival. The B.B.C. unfortunately televised the demonstration, e.g. with slogans "Murderer of the Minorities", "Malan of Ceylon", etc etc. Most of the people, even Ceylonese, were unaware of this demonstration until they saw it on the television. This caused a certain amount of bad feeling amongst the Sinhalese who feel that such demonstrations especially in front of the British public will only add to the present state of tension. They feel that the differences should be settled indoors and not on the streets....."

The letter ends up with a frantic request for a detailed report of the situation in Ceylon. The Resistance Group had intimidated the Tamils in London so much that "even some of the liberal minded Tamils were prevented from attending the C.S.A. Party to Banda." According to the letter, "three Tamil doctors I know rang up Karunaratne, the President, to say how sorry they were but they could not come as they would suffer serious consequences at home when they got back — especially because they were returning to Jaffna".

The letter speaks for itself but what I was amused with was about the names of the some leading personalities in this tragic-comedy now being enacted by the Dravidians of Ceylon in London.

Week by Week

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There is universal support, however, for an independent Commission consisting on non-partisan basis to probe Gal Oya.

Bases

In the Parliament, the Prime Minister also made a statement on the bases. He said that no agreement had been signed but that the joint communique reflected the agreements reached, namely that the British would quit the bases, and that Ceylon would grant for a stipulated time the British certain "facilities", for communication, storage and transport. Official teams from both countries would soon meet in order draw up more detailed arrangements and after that an agreement would be signed. Sir Anthony Eden confirmed the same arrangements in the House of Commons and the Labour Opposition chief Gaitskell also lent his support to the British Government's policy on the bases in Ceylon.

The Opposition in the House of Representatives had wanted a full debate on the bases question and Prime Minister Bandaranaike has undertaken to set apart time for this. The Opposition may, however, state all it wants during the Budget debate scheduled to start on July 24. The main criticism seems to be as far as the Left is concerned that the Government has not thrown out the British completely. The *U & P Journal*, whilst being cynical of the new agreement about bases, indicated its line by having a cartoon which showed the Indian Navy waiting outside Trincomalee as the British Navy was steaming out (and the one ship of the Ceylon Navy helplessly inside the harbour).

This bogey of Indian invasion is being fostered by reactionary rightist elements. A foreign newspaper correspondent at the Prime Minister's Conference kept pestering Mr. Bandaranaike as to whether he did not fear an Indian

invasion in case the British quit Trincomalee. A whisper campaign set afloat in Colombo by such foreign sources also threaten a "Communist" occupation of the port of Trincomalee: Indian, Russian or Chinese. Prime Minister Bandaranaike has declared quite categorically that he does not fear any "invasion" from India, or any other place.

Muslims

The Muslim League, which had been affiliated to the UNP, has decided to break away and steer an independent course. Reports indicate that there was bitter debate and discussion. The pro-UNP faction led by Mashoor and Hamid (might have been Mayor Hamid) fought to the last ditch, but the Kaleel-A.M.A. Azeez section won the day.

The Muslims seem to have decided (Sir Razik Fareed although he remains with his "Moors" in the UNP seem to have decided similarly) that there is no future with the UNP. From all accounts they seem to think that the future is with the SLFP and the NLSSP. Muslim political theoreticians seem to think

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that old UNP elements should merge with the SLFP (and not the MEP because of the VLSSP). However, there is a strong trend among the Muslims that they should not be cut away from the NLSSP, particularly in view of the language policy relentlessly followed by the NLSSP.

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NIXON

Nixon's visit to Karachi, according to reports filtering in, seems to have some bearing on crucial developments on Pak-US relations. It would appear that Nixon had rushed to Pakistan because of the serious anxiety and alarm felt in American circles over Pakistan's "first bite at the Red bait", as they call the recent signing of its trade agreement with the USSR.

"Soviet aid is offered not with strings but with a rope: the recipient runs the almost certain risk of having the rope tied around its neck", Nixon had thundered addressing himself to the whole of Asia generally, and to Pakistan immediately and very urgently.

A report coming from inside sources in Karachi described Nixon's effort at diplomacy thus: "..... for two hours Nixon is reported to have done all the talking (to the President and the Ministers), and that in his characteristic bullying manner. The extreme violence of his outburst before the Pressmen at the airport was only a faint reflection of what transpired behind closed doors. It has been a very shocking experience even for Pakistan's leaders who have by now got quite used to American manners. And they have been so stunned that none of them has uttered a single word so far to the Press about the talks".

It will be remembered that the Americans did their their worst (as in Ceylon when the Rice-Rubber Pact with China was being negotiated) to torpedo the USSR-Pak trade agreement. After the agreement, the US Embassy in Karachi broke diplomatic protocol in issuing a statement regarding the hurdles that stood in the way of ratification. But in spite of all this, Pak political and commercial circles have welcomed the trade agreement and there is great anxiety to operate the Pact without delay. Nixon threatened a new tactic according to observers. He is said to have told the Pak High

Command that US would give all-out support to the extremist Pakistani demand about Kashmir only if Pakistan would give up flirtations with the Red bloc. What will Pakistan do?

Vice-President Nixon seems determined to carry on with the cold war as best as he can. He also paid visits to other US "satellites" in Asia, namely Phillipines, Viet Nam, Formosa, and Thailand and reassured them of continued American support. But beyond assurances of support, Nixon went on to attack "neutralism" in the same way as Dulles has been doing.

Just as Dulles has been trying to wriggle out of his "neutralism is immoral" speech after Nehru's retort "I am proud to be a pagan", State Department officials have been doing their best to "white-wash" some of Nixon's more foolhardy declarations by resorting to the old dodge of stating that he had not been properly or adequately reported, and that a fuller report would have shown that Nixon

had meant something else. These tactics of the State Department does not seem to have convinced anyone that Nixon was anxious to be conciliatory to the "uncommitted neutral nations", nor has the world taken too kindly to Dulles' explanation that his charge of immorality was applicable only to a particular variety of "neutral nations".

Eisenhower

Eisenhower's decision to run for second term after his recent operation has created a great deal of speculation in political circles all over the world. Progressive opinion throughout the world favours Eisenhower owing to his disapproval of cold war politics and his desire for friendly relations with all countries.

But the world is worried about the position of Eisenhower in the United States itself. "It is ironical," states Balaraman in a despatch to the *Hindu*, "that whilst these leaders (Republicans) are all unanimous in their support for Eisenhower as

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World Affairs

continued on page 155

presidential candidate they seem completely at odds with him when it comes to supporting his policies in the Congress.

"They have driven coach and four through his foreign aid programme they have joined with Opposition democrats to kill his programme for Federal aid to schools, they have stymied his programme for liberalisation of foreign trade and they have helped the Democrats to pass a virtual vote of no-confidence in his military judgement. Congress called his air force budget woefully inadequate to meet the country's security needs and overriding the administration's objections voted billion more dollars for the air force than had been asked."

What this indicates is that manufacturers of war planes and armaments have more "pull" with the Congress than President Eisenhower.

Fear

Balaraman also succinctly expressed a fear which is now growing because Eisenhower has Nixon as his running mate for Vice-President. Nixon's speeches during his Asian trip should give a foretaste of what the world can expect if Mr. Eisenhower is re-elected and owing to some unfortunate development he is also rendered unable to perform his high duties adequately."

Many Indian papers echo the same sentiments: and democratic leaders in the United States are saying the same thing more forcibly. It is said that Nehru's "postponement" of his trip to the USA was to a large extent due to the fact the views of Dulles and Nixon on the approach to neutral nations have been so much at variance

with Eisenhower's. Nehru is believed not to have wanted to give an opportunity to the Republicans to use the "prestige" value of his visit in the coming elections, particularly in view of the uncertainty of the future of Eisenhower in the Republican camp itself. It must be remembered that ex-President Truman of the Democrats was one of the earliest callers on Nehru in London (Krishna Menon had also brought in first hand reports).

Nehru has followed up his "if neutralism is immoral, I am a pagan speech" with another blast against the cold war on his return from Ireland. At Bonn, he advised Adenauer and the German people to view the Russian and Chinese revolutions differently and that they should endeavour to establish friendly relations with these countries as India had done.

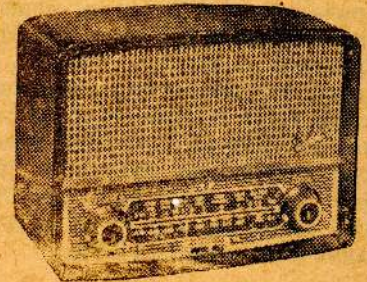
Iceland

The cold war is certainly not faring well these days. Eden and Selwyn Lloyd are scheduled to go to Moscow next May. In the meantime, the recent elections to the Upper House in Japan has been a bitter defeat for the pro-American pro-rearmament Conservatives led by Hatoyama. The socialists, who have won all along the line with increased communist representation, want the liquidation of foreign bases and the withdrawal of US forces from all Japanese territory including Okinawa.

In far away Iceland too the elections have gone against the Government which has stood for retention of the US bases within the framework of N A T O. The *New York Times Weekly Edition* (July 1, 1955) after finding some hope in the fact the the Progressives can form a government only in a coalition with the Socialists and Communists, stated: "Still the vote was an unmistakable sign the bases arrangement is not popular. Washington is of no mind to hang on in the face of public resentment. But, if possible, this country would like to keep the base. Accordingly, a search is under way for possible means to minimize friction between U.S. servicemen and the Icelanders."

What this means is that US still hopes to intrigue to maintain its bases in Iceland against popular wish. It would perhaps try to disrupt the new Government and perhaps trigger "disturbances" as it has done in so many other countries.

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LANGUAGE

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As a Ceylonese interested in the language issue in Ceylon I wish to express my deep appreciation of the manner in which the Malayan Press has reacted to the Bandaranaike government's lowering of the status of the Tamil language.

A *Straits Times* leaderette entitled "Lingua Fracas" and Mr. Vernon Bartlett's comments on Ceylon in the first of his "Look around" series in that paper refer pointedly if cautiously to the ruthless haste and coercion with which the "Sinhalese Only" Bill was rushed through Parliament.

The root of the trouble can be traced to the Soulbury Commission which drew up the Ceylon Constitution. The simple truth of the matter is that the Tamil leaders apparently owing to lack of cohesion within themselves were led by the Commission or cajoled by the Sinhalese leaders into accepting the creation of a constitution which ostensibly granted independence to Sinhalese and Tamils alike while in reality it saddled on the Tamils only a change of masters. Those in Ceylon who actually got independence are only the Sinhalese and this the Sinhalese have started to assert with the "Sinhalese Only" Bill, to the utter consternation of the Tamils and the bewilderment of every lover of his mother tongue.

Nevertheless, as the Tamil language has flourished in Ceylon from time immemorial, it will continue to thrive in the future also and no human agency can crush it. As regards the claim of the Tamils for complete equality with their Sinhalese brethren in all respects the only course open to them is for the leaders to sacrifice individual ambitions on the altar of their commonwealth, put up an absolutely united front and fight constitutionally.

T. Mailvahanan,

The Lodge,
Katugaha,
Pattiyagedera,
2.7.56.

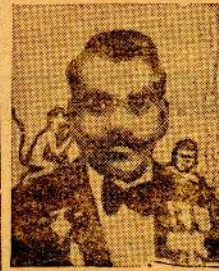
Please permit me the courtesy of your columns to reveal my bewilderment concerning the Sub-Postmasters in Ceylon, holding an Annual General Meeting at the Galle Face Hotel, Colombo, a few days ago, and electing office-bearers for the ensuing year, while another similar Meeting of the Sub-Postmasters Union in Ceylon, was also held at the Queen's Hotel, Kandy on the 24th of last month, where to office-bearers were duly elected for the ensuing year. From this it is to be inferred that there are two separate Sub-Postmasters' Unions in Ceylon going by the name of "The Sub-Postmasters' Union of Ceylon", which is not only astounding but absolutely absurd. From all appearances, there seems to be something quite rotten in the State of Denmark.

The question now arises which of the two Unions is to be recognised as the true body representing the Sub-Postmasters in Ceylon on the whole, the Kandy one, under the Presidentship of Mr. H. B. Chandrasekera, S. P. M. Mulgampola, or the Colombo one, under the Presidentship of Mr. D. C. Wettasinghe. Whichever it is, there cannot be two identical Unions going by the same name of the Sub-Postmasters' Union of Ceylon.

I have also had the rare opportunity of perusing quite a good number of notices, going round, of meetings held and meetings to

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be held, convened by two rival parties, and from these one is apt to come to the conclusion that there is a certain strain of disunity amongst the Members of the original Sub-Postmasters' Union of Ceylon, at least amongst the Office-Bearers, which should not be the case. I only trust that a saner sense of duty which they owe towards their Brother Officers, would prevail and that in the very interests of the Union they have formed that these petty differences be shaken off for good and that they unite together on a common platform, with the sole and one purpose of defending the cause of each and every Sub Postmaster in Ceylon, which should be their only aim and one which would automatically recede to their own gain.

ARTHUR S. E ATON.



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Queen's Cup

The coveted Queen's Cup which will be run off today over 1 1/4 miles may have perhaps lost some of its glamour, as we do not find Owen Grange and Joshua amongst the entries, but 12 of our best stayers have been entered and the result looks very open.

The top weight *Canway* is a genuine stayer with a penchant for soft going, and as it looks as if the going will be good I leave him out of the reckoning. *Briggs*, with Ted Fordyce up, has recently done everything that has been asked of him, but as to whether he could carry 8.12 in a race that will obviously be fast run is a matter for a certain amount of conjecture and more so as *Briggs* likes to dictate terms in front and I am sure he will not be able to do so as there are so many of the bottom weights obviously out to set a cracking pace from the jump off. This brings us to Mr. Vernon Rajapakse's *Skerry-*

vore who will have that great judge of pace, Norman Whiteside to guide him. This horse, fit and well, would have had a great chance of winning this race but I did not like the way he ran a few Saturdays ago and rule him out of the possibles.

The improving *Cloyne* with Tyrell up appears to be one in with a great chance of winning, as I am convinced that he would have won last Saturday if only he had the luck of the running which he certainly did not have. The extra two furlongs today should suit him admirably and he should be thereabouts at the finish. *Barman* who did very well in N'Eliya but failed to maintain his form down here apparently does not relish a right handed course so I will not enlarge on his chances. *Way to Paradise* is another I propose to leave out as his weight should be a stopper in this exalted company.

I cannot see *Sophocles* win this race although he has been most consistent just lately. *Merlin* has not lived up to his performances in England and until he regains his form is not a Queen's Cup proposition. Major Baptist's *Eastline* nicely weighted at 7.5 is one that I

The commentary on racing will appear regularly in *Tribune*. The writer has been in intimate touch with racing in Ceylon for many years and is acknowledged to be one of finest judges of racing and horse flesh.

consider will go very near-winning this race — his trainer, Alwis is a very astute judge and from what I have seen he has brought this horse on nicely timing his preparation for this event and I for one will be most surprised if he is not somewhere there at the finish. I rule out *C.P.O.* as he has not been in a race for some time and I prefer to see him in a race before I put him in with a chance *Adamant* will probably be ridden by Doyle, who was instrumental in importing this horse into the Island, and this horse goes well for the long England style of riding and I think will take a lot of beating.

To sum up I pick *Adamant* to win from *Fastline* and the one to give them most trouble should be *Cloyne*.

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