

U.N.P.

Organ of the United National Party
Rg. Office: 32/3 Flower Road, Colombo

VOL. I. No. 26

FRIDAY, 5th SEPTEMBER 1947

PRICE FIVE CENTS

U. N. P. WILL FORM THE GOVERNMENT No Need to be Despondent

By
J. L. Kotelawela

Election Cameos — 4

THE mandate of Mirigama is a message with a moral. The meaning of this message cannot be grasped in its full significance merely by the overwhelming majority with which the United National Party Leader, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, won his contest against the concentrated forces of the Leftists. It is a message that one had to capture in the conduct of the electors on election day at the Mirigama constituency.

So spontaneous and sincere was the demonstration of the electors at Mirigama, particularly in the rural areas, that my faith in human nature and its capacity to be unspoiled and yet decisive, was restored to a remarkable degree. Everywhere it was the same picture of a quiet, purposeful duty done with unmistakable conviction.

In these rural areas, in which the bulk of the electors were concentrated, the election was not a provocation for hilarity or unnecessary ga-ga. True, the village damsels could not resist the urge to don their glad rags, but they did not let this deter them from the more serious business of going about their daily tasks unperturbed, with the only additional duty of dropping in at the polling booth to register their votes. These voters who were seen at one moment at the polling booth in gay attire, were noticed a short time later in their work-a-day garb going to their allotted tasks in the fields.

When a country can produce a peasantry so immune from emotions and hysteria, that some tried so hard to inject into the election, such a country is surely capable of even more worthwhile achievements than that of merely making a success of her freedom.

That was the message that I captured in the rural recesses of Mirigama. It is a message that dispels for all time the illusion that is hugged in certain quarters, that our peasantry can be made the pawns in the power-seeking machinations of certain political pundits and pothay guras.

Nor had the political credo of these pundits gone by default in its gory explosion in these rural hamlets. In fact, it was their pre-election boast that they had nursed the constituency with an unabating zeal.

But the native intelligence and the honest-to-goodness commonsense of the peasantry had, after sober judgment, led them to reject the "paradise" offered to them by the Leftists which meant among other prospects, the prospect of a journey to freedom "through an Indian road."

This last-mentioned prospect was one of the most potent of the reasons that led to the convincing rejection of the Leftist candidature at Mirigama. Does not the mandate of Mirigama then, convey a message with a moral?

THERE is no reason to be despondent at the losses the Party has suffered in some sections of the country, particularly the Kelani Valley.

As was pointed out in the journal of 29th August, most of these victories were caused by the division of votes cast for the Party and for Independents as against the votes cast for the Sama Samajists.

At Kiriella, a Sama Samajist, Mrs. Florence Senanayake, polled a little more than 5,000, whereas the other candidates, Messrs. Kalatuwawe (Inde-

pendent) and Kiriella and Chandrasekera (both U.N.P.) polled nearly 11,000 between them.

We lost Nivittigala owing to the same cause. Mr. Delgoda, who came as an Independent, polled about 1,500 votes with the result that Mr. Jayaweera Kuruppu lost by the narrow margin of 24 votes. Mr. Delgoda had no chance at all of winning that seat, but some people encouraged him to come forward and to continue to the last not because they had hopes themselves but because they wished to split the U.N.P. vote.

At Kalwara, Mr. Upali Batuwatudawe lost by 1,970 votes. But Messrs. Obeyesekere and Perera, both Independents, polled over 3,000 votes.

The Agalawatte seat was another example of defeat through division. Except the victories at Avissawella, Kotte and Ambalangoda-Balapitiya, where there were clear majorities, Marxist candidates did not win on the merits of their appeal but owing to the lack of unity in the ranks of non-Marxists.

If the other candidates, whose elections are yet to come, do not take action at once they will suffer similarly. Personal and local rivalries between factions and families must be suppressed and the good of the cause and the country placed above all else.

Burgher Education

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

Dear Sir,

ON reading "Caliph" on the Burghers my mind reverts to two important considerations affecting the interests of the Burghers and which give cause for anxiety. First as regards the national languages. It is not sufficiently realised that many Burghers are literary-minded, having a taste for English literature. I shall never forget my introduction to English literature 25 years ago when yet a boy of twelve. The influence of Thomas Carlyle, whom I read in my 14th year, still lingers with me and I can read and re-read him with ever-fresh delight. Boswell's Life of Johnson conjures up visions as pleasant and as wholesome as the memories of early childhood. English literature then lay before us as "an open scroll"; held up to us as a most wholesome source of delight and inspiration and those who had a love for books and reading had all the facilities for its cultivation.

No longer will it be possible for our youth, who inherit or have a predisposition for reading, to indulge in such pursuits with such easy facility as was possible in our time. Is not this to be deplored? However, as Burghers it is our duty to provide against such a misfortune and doubtless provision will be made to place within the reach of our community all those available resources for acquiring that taste or love for English literature and authors as was so readily accessible in our own day.

The second cause for concern is the seeming inability of the Burghers to unite for their own self-preservation. In this connection "Caliph" has rightly pointed out a "superiority complex" among a certain class of Burghers who call themselves the "Dutch" and disdain to co-operate with their less fortunate brethren. Happily this section of the Burghers is now dwindling. Caste distinctions are dying out rapidly and are less rigorously adhered to than in the past. What calls for more regret however is the apathy of the more wealthy Burghers to the social conditions of their community. It is in this connection that the majority communities help. Strictly considered the Burgher problem is more of a social problem than a communal one; a problem as between man and man and not necessarily as between community and community.

Should, therefore, the Burghers receive social justice from the Sinhalese, with whom their relations have always been most cordial, there is no reason why they should emigrate. Intense active social service work among our

community by Sinhalese and Tamils well-disposed towards us will go a long way to solve our problems of poverty, illiteracy, and other social evils besides

(Continued on page 2)



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Maha Amerasingha gives an answer to a Pamphlet

"WHAT IS THE U.N.P."

THE pamphlet entitled "What is the U.N.P." is now in circulation. It states that the U.N.P. is not a Democratic but a Fascist Organisation. This statement is based on the ground that it is called the "United National Party." You will wonder what the logic of this position is. We shall quote: "The idea of a united party or single party for the country is totalitarian in conception and completely opposed to all democratic principles. The United National Party is, therefore, in its very origin Fascist."

Nowhere have we stated that we want a single party for the country. When we called our Party "united," we meant and still mean the unity of the different communities living in this Island and the end of communal warfare. That is why we appealed to members of all communities to work together for a programme acceptable to all. In such a collection of people there will be varying degrees of socialistic views and varying degrees of conservative views. We were of the opinion that the bitterness of anti-communal warfare must be ended if the country were to progress satisfactorily. The lack of that unity has always been deplored by political and social workers throughout the East. We know what happened in India and what is happening there at the moment is worse than the slaughter of six years of war.

The Hindus and Muslims are massacring each other on such a scale that 200,000 people have already had to pay the price for communal and racial wars that had been uttered in the past quarter century.

In such an event who are the people who are most likely to suffer? There are not many Sinhalese living in the Jaffna Peninsula but thousands of Jaffna Tamils and others live in these parts of the country where the majority of the population is composed of Sinhalese. Obviously if a catastrophe like that which set India afire should overcome this country our brethren from the North will be the first to feel the impact of a shattering blow.

The United National Party was formed in order that all the communities could work from a common platform for the common benefit of all.

To call it a Fascist organisation is therefore totally unfair, and, what is more, is calculated to invite similar ana-

lysis of parties like the Tamil Congress whose campaigning has all the hallmarks of "leader worship" which is commonly associated with Fascism.

If the Tamil Congress once complained that it existed in order to resist domination by the Sinhalese it could not reasonably keep out of the United National Party, which has no truck with communal complexes whatsoever. If the country is misled into believing in the Anti-U.N.P. propaganda and the U.N.P. is not returned into Parliament with an over-all majority we shall once again have to go back a whole generation and begin from the beginning.

Once again this country will be the cockpit of racial battles. Who could then blame members of the majority community for withdrawing into their fastnesses and working entirely and exclusively for the benefit of their own people?

ON page 2 of the pamphlet reference is made to the Sinhala Maha Sabha being included in the U.N.P. The inclusion of the Muslim League is also severely criticised. "How these two organisations with their exclusive and rather aggressive claims can honestly come together into a single party is difficult to comprehend." We shall quote from the speech of the President of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, made on 6th September, 1946, at the inaugural meeting of the U.N.P.

This is what Mr. Bandaranaike said: "It is a matter of paramount importance that this first (new) Constitution should be worked with security. If we went to the polls with eight or ten parties each fighting the other, what would be the position in the new parliament? An absolute state of chaos which to the outside would have demonstrated our incapacity to work the constitution."

"We all determined to work together. There are problems of the first importance in the next few years. There is the problem of constitutionally obtaining the full measure of freedom from the Government that will in the next few years will depend whether we are going to get it or not. Economic problems will arise and we shall not be able to solve them unless there is a certain degree of unity. Then there is the Indian problem, which with justice to ourselves and reasonable justice to all Parties concerned, is not impossible of solution. In facing those problems we are going to the country, I hope in a spirit of service, in an attempt to join with each other and work together to

deliver the goods in our country's interest."

That is why the Sinhala Maha Sabha is part of the U.N.P. First things first, was the policy that Mr. Bandaranaike submitted as a reasonable proposition. What those first things are can be easily understood.

- (1) the successful working of the New Constitution with its new provision for a Party System.
- (2) the settlement of the Indian problem and the achievement of a satisfactory understanding with Hindustan and Pakistan.
- (3) the introduction of a planned system of development of the country's resources.

All these objectives would have been obscured by communal war cries if there was no attempt at uniting all the communities and offering everyone security and peace.

The pamphlet states that the U.N.P. has no chance of victory at all but for its "clever and unscrupulous propaganda," the purpose of which is to "dupe, intimidate and stampede the innocent public into voting for them at the next election."

The U.N.P. is the only Party which made some attempt to explain to the people the significance of the new Constitution. It is the only Party which took pains to educate the masses in this direction. We have never asked for a blind vote. The top leaders of the U.N.P. could very well have sought election by raising the purely racial cry of nationalism in areas where such a cry would have found a ready response. Instead of taking this attitude our propaganda has been raised to the nobler level of trying to make the large masses of Sinhalese voters in various constituencies come to believe in the ideal of national unity. The writer of the

pamphlet attacking us may like to call this unscrupulous. The definition of words are not ours to alter and so we leave it to him to adjust whatever mental conflict there may be in his own mind and reconsider the views that he has expressed so violently in the space of twelve pages of printed matter.

* ♦ *

OUR appeal to the country to save religion from the flames of Marxism has probably attracted the word "unscrupulous" with greater urgency. We insist that the humanising effect of the various religions as are being practised in this country are necessary to keep the moral tone of the land as high as it has thus far been. We have witnessed in the recent past the tendency of Marxists to resort to hand-made bombs and other weapons of destruction. The normal human restraints have been broken and the inherent savage tendencies are let loose with perilous possibilities.

It is therefore with intense sincerity that we appeal to the country to arrest the spread of the Gospel of Marxism, a spread which is due not so much to its intrinsic value but more to the campaign of lying in which its propagandists have set some sections of the country on fire.

Burgher Education

(Continued from page 1)

serving to strengthen our bonds of friendship with the majority communities.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. GUY VAN DORT.

(NOTE BY EDITOR: We are determined to give the Burgher community every possible help. We stand for equality of opportunity for all.)

Behind the Scenes

DAHANAYAKE LEAVES L.S.S.P.

Swing Over to B.L.P.I.

MR. W. DAHANAYAKE has disowned the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. He did so openly at a meeting in Galle on Sunday when Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, the B.L.P.I. leader, spoke on his behalf.

Mr. Dahanayake said that in Parliament he would fight under the leadership of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva.

This is a slap in the face to the L.S.S.P. dictator, Dr. N. M. Perera, on whose platforms Mr. Dahanayake sported only a few days ago. The reason for this " volte face " is that he interviewed Dr. Perera in an endeavour to get Hospital Perera, the L.S.S.P. candidate withdrawn from Colombo Central so that his brother, Mr. K. Dahanayake, could have undivided Leftist support. On this issue there was common ground between the Communist Party, whose candidate, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, is also contesting the same seat.

Dr. Perera's reception to Mr. Dahanayake was anything but cordial. "Don't think you can control the Party. Hospital Perera is better than that brother of yours. We can't accommodate all the members of your family."

Mr. Dahanayake went off in high dudgeon, shouting about "Fascism," "Dictatorship," etc., etc. He also retorted that the Robert-Philip relationship was the same. (Messrs. Robert and Philip Gunewardene are brothers).

The B.L.P.I. boys got wind of the sacking of Dahanayake. The result was the B.L.P.I. invasion of Galle, and Mr. Dahanayake's swing from the left to the far Left.

The fact of the matter is that Mr. Dahanayake is not a Party man. He has no discipline of mind or heart. He is an anarchist. He would love to blow up buildings and institutions (provided he is reasonably sure of escaping unnoticed). He will fiddle, like Nero did while Rome burned.

Dr. Perera has made a laconic comment on these proceedings: "Colvin won't have any Dahanayakes in Parliament because neither he nor any Dahanayakes will be there."

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VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS

THE driving urge of the peoples all over the world, Ceylon not excepted, after the bitter lessons of two World Wars, is to seek a democratic government that has as its front objective a socialist programme.

The United National Party which stands for the achievement of such a democratic government, as opposed to a totalitarian Workers' State which the Marxists are avowedly out to impose on this country, is faced with the obstruction to the achievement of this laudable object by that strange and incongruous phenomenon—that political anachronism—the independent candidate.

The Soulbury Constitution demands a Party system of Government, and the electorates must be given the opportunity to register their mandate in the democratic way either for or against contending political parties that seek their franchise.

In the electorates in which the United National Party have not been returned, it is evident that the reason is not so much attributable to the appeal of the Marxists and the political creed they profess, but because of the disruptive effect of the Independents who, in several instances, unsuccessfully contested these constituencies.

In this respect the Independents have done the country a disservice. Their attitude of playing the role of the "dog in the manger" has had the effect of a cancer eating into the vitals of the body politic.

So far, only a few Independents, as such, have been able to capture the support of the electorates for the reason that personalities have ceased to be a factor in the political arena. On the other hand, their more conspicuous defeats, serve as sorry reminders of the disservice they have rendered to the cause of democracy in the country.

Apart from the incongruous spectacle they provide at the polls, they have nothing but vague and undefined promises to offer the electors. A good example

By
Vernon Phelps

of the kind of political tight-rope-walking performed by this type of candidate was provided the other day when one of these Independent candidates took it on himself to define who an Independent really was.

Taking as his illustration the positions of the players of a football field, he is reported to have described the United National Party as playing at centre forward, the Leftists at extreme left and the Independents at inside left!

A stinging retort to this display of political buffoonery was administered by a Party candidate who pointed out that what the electors really wanted to know was not the position in which the Independents were playing, but into which goal were they kicking the ball?

The position of the Independent who is returned to Parliament, as the people are now beginning to realise, will be as unenviable as his counterpart who is defeated at the polls. Isolated and owing no loyalty either to the Party entrusted with the Government of the country or the Party that forms the Opposition, the Independents will be no more than "voices in the wilderness."

They can only hope to perpetuate their frustration and disservice to the country by being the "spanners" that will be thrown into the works, that will disorganise and impede the country's progress.

Nor can they aspire to be productive or creative in their criticism for their absence of loyalty to Party principles and ungoverned by the rigour of Party discipline, the Independents can freely vie with each other in airing their diverse and colourful views, which can offer them no other solace than that of being the recompense of their frustration.

The "independence" of these Independents, as they would discover to their cost and that of their electors, would ironically enough, be the shackles that would render them incapable of achieving anything worthwhile.



THE Leftists have a strange way, all their own, of arguing in their favour, in fair weather or foul. Flushed by the first tide of election successes they have glorified even those who have been soundly defeated by the U.N.P.!

Before the Mirigama election it was a Leftist boast that "Senanayake will be badly beaten." But after the Leader routed the opposition by 16,000 votes they boasted that at least 11,000 voted against Mr. Senanayake—so it was a triumph for the Leftist cause! Strange logic!

Of course there were the usual charges of the winners using "thugs and rowdies to buy, overawe, terrorise and persuade" the voters. The Leftists are, of course, a quiet gentle sort—tell me another!

What had the Leftists to say to the thumping majority of 26,854 votes by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike—this was the biggest majority in Ceylon election history. Perhaps they will still say at least 4,000 opposed Mr. Bandaranaike. And the Kandy defeat was due to "Communist sabotage!"

One Leftist paper, notorious for its canards, comments: "Our earlier forecast that Dr. N. M. Perera will be the first Socialist Prime Minister of Ceylon may not be long in being an accomplished fact." But you don't mention the date, chum. 1966 or.....

New Stamps

WITHOUT kicking up the communal ghost, I may suggest that the four new stamps proposed to be issued on the opening of our Parliament should have been more representative of the various communities. The Dalada Maligawa, Ruwanveliseya, Adam's Peak and Parliament make a good choice. But on the day when every community joins in celebration of Ceylon's new Constitution, a judicious representation in the choice of stamps, could have helped.

There is no dearth of suitable landmarks to be represented in the stamps. A picture of the historic Kataragama Temple, where thousands of pilgrims from India and Ceylon flock, would have pleased the Hindus. Ketchimala Mosque, in Beruwala, a revered and well-known landmark, and also a centre of pilgrimage, would have satisfied the Hindus. Illustrations of famous Christian places of worship—there are so many, St. Lucia's Cathedral being the most famous—are good suggestions.

Perhaps this idea could be worked out when printing stamps to commemorate the granting of Dominion Status to Ceylon. This event is not far off.

Merchant's Malady

THE news that Vijay Merchant, the popular captain of All-India's cricket team to Australia, has decided to consult a "hakim" (the Muslim equivalent of a "vedarala") regarding his malady which threatens to keep him out of the Australian tour, should provide an object lesson to some of "our intellectuals" who rush to Western medi-

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INSOMNIA?

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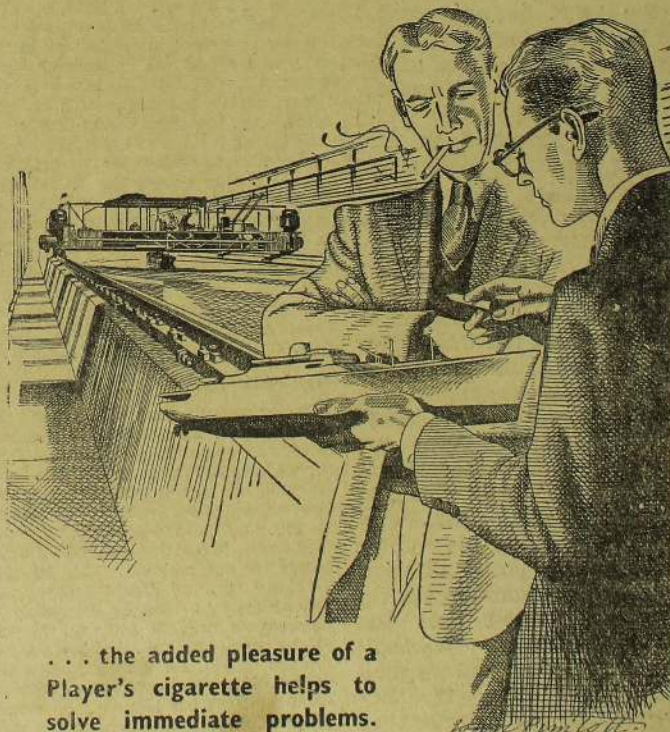
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u.n.p.

Friday, September 5, 1947

GAINS AND LOSSES

WE have lost several seats where we should have had comfortable victories. Holding inquests on these results can bring no relief to those who have lost but we can learn from those defeats so that the mistakes that have been made can be of value to the contestants who have not yet faced the polls. We deeply sympathise with those who have lost and we ask them to continue their interest and participation in politics. Bye-elections are bound to come from time to time, and after the fever of a General Election the people are bound to realise the folly of voting for the L.S.S.P. candidates. Those parts of the country where there are Leftists returned to Parliament will learn soon enough the magnitude of the mistakes made.

It is quite patent that at Kiriella, at Agalawatte and at Nivitigala there would have been clear victories for the United National Party but for the division of votes cast for non-Marxist candidates. Another pointer is that the total number of votes cast for the United National Party so far totals two lakhs, whereas the L.S.S.P. have obtained a number of seats with a total less than ninety thousand votes.

We appeal to non-Marxist candidates to withdraw from the contests where there are Marxists and agree to have straight fights. In every such case there will be clear victories for the U.N.P. Let not personal and local rivalries stand in the way of the greater good of the country. There are, unfortunately, several people who place local reputations and honours above the fortunes of a Party and the ultimate good of the land. This is no time for such diversionary tactics.

Even a Party which has attacked the U.N.P. for months together has declared its intention to support the U.N.P. We refer to the Ceylon Communist Party which is working actively in opposition to the L.S.S.P. That Party and we have our differences on ideological grounds. It is a Marxist Party. We are a Socialist Party determined to save this country from the terrors of totalitarian madness. The Communist Party has now realised that the L.S.S.P. is a Junta. We shall resist the L.S.S.P. and we shall smash the L.S.S.P. If they imagine that the victories they have had here and there are an indication of their own strength they will soon have a rude awakening. Thugs and liars like those who lead them and the society butterflies who are their "pandankarayas" will see for themselves the awakening of the people.

WHAT THE U.N.P. STANDS FOR

Our Manifesto Remains Un - changed

OUR COUNTRY IS TODAY ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW AGE. THE POST-WAR WORLD WILL SEE MANY CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF MANKIND—CHANGES WHICH WILL AFFECT CEYLON AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

We are beginning the new era with a new Constitution which, although it falls short of our expectations, still is an advance on the existing Constitution and one that can be utilised for the achievement of the freedom that is our goal. Economically, various grave problems face us that need an early and satisfactory solution.

Socially, the problem of the achievement of unity and the removal of the various existing inequalities faces us urgently.

The new Constitution for the first time gives us the power to tackle these problems on a comprehensive scale. This Manifesto is not a detailed programme but a general explanation of the lines on which we consider that development should besought. Our aims cannot be achieved in the five-year period of one Parliament, but the essential foundations can be laid in that period, and it is necessary that we should look far ahead so that all the initial steps may be in the right direction.

The Five Freedoms

We visualise Five Freedoms: Freedom from Foreign Control, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Unemployment, Freedom from Ignorance and Freedom from Disease. Freedom from Foreign Control is a necessary prerequisite to the obtaining of the other Freedoms. The power and status we enjoy under the new Constitution must be utilised at the earliest opportunity to secure that Freedom. The unity of the communities and the solid backing of the people behind this unity will be irresistible. Your vote will be a vote for Freedom.

Freedom from Want and Freedom from Unemployment must be achieved by increasing the national wealth to the fullest limit by means of planned agriculture and planned industries, by development of commerce and trade and by necessary social legislation. Freedom from Ignorance and Freedom from Disease will be secured by the educational and health policies that are outlined later.

We can in this short Manifesto only enumerate general principles: we intend only to mention the outlines of our policy. A detailed examination of statistics, of the national wealth of the country, of its present and future resources, and a study by experts of all the conditions which the new Census reveals will be necessary before the framework of a complete plan can be made for achieving the objects we have in view.

The Seven-Point Programme

Agriculture and Fisheries, Industry, Local Administration, Health, Education, Communications and Transport.

Agriculture

In our present economic system the great mass of the people are dependent directly or indirectly on agriculture. Even so, we have to import most of our food, for which we pay by means of our principal exports of tea, rubber and coconut. In this way we are dependent for our food on the fluctuating demands of other people for our products. It is very necessary that we should reduce this dependence by increasing the supply of home-grown food. If we do so, we shall at the same time raise the standard of life not only of the cultivator, but also of those in the towns who are dependent upon him. What is more, the process of establishing industries which is mentioned in a later paragraph will require us to increase imports of machinery and other goods which will enable us to manufacture essential goods for ourselves. In order to do this we must, if we can, increase the exports of estate products and, most certainly, decrease our imports of food.

There are two ways in which we can increase food production. Firstly, by intensive and scientific cultivation of land now under cultivation in Wet

Zone, and secondly, by developing the vast areas which will be brought under cultivation in the Dry Zone. Only one-third of our country is under cultivation. Our tea, rubber, coconut and paddy constitute this cultivation, which is almost entirely in the Wet Zone. The Dry Zone, therefore, affords the widest field for development and must be developed as speedily and as fully as possible.

It will be our endeavour to open up these areas by such methods, among others, as co-operative or collective farms with the use of the most modern machinery. In the year 1938, just before the War, we imported 61 million

rupees' worth of foodstuffs, which can be grown here.

Fisheries

There is no industry that has potentialities of greater development along profitable channels than the Fishing Industry in Ceylon. Once it is firmly established on a sound commercial and scientific basis it will provide abundant food to our under-fed masses, help to retain within the country the millions of rupees now spent on imported fish and fish products, and lead to other industries such as boat and ship building, net making and canning factories as well as factories for making ice, fish oil, manure, fish meal and glue and coastal and Indo-Ceylon shipping. These activities will provide employment to large numbers of the indigenous population and will solve the problem of unemployment.

Animal Husbandry

The increase in our food production requires us to pay particular attention to the quality of our buffaloes and bullocks. Moreover, our domestic animals are themselves a valuable source of food. We have suffered severely during the War through a shortage of milk, butter, ghee and other animal products. There are many parts of the Island, especially the patnas of the Kandyan Provinces, on which food cannot be grown but which can, by suitable measures, be converted into pastures where animals can graze. Experiments in this direction have already proved their success. All

(Continued on page 5)

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What the U. N. P. Stands For

(Continued from page 4)

these reasons make it necessary for us to improve the quality and quantity of our stock and to grow the fodder which will enable us to maintain them without excessive dependence on imported feeding-stuff.

Distribution

Food will not be grown unless the cultivator is assured of an adequate income. The State must therefore guarantee prices of essential agricultural products by regulating imports and, where necessary, operating as distributing agent. The system of distribution through Co-operative Stores is already in full operation. It needs to be developed both by a more intensive central organisation for purchasing imported as well as home-produced food and by encouraging co-operative production. In this way food can be produced by co-operative farms, purchased by a co-operative wholesale organisation and distributed by co-operative stores, all under the control of the people themselves. This system would not produce a monopoly, however, for the individual producer, the individual wholesaler, and the individual trader would not be deprived of their livelihood and competition with co-operatives would increase the efficiency of all.

Industry

An intensive development of agriculture such as we contemplate above would not by itself be enough to raise adequately the general standard of life of a large and rapidly growing population. Nor do we wish to be dependent as we have been in the past on the prices obtained for our estate products. It is necessary to find new avenues of employment and new sources of income by establishing industries. This involves careful planning. The first step is a survey of the raw material available both underground such as iron, and on the surface such as cotton. The quantities available and the areas where they are available must be known. The industrial plants must be located where the raw material is readily available, where cheap power and adequate labour can be obtained and where transport facilities are procurable. Our industries must be classified under different heads, e.g.:

- Key industries, e.g., chemicals, machinery, tools.
- Heavy industries, e.g., iron, steel.
- Defence, e.g., armaments.
- Public utilities, e.g., water-power, transport.
- Essential consumer goods, e.g., food, salt, clothing, household goods.
- Luxuries, e.g., perfumes.
- Cottage industries.
- Manufacture of rubber articles.

We have suffered in the past because we had no source of cheap power—no coal and no oil. We had plenty of water-power, but it has never been harnessed. The completion of the Hydro-Electric Scheme will fill this gap and provide us with the energy which will make industries practicable.

OF MEN & THINGS

(Continued from page 3)

cine, neglecting the more efficacious Ayurveda system of medicine.

An example of the efficacy of Ayurvedic medicine was witnessed recently when a casualty of the recent floods had one of his bones fractured and displaced. Western treatment certainly relieved him but there was a danger of distortion if the bone was set according to the way of treatment—so complicated was the fracture.

Thanks to his change to a "vedarala's" treatment with daily massages and close herbal treatment, it looks as if he will certainly be able to use his limb normally. This is no attack on Western medicine but an example of the efficacy of the Cinderella of medicine systems, which should not be neglected.

A votary of Western medicine gives me his objections to Ayurveda: "Those nasty evil-smelling Kasayas (decoctions) and the clammy oils that seep through every dressing." Come, come, now. The most efficacious medicine is the bitterest. Little children don't know; but parents know.

Bullock Carts

ARE bullock carts out of date? A reader suggests that like the

In a small and undeveloped country like Ceylon left far behind in the industrial race, we cannot develop industrially either with local or foreign private finance unless the State plans, initiates, subsidises and protects industrial development. Where a monopoly is needed or arises without being needed it must be under public control. Where competition is likely to be useful in the public interest, it might be encouraged, provided only that the conditions of employment, housing and working conditions are maintained at the highest possible level.

Scientific Staff

A fully equipped scientific staff, embracing technical, engineering, and chemical branches must be created. Men must be trained now, sent abroad and equipped, to advise and train others.

Planned Production and Distribution

Our agriculture and industry will then be planned; planned under the aegis of the State to produce adequate food, clothing and other necessities of life. The distribution of these to the consumer must also be planned so that the people obtain equitably what is produced.

Labour

It is our object to secure land for the landless and work for the workless.

The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial and agricultural workers, and shall secure for them by suitable legislation, a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment. Legislation regulating immigration and the employment of non-Ceylonese will be introduced.

Local Administration

It is our object to achieve the fullest as well as the most efficient measures of Local Self-Government. On the one hand the State is prepared to give all legitimate assistance to Local Authorities, financial and otherwise, that may be needed; on the other hand the supervision and controls necessary for efficient functioning must be devised. The State will be primarily responsible for such services as housing and water supply, which have a national importance. Our goal in these two services will be healthy houses and pure water for all.

Health

The establishment of a healthy nation is one of the fundamental requirements not only from the point of view of the individual but from the point of view of the nation also. A nation that is debilitated by disease cannot achieve the standard of production which will allow the people to live a happy life. Much of the disease in the Island is due to the malnutrition which arises from poverty. A low standard of health is therefore associated with a low standard of living and the attack must be made in both directions. Modern methods of control

rickshaw, the bullock cart should also be listed in the category of "to be removed." His main contention is that these slow-moving vehicles not only cause traffic jams but they tend to wear out the roads with their iron-tired wheels. Some years ago there was a talk of introducing rubber tyres for bullock carts and its virtues were much talked about. But nothing really happened. "The animals spoil our roads with their droppings. Besides these bulls are laden with too heavy loads, which is a pity."

With the increased use of old military trucks for conveyance, the day of the bullock cart should be over, he contends.

Looking through some old Government Gazettes I find that the first notice ever published by Government relating to the control of traffic (January 1, 1806), refers pointedly to these carts:

"Whereas the drivers of bullock bandies, the drivers of horse bandies, as likewise horsemen, and those who ride in triacles, and carry palankeens do occasionally mistake the side of the road on which they ought to go in meeting others of the above description in the streets: it is strictly enjoined to all such persons as much as for their own convenience as for the general safety, to keep on the left-hand side of the road when they meet and pass."—(Sgd.) T. J. TWISTLETON, Sitting Magistrate.

would enable the commoner diseases, especially malaria and hookworm to be stamped out. Adequate water supplies and systems of sewage disposal would reduce many other diseases to a minimum. A complete health service must also be established so that every person who needs treatment can obtain it readily and freely.

Education

The State Council has already adopted a series of reforms which will, when they have been fully worked out, provide a complete educational system on national lines. The distinction between English schools and Vernacular schools will be abolished and in future the varieties of schools will depend not on language or the wealth of parents, but the capacities of children and the careers that they are likely to follow. All education, including University and Technical education, is already free and means must be found for making certain that every child, without reference to wealth or class, may be enabled to have the highest education of which he is capable. These basic principles of our new educational system must not be abandoned, but must be fully worked out by providing the schools, the teachers and the equipment needed to implement them. Part of the process will consist in so developing the national languages that they can be used for all types of education, even the most technical and scientific, and become not merely the medium of education but the medium of administration in all its branches.

Drama, Art and Literature

The State must encourage Drama, Art and Literature. Theatres and Art Galleries must be built and remuneration given to deserving artists and authors.

Communications and Transport

It is our object to develop the roads of the country from Village Committee roads to P.W.D. roads in order to supply adequate facilities of communications to every part of the country.

The Transport System—rail, road, air and water—will be developed and co-ordinated, in order to supply the public with as cheap as adequate and as efficient transport as possible.

Conclusion

The proposals we have outlined when translated into action will create a new Lanka, free, democratic and based on co-operative ideals. In this new Lanka we stand for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen, the unity of all communities and for tolerance and goodwill between them. All our efforts, all our planning will be directed to increasing the well-being and progress of the masses. It is by this standard that every proposal and every change will be judged. We appeal to all those who have at heart the goal of freedom, whether it be political, social or economic, to join us and give us every assistance and support.



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ANIMAL FARM

MR. ORWELL calls his new book a fairy story. It is a somewhat modest and inadequate description. "Animal Farm" is not merely an amusing and intriguing little fantasia for tiny tots. I shouldn't bother about it, if it were merely just another contribution to the nursery book-shelf. It is on the other hand, a contemporary parable, a hard hitting political tract, and a reasonably witty as well as a savage demolition of a twentieth century Utopia.

Animal lovers would regard the book as a cruel libel on our poor dumb friends, and some society and league may pos-

sibly have lodged a complaint that any damaging comparison between animals and humans, must naturally be most insulting to our incomparable pets. The left wing public has already judged the book with a jaundiced eye, considering the entire thing the work of an unpardonable heretic; an enemy of a party of which he could have been, an ornament, an apologist, and an asset, and for which he had at one time taken up arms in the Spanish war. The reader with the strongly developed detective instincts could draw accurate parallels between the newspaper headlines and the book's incidents; the personalities on the picture page and the book's animal characters. The completely unpolitical reader and the Disney fan would commend it as an ingenious fantasy for adults.

THIS somewhat lengthy preamble is calculated to suggest that the book can be read on more than one level, that like all good books one can read as much into it as one cares to, and far from weakening its power or its appositeness, it gains in the process. An excellent book is like an onion (I know the simile is vaguely disgusting). The more you strip it, layer by layer the more astonished you are that it uncovers still another layer of meaning.

On the surface "Animal Farm" is a deceptively simple book. It is all about a sudden revolution, the destruction of a cruel regime, the establishment of an earthly paradise and its gradual decline and fall.

Tired of the bondage in which Mr. Jones and his ruthless workmen hold the animals in his farm, they unite one fine day to drive their human tyrants and proceed to set up what Left wing readers would consider an unparadoxically exact replica of a Communist dictatorship. The revolution succeeds; the tyrannical workmen are banished and Mr. Jones like so many deposed monarchs is forced to live in solitary exile in some neutral neighbouring farm.

At first everything is beautiful in this animal paradise. There is no slavery, no exploitation and no tyranny. Placards blare out the new advertisement that all animals are equal; it does look as if the revolution's dearest wish has been fulfilled—the establishment of an animal Utopia.

THIS is where Mr. Orwell begins his book. The rest of it is a study in betrayal. The events of the last three decades have made us familiar with the almost inevitable steps by which the betrayal is accomplished, the subtle perversion of the principles which united the revolutionaries: For instance the new commandment that all animals are equal, is quietly changed as time goes on to "But some animals are more equal than others." The new regime gradually succeeds in being crueler than the old, the new leader and the new ruling class more corrupt and blood thirsty.

The old tyranny far from being abolished, has been replaced by a new and alarming variation of it. Presuming that they are more intelligent Mr. Orwell has chosen the pigs as his new ruling class. This may be bad zoology but it does provide the richest comedy in the book.

And in Mr. Orwell's menageries we see so many front-page personalities of the last few years, in a disguise which subsequent events have proved to be neither thin nor exaggerated, for example Napoleon, the puffed out, strutting, bellicose dictator, could be our old fog-horn the Duce who made a stab in the back a highly effective if temporary form of diplomatic strategy; "Squealer" his tripping, nervous little mouthpiece, the propaganda minister and the creator of the myths and legends which Napoleon wishes to have disseminated for the benefit of his subjects; isn't he the farmyard copy, the four-legged counterpart of the Dr. Goebbels who pushed the pen and the written word to the front line of attack.

Like his real life model, Squealer too has succeeded in crowning his master with the divine attributes of God, the infallibility of the Holy men, in spite of Napoleon's distressing and flagrant proclivity for the more seductive female pigs, an enormous capacity for beer and a steadily increasing waistline.

IT would be unnecessary to labour the points of similarity between the supporting cast and the well known personalities still alive or dead. The fiery revolutionary, banished into exile as a dangerous element; the old visionary who communicates his blueprint for revolution before he dies, the raven preaching of an animal heaven beyond the clouds and an admirable choice for the ecclesiastic; the blood

hounds, Napoleon's Gestapo, spreading terror and death over animal farm, the sudden purges, compromises, quislings all these turn the second half of the book into a superb miniature history of a Fascist dictatorship.

Like Swift, Mr. Orwell has realised that by deputising animals to play the roles of humans he wouldn't obscure the critical points he wished to make, but would underline them, with greater malice and venom. A comparison with the author of Gulliver's Travels and the Tale of a Tub was bound to be made. Mr. Orwell's book lacks the amazing fertility of invention and the malignity of the great Irishmen. Mr. Orwell's book is a criticism of the imperfection of human institutions.

Swift's satire is an indictment of humanity. Swift writes of animals with the authority of the biologist and scientist. Mr. Orwell handles them with the superficial benevolence of the animal-keeper in a travelling circus. Nevertheless in "Animal Farm" Mr. Orwell has brought off two scenes worthy of the master, two moments of pure Swiftian horror when one never knows whether to cry or laugh.

"It was just after the sheep had returned, on a pleasant evening when the animals had finished work and were making their way back to the farm building that the terrified neighing of a horse sounded from the yard. Startled the animals stopped in their tracks. It was Clover's voice. She neighed again, and all the animals broke into a gallop and rushed into the yard. Then they saw what Clover had seen. It was a pig walking on its hind legs. Yes it was Squealer. A little awkwardly as though not quite used to supporting his considerable bulk with that perfect balance, he was strolling across the yard. And a moment later, out from the door of the farmhouse came a long file of pigs all walking on their hind legs. Some did it better than the others, one or two were a trifle unsteady and looked as though they would have liked the support of a stick but everyone of them made his way right round the yard successfully. And finally there was a tremendous baying of dogs and a shrill crowing from the black cockerel and out came Napoleon himself majestically and upright casting haughty glances from side to side and with his dogs gambolling around him.

"He carried a whip in his trotter."

THE second passage is a description of a card game between the pigs and the men who after a series of compromises have been admitted by the rulers into the precincts of animal farm, once again. It is the final and horrible close up with which the book ends, and it is a blow as accurate and devastating as a knuckle-duster's:

"The source of the trouble appeared to be that Napoleon and Mr. Pilkington had each played an ace of Spades simultaneously—Twelve voices were shouting in anger and they were all alike. No questions now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which."

Mr. Orwell's new book is his most successful because in it one finds all his gifts developed in the most harmonious and felicitous manner—his infinite capacity for being disillusioned; his inflexible honesty, his blunt hard hitting prose, his earthly wit, his intimate knowledge of political intrigue and corruption. Never a good party man he has seldom hesitated to lash out even when his loyalty was at stake. A magnificently angry writer he has in spite of his frequent pig-headedness always succeeded in being amusing, bracing and provocative. Indeed in "Animal Farm" the well-known Orwell anger has been soft pedalled and modulated down to an amiable and sardonic chuckle which may not be the essence of wisdom but a close enough substitute for it.

His new book I'm sure will do more than amuse, entertain and irritate its readers. It has undeniably brought back the pamphleteer as a considerable force in contemporary writing and it has raised the literary poster and political tract to the dignity of literature.

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

THE first post-war August Race Meet has come to an end and only losers' day next Saturday intervenes before horses and trainers take a well-earned rest of three weeks.

The time, therefore, is opportune to review, as briefly as possible, the highlights that went to make the meet the outstanding success it was in spite of the perversity of the weather gods.

Beyond all shadow of doubt, the principal honours of the Meet were taken by the three-year-old mare, KUNJ LATA. Nothing within my memory was more fluent in achievement or richer in promise than her three victories, which gave her the unique record of winning the Lawyers' Cup, the Governor's Cup and the Clement's Plate, all in one year. An upstanding mare with a very fine head, she is really in a class by herself here in Ceylon and will, if I mistake not, make history in Calcutta as well, before the year is out.

If Kunj Lata's supremacy was undisputed, VENDETTA, with two wins, stacked a claim to be regarded as a stayer of promise. After the winning of Stewards' Cup in a common canter, he reverted to the intermediate class and lifted the Galle Cup after a fine finish. Promoted to the top class at the request of his connections, the gelding took his chance in the Turf Club Plate but came up against a trifle better class and finished out of the money.

The winner of this race was COSY CORNER and the way in which he forged into the lead below the distance suggested that, had the going been firm on Governor's Cup day, Mr. Gardiner might have provided the first as well as the second in the Blue ribbon of the Ceylon Turf.

Other noteworthy performances by thoroughbreds during the Meet were the doubles completed by LUZON and LADY BOBS, both of whom should be seen to further advantage in their later engagements.

As for the Arabs, the Roberts' Cup winner, SCARLET, who went on to force a dead-heat in the Madras Cup and then show her versatility by finishing a good second to GOLD FLAKE over 7 furlongs, must be given pride of place. As Arabs go, Scarlet is still a baby and, if all goes well with her, will be as much a top-notch twelve months hence as she is today.

Other Arabs who made the headlines were Gold Flake, who won with 10 stones, ZAMAN SHAMMAR who took two races in succession, SHANDY, who in his second outing in Ceylon, ran away in impressive fashion from his rivals, and CHIPPY DUST, who followed up his Oriental Cup victory with a second and a third.

Among the owners, MR. ABRAHAM GARDINER can look back on the Meet with feelings of considerable satisfaction. Like Midas of old, whatever he touched, turned to gold. Apart from Kunj Lata, who credited him with three cups, Mr. Gardiner also won the Turf Club Plate with Cosy Corner and picked up two more races with KINGSLEY and RANJIT, taking his winnings to over Rs. 35,000.

A long way behind Mr. Gardiner in the list of winning owners comes Mr. V. S. C. SINGHAM, who won three races, and Mrs. FAITH. Mr. W. J. SMITH, Mr. VERE DE MEL and Mr. CARL PIERIS, each of whom picked up two races.

So far as trainers are concerned the SELVARATNAMs, father and son, carried all before them. I think I am right in saying that never before in history has one trainer provided, in a single August Meet, the winners of the Governor's Cup, the Roberts' Cup, the Clement's Plate, the Lawyers' Cup, the Madras Cup, the Turf Club Plate, the Bandaranaike Cup and the Colombo Cup. Apart from these eight "plums,"

the Selvaratnam establishment sent out seven other winners besides numerous placed horses and the stake money won by their patrons was nearly Rs. 80,000.

MEDHI HUSSEIN, with seven wins, WALLS with five wins and ALDRIDGE with three wins follow next in order.

Among the Jockeys, RAFFAELE rode seven winners, while ROGER, EUDE, FOLEY and ROOK had five wins to their credit.

As for last Saturday's racing, apart from Cosy Corner's victory in the Turf Club Plate, LYNDAVEN, QAMAR ADNAN and SHANDY won their respective races in a manner which suggested further triumphs in the future. I was particularly impressed by Shandy, who is only four years old, but won like a champion in the making.



THE end of the August Meet proper coincides with news of the revival of racing down south. I have the pleasantest recollections of racing on the picturesque Boosa course and am looking forward to the Christmas Meet. The Stewards of the Galle Club met and decided to agree to the suggestion put forward at the annual meeting of the club last week that there be five days racing. The dates fixed are December 24th, 27th and 30th and January 1st and 3rd.

The Galle Executive have drawn up an excellent programme and are offering stakes on a par with the C.T.C. The Governor's Bowl has added money to the extent of Rs. 7,500 while there are several other cup events with attractive prize money.



SO much for racing. I am afraid the latest news from India about the visit of the Indians to Australia seems to suggest that once again Ceylon is to be denied the opportunity of a much needed Test. The Indians are expected to fly to Australia direct from Calcutta and, if this materialises, Ceylon will be off their route.

Well, if Mohammed cannot go to the mountain, the mountain must come to Mohammed—and so, I suggest that the C.C.A. authorities contact the Indian Board of Control and fix up a three-day match between Ceylon and India at Calcutta. Even if the Ceylon public are to be deprived of a chance of seeing the Indian stars, our leading cricketers will be all the better for a tilt at the Indians.



THE County Cricket Championship in England has come to an end and, after many years, the crown has come south. Middlesex was certainly not winning out of turn when they became the 1947 champions, as they were runner-up for the last five years. To their captain ROBINS must go almost as much credit for their success as is given to the three Middlesex stars, EDRICH, COMPTON and ROBERTSON. Robins always went bald-headed for victory and his policy has paid well. Edrich, who will probably lead the County next season, and Compton have each topped the 3,000 mark while Robertson is within striking distance of it. It would be a rare record if Robertson, too, makes the grade. There are half a dozen festival matches still to be played and Compton may get his 16th century and beat HOBBS' record, while even HAYWARD'S record aggregate of 3,500 odd is not beyond the compass of either Edrich or Compton.



THE English League soccer season has commenced and, if the early results are any pointer to what we may expect later, then Arsenal is going to make a strong bid to recapture the place they once held as the soccer dictators of Britain.

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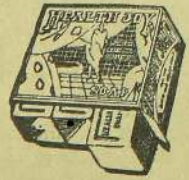
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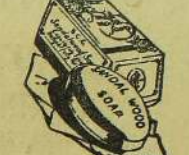
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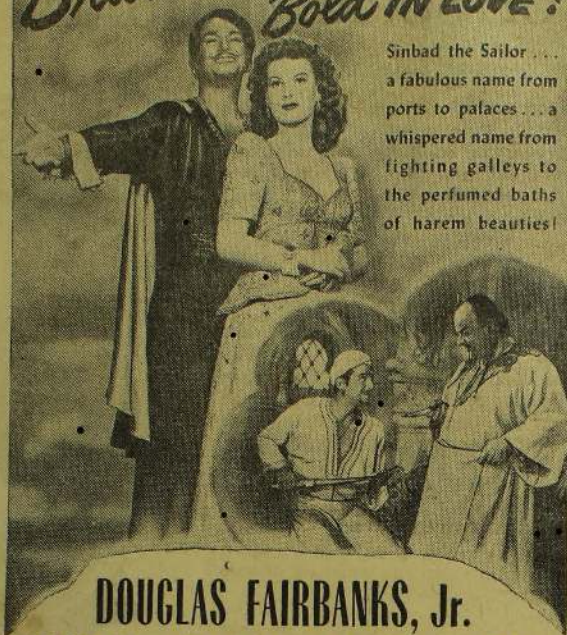
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