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VOL. I. No. 11.

FRIDAY, 23rd MAY 1947

PRICE FIVE CENTS

U. N. P. NOMINATES CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENT

Why Some Seats Are Still "Open" Uva Province List Yet To Come



MR. D. S. SENANAYAKE
Leader, U. N. P. and Chairman,
Nominations Board.

THE UNITED NATIONAL PARTY ANNOUNCES THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS OF THE NOMINATIONS BOARD. THE BOARD RESERVES TO ITSELF THE RIGHT TO MAKE FURTHER NOMINATIONS IN REGARD TO SEATS LEFT "OPEN" FOR THE PRESENT. BEFORE THE DATE FIXED FOR SUBMITTING NOMINATION PAPERS, OR EVEN AFTER THAT DATE, THE U.N.P. NOMINATIONS BOARD MAY NAME ITS CANDIDATES FOR THE SEATS LEFT "OPEN" AT PRESENT.

The Nominations Board will watch the situation in the meantime so that the fact of two or more members of the Party contesting the same seat may not provide an opportunity for a non-Party candidate to secure a victory.

Galaha (left open): Messrs. W. A. B. Soysa, B. H. Dunuwille, C. A. S. Marikar and T. B. Panabokke (jnr.).
Gampola: Mr. R. S. S. Gunawardena.
Wariyapola: Mr. Ivan P. Dassanaike.
Dandegamuwa: Mr. J. A. Amaratunge.
Nattandiya: Mr. Albert E. Peries.

(Continued on page 3)

SOUTHERN PROVINCE

Baddegama: Mr. Simon Abeywickrema.
Ambalangoda-Balapitiya (multiple): Messrs. P. de S. Kularatne and G. Arthur de Zoysa.
Udugama (left open): Mr. D. S. Gunasekera and Mr. D. E. Hettiaratchi.
Galle: Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya.
Weligama (left open): Mr. Montague Jayawickreme and Mr. Edward Senaratne.
Matara: Mr. Rajah Hewavitarnne.
Hakmana (left open): Messrs. A. F. Wijemanne, C. A. Dharmapala and C. E. Ranatunga.
Beliatta (left open): Messrs. D. A. Rajapakse and D. P. Atapattu.
Hambantota: Mr. C. F. W. Edirisuriya.

NORTHERN PROVINCE

Kankesanturai: Mr. S. Natesan.
Jaffna: Mr. A. Mahadeva.
Kopay: Mr. S. Rajaratnam.
Chavakachcheri: Mr. C. R. Thambyah.
Mannar: Mr. J. Tyagaraja.

EASTERN PROVINCE

Trincomalee: Mr. A. C. Kanagasasingam.
Paddirippu: Mr. V. O. Gurugulasinghe.
Kalmunai (left open): Gate Mudaliyar M. S. Kariappan and Mr. M. A. C. Kariappan.
Potuyil: Mr. A. R. Abdul Razik.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE

Puttalam: Mr. H. S. Ismail.
Nikaweratiya: Mr. U. B. Wanninayake.
Dodangaslande: Mr. J. L. Kotelawala.
Kurunegala: Mr. Ivor Palipane.
Dambadeniya: Mr. R. G. Senanayake.

WESTERN PROVINCE

Colombo North: Mr. George R. de Silva.
Colombo Central: Mr. T. B. Jayah.
Colombo South: Mr. R. A. de Mel.
Wellawatte-Galkissa: Dr. A. Ratnapala.
Ja-Ela (left open): Messrs. D. P. Jayasuriya and Norbert P. Siriwardana.
Negombo: Mr. H. de Z. Siriwardena.
Mirigama: Mr. D. S. Senanayake.
Gampaha (left open): Mr. D. D. Karunaratne and Mr. F. A. Obeyesekere.
Attanagalla: Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.
Kelaniya: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene.
Avissawella: Mr. B. Jayasuriya.
Moratuwa: Mr. Thomas Amarasuriya.
Panadura: Mr. Susantha de Fonseka.
Kalutara: Mr. Upali Batuwantudave.
Matugama: Mr. C. W. W. Kanangara.
Agalawatte: Mr. D. D. Athulthudali.

CENTRAL PROVINCE

Wattegama: Mr. A. Ratnayake.
Kadugannawa (multiple): Messrs. E. A. Nugawela and J. N. Jinendradasa.
Kandy: Mr. George E. de Silva.



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CARDINAL NEWMAN

thing else at that time. A mysterious veneration had gathered around him.

He profoundly believed that modern science and research, then startling the world through the works of Darwin and Huxley, could be found compatible with Christianity, but that in Christianity alone could be found the meaning of life and the happiness of mankind. He saw that the great liberal error of the nineteenth century was the belief that man could find in himself, everything to satisfy the needs of his being, and that abandoning the worship of God he seemed likely to turn to worship the State and so fall into inevitable destruction.

A change in the character of the movement became more and more apparent as it increased in power. The Anglican bishops, fearing the tendency, ordered the publication of the "Tracts" to cease. One Dean changed the time of his dinners, so that his scholars might not be able to attend Newman's sermons, though he constantly went himself.

Newman's position became more and more difficult. He resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's and Fellowship of Oriel. Gladstone begged Manning, who was then Archdeacon of Chichester, to use

speech so laudatory as to seem to him extravagant.

In 1877 his old college, Trinity, conferred upon him an Honorary Fellowship, the first that had ever been granted. Newman displayed literary gifts early in life, but most of his writings then dealt with rather dry theological discussions. When he was thirty-three he published a book of short poems, the "Lyra Apostolica" and also wrote the famous hymn, "Lead Kindly Light," but it was not until after he became a Roman Catholic that his literary genius showed itself adequately in his prose writings and not till twenty years later that he wrote his unique poem, "The Dream of Gerontius," now enshrined in Elgar's music.

THE MODEST POET

NEWMAN thought this work of so little value that it was to be consigned to the waste-paper basket. Some friend who had an eye for poetry rescued it, and so preserved one of the most original of the poems of the nineteenth century. "The Dream" delineates Newman's conception of the last great changes through which a soul passes from this world to the world of spirits and it reflects all the beliefs and

my diffidence of mind, in consideration of my feeble health, my nearly eighty years, and my lack of experience in business, that I may be allowed to die where I have so long lived."

Dispensation was readily granted. England was proud of him. Honours and tokens of veneration and affection were showered upon him. Lord Salisbury opened his town house especially for the reception "ceremonies." He was to live quietly and happily for ten more years. He died on August 9, 1890. On hearing of his death, Lord Rosebery hurried to the Oratory at Birmingham, where the body lay in State, and stooping down kissed the Cardinal's ring.

Again in the words of Hut-ton, himself not a Roman, "No more impressive testimony could have been afforded to the power, sincerity and simplicity of the great Cardinal's life, than the almost unanimous outburst of admiration and reverence from all the English Churches for the man who had caused the defection of a larger number of cultiva-

THE KINDLY LIGHT THAT LED HIM

Portrait of Cardinal Newman

IN 1874 Gladstone was writing, with some apprehension, "The Vatican Decrees and their bearing on Civil Allegiance." Some 145,000 copies were sold within the first year. The incident illustrates the widespread effects of the extraordinary religious awakenings which had been taking place in England and for which Newman was largely responsible.

His friend, Hurrell Froude, brother of the historian, described him as of striking appearance, above middle height, slight and spare. His head was large, his face remarkably like that of Julius Caesar with the striking, sensitive nose of the intellectual.

Gifted with a singular clearness of perception, he had a disdain for conventionalities, a temper imperious and wilful, but with it a most attracting gentleness, sweetness, and singleness of heart and purpose, together with a faculty of enlisting the passionate devotion of friends and followers.

A more strongly developed sense of humour would have saved him much unhappiness. He was painfully shy and reserved even at the time of his greatest success and influence.

He was ordained, and a curacy was given to him in 1824, followed four years later by his appointment to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Oxford.

Newman agreed with Gladstone, and many other thinkers, that the age was running headlong into infidelity. Grave doubts were felt that the Church might not prove strong enough to withstand the storm. Newman and several of his friends decided that it was time to "make a row in the world." They formed a group to work in defence of the church against the abuses and schismatic movements of the times. This collaboration came to be known as the Oxford Movement.

The fight began with the publication of "Tracts for the Times." These, many of which were written by Newman, achieved enormous publicity and sold in thousands. In less than three years the movement acquired an extraordinary place in the whole country.

He possessed an uncanny appreciation of the doubts and difficulties common to minds of lesser calibre than his own; an understanding and sympathy partly acquired through the intensity and suffering of his own questionings.

Impromptu speeches were not easy for him. Once when replying to friends who called to congratulate him on his preference, he spoke only a few words and then, overcome with emotion, he covered his face with his hands and fled from the room.

This sensitiveness made him difficult to approach. His was an imperious temper and did not suffer fools gladly or, indeed, opposition of any kind. The influence he had gained was unlike any-

his influence to bind Newman to his Anglican Allegiance.

After a period of great mental struggle he was received into the Catholic Church in October, 1845.

He was then forty-four years old. He had been Oxford's most honoured son, now he was humiliated and reviled. "In pulpits, at dinner tables, in coffee rooms, and railway carriages," he sadly writes, "I am denounced as a traitor."

"IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY"

Newman considered education of vital importance and especially necessary for all religious instructors. The Catholic Seminaries seemed to him to provide fewer advantages than did the English Universities. His insistence finally brought about the decisions to found a Catholic University and Ireland was chosen as the most appropriate place.

He himself was entrusted with this difficult task. He had very definite ideas on the subject and his book, "The Idea of a University," written nearly a hundred years ago has lost none of the cogency of his arguments.

As against the merely utilitarian claims that education must result in some tangible material benefit he says: "If a practical end must be assigned to an educational course it is that of training good members of society. Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world. Its aim is raising the intellectual tone of Society, cultivating the public mind, purifying the national taste, facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life. An educated man is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class."

THE QUARREL WITH KINGSLEY

LONDON was deeply stirred when Kingsley the famous author of "Westward Ho!" accused Newman of dishonesty. He replied with his "Apologia pro vita sua." "I must," he wrote, "show what I am, so that it may be seen what I am not." He wrote day after day, issuing the book in seven weekly parts which were read by the world, held in thrall by the sincerity of the narrative and the beauty of the language in which it was written. The verdict was entirely in his favour and it has never been reversed. Newman's vindication was triumphant and complete.

In 1870 Gladstone, fearing its political effects, endeavoured to persuade the European powers to protest against the decision of the Vatican Council to declare the "Infallibility" of the Pope, but no action was taken. Newman dispelled his fears and the erroneous impression that the Pope was giving out infallible utterances every time he opened his mouth. Infallibility applied to pronouncements made "ex cathedra" on faith and morals only. Gladstone afterwards referred to Newman in a

speech which had been the basis of his life.

Pope Pius IX died in 1878 and one of the first acts of his successor Leo XIII was to confer a Cardinalate upon Newman in recognition of his great services to the Catholic cause. By rule he should have lived in Rome, but he pleaded: "I pray that in compassion of

ed Protestants from their Protestant faith than any other writer or preacher since the Reformation."

M. D. Shaw
(Condensed From
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Nominations

(Continued from page 1)

NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE

Madawachchiya: Mr. Maitripala Senanayake.

Anuradhapura: P. B. Bulankulame Dissawe.

Kalawewa: Mr. S. H. Mahadivulwewa.

Horawapotuna (left open): T. B. Poholiadde Dissawe.

Messrs M. P. Soysa, S. Abeysuriya, W. Madawala and H. M. K. Bandara.

Polonnaruwa (left open): Messrs. H. M. Munas, P. de S. Jayasekera, Stephen Seneviratne, R. B. Wijeratne, S. M. Ismail and P. L. Bauddasara.

SABARAGAMUWA

Kegalla: Mr. N. H. Kiriniratne.

Maawandi: Mr. H. B. Ratwawe.

Deegama: Mr. Dudley Senanayake.

Rathnapura: Mr. Cyril Attygalle.

Kiriella (left open): Messrs. A. E. B. Kiriella and T. K. W. Chandrasekera.

Nivitigama: Mr. J. Kuruppu.

Balangoda (multiple): Messrs. A. F. Molamure and E. W. Matnew.

The list of nominations for the seats in the Uva Province is not released for the present and nominations have not been made for the following seats: Kotte, Dambulla, Matale, Maturata, Nuwara Eliya, Talawakelle, Kotagala, Nawalapitiya, Maskeliya, Akuressa, Deniyaya, Kayts, Vadukkodai, Pt. Pedro, Vavuniya, Muttu, Kalkudah, Batticaloa, Bingiriya, Chilaw, Ruanwella and Dehiwita.

NOMINATION PRINCIPLES

The Nominations Board consisted of the following:

Messrs. D. S. Senanayake, J. L. Kotelawala, S. W. E. D. Bandaranaike, George E. de Silva, A.

Mahadeva, T. B. Jayah, A. R. A. Razik, J. R. Jayewardene, H. W. Amerasuriya, C. Ponnambalam, A. F. Molamure and A. Ratnayake.

The Executive Committee of the Party approved the following guiding principles to be applied by the Board in their deliberations:—

(1) The Board should, after considering all necessary circumstances, including the ascertainment of the position in the electorates, nominate candidates for election to the House of Representatives. All nominations need not necessarily be made at one and the same time. A list of nominations that can be made without difficulty should be made as early as possible. Supplementary lists should be taken with the least possible delay.

(2) Where two or more U.N.P. candidates wish to contest the same seat, such a seat may be declared an "Open Seat" provided:

(a) that there is no clear choice of one candidate;

(b) that it has not been possible to settle satisfactorily the rival claims of such candidates;

(c) that the fact of more than one member of the U.N.P. contesting a seat does not create a real risk of a non-U.N.P. candidate winning the seat.

(3) When a seat is declared an "Open Seat," the Party as such should not support a candidate. Members of the Executive Committee should refrain from any public participation on behalf of a candidate.

All those who have been nominated to contest seats at the next Elections have been requested to sign the following Pledge:—

I.....hereby agree that I shall conform to the programme, Principles and Policy of the Party and that I shall abide by the standing orders and Constitution of the Party and that I shall carry out the mandate of the Party conveyed to me by the Leader of Party Whip.

A Reader's View

A MORE thought-provoking article—and one which exposes the problem it tackles to the X-ray of cold logic—has rarely appeared before in a Ceylon journal—political or otherwise—than that which made the front page of U.N.P. last week. Focusing the spotlight of public opinion in what he very rightly describes as a new menace to Lanka, J. R. Jayewardene has revealed in the plainest possible terms the hideous aftermath which would follow if unrestricted Indian labour were allowed to compete with local labour. This competition would be inevitable if the Bolshevnik Leninist Party and its ancillary units in Ceylon deceive the electorate with their vote-catching slogans and pseudo-economics as to be returned to power when Ceylon goes to poll this year. They are committed to unfettered immigration and it does not require much imagination to visualise how easily Ceylon labour with its admittedly higher standard of living would be swamped by the hordes of Indians who will cross over to what to them is the nearest El Dorado.

The genesis of this desire on the part of the left wing element in Ceylon to make common cause with the Indian labourer is to some extent understandable. Apart from the fact that it was the fashion some years back to pay lip service to everything Indian, the torch of freedom in the East was first kindled in India and other nations in the East slowly awakening to a sense of national consciousness looked to Indian leadership to point the way to the achievement of their own freedom and the end of their bondage. The great Indian leaders like Das, the Nehrus and Gandhi were beacon lights in whose radiance the smaller nations of the East directed the first faltering steps in the direction of freedom and independence. While we in Ceylon are the first to acknowledge our

By "Fenners"

deep debt to India for this ray of light which brought our first hope of deliverance from the foreign yoke, it is well that politics and economics are two entirely different things, though as a means to an end they may be mutually complementary.

* * *

AND, the movement of labour is purely a question of economics. In a capitalist State the equation of supply and demand regulates wages. The employer cannot be blamed if he buys in the cheapest market provided quality is constant. In a Socialist State, where all the major industries and services are nationalised, the co-relation of supply to demand may not have any adverse effect on national well-being only provided the supply is indigenous. The national wealth of a country can be so distributed that the per capita income can be increased to the point where social security is assured for all. But once outside labour is allowed to compete without let or hindrance, the elasticity of a nation's wealth is stretched to breaking point if all that labour is to be absorbed in addition to the indigenous man-power, and, if the same standard of living is to be maintained. This is such a simple question of arithmetic that it scarcely needs further elucidation.

As an International Labour conference at Geneva, in one of its last pre-war meetings, laid down, the first obligation of a country is to see that the social amenities and social security of its labour are progressively increased. This can only be if the standard of living is stepped up—and, how, I ask you, can that standard of living be even maintained, let alone stepped up, if the nation's wealth is to be shared by a non-indigenous population attracted to the country by the much higher wages paid here than in their own land.

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Friday, May 23rd, 1947

NOMINATIONS

The published list of the Nominations decided upon by the United National Party Nominations Board will indicate to the public and the Party that the standards of just and equitable decision set up by us have been worthily preserved.

We had one important consideration at all times: the interests of the Party. We placed the Party before people. Our choice was not an easy one to make in every constituency. There was, fortunately for us, a fair measure of certainty with regard to the ability of most of our men to win the seats for which they had asked for Nomination. And in the case of some there was a great spirit of public service and a realisation of public duty among the disputants, making our task less of a burden than it otherwise may have been.

A case in point was the Kurunegala Constituency for which several members of the Party, all of considerable ability and all held in high public esteem, had asked for Nomination. They came before the Nominations Board and made a statement which strengthened our resolves and increased our faith in the future of the Party. They said that the vital point to be decided was not so much who was to be a future M.P. for Kurunegala, but who could win the seat for the United National Party. They added that whoever was chosen to represent the Party, he would receive the unstinted support of others. This was a magnificent gesture. The negation of personal ambition in the national interest was not merely a paper promise. By this gesture the U.N.P. members gave practical demonstration of their desire to further the interests of the Party and the people.

Another feature of the Nominations Board decisions is that in several of the seats left "open" as between two or more Party members, one finds the names of sitting members of the State Council. The libel that the U.N.P. is a "State Council" Party is repelled by this practical demonstration of our real intentions. The fact that such members of the State Council as have joined the U.N.P. have done so mainly in the interests of the country and in the cause of National Unity is proved by the fact that they have co-operated with the Party by accepting the decisions of the Nominations Board.

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

By

G.A. Nanayakkara

THE spirit of nationalism, coupled with the love of freedom, has spread all over the world. India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, and we ourselves, in our little Island country, cry for freedom. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his book, "The Discovery of India," says: "Recent events all over the world have demonstrated, that the notion that nationalism was fading away before the impact of internationalism and proletarian movements had little truth. It is still one of the most powerful urges that move a people and round it cluster sentiments and traditions and a sense of common living and common purpose. While the intellectual strata of the middle classes were gradually moving away from nationalism, or so they thought, labour and proletarian movements, deliberately based on internationalism, were drifting towards nationalism. The coming of war swept everybody everywhere, into the net of nationalism."

Had it not been with the spirit of nationalism the Russians would never have fought the Germans in the last war. Nationalism first, and internationalism follows.

We in Ceylon were a prey to Indian conquest from time immemorial. History and Pre-History both give sufficient evidence to prove this. Since the sixteenth century we have fallen a prey to European domination. One hundred and fifty years of British rule had almost wiped out our spirit of nationalism and the love for freedom that were in us. We are divided and subdivided among our own selves, we do not know by whom. It is mysterious but an attempt is being made to unite us, and the struggle continues, amidst many an obstacle. We need not be discouraged at all. We will have our day, ourselves.

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son;
Though baffled oft,
Is ever won."
So sings a poet.

A VERY few of the conquerors mentioned in the History of the World were kind and generous to their conquered. The more the conquered struggled to be free, the more the conquerors tried to keep them in their grip. Here and there the conquerors had given the conquered a certain amount of freedom but this does not mean that they were free.

When taking our own country into consideration we feel the same. We are under British rule although we call it "Our Own Government," and have our own representatives and public servants. They are all responsible to the British rulers. We have no reason to blame them for anything that goes wrong. They do their best for us. They go there to serve us. They are sincere in their motives but are powerless to satisfy us to our entire satisfaction. We have reason to believe that there is some mysterious power or other to dictate to them. They have the purse with them but it is not at their command. The so-called freedom which many of us seem to enjoy is very limited. This too we gained gradually by dint of hard and selfless enterprise.

We have more freedom to gain than what we have already gained, and we have to fight for it. We will not gain it by merely preaching to the masses of the freedom that people enjoy in the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A. and by wrecking their spirit of nationalism and freedom. Will the Imperialists and colour bar ridden British allow us to enjoy Russian Freedom under their hands, unless we fight for our freedom, and gain it? Instead, they at heart are sorry to lose their Empire and the very idea of the coloured races under them enjoying freedom brings them terror. Their representatives in our midst are sick at heart. They whilst blaming their Home Government for granting us a bit of freedom cry out at the top of their voices saying that we do not know to enjoy it.

So does their organ, the "Times of Ceylon." Those of our people, misled by them, too, blame our own leaders and representatives of the Government. The leftists, who have caught the wrong end of the stick, mislead the ignorant masses. Can they do any better, if they themselves take the reins of Government into their own hands? Not

until complete freedom is won, can anybody do as he likes.

IF our Ministers find themselves handicapped or if they find that they cannot cope with the situation, why do they not resign? is the oft-asked question I try to answer now. Yes! If this is done what will happen? The old days prior to the first Reformed Legislative Council of 1921, will probably return. A Government consisting of the Heads of Departments and a Council formed by them and a few "Yes Men" nominated by the Governor will hold sway over us. This is what the European community in the country is clamouring for. This is what the "Times of Ceylon" prays for. Setting the clock hundreds of years behind time is the motive, it seems, of both these parties.

Freedom from Britain may perhaps mean a subjugation of Ceylon by India, in spite of all the Pious Declarations by Pandit Nehru and some of his colleagues to the effect that they have no motives of territorial conquest but India's threats to Ceylon from time to time, while she herself is still under British rule, will never cease. History has proved to us that Ceylon's small size and her nearness to India had made her a constant prey to Indian aggression but in spite of these attempts to subdue this country entirely by India, Ceylon was never subdued fully. Apart from pre-history, history proves that Ceylon was fully subdued by Vijaya and then by the British. The former took years to consolidate his position. Ceylon in spite of all her cultural relations, goodwill, unity and strife with India had ever remained a separate country like Britain from the mainland of Europe. Ceylon is so even today. Cer-

tain Indian leaders warn us of conquest, directly or otherwise. Certain Indians among us plan for it from now itself and it is evident that the free Ceylon may one day fall a prey to a free India just as Austria fell into the hands of Germany in 1938. Hitler's henchmen there brought about false excuses under various false prettexts to subdue that little country, one of them being the rights of Germans in Austria. Such activities are current in Ceylon also today by certain Indian mischief-makers with regard to the rights of Indians in Ceylon.

And our leftists, to a man, are helping in this.



MR. PETER MELLAARATCHY
Newly-elected Hon. Secretary of the Committee on Policy and Literature in succession to Dr. L. A. Rajapakse, who resigned after his appointment as Commissioner of Assize.

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MALIBAN STREET COLOMBO



THE usual procession of workers that typifies every strike in Ceylon provides a good study of mass docility. I was watching the procession of Municipal strikers the other day.

In it were conservancy workers, men and women—the scavengers of the city—who appeared completely indifferent and apathetic to the excitement of the procession. They just marched on.....

I asked them what all this blaring meant.

They said: "We don't understand, Sir. The only thing we know is that we were told that if we join this procession we will get better wages. If we did not, we were threatened with assault."

Some don't understand when to shout "Jaya Vewa" and when to cry "Banga Vewa."

To avoid confusion (despite the cheer leaders), I hear, the strikers have issued a code. If they raise the flag it is "Jaya Vewa." If it is dipped it is "Banga Vewa." Watch for them next time.

Rickshaw Swansong

SO the rickshaw has gone off the streets of Singapore. We here in Ceylon have had rickshaws for well over sixty years and still estimate them high. Now, as in the pioneer days, it is still thought a social accomplishment to own or ride a rickshaw.

It is the next best thing to a car—and it is definitely more dignified than walking. (Have you heard of the Municipal Councillor, who will walk from his office, but half a mile from his home, and on the border-line of his constituency, will jump into a rickshaw and ride triumphantly in?)

A Letter to the Editor

TOMORROW

The Editor, U.N.P.,
32/3, Flower Road, Colombo.

Sir,—

I read with a chill running through my bones the last paragraph of your editorial of 2.5.47, and wondered what steps U.N.P. intends taking to quash "Communal Antagonism."

Can't you say with me, that Communal Antagonism will prevail so long as various communities make a fetish of ideals, symbols, religion, status, tastes and culture and heritage peculiar to each one of them?

In this island of ours there are the Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, Burghers, Indians and Whatnots; and look at them, however you like and you come to the conclusion that just like the Sinhalese, they have each a language, religion, a culture, a sindhu, a dance, a guddu—all so different and yet so purposeful in relation to the group it represents?

And what is the big idea of the U.N.P.? Is it to force the flag, the language, the religion, the sindhu or kuri, the guddu on all other people simply because they are minorities?

There was, however, one vital factor that brought about a great unification among these fortuitous collocation of consequential people in this country and that was the English language. At least 7 per cent. of the heterogenous crowd understood one another and lived like men and found community of interest among them, so much so it wasn't surprising when a Tamil lad was the bestman to a Burgher wedding and vice versa.

Times are bewilderingly approaching when Rabid Nationalism and a false sense of values combined with hatred for everything associated with European culture will display themselves in such terms as to make the minorities shrink and shudder. When we hear that Lanka is a Sinhalese country, even Elizabeth Wright calls Lanka a Buddhist country; and that the rulers are the Sinhalese and that Lanka must sinhalasize everything to make the picture and presumption complete and beautiful—there are some of us like me who want to emigrate to Limbo.

If Lanka is to be the home of all of us, we must make up our minds not to give prominence to communal symbols

A certain Mr. Whittall, an ex-resident of Hong Kong (they use jinrickshaws there), introduced the first rickshaw to Ceylon.

In 1884, Mr. John Ferguson brought one to Colombo after a visit to the Straits Settlement, Japan and China.

Einstein

THOSE who saw the newsreel "Atomic Power" at the New Olympia, could not have failed to be impressed by the venerable expression of Einstein, the famous scientist. Working in exile in U.S.A., he heard that his homeland, Germany, was developing the atom bomb.

Working secretly on a top secret formula he developed for the Allies a powerful weapon, not against Germany but against Japan, with what result we all know.

Einstein repudiated German citizenship in 1938. He said he bore no animosity to the German people or Reich, but he did not hide his intense dislike for the Nazis.

He thought Germany had been seized by a kind of psychological malady.

He did not desire to return to Germany until freedom of opinion was allowed and the integral security of all Germans was assured.

"Let Me Be Reborn"

IT is almost a decade since the Ven. Sri Devamitta Dhammapala, the great Buddhist, died. But for an annual perahera, no other commemoration of him is evident. It is time we thought of erecting a statue to his memory.

His last words on his death-bed were: "Let me die soon. Let me be reborn. I will not prolong my agony. I like to be born again, twenty-five times for the spread of Lord Buddha's Dharma."

Let us remember him. Let him be reborn and re-live in our hearts in the shape of a suitable memorial.

and identifications—and bring about, even overnight, if possible—a conviction, a realization, an enlightenment in the hearts and minds of every Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher, Indian and Whatnot—that all warring elements that lead to warfare, namely communal identities be stamped from the dust of public life and conserved in their proper places—homes, temples, ashrams, communal clubs and prevent public life and public spirit being tainted with them. So long as the Sinhalese speak Sinhalese and talk Buddhist religion—the Tamil will talk Tamil and think Hindu—and the Burgher will be driven to community shelters or failing that get away when the going is good or sit on the fence and smile both ways and call themselves "sons of the soil."

Three conditions are necessary: There must be a public language and not a communal majority language. There must be no public religion. Our fathers, our mothers, our homes, our churches and temples, our mosques are good enough to look after our moral and spiritual training. Our schools are a public institution and religion must not enter these. And hardly let us provide definite concessions to those who really cannot cope with the vernaculars; and not penalise him. In the recent S.S.C. examination, there were several Burgher boys and girls who obtained four and five distinctions, failed in Sinhalese and consequently secured a despicable O.

Then, only then will all communal warfare in terms of hatred, suspicion, favouritism, discrimination cease like the Utopian scheme for the Lion and the Sheep—the Sinhalese, the Tamil, the Muslim and the Burgher will have a right to call Lanka their home. There will be confidence and a healthy relationship among the distinct sections of the people that make up Lanka so as to contribute to its social, cultural and economic future.

Yours truly,

A. F. VAN DER HOEVEN.

82, Hampden Lane,
Wellawatte, 10.5.47.

NOTE BY EDITOR: Mr. Van Der Hoeven is entitled to his point of view. Our readers will see for themselves that if Mr. Van der Hoeven's ideas were accepted there would be no possibility of achieving national unity at all!—J.L.K.

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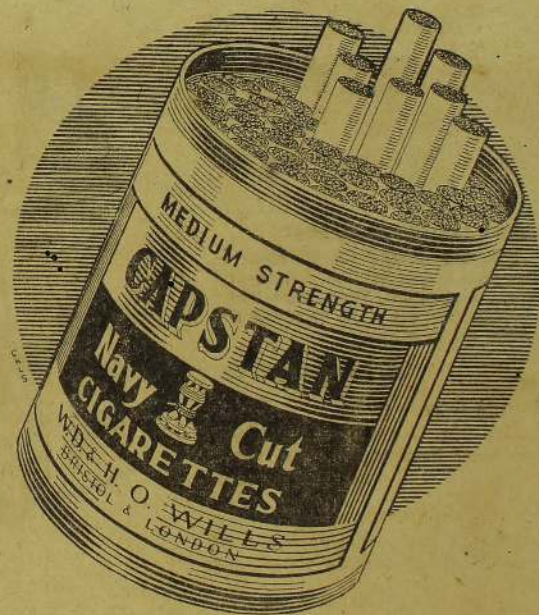
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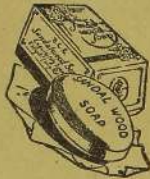
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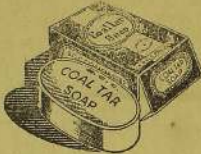
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SPORTS Commentary

COVER-POINT

WITH the Derby less than three weeks ahead, racing comes more and more into the news. Two more pieces in the Epsom jigsaw fell into place last week when His Majesty's BLUE TRAIN won the Newmarket Stakes so easily that GORDON RICHARDS stopped riding a long way from home, and SAYAJI RAO made the Derby Trial Stakes his own.

But unfortunately, the Derby puzzle is still, in my opinion, a long way from solution. I doubt whether even the Beckampton Trainer, FRED DARLING, can answer the poser he has set racing fans with his three unbeaten colts who, naturally, never met each other. TUDOR MINSTREL is, of course, the rage since his Guineas victory but Blue Train is tracking him in the betting and, purely on breeding, seems an even better proposition than the favourite. Not content with giving punter's a choice of two, the "master" of Beckampton has another lively candidate in COMBAT. Stable plans will probably not be known for about a fortnight but, even when they are made known, the trainer's fiat does not run to making the result a foregone conclusion. In recent years, many a stable neglected has upset the "plans of mice and men."

What makes the Derby puzzle even more intriguing than usual is that, although DARLING may hold a "nap hand," there are other candidates in the field who can quite conceivably trump all the Beckampton aces. First, there is Sayaji Rao, whose latest six-length victory seems to justify the confidence of the GAEKWAR OF BARODA that his colt will reverse the Guineas placings. Last week brought to light another Derby "possible" in the Irish colt, GRAND WEATHER, who won the Irish 2,000 Guineas at the Curragh by four lengths. His victory must have been impressive as his Derby price came toppling down from a 100 to 1, to a bare 25. Then there is the Aga Khan's MIGOLI and the well-bred TITE STREET, who must certainly be in at the kill.

The lone French challenger, M. Volterra's PARISIEN, who finished fourth in the Guineas, again blotted his copy-book last Sunday, when he failed even to save place money in a 1½-mile race at Longchamps.

Talking of French horses reminds me that, although it may still be a far cry to Ascot, France has the Gold Cup, virtually, at her mercy, if M. Bous-sac's MARSYAS II retains his present form. Winner of five big races last year, including the Goodwood Cup, Marsyas took part last Sunday in the French equivalent of the Ascot Gold Cup and had three lengths to spare at the finish from SOUVERAIN, who, as everyone of you will remember, beat Airborne pretty convincingly in the

King George VI Stakes at Ascot last year. That is a good enough recommendation for the severest test the Frenchman may have to face this year.

THE visit of the South African cricketers to England has helped to counter the doldrums into which County cricket might have drifted after the very poor record of the recent M.C.C. tour in Australia. In addition, the M.C.C. directive to County clubs not to over-prepare their wickets, coupled with the operation of Double Summer time has ironed out the disadvantages under which bowlers have been labouring for long. With the earlier start, the wickets generally have had plenty of dew on them and this the bowlers have been able to exploit, especially in the first hour or two of play.

The strength and variety of the South African attack was further emphasised last week when LINDSAY TUCKETT, MANN, ATHOLL ROWAN and PLIMSOLL, all found themselves again among the wickets, but the outstanding bowling performance of the week was by CHARLES GROVE, the Warwickshire right arm fast medium bowler, who completed the season's first hat-trick in taking 7 for 48. Other fast medium bowlers also came into the news when HERMAN of Hampshire took 3 South African wickets in four balls, and HOWARTH, GRAY and WEL-LARD also captured 5 wickets or more.

Considering that England's principal weakness in the recent past has been the lack of a really good fast bowler, the talent now coming to light is most encouraging.

In batting ALAN MELVILLE, the Springbok Captain, got his second century for the tour, while MITCHELL, HARRIS, NOURSE and DYER are all finding their best form with the First Test only three weeks ahead.

The batting prize of the week, however, must be given to WINSTON PLACE of Lancashire, who belaboured the Oxford attack to the tune of 266 runs, which was not only the highest of his career but also the highest individual post-war score, beating VAULK-HARD'S 264 for Derbyshire against Nottinghamshire last year. Place's brilliant batting was almost matched by the Oxford captain, the New Zealander MARTIN DONNELLY, who batted gloriously for an unbeaten 154, when the Dark Blues needed 237 runs to avoid an innings defeat.

Donnelly is undoubtedly the best amateur batsman in England today, and is probably the best left hand bat in the world. With him in the team the scales are heavily weighted in favour of Oxford in the Varsity match in which for the first time there will be an Indian Blue in each team, in the persons of ABDUL HAFEEZ (Kardar) for Oxford and DHATTA for Cambridge.

Yet another old favourite who made the headlines is LEN HUTTON, who showed that he has completely recovered from his recent tonsils operation by hitting his third century for the season.

FOUND three Children

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COLOMBO—KANDY

WHEN LABOUR RULES

IN a strangely contradictory speech delivered on the opening day of the Labour Conference, Mr. Laski stated on the one hand that "the more he watched in action the processes of the one-party State, the less convinced he was of its ability to win, in any permanent way, loyalty of mind and heart from much more than the bureaucratic elite who presided over its destinies"; and, on the other hand, that, "a Socialist Government in Britain required as the central principle of its policy in UNO the fullest understanding with Russia" and that the achievements of their (the rulers of new Russia) revolution is one of the pillars of our strength."

But Soviet Russia is a one-party State. It would, therefore, seem that the Chairman of the Labour Party is in some doubt as to the meaning of a one-party regime. Or does he perhaps savour a State only able to win loyalty from its bureaucracy?

This is but one instance showing how the character of English government is moving towards a change. What is not so obvious—yet, on examination would appear to be true—is that this alteration of character is the precursor of a change in the form of government to which we have been accustomed.

There has for some time past been an increasing tendency to invest the Cabinet of the party in power with monarchical attributes. This has been done mainly by increasing the number of Ministerial regulations attached to each Bill presented to Parliament. The trend has therefore been to make every Act on the Statute Book little more than an enabling Act by means of which the particular Minister acquires unprecedented powers of creating policy without the check of Parliamentary debates.

VITAL TO EVERYONE

Two recent examples of this kind of autocratic attitude of the Cabinet—examples which affect people in two departments of life vital to everyone, namely, their homes and the right to bring up their children as they think right—may be cited.

In the Civil Aviation Bill the following words occur: "Where the Minister has acquired or proposes to acquire land for civil aviation purposes, and it appears to him to be necessary that he should provide or arrange for the provision of housing accommodation for persons occupying houses on that land who have been or are to be displaced in

The "One-Party State" — by R. D. Jebb

consequence of the appropriation of land for civil aviation purposes, he shall provide or arrange the provision of such accommodation upon such terms as he thinks appropriate...."

From the words italicised above it is clear that the Minister is given discretionary powers in dealing with the housing of displaced persons, and that he is under no obligation to rehouse them in equivalent dwellings.

Again, the Minister of Education has laid it down that in the case of choice of secondary schools for their children, "the wishes of the parents will need to be considered, but the decision, depending as it normally does upon the ability and aptitude of the child as revealed by his performance in the primary school, must necessarily rest primarily with the local education authority."

The growth of Cabinet autocracy is thus the principal change of character that the English Government has undergone; and it is no slight change, as may be seen from perusal of most recent Bills. The whole structure and seeming intention of many of them may be entirely altered at the whim of the Minister concerned—that is to say, of the Cabinet. Parliament is fast losing control of the policies it debates.

It might have been supposed that the appearance in Parliament, and later in responsible Cabinet positions, of the proletarian class would have heralded a closer approach to a democratic State, in which the populace would have had more say in the government of their country!

Of this there is no sign whatever. On the contrary, there was probably never

a moment in history when the people had less control than at present of the legislation they are compelled to obey. Never a period when one section of the population was being more heavily bribed, with the hope not of independence but of bread and circuses, filched from another section by the Government for its own enrichment and the stabilising of its own autocratic control.

PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS

But, since the advent of the present Government, signs have not been lacking to show that this change of character is destined to become a change of form. In a word, we are moving away from the party system which, with all its faults, did manage to preserve,

through its unique character in England, certain basic freedoms as well as a consistent policy in foreign affairs, towards a single-party regime.

Let us note certain governmental actions of the last ten months and the attitude adopted by Cabinet Ministers.

One of the essentials of single-party government is the existence of professional politicians—men, that is, who receive a salary for the whole-time job of politics. Without these there can be no stability for the power clique. Two steps have been taken towards the establishment of this system. The work of Members of Parliament in the House has been greatly increased, and their salaries have been raised; both of which steps tend to divorce them from extraneous activities.

Another sign of the approach of a single-party system is to be found in the nature of the enactments of the present Government. Nationalisation, which transfers from the people to the State all economic initiative, is opposed by all parties but the one in power today. Moreover, once effected, it is almost irrevocable.

We have actually been informed, by Ministers of the more candid sort, that the omelette cannot be unmixed and the eggs returned to their separate shells. This means that only one party—and that the party now in power—can carry on government in the future without either violating its principles or else causing vast economic confusion throughout the country. The moral apparently is that no parties will be permitted to exist in future except the one ready to use nationalisation as a bulwark of its continuing power.

But nationalisation is not the only type of legislation introduced recently that heralds the approach of the single-party regime. The Education Act, the Comprehensive Health Bill and, most of all, the National Insurance Bill, will between them so standardise men's lives and so universalise the grip of the State upon them that variety of views—which is the essence of party government at its best—will become increasingly impossible.

When men cease to order their lives according to their own initiative, and become more and more dependent upon the State for the manner and purpose of their activities, there will be no sense in the variation of political par-

ties, for there will be no differentiation of public opinion to make them a reality.

A third sign is to be noted in the attitude adopted by Ministers when introducing a Bill in the House. It is the attitude of the dictator issuing orders to his servile community. Mr. Bevan, for example, openly boasted that he had not consulted the doctors in his Comprehensive Health Bill; Mr. Bevin interrupted his work at the United Nations conference to exult in his power to avenge himself on the Tories in the Trade Disputes Bill, and, more recently Mr. Shinwell made a speech in the report stage of the Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill which contained all the elements of dictatorship. He upheld his previous statement that it would be impudence on the part of a colliery manager under the proposed monopoly to stand for Parliament in the Tory interests.

THE TYRANNY

This attitude of Ministers, of which countless examples could be given, makes pretty clear how their right of making regulations will be used. It will in every instance tighten the grip of a single party on the nation.

Of the tyranny of a single-party it is unnecessary to speak.

It is doubtful whether our present Cabinet fully realises the extent of the disaster they are inviting for they shrink from enforcing the more unpopular requirements of their actions. But they are preparing the way for those with tougher stomachs, who will not hesitate to put the whole country (including present Cabinet Ministers) into a tight-jacket of tyrannous autocracy.

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