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THE WORLD AND JOIN THE .U. N. P. ">-CO SHIP MR. NATESAN

Prime Minister Sways Vast Crowd at Kandy

Support For Party In Country

PREFACING the welcome extended to the delegates of the United National Party Youth Leaguers and visitors who came in their thousands to attend the Fourth Annual Conference of the Party held this year at the Wales Theatre Hall, Kandy, Mr. E. L. Senanayake, the Mayor and Chairman of the Reception Committee said:

"Senkadagalapura has not known such a great occasion since 1815, the year in which the last King of Kandy was captured by the British, the national flag of the Sinhalese hauled down and the people were enslaved. Today is, therefore, a day of great national importance and significance. It was certainly a great historic occasion, worthy of being written in letters of gold. After a hundred and thirty-five years of foreign domination Sri Lanka has regained her sovereignty. We owe all this to the wisdom and statesmanship of the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, our greatest national hero."

Senator W. A. B. Soysa endorsed the sentiments pressed by the Mayor and declared that Kandy had not seen such a vast gathering within living memory, which amply testified to the significance of the great occasion-

The Prime Minister was conducted in procession to the chair. Those assembled in the hall rose and joined in the singing of "Namo Namo Matha". The members of the Working Committee were accommodated on the platform taking their places beside him.

The Prime Minister then delivered his Presidential address:-

"I believe that no thinking man among my countrymen will countenance for a moment the sinister suggestions and the subtle appeals of those who raise the cries of community, race or religion. I believe that our happy way of living and our happy tradition of friendly equality are too much a part of our national life to be disturbed by self-serving appeals to the spirit of sectionalism", said Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Prime Minister, speaking from the chair at the fourth annual conference of the U.N.P. held yesterday at Wales Theatre Hall.

Mr. Senanayake said that the

Mr. Senanayake said that the city of Kandy, where they were assembled that day, has had a glorious past. Hallowed by ancient tradition, sanctified by the presence of the Tooth Relic venerated as the stronghold of their Independence, the city of Kandy had played a most notable part in their long Island story. It was therefore a proud moment of his life at which he was privileged to address from this historic city the fourth annual conference of their Party.

"This is the first occasion since the attainment of our freedom when we have held our annual conference in this great city. On this soil, watered with the blood of patriots and honoured as the seat of Kings, our Lanka's freedom grew and flourished.

On this soil it was preserved for three centuries after the light had been extinguished in the rest of our land. On this soil in this Fourth Year of Independence I am privileged to address you as heirs of that glorious past whose splendour ages have not dimmed.

Fight of the Spirit

Fight of the Spirit

"But I must remind you that the freedom by virtue of which we are here assembled was not a gift that dropped upon us from the skies. The freedom we enjoyed for twenty centuries was not regained without a fight. It was a fight of the spiritand what we achieved was indeed a revolution though a bloodless one.

"Other races achieved their freedom through powder and shot through blood and battle. We won ours in a manner that commands the admiration of the civilized world. We won it by our independence of mind, by our unquenchable thirst for liberty, by our religious fervour and by our fearlessness of spirit.

Mr. S. Natesan, speaking at the Rally at Kandy said that Mr. Keuneman had once jibed: "Join the U. N. P. and see the world,"

"I will tell him to see what goes on in the world round Ceylon and Join the U. N. P. which has brought Peace, Stability, progress and ordered development to our country.

"I will content myself with observing that not only was freedom won without shedding a drop of blood, but what is more than remarkable, we still retained the friendship of Great Britain. No greater tribute could be paid to the skill with which the struggle was conducted. Even India, blest though she was with leaders of the callbre of Gunganath Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, lost untold lives in the course of her struggle for freedom.

Future full of Hope

Future full of Hope

"I have dwelt at some length on the past, because the past is the background to the present which. In its turn is the prelude to the future. Our past is full of glory, our present is full of prosperily and our future is full of hope.

"Our Government has always planned with a view to the future. We have embarked upon very large schemes which will bear much fruit in the years to come; we have provided present and immediate benefits to the entirety of our population to the limit of our ability, we have attempted in many ways to revive the glories of the past.

"The measure of our success is the

"The measure of our success is the fact that in all the East there is no country so peaceful or prosperous or so healthy as ours. No armed gangs roam the countryside terrorising all they encounter; no threat of war or

(Continued on page 2)



Mr. D. S. Senanayake

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66 FUTURE IS FULL OF HOPE"

- Prime Minister

(Continued from page 1)

civil commotion haunts our peoplecivil commotion haunts our people— so well are law and order maintain— ed. Ignorance. disease. starvation and poverty are being banished from our midst. In many fields of social activity our Government is considered a model for all Asia, and many a country has sent its officers to Ceylon to study our administra-tive system.

"On the record of our achievement our Party has a rightful claim to the support of our people. We have not indulged in talk, saying one thing today and another tomorrow, but we have by our actions shown our devotion to our people shown our devotion to our people and our love for our country. To the limit of the means at our disposal, we have ameliorated and are ameliorating the condition of our people. When our people have to choose their Government once again, our record of service will I am confident ensure their support for our Party.

Miracle of Laxapana

Miracle of Laxapana

"One has but to see the vast acres of Minnerlya, now a swaying sea of emerald where once the jungle stood, the miracle of Laxapana where nature's hitherto untapped power is harnessed to our country's service, the Gal Oya scheme so vast in its conception which, when completed, will perhaps outdo the splendour of our proud past; one has only to ponder on the fact that the very best education from kindergarten to university is available free to all and that the health services are being rapidly improved in accordance with the most modern methods of hospital administration, one has only to realise that at a time when famine and starvation stalked the world, our country enjoys an abundance of food—to appreciate that our Government has placed foremost before it the ideal of services. "But the Government is not content with what has been done. It is daily increasing its public services, it is daily devising new means of serving the public. If anyone would have the patience to examine the estimates for the coming year, he would see that in many fields of public service such as village uplittment and food production, the proposed expenditure is double if not more of the expenditure incurred in the year gone by, while in many other fields the proposed expenditure is up by over 50 per cent.

"The magnitude of our efforts can

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only be properly appreciated if one sets side by side with these figures the expenditure incurred five years ago, before we attained Independence. The expenditure then incurred by Government on these essential social services was but a tial social services was but a minute fraction of that incurred to-

day.

Religion and Language

"I now come to the twin questions of State language and State religion. The Initial steps towards the adoption of Sinhalese and Tamil as State languages have already been taken and a special Commission has been appointed to enquire into the question and implement steps already approved by Government.

"In accordance with the report of this Commission, a National Languages Department has been set up. It is a pleasure to be able to record that such important steps have been taken towards the solution of so pressing a problem.

"As regards making Buddhism a

raken towards the solution of so pressing a problem.

"As regards making Buddhism a State Religion, I wish to say at the outset that born and bred in this religion. I have as great an affection and reverence for it as any other in this country. I wish to say that the Government will always do whatever is within its power to ensure the flourishing state of this great religion and that the Government will give it every possible aid. In fact, a Commission will at no distant date be appointed in order to report on the ways and means by which this could best be done.

"But to reduce this sublime creed to the level of a State activity, to reduce the members of our Illustrious Sangha to the position of minor state officials to supervise and control the religion through the medium of a state department, is something I cannot for a moment countenance.

"To label Buddhism as the State religion or to label Jacks."

countenance.

"To label Buddhism as the State religion or to label Lanka as a Buddhist State does not advance the interests of either the religion or the country. A religion that has flourished in this country for twenty centuries and more is too deeply enshrined in the hearts of our people to need any artificial aid for its maintenance or protection.

Kandyan Peasantry

"I must not omit to mention the steps taken towards ameliorating the condition of the Kandyan peasantry. The deplorable condition of the Kandyan peasantry caused by foreign conquest and long subjection was first brought to the public notice by me in the State County of the state of the stat tion was first brought to the public notice by me in the State Council in 1945.

"The problem of restoring them to their ancient prosperity has always been in the forefront of my mind, and it is for this reason that steps have been taken at great cost to buy back for the peasantry those lands taken from them for a mere song by foreign planters of tea, coffee and rubber.

"Not content with these measures, the Government in 1949 appointed a Commission to enquire into this problem. The report of this Commission which has just been published shows that the principal handicap under which the Kandyan peasant still labours is lack of land.

"Government therefore proposes first to turn over to them all valuable forest land and thereafter to buy for them the land of private estate owners and of plantation companies. Once the peasant is provided with land. Government hopes that it will have laid the foundation of their prosperity in the generations to come.

No Foreign Ideals

No Foreign Ideals

"There is an important point I wish to bring to your notice at this stage. True it is that the British system of party government obtains in this country, but we must appreciate the fact that our Party is not an importation from abroad. It was not conceived abroad. It has not borrowed its ideals from abroad. It was born and bred in this country to suit the peculiar needs of our people and to harmonise with the peculiar traditions of our land. It is a truly indigenous growth.

"It has from the time of its birth been fashioned into an instrument

of service to this country and her people and to them alone. It has no foreign loyaltles and it serves no foreign ideals. It is the only true Ceylonese party in this country.

Ceylonese party in this country.

"For this reason the development of our Party is a matter of special pride to us Ceylonese for it is the only stable political institution which has 100 per cent. product of our soil. It is a national asset and at the same time a national safeguard against the insidious introduction of foreign influences into this country.

"It is the safest guarantee we have

this country.

"It is the safest guarantee we have for the preservation of all that is intrinsically and traditionally Ceylonese. It is the safest guarantee against dictatorship. It is the safest guarantee against irreligion. It is the safest guarantee of our freedom, and it is the safest guarantee for the preservation of our character-istically Ceylonese way of life.

Deeds Against Words

Deeds Against Words

"For this reason it behoves every true Ceylonese to rise eagerly to the service of our Party; mere passive support will not avail. The political greatness of a nation depends on the interest each individual citizen shows in the affairs of state. Every citizen is in a sense a ruler of the country; but he is hardly worthy of the name of citizen if he does not actively exercise his rights.

"I call upon my countrymen one

worthy of the hame of chizen if nedoes not actively exercise his rights.

"I call upon my countrymen one
and all, to take a true interest in
the Government of this country.
Let not indifference deprive you of
your legitimate rights, for indifference can be disastrous in matters of
Government. I call upon my countrymen when they will be required
to choose their next Government to
ponder deeply on the consequences
of their choice and to vote with a
sense of deep responsibility.

"Let them weigh deeds against
words, achievements against promises, liberty against tyranny, religion against irreligion. Let them
consider the sincerity of the different parties that claim their support.

"Let them distinguish between the

"Let them distinguish between the spirit of service and the spirit of service and the spirit of self-advancement. Let them balance independence against foreign rule. I am confident that if our citizens vote with this sense of responsibility, they will return that Government which alone. I venture to say, can serve the true interests of this country.

"Our Party stands for the com-

of this country.

"Our Party stands for the complete equality of all races, communities and religions. While our Party is in office, no one section of the people will receive privileges at the expense of another section, nor will there be racial religious or communal discrimination of any kind.

Way of Equality

Way of Equality

"Differences of race, religion and community have existed and do exist in this country. While we realise the difficulties inherent in these differences, we realise also that the only way towards their solution is the way of equality.

"Unfortunately, however, there are some parties and people in this country who seek to exploit these natural differences to serve their own purposes and to further their own purposes and to further their own purposes and to further their own advancement. They seek to exploit differences of religion by pretending to champion the cause of a particular religion; they seek to exploit differences of community by playing on those communal prejudices inherent in the nature of man.

"There is no easier way than this to win the support of sectional interests; indeed there can be no baser prostitution of public interest."

"Ceylon has been a model to all Asia of a country where men of different religions, communal and racial backgrounds mix freely, treating one another as friends and equals, while yet preserving all that is best and richest in their particular traditions. We of this country have excelled in this art of friendly living and it has become part of our national inheritance. We judge men not by their origins or by their religious loyalties, but by their intrinsic worth.

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page . 2)

But now an insidious appeal has "But now an insidious appeal has crept into our public life. Differences which we, better than any other nation knew how to assign to their proper place, are now emerging into a position of prominence, Difficulties which have already been solved, are raked up again as demanding a fresh solution. Conflicts which were once set at rest are being revived.

Local Polities

"I believe—and I am proud and confident in that belief—that our people have outgrown the stage when these cheap appeals can evoke their sympathy.

Mr. Senanayake then made observations quoted above and con-tinuing said: "I would at this stage wish to point out that is it not in the parliamentary sphere alone that our Party must emerge victorious, that is but one aspect of the politi-cal life of this country. We must remember that always below and beyond parliament there is a solid substratum of local government and municipal life. Victory in this sphere is as vital to us as victory on the broader stage of parliamentary poli-

"It would not be an exaggeration to say that local bodies are the institutions that really govern, for they tutions that ready govern to the regulate the lives of our citizens down to the minutest detail. Parliament indicates only the broader lines of policy, but it is left to local bodies to work out the details and to enforce the spirit of that policy.

"No central Government can be efficient without the willing and active support of the organs of local Government. For this reason I ap-peal to you not to be content with victory in Parliament but to make it your object that our Party should triumph in every municipality, in every urban council, in every Town Council, and in every village committee in this country. Thus alone can we ensure that our people will be cared for at every level in accordance with our ideals of Government.

"If I may pass now from the municipal to the international sphere. I would wish to say a few words about the position of our country in relation to the wider world around.

International Affairs

"Not so long ago-indeed within the recollection of every one present here down to the very youngest delegate our country was a cipher in international affairs. Our views on international politics mattered so little that they were hardly express-ed. This was the cumulative result of nearly five centuries of subjec-

"We, who held an honoured place among the nations of the world had lost entirely that spirit of independence which had distinguish us in the past, for twenty centuries the masters of our destiny, we were then a subject race.

"I would ask you to compare with that situation, the position of our country today. We have our ambassadors in the capitals of the world. In Washington and in London, in Delhi or in Karachi, in Burma, Australia and Indonesia, our emissaries are winning for us the goodwill and the regard of the people.

"International conferences are regularly held in this country and the representatives of Ceylon have received signal recognition at these conferences, over some of which they have been elected to preside. Ceylon has her spokesmen at every major international conference, though by a strange irony she is ex-

cluded from the U.N.O. by that very Russia whom some local people adore. At the recent Peace Treaty with Japan, Ceylon was indeed in the forefront of the discussions.

Fruits of Freedom

All this and more has been the achievement of a few years of independence. Our national spirit crushed under heel so long, has risen buoyant again and our voice then stiffed is heard once more. This is a matter of legitimate pride to our Party, for it shows that our service to Lanka has reached beyond the confines of our native shores.

Confines of our native shores.

'Our ibreign policy is and has been, while strengthening our international position to attempt in every way within our power to pursue the ideals of peace. We wish to preserve unimpaired the special friendships we have made, to strengthen them and to make them assets on the side of peace; and we wish to extend and improve friendly relations with all countries.

"Our Party was founded upon the principle of national unity; it has grown upon the spirit of national service, and it rests upon the bedrock of national goodwill. It has during the past years shown ample evidence of its devotion to the Nation and of its sincerity to its ideals. Our service is our most eloquent argument.

Righteous Cause

"In the elections that are ahead, we will be fighting for a righteous cause; we will be fighting for the purity of our public life; we will be fighting for the preservation of our national heritage and of those ways of life so dear to our people.

"We will be fighting for equality of race, religion and commutity and for the unity of the nation. We will be fighting for the principles of democracy and for the sanctity of religion. We will be fighting for those traditions which are the title deeds and heirlooms of our national existence.

"This is my message to you today. Carry it back to your homes. Deliver it to your neighbours and confirm that they are an army of crusaders to battle against communism, communalism and other disruptive forces", concluded Mr. Senanayake.





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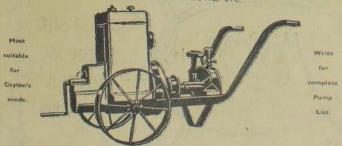
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THE WALAWE PROJEC Rs. 176 Million Scheme in 1952

multi - purpose scheme, the Walawe Project, involving the expenditure of Rs. 176,451,000 is to be started in 1952-53. Together with the Gal Oya Project the schemes will be milestones on the path of the economic progress of this country. Provision was included in the Budget Estimates for the purpose of obtaining the services of consultants in order to make the preliminary plans and to call for tenders for this project. The target dates are as follows: It is proposed to start the actual construction in 1952-53. The completion of the headworks will be in four years, whilst development will probably start three years after the inception of the work on the headworks. Eight years from 1952-53 it is proposed to complete the whole scheme. It is estimated that on completion of the scheme Government would get by way of duct and induct revenue a total of Rs. 3.105.900 a year. will be milestones on the path

DETAILS OF THE PROJECT
Giving the details of this project. the Hon, Minister of Agriculture and Lands referred to the area in which the project will be worked. A good portion of the Walawe river runs through the Southern Province which is in the wet zone, an area with a concentration of population, which has aggravated problems such as landlessness in the west and south-east the area is not so densely populated. Actually it is an area of 1.012 square miles supporting a population of 149.686. About 66 per cent. of the population is concentrated in a narrow strip of 300 square miles, mostly in West Giruwa Pattu where the wet zone merges into the dry zone. Out of this large population only 7.2 per cent, are urban dwellers. The rest of the people live in villages eking out a precarious existence, cultivating chenas and whatever paddy fields they have. It is a very dry area always lacking water. Few rivers flow through this area. The main rivers are Walawe and Kirtindioya. The proposals with regard to Walawe are for the purpose of improving the area and developing settled forms of agriculture. The contemplated project is the construction of an earth dam near Embilipitya which is near about the 104th mile post on the Pelmadulla-Ambalantota Road. The idea is to construct the dam together with a concrete spilway and the appurtenant strictures, including a power house for developing electricity. It is proposed to impound the water in a reservoir with this dam and by means of right and left bank

channels to irrigate as much land as can be brought under cultivation.

ASSURED CULTIVABLE AREA

ASSURED CULTIVABLE AREA

Water is assured under this scheme for 60,500 acres in respect of two crops. It might be possible to utilize the ample water available to a better and greater extent than is possible under the Gal Oya scheme by having connecting channels running towards the Menik Ganga and other areas and by having other development measures. The new area available for colonization will be 45,500 acres of irrigated lands. A certain portion of high land too will be developed. Such development is made possible as a result of the water conservation measures that will be the reservoir and channel system whereby a further 17,000 acres will be available for development.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Water will be so plentiful that power development is one of the important purposes in view under this scheme, similar to the Gal Oya Project—a multi-purpose scheme in which power development takes an important place. Like Gal Oya this will be linked with the Norton Bridge Schemes and a supply system could be introduced to such towns as Hambantota. Ratnapura, Matara, Tissamaharama and Diyatalawa by means of transmission lines, It is proposed to develop 4,800 kilowatts of power.

FORECAST OF EXPENDITURE

Dealing with the details of expenditure as forecast the Minister said that it was not a forecast that may not alter with the passage of time on account of such factors as fluctuation of prices of materials but as far as possible he gave certain items that go into the statement of expenditure. The items fall under different heads, namely, headworks, expenditure met from other votes like salarles of departmental supervisory staff for work at the site, salaries of other departmental staff for work at the headworks site, allowances, travelling expenses, expenditure in contingencies, expenditure already incurred on preliminary work when an engineer of the department was sent for study in America for purposes of both the Gal Oya and Walawe Schemes; expenditure on irrigation facilities and access to new areas, Right as well as Left bank, expenditure on land development, construction of cottages and houses; making the irrigated land ready for asweddumization; expenditure on power transmission and supply lines. The estimated expenditure on these main (Continued on page 6)

The Second Wave



hat Youth Thinks

SIGNIFICANCE OF CEYLON'S INDEPENDENCE

AFTER nearly four hundred years of foreign domination. Ceylon has once more regained her original Independence. In order to appreciate the new status which we have acquired, however, it is necessary to realize that today we do not stand exactly where we were when the Portuguese and the Dutch were asserting their domination over the south-western areas of the Island. The history of the culture of the western occupation cannot be written in one act of Parliament. It should also know that the Independence we had under our own rulers. Indeed the period of foreign rule especially the last 150 years under the British occupation, has been to our immeasurable benefit been to our immeasurable benefit and these benefits were counter-balanced by definite defects but patriotism of every single result of British rule.

Although limited by custom and tradition it cannot be said with any approach to accuracy that the Sinhalese Kings were constitutional rulers. Personal freedom and individual liberty were concepts unknown to the Sinhalese State There dividual liberty were concepts unknown to the Sinhalese State. There is much to be said for the static heirarchical society which the British undermined but when all is said there is no substitute for real freedom and that freedom began to emerge under the legal system of the British with the abolition of feudal tenures and rajakariya. Thus during the course of the 19th century the transforming power of commerce and enlightened government preand enlightened government pre-pared the way for political equality which was achieved in the 20th cen-tury from 1910-31. The granting of complete Independence in February, 1948, was thus the final stage of a progressive development which left us with all the essentials of a democratic State. Whatever else we may claim for our ancient past it cannot be said to have been charac-terised as Democracy. and enlightened government pre-

The freedom we have acquired is equality of status with other Dominions within the Commonwealth of Nations and this is in the modern contact is tantamount to the most complete sovereignty. As far as our membership of the general comity of pations is concerned attempts have nations is concerned, attempts have been made to gain admission to the U.N.O. So far our attempts have met with success. Ceylon has however the fate of becoming a member of several other international bodies and its international status her. of several other international bodies and its international status has not been very grievously impaired by the Russian refusal. The benefits to Ceylon from partnership and cooperation with the international community can be immense considering the fact that she is on any standard a backward community, lacking financial resources essential for the development. Already the United National Education. Social and Cultural Organizations and World Health Organization shows signs of bearing fruit in definite measures of social amelioration. But World Health Organisation shows signs of bearing fruit in definite measures of social amelioration. But such partnership is not the sole result of our international status. As a sovereign state Ceylon will now be able to bargain with other nations and make treaties. She will be the master of her own tariff policies within the framework of the Imperial Preferential Scheme.

In the domestic sphere the implications of independence are now less momentous. Here the period of British rule taught us the meaning of equality before law. Political equality was likewise achieved with the grant of universal franchise in 1931. But it is patent fact—that there are empty forms to them. To a great extent political and—leval

there is an equality of economic and educational opportunity. To deal with the latter part it should be remembered that although the franremembere; that although the franchise has been extended to all as early as 1931, there are thousands of people who do not know to use his or her vote properly. It is therefore urgent that the people should be educated and it should be the duty of any enlightened government in free Ceylon to devise and execute an adequate educational policy. It would then enable to give a mere sight to vote and theoretical independence we have gained translated into fact.

Closely related to the problem of education is the problem of economic equality. By economic equality it is not meant that there should be velded on discriminating economic yardstick reducing the whole population to a common party. Such equality could not be obtained without arbitrary power and hence it is neither practicable in the long run now desirable. But there is equality based on the minimum of wealth and opportunity for all and the equality of economic opportunity is the essential prerequisite of any healthy democratic state. In Ceylon a minimum amount of social service should be afforded by the state but the main task of any enlightened government as the present U.N.P. government in Ceylon should be the encouragement and stepping up of the total productivity of the Island.

M. REGGIE RUPASINGHE, (Student of Govt, Training College Senior Secondary School, Maharagama).

"Sirisewana," Godellehena, Ellalagoda, Imaduwa.

THE PARENTS' DUTY TO THE NATION

THE NATION

IT is a well-established fact that the home environment of a child moulds his future character and actions. A good home breeds good children and vice-versa. It is therefore of paramount importance—if the future citizens and leaders of Sri Lanka are to be men of courage and integrity the home environment must be condusive to the bringing out of all the potential talents and goodness of the child. For this supremely important task a heavy and responsible burden rests on parents' shoulders—for it is they who must provide the good home.

But how many parents do realize

on parents' shoulders—for it is they who must provide the good home.

But how many parents do realize this fact and thus provide the good home environment for their children. I am sure, not many. In many homes there is a complete lack of confidence between the parents and children. As such they deny their children of any sense of self-respect. This is manifested in many ways. It may be that the parents must open and read all their children's letters. As a result the children too lack confidence on their parents—for after all confidence begets confidence. Or it may be that the parents do not give their children any pocket money. Apart from this denying them of a sense of dignity, the children are forced to rob or to resort to some vice which may earn them a little pocket money. There is thus a revolt within the children's minds which may have far fetched repurcussions. There is thus a sense of frustration and a complete lack of self-confidence among the children. The best is therefore not brought out and they grow up to be disgruntled and discontended citizens—with a heavy curse on their parents and a great liability on the State.

The future of Sri Lanka is thus

The future of Sri Lanka is thus at stake. Will our parents rise to the occasion and save us from the booming catastrophe.

Chandra Abeyagoonewardena.

St. Bernard's Convent, Nawalapitiya, 10-9-51.

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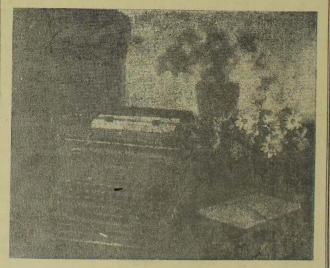
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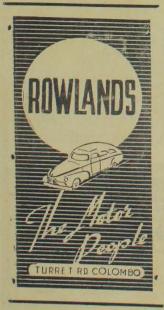
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Friday, October 5, 1951

CLARION CALL TO NATION

Our Party has pledged its fullest support to the Government. In a memorable address which thrilled a mammoth gathering of Party members at Kardy, the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, who is our President, showed the country in what direction-its duty lies. On the voters of Lanka there rests a very heavy responsibility. It is only if every citizen of the country actively exercises his rights that the affairs of State can prosper. One of the besetting sins of Ceylon is the apathy and indifference of those who in a sense are the ultimate rulers of the country in that it is the representatives that they choose who will form the Government of the island. There is no place in the body politic of any nation that aspires to greatness for drones or armchair critics. Every citizen must so develop his sense of civic responsibility that he will always consider it his duty to interest himself in the problems of Government. Very soon now they will be called on to exercise their sacred right of electing a new Gov-ernment. From now on they will be under a barrage of specious promises held out by the various Opposition groups, some of them masquerading as Centre parties. Even the revolutionaries themselves are cloaking their real objective of placing our country under the hated yoke of the Kremlin by pretending that their Communism is of the indigenous variety and is neither Moscowinspired nor Moscow-control-

be on their guard against accepting these statements at face value. They have a much safer method of judging the relative merits of the contending parties. They can, in the words of the Prime Minister, weigh deeds against words, against proachievements mises. In the four years during which our party has been in power, we have not only reached the end of the road to political freedom but we have also gone some distance on the even more difficult path of economic emancipation. Agriculturally and industrially we have made vast strides and when the various projects that have been undertaken begin to bear fruit our country will at long last be able to shake herself free from the economic bondage brought about by centuries of foreign exploitation. Five hundred years of foreign mis-rule cannot be wiped off in the short space of four years. But even within this brief period the Government has given an earnest of what it can achieve provided it is given the time to follow its plans to their logical conclusion. Unlike other parties and individuals who are only imbued with the desire to advance their own interests, our party can rightly claim to be inspired only by a spirit of self-sacrifice. better example of this spirit can be adduced than the selfless devotion to duty of our Prime Minister. The motive power of the dynamic energy, which Mr. Senanayake brings to the discharge of his onerous duties, despite his is the abiding love of his country. He has placed his at the service of Lanka and he would be a strange man who so forgets his debt to the "Father of the Nation" that he fails to give his whole-hearted support to the Government. In able hands of our leader. our future is full of hope even as our past was full of glory and our present full of prosperity.

led. . The public will do well to | |

THE WALAWE SCHEME

(Continued from page 4)

heads, namely the Power House. Power Transmission Fower Transmission and Supply System, Irrigation, Land Develop-ment and Settlement and also on the Headworks has been worked out at Rs. 176.451,000. and Supply

ANTICIPATED REVENUE

An idea of the anticipated revenue may be obtained from the following details:

Gross revenue from Gross revenue from irrigation rates on 40,500 acres and on 5,000 acres to be pump-irrigated; the land rent on 40,500 acres, the land rent on 17,000 acres of high land, the sale of power (14,000,000 kilowatt hours) total Rs. 2,327,500.

The recurrent ent expenditure of of the irrigation sys maintenance of the irrigation system, roads, dam, power house, transmission lines and equipment totals Rs. 421,000. The net revenue therefrom amount to Rs. 1,906,500.

Apart from that a certain portion

of the increased national wealth is expected to bring revenue by way of taxation approximately 7 per cent. on a conservative basis. The creased wealth that would accrue from this scheme is indicated in the following items 40,500 acres of paddy cultivation will annually yield 60 bushels for the two controls. 60 bushels for the two crops. It is estimated that one crop would yield 30 bushels to the acre on that fertile 30 bushels to the acre on that fertile area. On that basis there would be an increase in the national wealth of Rs. 2.430.000. Various other crops would be grown on the high land and with other items the total increase would be Rs. 23,988,000 made up as follows: Rice Rs. 18,576.000. other crops Rs. 4.540.000, saving in fuel Rs. 372,000. Seven per cent. of that would give to the revenue ruel Rs. 872,000. Seven per cent, of that would give to the revenue Rs. 1,199,400 apart from direct revenue by way of irrigation rates and land rents. So that the Government would get by way of direct and indirect revenue a total of Rs. 3,105,900 a year.

SENEX.

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WHY MARX REJECTED RELIGION

MARX derived much from Hegel, but that was just a method. The clash between these two came when Marx discovered that Hegel had written about history in a way that Marx could not approve. What was the cause of this blame? Apparently, Marx found that Hegel invented a theory of history which did not support his own contention. Marx was not a dispassionate lover of truth, and he certainly had no time for defending and explaining his own theory against any other. He was a man who felt that there was an immediate work to do in the world, and that nothing could be gained by theorising and doing this also with a view to make the necessary concessions to arrive at the true laws that govern history. He had a revolution to make. This was his supreme concern. He, therefore, required a theory which would support the cause of revolution with the utmost vigour. What he blamed Hegel for doing, he promptly did himself. He explained the whole of history in the light of a single process though he himself declared that one had to go to actual history in order to discover the laws under which men have acted in the way they did. Having broken his own rule, it was inevitable therefore that he should find himself under the necessity of offering his own explanation of history, and unfortunately that interpretation is narrow, one-sided and incomplete.

Marx decided to treat history as a reason for his manifesto of alleged freedom of the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow their bourgeois oppressors. He had to appeal to the feelings of the proletariat as an utterly oppressed class. Not only were they oppressed but throughout the ages there had been only the exploiters and the exploited. The class war was universally operative. Only in primitive society, when the tribe held the land in common. was there a form of society which Marx could approve. This was due to the could approve. This was the confact that Marx saw in such form of early society a reflection of communism which he liked to see remined in the modern world. He vived in the modern world. He thought that society had reached a stage when the bourgeois tyranny had to be broken if there was any chance for freedom to be established among the proletarian masses. Everything for which the bourgeois classes stood had to be swept away. To allow any vestige of the old order To anow any vestige of the old order to remain would actually nullify the work of social change he had in mind. It is really incredible how large were his ambitions in this direction. Marx had a very clear view of the conditions under which the proletariat lived. He counted upon the possibility of mass action when once the proletariat had been when once the proletariat had been when once the proletariat had been shown the real power it wielded when it was made conscious of the value of numbers. To set this mass in motion he had to make out that they would be permanently enslaved unless they rose as one man and de-manded to get back the rights of which they had been deprived throughout the whole course of his-

Marx demonstrated in all this a vast ignorance of history. The flaw in his theory is not hard to discover. These laws that Marx says he found in history were derived by him not from the story of mankind's development, but only from an intense study of the epoch in which he lived. G. D. H. Cole, who has studied a vast amount of Marxist literature

and who is in a position to judge, has declared quite clearly: "The Communist Manifesto. In which the doctrine is first plainly set out, appears to treat human history from beginning to end, and with no limitations of either space or time, as a continuous process of world development from one all-embracing primitive Communism through a series of world class systems to a world system of advanced Communism or Socialism." What was the reason for Marx being able to exploit the conditions of his own age to support his theory? For about two hundred years before the nineteenth century the economic stress and the rejection of the idea of religion as having any claims on the conduct of the affairs of the world were particularly evident. The Renaissance made man and his desires the centre and justification of all activities. A tremendous flood of irreligion had spread all over Europe, But it is absurd to imagine that the whole of human history could be read as an illustration of the same state of affairs as affecting the aspirations of the human spirit and the sole ends of all governments and of all ruling classes. The foolishness of this arbitrary view of history is not difficult to demonstrate.

Quintus Delilkhan

If one is to accept Marx's idea of the predominant place of the factors he favours as the motive powers of history, then it would seem as if religion had had no place in shaping the destiny of mankind. To any sensible student of history even though he might not believe in the doctrine of any religion but is at least an impartial and honest observer, it would be overwhelmingly evident that religion has had a most effective power over the minds of men in all the great periods of human development. The whole of historical writing by competent minds is crowded with evidence supporting the claim of religion to be a powerful motive in human life. And this is true not of one religion but practically of all the historic religions which have changed the character of individuals and of nations. The experience of Mohammed in the cave of Mount Hira." says Christopher Dawson. "when he saw human life as transitory as the beat of a gnat's wing in comparison with the splendour and power of the Divine Unity has shaped the existence of a great part of the human race ever since.... A new attitude to life which first arose in the arid plateau of Arabia, transformed the lives and social organisation of the Slavonic mountaineers of Bosnia, the Malay pirates of the East Indies, the highly civilised city dwellers of Persia and Northern India, and the barbarous Negro tribes of Africa."

It is true that the processes of production cannot be eliminated as production cannot be eliminated a

Persia and Northern India. and the barbarous Negro tribes of Africa."

It is true that the processes of production cannot be eliminated as an influence in human affairs. but they cannot be given the sole and preponderant power which Marx allows them. Marx is accordingly a blind guide to history, and it is impossible to believe that he could not have made other mistakes of magnitude in dealing even with questions of economics. The Marxist, of course, feels free to reject everything pertaining to religion because Marx has become for him a teacher of dogmas more important than the dogmas of any historic religion. It is evident that the dogmas of Marx were the result of a shallow and incompetent reading of history. He has acquired great power over the discontented minds of those who have no hold on the deeper significance of religion as the moving power in history through countless ages. The folly of such subservience to Marx is worth noting. People wish to be independent of religion. Why should such minds, which proclaim that they wish to be emancipated, surrender so completely to the false dogmatism of Marx?



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U. N. P. RESOLUTIO AT KANDY SESSION

THE following were the resolutions which were considered and passed unanimously:—

"This Year's Budget.

"This Year's Budget.

This Conference, while congratulating the Government on its record of work during the last four years, welcomes the initiative and courage shown in the preparagion of this year's budget and pledges its loyal support to the Government in its plans to solve the social, economic and other problems and improve the conditions of the people of this country,"

Religion

This Conference—

(a) emphasises the need for spiritual values for the well-being of society and re-affirms its desire to protect and assist all religions in their struggle against the forces of irreligion:

(b) approves the grant by the Prime Minister of a request for the appointment of a Commission to investigate and make recommendations on all matters relating to the well-being and progress of Buddhism. Buddhist culture and Buddhist education with special reference to Pirivena Education; and (c) also recommends to Govern-

(c) also recommends to Govern-ment that due attention be given to similar requests by other Religious Bodies."

Languages

(a) This Conference approves the appointment by Government of the National Languages Commission to implement its decision to make Sinhalese and Tamil the Official Languages of the country; and

(b) is further of the opinion that steps should be taken by Government—

ment—
(1) to enforce the requirement that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction beyond the fifth standard and up to the highest standards in Secondary Schools as books and teachers are available and that finally the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in all stages of education including the University; and

(ii) to extend rapidly the use of the National Languages as media of administration

Ceylonization

This Conference while re-affirming the policy of Ceylonization and ensuring to the nationals of Ceylon to take their rightful place in trade, commerce and industry, requests Government to take the necessary

steps for further accelerating that policy.

Salaries Commission

This Conference calls upon the Government to appoint at the earliest date possible a Salaries Commission to examine the salaries and conditions of service of all persons paid from Public Funds.

National Anthem

This Conference is of the opinion that the National Anthem Namo Namo . . . 'should be played in shortened form at the end of all meetings, cinema shows and public functions.

"Government Activities.

This Conference is of the opinion that greater publicity should be given to the various social and other activities of the Government so as to enable the masses of this country to take greater advantage of such activities than they do now."

"Nursery Schools.

This Conference requests the Gov-ernment to establish Nursery Schools and Creches throughout Ceylon."

Avurveda

At the special request of the Mayor of Kandy, a resolution on Ayurveda which had been retained from inclusion in the Agenda, was permitted to be presented for discussion.

Council composed of Ayurveda Medical Council composed of Ayurveda physicians be constituted. That a Pharmacopoeia of Ayurveda medicine be completed.

Election of Office-Bearers

The election of office-bearers for the ensuing year resulted as fol-

President: The Rt. Hon'ble D. S. Senanayake. Prime Minister.
Vice-Presidents: Sir Tikiri Banda Panabokke. Sir John Kotelawala. Senator Sir Mohamed Macan Markar, Sir Razik Fareed. The Hon. Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya. Mr. S. Natesan, Dr. V. R. Schokman.
Hony. General Secretary: Senator Sir Ukwatte Jayasundera, K.C. K.B.E.

K.B.E.
Hony, Assistant Secretary: Mr. D.
P. Mellaratchy,
Hony, Treasurer: Senator Justin
Kotelawala,
In addition to the above officebearers, seventy-five members and
five representing the Women's
Union, totalling eighty were elected
to the Executive Committee.

The Influence the Drama

IN a rather recent literary review an article appeared denying at least depreciating the importance of the drama. It is surprising that in this 20th century, which can look back upon the philosophy of Plato, the essays of Bacon, the works of the Elizabethian dramatists, the memoirs of the French Revolution and the biographies of countless modern worthies, a statement like this could be made in cold print in all seriousness. It is almost like denying or depreciating the influence of oratory or literature.

Whether the drama of today regarded in all its general effect, has a good or bad influence, is another question, but that its influence is to be reckoned, seems to me beyond dispute.

Of course this influence is to a

dispute.

Of course this influence is to a certain extent limited. There are many people who never come in touch with it at all or only in an indirect way, through its effect upon others. These people have been brought up in the belief that the playhouse is a very wicked place—a trap for the innocent, a temptation to the weak. There are others, who have not the opportunity of seeing dramatic performances, either owing to distance or poverty. These handicaps, force them to abstain from the luxury. So it is that a majority of the people of this country are

outside the influence of the drama. But, for instance, in old England, the thoughts and the ideals were expressed and the religion and the morality of the people were taught, very largely by means of the popular miracle plays, which were performed in every town and country. But with the advent of a more general knowledge of letters developed by the invention of printing, these gave way to the reign of literature, and now the novel is the most popular vehicle of knowledge and entertainment.

Ment.

All forms of entertainment have a potent influence of some sort or other. For instance the game of bridge has been one of the most pervading influences of society; the game of cricket has done a great deal in shaping the characteristics of the nation and in the case of the modern drama, although the person may go to the play to be amused and to pass a pleasant evening he is none the less unconsciously affected by the ideas, speech, emotion and moral or non-moral of the piece.

It seems to be certain that a good

It seems to be certain that a good or bad play must leave a much stronger impression upon the mind of the spectator than a good or bad book, a good picture or a bad picture, a wise oration or a foolish one.

(Continued on page 11)

CO-OP MOVEMENT MAKES GOOD PROGRESS

Million Total Turnover For 1950-51

adventurers and cheats who have made the Co-operative Movement happy hunting ground to gull the unwary, besides the blemishes of the last decade, it is heartening to note that the movement has become a "relimovement has become a "reliable and effective instrument of national policy." The total financial turnover for the movement shows a total of Rs. 617.000.000 for 1950-51. The figures for the three previous years in millions were previous years in millions were Rs. 375.4. Rs. 391.3 and Rs. 379.4. This is exclusive of the turnover of the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment which was about Rs. 72.000.000 last year. When this is taken into consideration the turnover for the whole movement for 1950-51 is the above colossal figure.

According to the Administration Report of the Registrar of Co-opera-tive Societies for 1950-51, there were 6,757 Societies of all types on 30th April. 1950. Three hundred and ninety-eight societies, chiefly credit and agricultural, were registered and agricultural, were registered during the year and 196 new school co-operatives "recognized" (registra-tion being legally not possible when the age of members falls below 18). A noteworthy feature of the success that has been achieved is that with that has been achieved is that with the increase in the number of socie-ties and their activities and the general turnover of the thousands of units, the movement is becoming less dependent on Government. Nearly two-thirds of the population are intimately connected with the movement and today the general membership has reached the record movement and today the general membership has reached the record total of 1.173.066 with 4.351.243 ration books attached to it. The corres-ponding figures for the previous year were 1,116,313 members and 4.156.882 ration books.

Another highlight of the year's

working was the increase in the number of societies that worked at a project which reflects on the soundness of committee work and soundness of committee work and management of those societies. Among consumer societies outside Colombo as many as 71 per cent, registered profits while the percentage of losses was 29. As against 54 per cent, and 46 per cent, respectively for the previous year. In Colombo the number of societies worked at a loss was reduced from 32 to 13 per cent, as against a loss among all Colombo societies put together of Rs. 20.500 last year. The year under review closed with a total aggregate net profit of nearly Rs. 100.000.

As many as 5.143 Societies made profits amounting to Rs. 307,000. Of these 937 were stores. In the previous year 4.341 Societies made profits amounting to the second seco fits amounting to Rs. 4.013.000 while 2.240 Societies suffered losses amounting to Rs. 1.622.000. Of these 1.605 were stores

That there are some Societies not so well conducted is evidenced by the number of Societies (150) whose registrations were cancelled. The total number of live Societies at the and of the period under review was end of the period under review was 7.210. Of these 7.095 were primaries (the rest being secondaries and higher types still) as against 6.566 only a year earlier.

There is every prospect of the resources of the movement expanding further with the exclusion of the adventurers and cheats. As stated by the Minister for Food and stated by the Minister for Food and Co-operative Undertakings at a mass rally of the Kuruwita Korale Co-operative Union held recently "a few black sheep who had joined the Co-operative movement with the idea of robbing the consumer and bringing the movement to disrepute have been weeded out and today honest and patriotic elements are at its helm."

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COMMUNIST DEFEAT INDO-CHINA IS VITAL

THE spiritual, political and economic freedom of all Asia is at stake in the war being fought against Communist Imperialism in Indo-China, according to General De Lattre de Tassigny, French High Commissioner of Indo-China

The General told members of the National Press Club in Washington that Indo-China itself "is not the only stake" in the battle against Communism there. Emphasising the investage of keeping Hand, the importance of keeping Hanoi. the capital of Tonkin, free of Com-munism, De Lattre said that resist-ance to Communist Imperialism in that city "has become, in the eyes of all peoples of South-East Asia, the test of the will and of the power to stop Communism.'

De Lattre said the loss of Hanoi would have considerable repercus-sions on all of South-East Asia.

"Militarily," he said, would open to Communist invasion the road to Bangkok, to Singapore, and many other roads that you can easily guess." He added that the loss of South-East Asia "would mean

that "Communism would have at its disposal essential strategic materials, that the Japanese economy would for ever be unbalanced and that the whole of Asia would be threatened."

The French leader warned that the fall of Asia to Communist Imperial-ism "would mean the end of Islam which has two-thirds of its faithful

De Lattre said that his appraisal of the necessity of stopping Com-munist Imperialism in Indo-China was not born of pessimism

FRENCH NOT ENGAGED IN COLONIAL WAR

"I simply believe," he said, "that one has to look at danger in the eye and take appropriate measures. That is what the American people have done in Korea with an admirable courage. In South-East Asia, like in Korea, Communist expansion can be stopped."

De Lattre stressed the point that French forces now fighting in Indo-China are not engaged in a colonial war. He said that the Associated States of Indo-China were completely free and that French forces were present only to help them maintain their freedom against Communist Imperialists parading under "the mask of nationalism."— (USIS).

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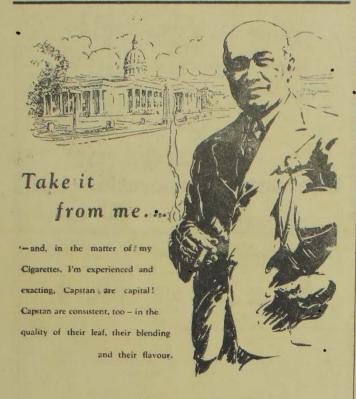
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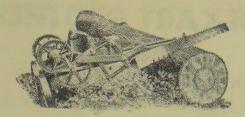
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Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike A Critical Estimate-IV

By A. S. Morrison

IN his latest public utterances Mr. Bandaranaike has begun to slander the Senanayake family. He has gone so far as to state that the country was now being governed by a nepotistic caucus'. What does he mean by that mischievous phrase? Can anybody in Ceylon deny that the Prime Ceylon deny that the Prime Mirister's son, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, has been a far more efficient Minister than Mr. Bandaranaike himself despite the handicap (according to Mr. Bandaranaike) of his being the Prime Minister's son. And not only has Mr. Dudley Sena-mayake been a magnificently successful Minister (the Leftists themselves hardly find fault with his administration), but he has also proved to be an absolutely incorruptible Minister, as all know to their cost who have attempted to obtain official favours at his hands. Is there any harm in being the Prime Minister's arm if the large that the state of ter's son if one has proved one's fitness as a Minister and has, in addition, set a standard of public conduct far higher than has been achieved by a critic of high talents but of poor performance.

I have already analysed Mt Bandaranaike's record as Minister of Health and Local Administration. Since Mr. Bandaranalke has accused the present Government of being a 'corrupt nepotistic caucus' he exposed himself to an examination exposed himself to an examination of his own standards of public conduct. Public memories are short, but it should not be difficult for the public to remember the car permit scandal that flourished unabated during the war, when the incorruptible Mr. Reputarements, was in charge ble Mr. Bandaranaike was in charge ble Mr. Bandaranaike was in charge of transport. Certain privileged individuals obtained, not one permit but several permits to purchase new cars, which they later soid at a handsome profit. The daily Press clamoured repeatedly for an end to this scandal, but did the Minister intervene to stop it? And did not this racket come to a stop after public transport was made the responsibility of Sir John Kotelawala—a member of what Mr. Bandaranaike has designated a 'corrept nepotistic has designated a 'corrupt nepotistic

The only other relative of the Prime Minister who is a member of the Government—and a junior member at that—is his nephew, Mr. member at that—is his nephew, Mr. R. G. Senanayake—an indisputably able man and the son of one of the greates patriots this country has produced. It would be a tragic shame if such a young man were to be denied his political rights just because he was the Drive and the produced. be denied his pollucal rights just because he was the Prime Minister's nephew. Since this country was un-able to reward his great father for his wonderful patriotism, no decent man will cavil at his son being afforded an opportunity to serve the people in the capacity of a junior minister.

minister.

In making this charge of nepotism against the Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike has displayed an inability to rise above pettiness and meanness. After all, among Mr. Bandaranaike's near relatives there are a number of men of very great ability and unimpeachable integrity. If Mr. Bandaranaike were to become Prime Minister, would he penalise these worthy men by refusing to use their services? Would the country respect a Prime Minister who, in a spirit of pusilianimity, sterilised the talents of some of its

finest citizents because he was afraid of the malevolence of a class of critics, whose good or ill opinion is equally contemptible? In resorting to tactics of this kind, not only is Mr. Bandaranaike doing himself a disservice (since by reason of his education and upbringing the public expect a higher code of conduct from him), but also he lowers the whole tone of public controversy to the level of a Price Park meeting. It is tragic to see a man with such a gift of eloquence as Mr. Bandaranaike possesses descending to the meanest members of his public mental and moral plane of the audiences. He thus exposes to the public gaze the spectacle of the unhappiness of a cultured mind polsoned by ambition.

happiness of a cultured mind polsoned by ambition.

And this is the man who undertakes to usher in a great religious revival! And the religion he wishes to revive is Buddhism—a religion which enshrines a philosophy of conduct so profoundly noble as to have, two milleniums ago permeated the ancient civilisations of Greece and Persia without the adventitious aid of any conqueror or politician. Now I ask: Can the revival of so noble a creed be achieved in this country by a politician who, on every public platform, sets at nought by his utterances the great doctrines of ahimsa and maltrya? Even if anyone of his political opponents were to use intemperate language, would the avowed leader of a religious revival be justified in replying in kind? It is this fundamental insincerity of feeling that renders Mr. Bandaranalke's utterances on religion so hollow. The word 'religion', in fact emptily reverberates through all his speeches, and it is difficult to understand by what curious process of self-hallucination he has come to believe that he is destined to lead a religious revival. Isn't his attempt to do so an insult to those great Buddhist priests and scholars, whose saintly lives are an example to all Buddhists who really wish to make their creed a living force in this country? Dogs Mr. Bandaranalke wish to insinuate that those noble and selfless men are failing in their duty to their religion and that it needs a politician to revive the Buddhist religion?

to revive the Buddhist religion?

To conclude among that section of the public that dearly loves a sensation and would hug to their breasts a politician who provides them with one, the earlier mood of hero-worship is gradually giving way to scepticism. They were bargaining for a Pericles, but find they are more likely to get an Alcibiades. The spectacle of an ex-Cabinet Minister slinging mud at his erstwhile Cabinet colleagues and attempting to degrade a Prime Minister who faced prison and the risk of death in the dark years, while the ex-Minister's family were busy serving the British imperialists, this spectacle has begun to create a feeling of nausea in the minds of the more decent people who flocked to the ex-Minister's banner in the now vain hope that the millenium was about to dawn in this land of perpetual summer.

BE TRUE

Thou must be true thyself If thou the truth would teach. Thy soul must overflow

If thou another's soul woulds't reach,

It needs the overflow of heart To give the lips full speech, Think truly

And thy thoughts shall the world's famine feed

And each word of thee shall be a faithful seed. Live truly

And thy life shall be a great and noble creed. A. W. OPATHA.

J A. W Cullen Estate, Badulla,

Professor Julian Huxley on

SCIENCE IN RUSSIA-2

Accordingly science is often regarded as being automatically determined by the structure of society. From this it is only a step to saying that it and its ideas ought to be deliberately controlled in the interests of society.

denberately controlled in the interests of society.

Thirdly, science in the U.S.S.R. is considered primarily from the practical angle of what it can do to improve the national economy and improve or transform the material condition of life. This, too, of course, is a logical outcome of a materialist philosophy. It has not led, however, to any general diminution of pure research. The Russians realize that pure science is necessary if applied science is to flourish. Indeed . It has often led to a false stress on theory, because they consider that scientific theories can be determined by social conditions, instead of by the facts of nature. But "uselessness" is a good tactical weapon with which to attack your scientific opponents or a branch of science that you dislike.

Finally the inherent totalitarian tendency of the Societ.

science that you dislike.

Finally the inherent totalitarian tendency of the Soviet State has extended totalitarianism beyond politics and economics into the domain of ideas. Since the end of the war, campaigns and purges and disciplinary measures have been undertaken in all sorts of fields, in literature, art, music, philosophy, history, law and social science as well as in natural science, with a view to establishing a truly monolithic cultural system, a totalitarian superstructure of ideas to reinforce the totalitarian political and economic basis.

Under the pressure exerted by the

the totalitarian political and economic basis.

Under the pressure exerted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Marxism has been transformed from a philosophy to what can only be described as a theology and an authoritarian theology at that; and those who deviated from it were treated as heretics were treated by the early Church. An authoritarian theology in the hands of a totalitarian state can be used very effectively to control thought, and is being so used in Russia today. There has also been a strong trend to nationalism, which makes it possible to reinforce the ideological attacks on "capitalist" and "bourgeois" science on patriotic grounds.

Other symptoms of this exaggerated nationalism have been the Russian claims to all sorts of scientific and technological discoveries, from the steam engine to wireless and radar; the search for Russian scientists to glorify in every branch of science, as has happened with Michurin in genetics, though he has no more claim to be a geneticist than Luther Burbank or a good seedsman; and a regrettable isolationism.

I do not propose to discuss the

tionism.

I do not propose to discuss the truth or otherwise of the startling claims made by Lysenko and his followers, for it is really quite a secondary point in the dispute over Soviet science, and I have treated the matter fully in my book "Soviet Genetics and World Science."

The crux of the matter is the new Russian conception of science and scientific method which has led to a

denial of the universality and auto-nomy of science, and the subordina-tion of science to politics and of scientific truth to ideological autho-rity.

tion of science to politics and of scientific truth to ideological authority.

Once you have a totalitarianism of ideas as well as of institutions, science will inevitably be used for political ends. Thus we have appeals now being launched by Communist scientists, in Russia and elsewhere, on behalf of the Stockholm declaration of the World Peace Congress, demanding the prohibition of atomic warfare. This is usually represented as a way, or even as the only way, of securing peace, whereas in fact, what Communist men of science are exerting their prestige to support, is only an ingenious move in the cold war.

Peace will not be secured merely by the prohibition of particular weapons; and in the atomic field, what is wanted is agreement in principle to international control and inspection of all atomic materials, research and production.

It is natural to wonder what the loss of freedom will do to science in Russia. In the long run the subordination of scientific thought to ideological doctrine, is bound to lower the quality of scientific work. This happened to German science under Marxist orthodoxy.

There is no inherent reason why Communism should involve the abolition of scientific freedom: Yugoslavia is now deliberately encouraging freedom of thought, discussion and expression in science and culture.

In Russia there has been Stalin's recent pronouncement on linguis-

In Russia there has been Stalin's recent pronouncement on linguistics, in which he sacrificed the idea that Communism demands the recasting of everything, theories as well as practices, and that ideas and inventions originating in capitalist societies were of necessity bad or wrong. Perhaps this is the beginning of a general change of front, a warning to zealots not to go too far in their brand of ideological orthodoxy and patriotism. And of course facts can often be made to fit in with wrong theories, and wrong theories adjusted to the pressure of facts.

theories adjusted to the pressure of facts.

Meanwhile, we are faced by the extraordinary fact that a great country which is in many ways in the forefront of scientific progress should have repudiated the most important single step ever taken by science—the affirmation that science is only fully effective when it is free, and cannot submit to any authority except that of the facts of nature.

Is there anything we can do about the situation? Only this, I think. First, to make quite sure that in reacting to Ruesian Communism we do not adopt some of their methods and try to frighten scientists and intellectuals into any sort of political orthodoxy. And secondly, to continue with all branches of science on the largest possible scale in our own countries, firm in the belief that the method of free science is the greatest discovery made by man during the past thousand years and more.

The Influence of the Drama

(Continued from page 8)

And for this reason a dramatic production acts upon those senses by which the human brain drives thought and emotion for the building up of character. The sense of sight is the most powerful of all the senses in the service of intellect and emotion and it is this which makes the actors out so singularly impressive. But the actor does not depend for his impressiveness merely on gesture and facial expression. He may reach the hearts of his audience also through the medium of voice. Then again the art of stage furnishing and lighting, the help of fine and realistic costumes, the skilful "make-up" of the actor or actress, combine to produce an impression upon the imagination which according to all laws of psychology must have a profound influence upon the vice and virtue, which are the characteristics of the 20th century life. Therefore by "holding the

mirror up to nature" however blurred may be the image, the spectator sees himself as others see him. sees his mode of life pictured in miniature, is led to understand the "form and pressure of the life" more clearly than his own intelligence, moving in his own narrow treck, would have allowed him and he is unconsciously, but not less powerfully influenced in his own character and the ways of thinking, speaking and living.

It cannot be said therefore with

speaking and living.

It cannot be said, therefore, with any truth that the drama of today is without influence, and not to be taken into account, when estimating the forces at work upon our social and cultural evolution.

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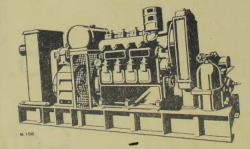




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