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Editor: J. L. KOTELAWELA

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FRIDAY, 27th JUNE 1947

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## Nominated



Mr. A. R. A. Razik  
(Pottuvil)



Mr. Susanta De Fonseka  
(Panadura)



Mr. Francis Molamure  
(Balangoda)

## SAMA SAMAJIST'S INCITE TERROR RAIDS

THE SAMA SAMAJISTS ARE FINANCING TRAIN-WRECKERS TO MAKE "HOME-MADE" BOMBS. SEVERAL OF THESE HAVE BEEN PLACED IN TRAINS, AND SOME HAVE BEEN THROWN IN THE COLOMBO HARBOUR AREA.



Mr. S. Natesan  
(Kankasanturai)

### S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

The 4th Article by Maha Amerasingha in the series "Leaders of Lanka" is on Mr. Bandaranaike. Please see page 7 in this issue.

On June 11th one of these "bombs" was placed in a lavatory of a train. It exploded just as the train was leaving Fort Station for Moratuwa. The door of the lavatory was jammed against its housing with the blast and had to be forced open.

On June 12th a more serious occurrence was reported from Maradana Station. A bigger "bomb" was used.

A passenger train had arrived from Moratuwa and was being examined by the station staff when smoke was seen coming from a lavatory. A railway employee opened the door and found the lavatory full of smoke.

As he turned to make his report the "bomb" exploded, smashing his thigh.

### PUBLIC SECURITY BILL

The Editor,  
U.N.P. Journal,  
Colombo.

Dear Sir,

Thanks be to the State Council for the Public Security Bill! The Government's solicitude for the public will no doubt be duly appreciated in so far as the inconvenience and danger to the public is concerned. Certain other questions, however, arise. As public citizens many will be asking themselves whether the Government have not overlooked their more pressing needs, one of which is the wretched bus services everywhere.

Then there is that other problem—a burning problem—the housing problem! Surely the Government could do something in this matter. Only the other day there was advertised a house at a rental of Rs. 75 a month, an advance of two years' rent, however, being a pre-requisite to tenancy, and this in spite of a recent ordinance prohibiting landlords from taking more than two months' rent in advance. The public may well ask, what is Government doing to save the poor man from being exploited by rapacious landlords?

Few of the thinking people of Ceylon, especially earnest social workers, will see in Free Education such an unspeakable boon to the public, nor will the pride that comes from the adoption of one's mother tongue, in place of the English language, be sufficient compensation for bad bus services, insufficient food and clothing, and inadequate housing. Whilst therefore admiring the firmness displayed by Government with a view to safeguarding the welfare of the public, one cannot but earnestly hope that the same vigour will be brought to bear to relieve the long-suffering public from these other more pressing necessities.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. GUY VAN DORT.

No. 25, Modera Street, Mutwal,  
Colombo, 16th June, 1947.



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# CHIEF ARCHITECT OF FREEDOM

D. S. Senanayake

## British Press Tribute to LEADER

"THE Manchester Guardian" says that the constitutional changes in Ceylon announced in the House of Commons "mark a quickening in the pace, rather than a change in the direction of the Island's political progress."

"The most difficult point in the discussions will probably be the position of the communal minorities. The minorities problem in Ceylon is nothing like so acute as in India, or even Malaya, but it is not negligible."

"It cannot be said that there has been in the past anything which could be called racial or religious oppression and there has been very little violent expression of communal sentiment. But there have been some complaints of minor discrimination or favouritism."

"Fortunately, the outstanding figure in Ceylon's politics, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the present Minister of Agriculture, and prospective Prime Minister, though of the Sinhalese race, has shown himself free from communal prejudice, and has gathered some members of all the chief communities into his United National Party for the forthcoming elections."

"If the communal pitfall can be avoided, the prospects for Ceylon's parliamentary development are bright."

C. P. G. Abeywardena

On

## LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

WHAT is the lesson that we citizens can learn, from the strikes that we have experienced during the past two weeks? Before I attempt to answer this question, I would like to refer to an incident that recently occurred in England.

Eight men of the Mumbles life-boat lost their lives in an attempt to save the lives of the crew of a steamer called Samtampa in a great storm off Port Cawl beach. Every one of those eight brave men, in spite of their being implored by their relations and friends not to go out, refusing to allow any personal considerations to stand between them and the fulfilment of their duty gave up their lives in the performance of it against the most fearful and perilous odds.

An English writer who writes of this incident says:—

"It is by such grandeur of spirit that a nation lives. When these men went to their deaths they did not ask whether those whom they died to save were politically or ideologically worthy of their sacrifice, whether they were richer than themselves or poorer, whether they were Britons or men of another race, whether they were brown or white, whether their shirts were black or red. It was enough that they were fellow creatures in need of succour. In doing so they followed consciously or unconsciously, but most literally, in the steps of the founder of the Christian Faith."

When I read that story and I felt to comparing the devotion to duty of the crew of the Mumbles life-boat with the sense of duty or rather the absence of it in the clerical servants of this coun-

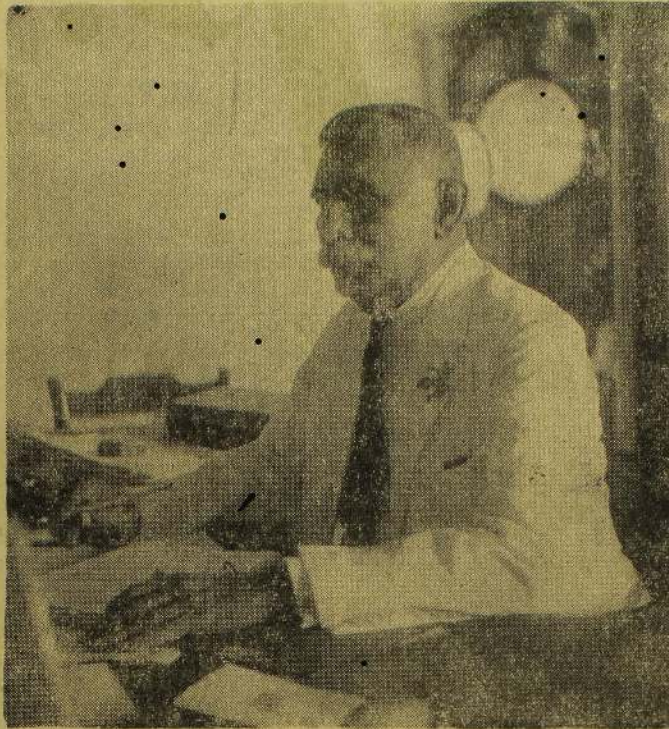
try. I wondered and I still wonder whether the clerical servants who went on strike did at all consider their course of action in the light of their duty to the Government and to the people of this country. Whatever may be the issues upon which the rank and file of the clerical service believe their action in joining in the strike to have been based, it is clear to any independent observer, that those who engineered this strike did so as part of a planned campaign to promote disorder and chaos in this country.

The Sama Samajists and the clerical servants are indeed strange bed-fellows, for the issue upon which the clerical service avowedly went on strike is diametrically opposed to the political ideology of the Sama Samajists. If one bears this fact in mind it then becomes clear that so far as the Sama Samajists were concerned, the clerical servants were, just as all other workers are, merely the means to achieve their immediate end of causing division, hatred, disorder, and chaos.

And this ignoble end, with its concomitants of blood-lust, murder, and every conceivable privation for the rich and poor alike, though few as yet seem to realise it, is a species of treason.

By rocking a boat in rough water one imperils the boat. And we are all in that boat.

Therefore the lesson that every citizen must learn from these strikes and their aftermath is, that we must not allow ourselves to be exploited in any way by designing individuals who seek to ride to power on the wave of a revolution through which they hope to destroy what we all hold so dear—our religion, our freedom and our sense of moral and ethical values.



WE must not wait for the historian to assess the greatness of Mr. Senanayake. History will record the fact that he was the Chief Architect of a Free Ceylon. He will take his place with the great national leaders of the nation, with the historic figures in the gallery of our patriots.

The people of Ceylon will always remember with gratitude, Mr. Senanayake's great work in the cause of freedom.

"IF YOU TAKE A PEASANT FROM THE FIELD AND WASH THE MUD FROM OFF HIS BODY, HE IS FIT TO RULE A KINGDOM."

—ROBERT KNOX,  
(on the Ceylon Peasant).



"Have just heard announcement and send my heartiest congratulations and most sincere wishes for future success. The people of Ceylon and all your friends everywhere must be grateful to you for the wonderful leadership has produced this happy result."

—LORD SOULBURY  
(in a cable to Mr. Senanayake).

There is not the slightest doubt that his statesmanship and the far-sighted policy he adopted were responsible for the rapidity with which we have marched to our goal.

After centuries of travail, of servitude, of subjection to foreign exploitation, of agitation, bitterness, of longing for the birthrights of the nation, Mr. Senanayake has at last led us to the promised land of freedom and self-rule.

Long live Sri Lanka! Long Live Our Leader!

Maha Amerasingha.

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# Pakistan Depth - Charge Tranquillises India

BY the time this appears in print, Lord Mountbatten's Plan for the transfer of power from British to Indian hands will be in full swing. Strange to say, acceptance of the Pakistan depth-charge has turned out to be the best way of tranquillising India's troubled political waters.

There is no Hindu-Muslim unity, the "sine qua non" on which the British had been for long insisting as the condition for real political advance. If anything, dissension and disunity have been so rife. It was obvious to the meanest mind that the sun would grow cold before Jinnah and the Muslim League voluntarily abandoned their demand for Pakistan, or the Mahatma revise, of his own volition, his conception of Akhand Hindustan, the fundamental unity of India. Impassioned appeals have been made and conferences galore held to bring about political communal unity and goodwill, but all ended in dismal failure. British intervention was necessary to unravel the tangled skein of Indian affairs.

The British with their naive shrewdness knew all along that the condition they had hitherto laid down—agreement between the main elements in India's national life—would never come to pass. Sanctimonious Amery and Chubby Churchill amused themselves in season and out of it by trotting forward India's differences and gloating over them. Their contribution to this baffling problem was: "Get together first, press your demand without a single dissentient voice and we shall see what can be done." The irony of this taunting advice was that India was being governed on the "divide et impera" principle and that if India could get together, people like Amery and his ilk would be as chaff before a giant winning fan.

ON the face of it, the demand that an agreement must precede political advance sounds reasonable and logical. That is all right for those schooled in a democratic system. India has not known anything like democracy till very recently. The Indian mind works in a different way.

There is a sort of subconscious conviction in the minds of most Indians that it is not necessary that they should settle matters for themselves. They feel that they would be giving away something to the other side if they conceded anything by way of compromise.

To seek a prior agreement between the Congress and the League is to ask for the moon. But you may seek acquiescence—that is acquiescence to a reasonable proposition put forward by a third party—acquiescence as opposed to agreement.

THAT is where Lord Mountbatten has scored. He realised that agreement, full and unreserved, he would never get from any of the major political parties, irrespective of the excellence of the formula he might devise for a settlement. That is how the Mountbatten Plan came to be ultimately formulated and accepted.

Considered in itself, the Plan cannot rouse enthusiasm, since it is based on vivisection of the country. To minds not perverted by false propaganda or self-interest, the division of India, even in its present limited form, must appear as an unmitigated evil. It is well to remember that the present division may lead to further fragmentation, involving the reduction of India into camps of hostile groupings.

There is very grave danger that unless the leaders of Hindustan and Pakistan are able to reach quick agreements with the Princes within their territory on some over-all authority, India will be split not into two, but into many States.

By  
Our Special  
Correspondent  
in Calcutta

Travancore and Hyderabad have already announced their decision to secede and declare their independence when paramountcy lapses on August 15 and Bhopal and Patiala are expected to follow suit.

It was the Balkanisation of India that enabled the British to conquer it, and a return to a like division after the British withdrawal would be a constant invitation to new conquerors.

THE slogan with which, ten years ago, the Muslim League started its election campaign—"But ke rahay ga Hindustan" (India will have to be divided)—was the cry which started the demand for the vivisection of India. Those Muslims, not of the League political persuasion, who dared to differ were abused, beaten up and dubbed Congress stooges and fifth columnists. No attempt at rational analysis was tolerated. Ten years of hero worship and demagoguery had brought such mental paralysis among the Muslims that nobody cared to, or dared to, think for himself. Everybody left everything to lean, ashen-faced, monocle-wearing, aristocratic and aloof Jinnah, Quade-Azam, who fancies himself as the Fuehrer of a Pan-Islamic revival and who is today the most formidable example of one-man intransigence in the British Empire.

WHITEHALL, whether controlled by Labour or the Tories, has never at any time disguised its desire to keep India within the British Commonwealth and Empire, but it is even more concerned with strengthening the position of Britain in world affairs. It is, therefore, seeking new alignments which will help to liberate Britain from her galling dependence on the U.S.A. and at the same time allow her to stand up to the U.S.S.R. on her own strength.

It is a reasonable inference that Britain will seek an alliance with a free India, with or without the parts claimed by the Muslim League. This would give Britain the necessary extra strength which she requires to assert her independence "vis-a-vis" the Capitalist Titan of North America and the Communist Colossus of Eur-Asia.

Whether Britain will be able—she will try, no doubt—to maintain her economic and military positions in India whatever the latter's future political and constitutional structure, Time alone can tell. In this context, attention must be paid to the renewed efforts of Holland, Portugal and France to hang on to their Asiatic possessions with the skin of their teeth. It is obvious that if British diplomacy succeeds in inducing India, or the greater part of it, to remain within the Commonwealth and Empire, these European countries will still hope to salvage something from their own empires and prevent them from disintegrating altogether. Recent trends already reflect this calculation.

THERE is no doubt that in going, Britain, whether by design or the coercion of events, will leave India weakened by dismemberment. Governments and slogans may change, but British imperial policy seems to go on for ever. However, acceptance of the Mountbatten Plan by India is at bottom a choice of the lesser evil.

As things stand today, Britain will continue to hold the Indian baby though not so intimately, for some time longer, though world events and good sense may well hasten the day when separation and vivisection will be a nightmare of the past. One always lives in hope.

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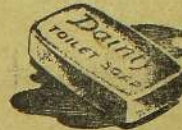
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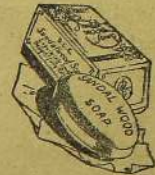
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Friday, June 27th, 1947

**MORE SAMA SAMAJIST LIES**

EVEN as they skulk in their lairs, the Sama Samajist jackals make forays in the security of dark nights to spread more lies among the people. These traitors and anti-nationalists have been driven from their platforms by the very people they sought to deceive. Their lies are not printed in the English journals they circulate, but their Sinhalese leaflets and papers go on lying viciously. They have of late subsidised a few "pandamkarayas" who have started a news-sheet which is thrust into the hands of clerks in the city. An ex-schoolmaster who had to resign from his post in a co-educational institution some time ago for reasons we do not wish to suggest, is one of the latest anti-nationalists to hold a "pandama."

The Muslim ex-convict who was dressed in Buddhist robes and used as a camouflage for intimidating workers is now being described by the Sama Samajists as a "paid agent of the United National Party!" This childish attempt to disown their own scoundrels will not deceive the people of Ceylon. Already this gang of hooligans has been dispersed. One of them was severely assaulted by workers at Ratmalana, and he had to seek the protection of the very people he had denounced—"Aluvihare's Police."

The workers were told by leaflet and by rumour-agents that the Government had been brought to its knees. That was lie number one. The Government was well aware of its duty by the public, and the public also co-operated magnificently. The second lie, when the first had failed to hold back the workers, was that the Governor had sent for the Sama Samajist strike leaders. Even a time and date was invented to give plausibility to the tale. Lie number three was that the Chief Secretary had sent for the self-same Sama Samajists.

All these were desperate attempts to keep down the rising temper of the workers who had been misled, duped and intimidated. The strike leaders realised that they could no longer fool all the people all the time. Their minds work in that trooked way which has now become characteristic of Marxists. How can a mind which is warped by frustration and twisted by treachery and self-seeking ever resort to the truth even in dire extremity?

"Ceylon has won a Bloodless Victory"

# THE PARLIAMENT OF

# CEYLON

By

M. A. C. M. Saleh

THE new Constitution for Ceylon which is due to be inaugurated shortly, is the outcome of the recommendations made by the Soulbury Commission. The price of freedom which a country has to pay is immeasurably heavy and colossal and the sacrifice, too, is equally great and painful.

But the political changes which Ceylon has undergone within the last few decades in rapid succession serve as an index to her future greatness among the nations of the world. Unlike the Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms which had novelty added to its limitations of an indefinable nature, the Soulbury Constitution places Ceylon on the direct road to independence with an avowed object of preserving the self-respect of a nation.

Centuries of foreign domination admittedly beneficial and benevolent to a greater degree during the period of British administration than the Dutch and Portuguese which preceded it, produced a baneful effect on the inhabitants who unconsciously got attuned to the habit of cringing servility and developed an inferiority complex generally associated with a subject race almost fatalistic in its readiness to surrender and submit. Nevertheless, the old order changeth yielding place to something high and sublime, virtuous and virile in the order of human evolution.

The Soulbury Constitution is evolved on the British model of parliamentary government. With certain reservation of power, Ceylon enjoys self-government in her internal administration on the basis of a party system and majority rule with statutory safeguards necessary at this juncture for preserving the sanctity of religion characteristic of all nations of the East. The House of Representatives will consist of 101 members of whom 95 will be elected and 6 nominated by the Governor. Adult fran-

chise introduced by the Donoughmore Commission has come to stay without restriction in the case of all men and women of the age of 21 and above. The Senate composed of thirty members is a revisory body which will serve to check ill-digested and hasty legislation. The Ceylon Constitution, so to say, in a miniature form, resembles the Mother of Parliaments without sovereign rights and the Governor has to act as the constitutional head representing His Majesty the King.

The demarcation of the electoral areas has been non-communal on principle but in effect divisions based on identity of interests of a community have been conceded, though not fully and not up to the expectation of the Soulbury Commissioners themselves. The minorities constitute fairly a high percentage of the people of Ceylon but the fact that freedom is the cherished goal of every true patriot, other issues particularly affecting the minorities have been brushed aside as secondary to the freedom issue which the State Council accepted on behalf of all Ceylon.

It would amount to a gross betrayal if anyone tries to deny or deprive the people of the right to self-determination. Only a nincompoop gerry-mandering for power may do so in the forlorn hope of winning back lost prestige which would inevitably result in stultifying himself at the end.

Any attempt on the part of some designing men to stand in the way of progress and the legitimate aspirations of Ceylon will prove futile and puerile. Fortunately, Ceylon has won a bloodless victory to enjoy the blessings of self-rule to the lasting glory of Mother Lanka.

## 'Comrade' Slaps Ex-Comrade

WHEN "Comrade" falls out with "Comrade" it is worse than when thief falls out with thief. This was seen at Price Park last week.

The "Fascist" leader of the Sama Samajists was presiding at a meeting of strikers when a "High Command" member of the Party walked on to the green. The Chairman nodded to one of his lieutenants who welcomed the visitor with a resounding slap.

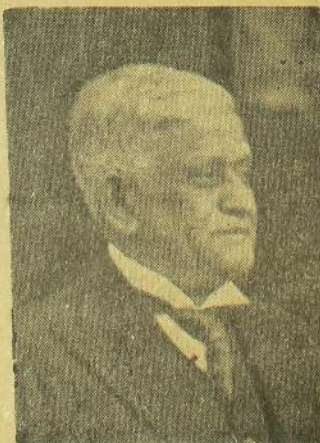
There were quite a number who rushed in to avenge the blow but "intermediaries" were ready for such an eventuality and the ex-Comrade was firmly led away.

It is worth noting that the man who was slapped was no mean party boss. He presided over mass meetings at the Galle Face Green during the strike of Government workers in October, 1946.

Since then the High Command of the Sama Samajist Party has been dominated by Dr. N. M. Perera to such an extent that nothing and nobody can resist or curb his power.

Those who believe in democratic methods get slapped at the very meetings over which they once presided!

**He led us well in his Day**



Sir D. B. Jayatilaka



**"THE ISLAND'S CHOICE"**



SO Ceylon is soon to be a Dominion, thanks to Mr. D. S. Senanayake. The Governor said on the historic day, June 18, 1947, when the announcement was made: "I should like to congratulate you all on this happy result. But it is to your Leader's vision and statesmanship that your thanks are primarily due."

Let the Leader give his own version of the part of his great work. In his speech on the Soulbury Reforms in the State Council on November 8, 1945, Mr. Senanayake summarised the changes brought about by the Soulbury Reforms as follows:—

- (1) "We have a specific promise of Dominion Status.
  - (2) "The limitation of self-government to matters of internal civil administration has been removed.
  - (3) "The dyarchy implicit in the Governor-General's powers of legislation is swept away.
  - (4) "The Imperial control over defence and external affairs can be made effective only by Order in Council and by reservation of bills.
  - (5) "The Imperial control does not extend to immigration, franchise, tariff or shipping.
  - (6) "We have gained a power of amending our own constitution, though subject to reservation.
- "Of these, the first four and partly the fifth were due to my visit to London. The fifth and sixth were claimed by the Ministers and accepted by the Soulbury Report."

**Separate Cause**

★ WAS it because he represented a "separate cause" that Mr. W. Dahanayake, the drum-major of the "Red" regimental band, ungraciously walked out of the State Council chamber when the Governor walked in to announce the granting of Dominion Status? Why did he come in at all? Mr. Dahanayake could have kept away altogether. But, as one wag suggested, then the Press would not have reported the "incident." But only Mr. Dahanayake could have been satisfied with this publicity stunt, which was a shade better than the performance of Dr. N. M. Perera and another "Red" M.S.C. some years ago, who walked out on a similar action, but sneaked behind the doors of the Chamber and peeped in. Mr. Dahanayake's "walk-out" was more definite—and so, so dramatic.

Mr. Dahanayake first revealed that he represented a "separate cause" during the debate on the Soulbury Reforms in November, 1945. It was then he described the "magic initials" M.S.C. as "Member of the Senanayake Caucus." But Mr. R. S. S. Gunawardene reminded me that he too was an "M.S.C."

**Dominion Status—So What?**

★ THE average housewife has been indifferent to the granting of Dominion Status. I questioned three respectable housewives of different communities about Ceylon's new status. Their answers are given below without comment:—

- Mrs. A.: "Dominion Status. So what? It is not going to reduce the price of firewood or kerosene oil. Let us bring the prices down, first. Or Ceylon will be like the man who has a "clean suit, and an empty pocket."
- Mrs. B.: "I hear we can send ambassadors to foreign countries according to the new Constitution. That means more money out of the taxpayer. Better send some chaps out to bring us some textiles and rice from other countries."
- Mrs. C.: "Who cares? Anyway, I hope it won't make us play a more prominent part in future wars. I lost three sons last time."

**Tail-Piece**

★ THERE is a rumour that the new Dominion Government of Ceylon is to employ a Court Jester, like in the time of the ancient

kings. An M.S.C. whose jack-in-the-box behaviour and sharp wits have spoken for himself, is the chosen favourite. But he insists that his gown, cap and bells should be all in red and not multi-coloured. Negotiations are still proceeding. ....

**RUSSIA PAYS CEYLON LEFTISTS?**

Mr. Goonesinha Denounces Marxists

IN an impassioned speech made at a mass meeting of workers in Colombo last week, Mr. A. E. Goonesinha, the Labour Leader, denounced Marxist trade unionists as being paid agents of Soviet Russia.

As President of the Labour Union, I have worked for 25 years for your welfare and you know that I have done my best for you. Recently the workers have shown themselves to be very impatient. They are being misled by the Sama Samajists and the Communists who are being paid by the Russian Government in secret, to cause internal revolution in Democratic countries.

I am being abused, threatened with assault, and even bribery saying that Walker Sons & Co. bought my car this time. Campaigns which are started by these Fifth Columnists make such propaganda in order to poison the minds of the working masses towards their true leaders. They promise them the moon and an early heaven. They were able to convince a section of the Sangha too that the murderous Marxism is better than the Doctrine of Lord Buddha.

Are there none amongst you at least to disrobe these dirty devils who try to frustrate the ideals of our religion? You have seen recently and you will see in the near future the result of these strikes led by these educated fools. These educated fools have no place in any country now. They were driven from India recently and had they gone to Russia to start these strikes they would have been shot.

Although they say that public servants in England could strike work, it is false. We should get ready to teach these people the lesson they deserve.

If you are with me I am ready to give them a crushing blow and pack these men off. You have seen the strikes of the scavenging and conservancy labourers. They kept the whole city in utter filth which spread disease in their last strike. I want to make up a volunteer force like the one I had some time ago to take upon ourselves the jobs of these men if they were to strike again. (About a hundred amongst the crowd shouted out and raised their hands that they were ready). I will become the chief scavenger and will work with you. Just imagine, people who call themselves leaders and the saviours of the working masses arming the innocent and ignorant masses with clubs and other missiles to fight the Police and other citizens? You remember the strikes that I led.

In one strike of the Harbour Workers I remember that I disarmed 72 men and recovered 72 knives before I allowed them to proceed in procession. I have got 28 of those still with me. Leaving the Government alone, can the people of this country allow such things to occur again.

As your leader, I know that you will come to my help to clean our country of these unworthy sons of Lanka, and yet try to save the working masses. They say that I will be killed. I would like to tell them, those workers for whom I worked some time back and won for them better conditions of living, that I would be very happy to die at their own hands.

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# SPORTS

## Commentary

COVER-POINT

A CHANCE telephone call to my old friend, W. H. D. Perera, to whom athletics in Ceylon owes so much, changed, in the twinkling of an eye, the whole complexion of this article. Till then the only local colour that I could possibly put into it was a reference to an inter-district rugger match which I did not have the good fortune to see. But after the phone call, my lead story became automatic, for I was told that a cable had been sent last night to London intimating that Ceylon had accepted the invitation to participate in next year's Olympiad. This cable which carried the signatures of Mr. Donald Obeyesekere and Mr. Perera as President and Secretary respectively of the Ceylon Olympic Association, was addressed to Lord Burghley in his capacity as Chairman of the Olympic Games organising committee. Accepting the invitation to take part in the Olympiad, which is to be held from July 29 to August 14 next year, the cable expressed its sincere good wishes for the success of this great contest of youth.

According to present indications, three athletes, three boxers and possibly a swimmer will comprise the Ceylon contingent. It is estimated that the total cost of the trip of these seven representatives, together with that of two coaches and a manager, will be in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 70,000. Considering that the departure of Ceylon's representatives, which is tentatively fixed for April next, should more or less synchronise with the emergence of Ceylon as a fully fledged Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a Government subsidy of half, if not more of the total cost would be a fitting gesture. After all, it will be the first time that Ceylon will be represented at an Olympiad and it should carry with it not only the blessings of our own Government, but also some measure of financial support. In commending this suggestion for consideration at top level, I would emphasise that this does not absolve the general public from contributing towards the expenses.

The Athletic and Boxing Associations will be arranging a series of meets in

the near future, primarily with the object of picking out the most promising men and giving them intensive training. The best and most practical way in which public support can be extended is by a full attendance at these meets. Incidentally, the first of these meets will take place on the first week-end in July, when the Public Services Sports Meet, which at one time during the recent emergency was in danger of being postponed, will be held. On the result of this and other meets, the Ceylon Amateur Athletics Association hopes to select one jumper and two men for track events—all of them in the early twenties, if not younger—who will be able to derive the maximum benefit from their first Olympic experience and turn it to greater advantage at the next Olympiad. The Boxing authorities are also aiming at

something similar but in their case they seem to have a ready-made representative in Albert Perera, who is now back after a very successful visit to London.

\* \* \*

THE Second Test at Lords which has just concluded, makes an excellent starting point, fully in keep with the traditions of cricket, the wheel turned full circle, and whereas time alone saved England from defeat at Trent Bridge in the First Test, it was South Africa who shipped heavy seas from the start at Lord's and in the end foundered.

However much England needed this victory to get her over the cricket doldrums, she has very little justification for complacency. Her mammoth first innings total of 554 was virtually a two-man show, and what is more, those two men, Edrich and Compton are no longer youngsters. The odds are not long that before the next M.C.C. tour to Australia falls due, one or both of them may have left the stage. England's need for new blood in batting as well as bowling has never been so pronounced.

The chief item of interest, from the Ceylon angle, of the County Cricket matches last week was the success of young Laddie Outschoorn, who is now a

regular member of the Worcestershire eleven. The former Josephian cricketer scored a polished half century mid-week and should easily make the grade with a little more experience. Outschoorn is the second Ceylonese to play regularly for a first class County, the first being, of course, Dr. C. H. Gumasekera, who turned out for Middlesex some twenty-five years or so ago.

\* \* \*

ANOTHER Ceylonese cricketer finds a place in this summary and he is young Rock, son of Civil Servant J. C. W. Rock, whose sudden death we all mourned some little time back. Young Rock, who won his colours in five games at Royal College, played as a professional in League cricket in England and had a fairly successful season last year. He is now on a visit to the Island and, if he decides to stay on, will be a decided asset to any All-Ceylon team.

No reference to County cricket, however passing it may be, would be complete without mention being made of the brilliant form shown by Leslie Ames, now almost in the veteran stage. He has already hit up 5 centuries and has scored well over 1,000 runs this season—a notable feat for one who must be nearly forty years of age.

## ANCIENT SINHALESE ORATORY

IN a day when so few of our people understand the meaning or appreciate the obligations of Patriotism, it is refreshing to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the utterances of a great Sinhalese Patriot of just over three centuries ago, 317 years to be exact.

He was Don Cosme Mudaliyar, also known as Don Cosmo Kulatinga, "the richest and the noblest in Colombo" in those days, and one connected by marriage with the highest Portuguese families then in Ceylon.

He was driven to lead a revolt against the Portuguese. And the stirring address which he delivered to his "kinsmen and friends" preparatory to the actual revolt was marked by fiery courage, impassioned eloquence and burning patriotism of a character and quality almost inconceivable in our day.

These were his actual words as recorded by the Portuguese historian himself, Fernao de Queyroz (Fr. S. G.

Perera's translation):—

### COSMO MUDALIYAR'S ADDRESS

"How long, illustrious companions, shall we live as slaves to these vile Portuguese, whose harsh servitude you have borne for nearly 125 years without any other liberty than what they permit us?"

"Is it possible that you should be so far removed from reason, that, though Liberty is the thing of greatest value among mortals, you should be so habituated to slavery as altogether to forget, or to despise it to such an extent that, being able to be free men and lords, you exchange your freedom for slavery, without letting the remembrance of what your ancestors held raise an honourable thought in your hearts?"

"Nor do you reflect on the unhappy fate of your children. For, if by our weakness and irresolution, we are reduced to slavery, they will have either certain death or banishment before them. Because, if today they let you enjoy our property (in order to have been to accompany them for our ruin), tomorrow they will become their owners, either with death and the extinction of the Sinhalese name, or at least with the banishment and transmigration of all your families, because the more they dread our courage, the more do they want to secure their dominion.

"If the Spaniards have done so to the Africans, who have been inhabitants of Spain for 800 years even though they were baptised—if the Persian King did so to the Armenian nobility and so many others for their own security, what better terms do we expect from the Portuguese who are anxious to perpetuate themselves in Ceylon and enjoy altogether its riches and delights?"

"If, in spite of so many wars and so much bloodshed, their number increases, what do you think it will be in peace when we are conquered? Then you will realise your folly, when you see yourselves sold to foreign nations with your daughters, it is only that they may arm themselves with your own blood against your property, your liberty and your life.

"Who does not see that our religion is fallen, our nobility extinct, our riches drained? In one single battle Constantino De Sa beheaded forty rebel Mudaliyars. And how is it possible that the affability with which he treats us be the offspring of love, when such is the cruelty with which he destroyed us?"

"Where is the Sinhalese nobility? Where are our native Kings who, in blood, in glory and in splendour, were akin and rivals of the Sun himself? Where is that ancient Empire, the ancient renown, and the lustre of the noblest country in the world? And how can we forget it without forgetting ourselves?"

"These two extremes will always be certain: If fortune is most on our side, we shall have to live in vile slavery and misery, without honour and without name, or in painful banishment, without credit and estimation. Because, what can we expect from Eastern Nations who know that, forgetful of ourselves, we became subject to a Euro-

pean foreigner, accepting laws from the enemies of our lives who do not, for their lives, let us have the laws of our Religion?"

"We have already seen how few they are. We should be ashamed to fear them, since we are so many. We have often experienced that they can do nothing without the help of our arms, and it is a strange misfortune that we take up arms against ourselves.

"They are Lords of the greater part of the Island, of its harbours and trade. And it is an established fact that they do not agree with us nor we with them. What remains is that the more powerful side should prevail. And who can doubt that it is we who are the more powerful side, since for every one Portuguese, we can place on the field a thousand Sinhalese?"

"Who kept up this conquest till now but our arms? Who, to our infamy, has made them glorious with such signal victories? Fathers took up arms against sons, brothers against brothers, to give the glory and profit to foreigners, the most cruel enemies of the Sinhalese name.

"They themselves say it, and acknowledge it, when they are off their guard, and when they feel sorrow for the many lives which Ceylon has cost them. Who shall say that so much blood, shed on the one and the other side, can yield the fruit of love?"

"If they put up with us, it is only to make use of us, and that with our own arms we may be the executioners of our own lives, the creditors of our riches, of our precious stones, and spices. For there is not a year when all that there is in Ceylon does not pass to Goa, and from Goa to Portugal.

"Now is the time, kinsmen and friends, to seize the occasion which, once lost, is seldom or never regained. They have a valiant General. Let him be a Hercules, he is but a man. They have Captains experienced and valiant; they are, and ever were, few, ill-armed, and ill-rewarded.

"We have for us one of the most prudent and valorous Kings of Kandy, who only waits for our word, to take the field with his three sons to support us. We have the might of the whole Island against so few men. We have experience in war and practice in arms with which they first overwhelmed us. We have Captains bred on the field from their boyhood.

"What is there to hold us back? What do we wait for? What do we lack, save a gallant determination to die or conquer? We have before our eyes the examples of the past. And it is impossible that less than 500 men could defend themselves and hold out against the whole might of Ceylon.

"And since Heaven and our cause, and our fortune and opportunity favour us, let us grasp the victorious arms before we are discovered."

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S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

**MR. BANDARANAIKE NEVER HIDES HIS LIGHT UNDER A BUSH. HE HAS NO NEED TO. IT IS ONLY THE WEAK AND FLICKERING FLAME THAT NEEDS PROTECTION FROM THE MEREST BREEZE.**

I have known him for several years, and I have seen that buoyant, swaggering manner with which he sails into the wind of controversy. His is a species of intellectual intolerance. He tolerates men, not their opinions. He has an abundance of self-confidence, and a full and ample knowledge of his own prowess. His mind is keen and analytical. He knows this and tells you so, with a good-natured toss of his head and a disarming smile. And when he talks in the lobbies of the State Council, the corridors hum with the resonance of his laughter.

I have heard him say, in that now celebrated bantering tone: "I am one of those quick, clear thinkers, you know."

If you do not know his ways you may be tempted to ask: "Maybe, but need you say so yourself?" He says things like this everywhere and to almost anyone. He believes in the truth of his sallies. From a less able person they would be insufferable, but when they come from him they have the ineluctable quality of good-humoured badinage.

I remember the occasion in the State Council when Dr. N. M. Perera, then Member for Ruanwella, said: "The only qualification of the Hon. Minister for Local Administration is that he is his father's son."

Mr. Bandaranaike rose in his seat, and the other members leaned forward to hear the reply.

"On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I am the more famous son of a famous father. The Honourable Member for Ruanwella is the obscure son of a more obscure father."

The House roared with laughter, and Dr. Perera continued his speech on a very much lower key.

## S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE

HE has also the great gift of being human, and can readily accustom himself to the down-to-earth details of a Bill or a theory. He can introduce an element of humour at a tense moment when members take things too seriously. When the Education Bill was being discussed and members were inclined to take a dim view of educational matters, Mr. Bandaranaike rose to make his speech. At such a time, and on such subjects it is refreshing to listen to him. After his usual opening gambit about the "background" against which the whole question had to be judged, he came to the provision for the "trifurcation of schools."

"The human mind has a peculiar fascination for the figure three," he said. "We have the Holy Trinity, the Tripitaka, the Thun-loka, and many other things in threes."

THESE are the lighter aspects.

On higher levels of oratory there is no one in Ceylon who can match the brilliant sweep of phrase with which he crystallizes his thoughts. He is our oratorical ornament. I remember the late Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike relating to me the story of his son's oratorical exploits in Australia where he went as Ceylon's representative at the Centenary Celebrations of the City of Sydney. Friends in Australia had written to Sir Solomon giving him an account of his son's successes. Mr. Bandaranaike was one of the speakers at a great Public Banquet where the Representatives of Britain and India also spoke.

Mr. Bandaranaike's speech was described in the Australian Press as "the finest oration ever heard in the Commonwealth."

I am told by delegates who attended the Asian Conference that his contribution, as Leader of the Ceylon Delegation, was as profound as it was arresting. I can well believe it for Mr. Bandaranaike is at his best before an audience that can respond to the intellectual level at which he appeals. Although he speaks with grace and felicity at all times, an important occasion or cause produces an oratorical passion which expresses itself in vibrant words.

IN recent years he has proved to be a strategist of considerable ability. His tactical move to out-flank the Soulbury Commissioners was a master stroke. The position at that time needed careful handling. The Board of Ministers had been pushed into a false position of having to defend themselves against mischievous and malicious attacks.

If the Board went before the Commissioners they would have been "defendants," whereas their record of work was a magnificent story which will find its place in the History of modern Ceylon. Despite this, however, the case for the Council and the Board, and a justification of the rights to self-government had to be stated. This was done in one swift move—the Free Lanka Bill (later changed to "Sri Lanka" by an amendment).

As Mr. Bandaranaike explained in moving the Bill, it had no value as a

legislative measure. The Secretary of State might not even read it; but it would give an opportunity for the Council to discuss the issues before the country in a constitutional way. And that purpose was fully served. The debate on the Bill was conducted on a very high plane. Almost every member of the Council spoke with dignity and an understanding of the vital issues at stake. In my opinion that debate was one of the most important influences that went to set the minds of the Soulbury Commissioners against the introduction of the vicious principle of communal representation in Ceylon.

THE formation of the Sinhala Maha Sabha was a stage in his political development. He took the historical view that nothing could rouse a nation from its inertia with such effect as militant nationalism. He recognised the fact that nationalism is one of the greatest human reservoirs of energy. When he looked about the country he saw a peasantry in the last stages of its slow death. A kind of gangrene had already begun to set in the heart of the nation. It was a desperate condition, and a desperate remedy was necessary. Mr. Bandaranaike's

remedy was the Sinhala Maha Sabha. The organisation of the Sabha was more or less a one-man show. He had to plan, organise, think and act. He did all these and more. He founded two political weeklies, the "Sinhala Balaya," which incorporated one of the best known Sinhalese papers of the day, the "Swadesha Mitraya," and "The Nation." The "Sinhala Balaya" was a sensation. It penetrated the remotest parts of the country. People carried it to distant villages.

HE has a capacity given to very few, of placing a problem against its historical and economic background and seeing the inexorable march of events. He commands respect by his ready grasp of political trends. He makes friends rapidly, and even if he loses some of them owing to the cutting edge of his tongue, those who know him forgive him these moments of spoken scorn because essentially he is generous, magnanimous and amiable. He loves a good verbal duel with anyone at any time, but often he retires to his books and the retreats of his mind, lazily turning over visions of the future. From time to time he makes a foray and hits the headlines with a telling phrase: "If anyone opposes my work of nation-building, I shall destroy him....." "We must bridge a gulf of history, and time is pressing." "I am the sword in the hands of the nation....."

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