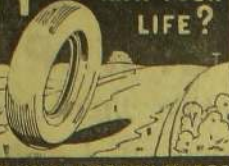


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YOUTH LEAGUE CLEARS DECKS FOR GREAT CAMPAIGN

Sub-committees for Finance, Membership, Action, Propaganda

Two Hour Working Com. Meeting Extremely Fruitful

THE All-Ceylon Youth League Working Committee had its first monthly meeting at the Youth League Headquarters at Kollupitiya with Sir John Kotelawala in the Chair.

The Committee discussed ways and means of reorganising the Youth League and get it into a pitch of perfect efficiency and enthusiasm.

Sir John announced the Nomination by the Working Committee of the Main Party of the following five representatives to the Working Committee of the Youth League: Senator C. A. Dharmapala, Major T. F. Jayawardene, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, Mr. W. D. S. L. Gooneratne and Mr. Hamilton Abeywickrama.

After discussion of a general programme of work it was decided that monthly meetings of the Working Committee of the Youth League should be held on the first Sunday of each month at 10 a.m. It was agreed that this would make it possible for outstation members of the Committee would then be able to attend without difficulty and get back home in time for their normal work.

Various questions of Policy and Programme were then discussed and it was decided to form sub-Committees of the Working Committee to carry out the necessary projects.

The following sub-Committees were then elected:—

Finance Committee:

Chairman: T. W. H. Mendis,
 K. D. Sumanasinghe
 D. S. Amarasuriya
 S. Sivarajah.

Propaganda Committee:

Chairman: Ananda Tissa de Alwis
 Senator C. A. Dharmapala
 Bandula Dodampegama
 Jinadasa Niyatapala
 Sri Lal Gooneratne
 Hamilton Abeywickrama
 Tudor Wijesiriwardana
 W. J. F. Rodrigo
 T. W. Karunajeewa
 Jayaratne
 G. Perumpull
 Nimal Rohana
 Chandra Karunaratne.

Membership Committee:

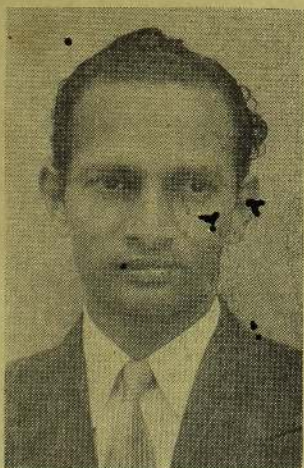
Chairman: K. D. Sumanasinghe
 T. W. H. Mendis
 Kamal Wijesinghe
 S. Sivarajah
 H. A. Sirisena
 Jinadasa Niyatapala
 G. H. Wilbert de Silva
 Kulasiri Amaratunga
 A. W. Henry Dayaratne

Action Committee:

Chairman: Hon. Sir John Kotelawala
 Bandula Dodampegama
 Somadewa Amarasuriya
 Chandra Sahabandu
 Jinadasa Niyatapala
 K. D. Sumanasinghe
 Ananda Tissa de Alwis
 T. W. K. Jayaratne
 Tudor Wijesiriwardane
 T. Wijayapala H. Mendis
 Chandra Karunaratne
 Kamal Wijesinghe
 Hamilton Abeywickrama

At this stage Sir John left the meeting and one of the Vice-Presidents, Mr. Bandula Dodampegama, occupied the Chair.

The Committee also decided to have an office assistant to work full time at the headquarters who would also act as Secretary to all the sub-committees. It was decided to leave the selection to the Action Committee.



Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis
 (Chairman, Propaganda Committee)



Mr. T. Wijepala Mendis
 (Chairman, Finance Committee)



Mr. K. D. Sumanasinghe
 (Chairman, Membership Committee)

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U.N.P. TO ENTER TRADE UNION FIELD?

Friendly Collaboration With Non-political Unions proposed

AT an informal discussion of certain officials of the Youth League and some members of Parliament it was proposed that the Party should take an active interest in Trade

Union work. It was felt that an erroneous impression might get around that the U.N.P. was not sufficiently interested in winning the rights of workers

(Continued on page 11)

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BANDARAGAMA SOLIDLY SUPPORTS U. N. P.

"If we lose this election there will be
no more free elections in Ceylon"

(From A Special Correspondent)

THE solidarity of the mass support for the U.N.P. in the Panadura constituency was shown when Sir John Kotelawala was received by a mammoth crowd of men, women and children when he visited Bandaragama, in the Panadura constituency, on Saturday, the 5th.

He was conducted in procession from the Bolgoda Bridge for a distance of nearly two miles to a public meeting in the heart of the village.

After the Chair had been taken by Sir John, the public meeting commenced with a song of greeting sung by a bevy of girls to the accompaniment of two violins and a "thabla."

The first speaker, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, said that U.N.P. meetings were held all over the country to give the people an account of the stewardship of the Party during the last four years; to explain the Party's viewpoint on national questions; to appeal for continued support for the Party at the General Elections; to appeal for continued confidence in and support of the Party; to protect and encourage democracy in Ceylon. The U.N.P. did not hold public meetings to abuse others or to bring political campaigning to the level of slander.

"By democracy, the U.N.P. intended the free choice by a free people with a free vote of the way in which they choose to live. A free people must democratically elect their representatives. Such a choice must be accompanied by free, unfettered discussion. People must be persuaded, not intimidated. There must be freedom in our land for everyone to continue to have the freedom to think, to speak, to write and to worship.

"Some people may fondly imagine that politics is not their business, and that they can leave politics alone; but politics will never leave anyone alone, for it vitally affects every sphere of life and thought in the modern world. And if you do not like any particular trend, then the way to alter that is for you, each one, to take an active interest in political work, and thus make your voice and vote effective in changing the conditions you may wish to change.

"All the Marxist parties believe in Dictatorship—a dictatorship of the Party bosses very disarmingly described as a 'Dictatorship of the working class'. They dare not tell you this now, for surely you will then never vote for them. They hide their true aims and tell you fairy stories. If the U.N.P. loses the next General Elections, there will be no more free elections in Ceylon. The Marxists will destroy the Parliamentary system of Government and no one will be free to write or speak against or in any way criticize the ruling party."

Continuing, Mr. de Alwis said that it was quite true that the people had many things to rightly grouse about. Many things had not been done, many things were not efficiently done. Those were the results of administrative ills and deficiencies which certainly had to be put right.

"But not one impartial patriot sincerely looking for the truth can refuse to approve of the main policy of the Party. There is no reasonable, just, democratic alternative to our policy for Ceylon at our present stage of political and economic development. And if you accept it, then this Party is your party and you must strengthen and protect it."

He went on to say that the U.N.P. Youth League had recently been re-organized on sound lines. It already had a membership of over 5,000 youths all over the Island. Those youths would get closer together in the coming months, and before long there would be 50,000



Sir John Kotelawala

Youth Leaguers ready to stand firmly by the principles of the Party. They would fight for democracy in whichever form that fight might have to be undertaken. In conclusion Mr. de Alwis appealed to all young men to join the U.N.P. Youth League, and all women to join the U.N.U. Women's League so that together a vast body of active patriots might save Ceylon's newly won freedom.

Mr. Sri Lal Gooneratne, the next speaker, referred to the vigorous growth of a vast number of U.N.P. Branch Organisations throughout the country as a sign of the rapidly gathering strength of the U.N.P. People had heard the U.N.P. abused for the last five years and its leaders traduced, but they were beginning to see the truth, that the U.N.P. had introduced policies all of which were planned to help the poor, small man. Milk feeding centres were not for the rich, and millions were allocated to give free milk to the children of the poor. Co-operative Societies guaranteed the basic needs to all. Rice was purchased by the Government at 80 cents a measure and given to the people at 25 cents a measure, the lowest price for rice anywhere in the world, including the countries which export rice. Education was made free and who benefited: the rich or the poor? Thousands of poor children had first-class schools today where there had not even been a cadjan shed before. When the Government took over work in the new Parliament there were only 600,000 children in schools; today there were 1,300,000 going to school. In remote, undeveloped areas there were schools run by Government which were bigger than any of the oldest schools in Ceylon.

Mr. Gooneratne appealed to the people of Bandaragama to stand by their traditions of patriotic service to Lanka and solidly support the U.N.P. at all times.

Muhandiram Wackwella, speaking next, referred to the great services rendered to the country during the last thirty years or more by the Leader of the U.N.P., Mr. D. S. Senanayake.

"He is the greatest Ceylonese alive and all who have faith in him and want him to look after the country whose freedom he won for us, must surely work with courage and zest to give the U.N.P. a resounding victory," declared the Muhandiram.

Continuing, he said that people must not wait for someone to come along and ask them to work, for, after all, the security and safety and prosperity of the land was everyone's business and not only that of Mr. Senanayake.

Mr. P. A. C. Perera (Galawila Vedamahatmaya) made an exhaustive analysis of the agricultural policy of the Government and pointed out that vast acreages had not only been brought under new cultivation, but even larger acreages of land had been given to landless peasants.

"There was a time the Sama Samajists said that the colonization schemes were graveyards for the poor. Mr. Dahanayake, the greatest spinner of fairy tales in the land.

(Continued on page 7)

The High Road To Chaos

By Stanley Morrison

WHAT is the alternative to the U.N.P. Government?

Chaos, which means civil strife, religious feuds, and total economic collapse. This will be the logical outcome of a defeat of the U.N.P. at the polls and the formation of a government composed of the Leftists and their allies, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. One has only to read the manifestoes of the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Freedom Party in order to realise what this country is in for if these gentlemen were to come to power. While the U.N.P. is still in a strong position it is now an opportune moment to take stock of the important issues which face the people of this infant democracy when they are once again called upon to elect the government of the land.

What the L.S.S.P. intend to do if they find themselves in a position to form a government is now advertised to the whole world, and the implications of their policy demand careful scrutiny. I shall take the revolutionary items only.

One of their pet theories is that every Indian who wishes to obtain citizenship rights should be given these rights on a mere declaration by him that he wishes to be a permanent resident of Ceylon. The theory now finds a high place in their manifesto, so that it is taken out of the realm of theory and is now one of the sign-posts on the road to a Trotskyist Utopia. I call this a revolutionary theory because nowhere in the world can any man or woman obtain citizenship rights by a mere declaration that he or she wishes to become a permanent resident of a country. Even in post-revolutionary Russia such a state of affairs does not exist.

Let us examine, however, what the effect will be of granting citizenship rights to all those in Ceylon who wish to be permanent residents. This will result in eight lakhs of Indians being given the vote and the right to decide the form of government of a country, in which the great majority of them actually have no permanent interest as is proved by the vast sums annually remitted by them to India and the fact that very large numbers of them keep their families in India. No people who value their independence would permit a large floating population to decide their destinies for them and to saddle them with the consequences of policies which this floating population would not be here to face in the years to come. One of the immediate consequences of the grant of citizenship rights to every Indian who claims this country as his home will be the reduction of the Sinhalese population of the Central Province to a minority in their own land. In practically every electoral division these innocent people will find Indians representing them in Parliament. Only mad doctrinaires would be so glib as to believe that these Indian M.P.s would act with that degree of impartiality as actually to safeguard the rights of the Kandyan peasantry. In talking of the rights of Indians in Ceylon who are not permanent residents but are given citizenship rights and of the rights of Kandyans, I may, of course, be accused of encouraging communalism. But the plain fact is that there is no community in Ceylon who act and think communally to such an extent as the Indians to whom Ceylon is really not a permanent home. And to give them citizenship rights and to expect them to merge their interests with those of the permanent population is a condition of things which no man in his right senses can possibly anticipate.

To turn to other aspects of the L.S.S.P. Manifesto. Item (6) states: "Confiscation and running as State enterprises of all banks, of estates with an acreage of 250 acres and above, of the omnibus services and the establishment of a State monopoly of the import and export trades."

The term "confiscation" is not a Socialist but a Communist one and

connotes an act of banditry by the State. No doubt, since the war a number of individuals there may be whose wealth is the product of black-market activities or of enterprises of a shady sort. But the vast majority of landed proprietors have acquired their property the hard way and in no different a manner than that in which some of the Leftist leaders have become great owners of land themselves.

While it may be true that these Leftists will surrender their own excess acres to the State under a confiscatory scheme, this nevertheless will be an act of their own volition, whereas their claiming the right to confiscate the excess acres of others is not merely an illegal one in the accepted sense, but is bound to arouse the property owners to resist—with the attendant danger of civil war. It is to avert such a danger that, in a Socialist State, confiscation is not resorted to while acquisition is the accepted procedure. In other words, a truly Socialist State acts legally and does not ride roughshod over the rights of any section of its citizens. And it is worthwhile doing so in order to avoid the horrors of civil strife, however powerful the revolutionaries may be.

But the proposal to confiscate banks and estates over a certain acreage will have far graver consequences than the antagonising of these vested interests. Surely, the Leftists do not expect the British people tamely to acquiesce in the expropriation of their banks and business houses? While they are not likely to resort military force to protect their rights, the British people will certainly take economic measures which will completely cripple the trade of the island and reduce its people to utter helplessness. For instance, Britain can, and no doubt will, place an embargo on all Ceylon's tea, rubber and coconut products. The U.S.A. is certain to support her in such action. India too will resent the expropriation of Indian banks and estate proprietors, of whom there are a fair number. Further, pressure will be brought to bear on the shipping interests of other nations to give Ceylon the go-by. In this matter Japan is certain to listen to the U.S.A., considering that Japan has already recognised the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa as the legitimate government of China.

And with all the markets for Ceylon's staple products closed to her, from where is she going to secure the foreign exchange with which to buy her food requirements, drugs and other necessities? Neither Russia nor Red China has the ships with which to send food to Ceylon governed by a revolutionary clique. Without D.D.T. and Hetrozen malaria and filaria will obtain a deadly grip on her people. And after a few months a famine will spread throughout the land while her staple crops—tea, rubber, coconuts—will begin to wilt for lack of the artificial fertilisers which come from foreign sources. To add to the confusion, the tea industry will face almost complete devastation from the unchecked ravage of blister blight.

After Tito seceded from the Russian Empire he found his gallant little country facing starvation and complete economic and social collapse. And who came to his rescue? Capitalist America, the Big Bad Wolf of the Communists. Without American aid, given without strings, Yugoslavia would have been compelled to beg her way back into the Russian Empire. And what a spectacle it is now to see the Trotskyists of Ceylon (who only a few months ago were offering to fight in defence of Yugoslavia if Russia attacked her) threatening to throw down the gauntlet to both Britain and the U.S.A. if they succeed in forming a government here after the next elections.

Of course, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, poor man, now realises the kind of circus he is being asked to join, with the lovely prospect held out before him of his being thrown to the Trotskyist lions when they clamour for a change of diet.

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How Price of Firewood Affects Living Costs

Hamilton Abeywickrema Gives You Facts With Figs.

IN an age of electricity and gas, firewood is yet an item of necessity in household work. Like all other items of necessity and luxury, the price of this essential commodity has risen beyond all expectations. This increase is a direct infringement on the balancing of the budget of especially the poor and middle classes. If it was an item of luxury like a table fan it could be dispensed with, but the very existence appear as if it revolves round firewood, for without it, all items of food cannot be taken raw as in the case of fruits. Therefore food without this fuel is meaningless. As such public are amazed at the silence. Either the Central Government must subsidize a scheme as during war-time or financially help the existing firewood owners to reduce the rates considerably for the benefit of the consumers.

This entails many difficulties. At present, I presume the government is subsidizing a few co-operative establishments in Colombo. More, it is glaringly clear that such a scheme must be extended to all towns and cities where the question of firewood is an acute problem and not to a particular town, although it is the capital of the Island. On the other hand an Islandwide general policy would crumple many a private enterprise, majority of which run on a bare marginal profit basis, and throw away into the rank of unemployed. It is more difficult to conceive of a workable proposition of subsidization of the existing firewood business, as the economics of this business vary daily. Therefore no long-term or short-term policy known to Economists can be practised. This is quite apparent on an examination of the present conditions of trade.

Due to the agricultural policy of

the Government and private enterprises, forests are gradually dwindling and totally disappearing in the suburban vicinity. Therefore there is an acute shortage of firewood. Ample stocks are available in distant villages but cost of transport is very prohibitive. Rubber plantations were and are useful sources of firewood. Due to competition from other countries, a vigorous plantation agricultural policy was advocated by the planters. In this enthusiasm replantation with high-yielding rubber trees is resorted to, with the result that the old trees supply the major needs of firewood consumption, of Colombo and its suburban consumers. But this is only a temporary feature. Once this source is exhausted, there will be a terrible plight unless reforestation within economical and reasonable geographical limits is started. It is mainly the result of non-balancing of demand and supply of firewood. There is today a far greater demand than the market can supply. Hence, naturally the prices today are more than 700 per cent. of the pre-war prices. But this price is justified according to the present economic conditions.

Today a lorry load of firewood is available to the firewood depot-owners at more than Rs. 100, which load is equivalent to about 70 to 80 cwt. Therefore unsplit firewood in log form costs about Rs. 1.25 per cwt. Now the question is whether Rs. 100 for a load is a reasonable figure. Firewood is sold in estates in cubic yards, and a cubic yard of firewood varies from five to nine cwt., and the price of a cubic yard is about Rs. 6. A few months ago the price was less than Rs. 4.50. At least ten cubic yards are necessary for the aforesaid load. Therefore, firewood alone costs about Rs. 60, and balance is just sufficient to meet the transport charges. Therefore the price paid is reasonable and not a black market figure. There are various other costs involved before the finished product is offered for sale.

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (1) Splitting of firewood per cwt. | R.s.c. 0.30 |
| (2) Calculated loss of firewood per cwt. due to chips, sawdust and knots which cannot be split and loss of weight in process of drying | 0.13 |
| (3) Other labour charges | 0.07 |

- | | |
|---|------|
| (4) Rent, electricity, taxes and depreciation charges | 0.15 |
| (5) Miscellaneous expenses | 0.05 |
| Total cost of split firewood per cwt. is | 1.95 |

Firewood is generally sold at Rs. 2 per cwt. At this rate the proprietors have a profit of 5 cts., which generally leaves the owner a pauper at the end. Therefore the general tendency is for the price to remain above Rs. 2 per cwt., giving a fair margin of profit to the owners. This high price of Rs. 6 per cubic yard is only a temporary feature, the result of a shortage of labour, incessant rains and inaccessible estate road, bad conditions due to recent bad weather, and floods, etc., where the firewood is available. The standard price will automatically decrease to Rs. 5 per cubic yard. At this rate there is a reasonable margin of profit to depot-owners even when a cwt. of firewood is sold at Rs. 2.

Is Rs. 5 per cubic yard a reasonable rate? Sometimes back the estate proprietors or the superintendents gave on contract the task of felling old rubber trees under the new policy of replanting. At that stage the contractors were paid by the estate owners, for the number of trees cut and removed. I believe the rate varied from 25 cts. to Rs. 1.25 per tree. This contract usually assumed the form of an agreement. Then a cubic yard of firewood remained at less than Rs. 3. But seeing the economic advantages that could be accrued to the proprietors, most of them stopped payment for felling and removing trees but instead imposed a certain sum to be paid by the contractor based on the number of trees. Here a tender system started, and now a tree is fetched by the contractors at exorbitant rates ranging from 25 cents to Rs. 1.50 per tree. The terms of the agreement are more stringent. In fact the contractor is responsible for the maintenance of the estate roads up to the place where he is uprooting the trees. As trees are sometimes distant from such roads, the contractors construct temporary roads so that lorries could reach the place for otherwise cut firewood decay and the contractor has to pay heavy damages for not removing them and clearing the land before the specified time and thus lose his capital investment. Thus the cost of firewood per cubic yard is incidentally raised roughly to Rs. 2 or more, with the result that the standard rate reaches Rs. 5 per cubic yard.

Added to these difficulties, the estate proprietors have resorted to poisoning the trees and thus destroy the trees. Now this firewood is highly dangerous for use. But there is no law like the Food and Drugs Act to prevent such firewood being sold to innocent customers. The sellers of such firewood must be legally prosecuted and heavy penalties imposed as it endangers the very existence of the consumers. As a precaution, it may be noted that such firewood can sometimes be distinguished from the ordinary variety suitable for use, in the former a few red or maroon lines run the length of the piece of the firewood, which sometimes take the colour of dark brown lines, which is not prevalent in the latter. But there are different kinds of firewood which naturally have such lines, as in the case of Jak firewood; reference in the former case is for rubber firewood only.

This type of indiscriminate destruction of trees had further accentuated the scarcity of firewood. Therefore it is the opinion of many that the Central Government through the co-operation of the various planters' associations and planting interests arrive at a reasonable compromise to prevent such poisoning of trees as there is already a severe shortage of firewood. Otherwise grave disaster is envisaged. Surely our country is not going to be dependent on foreign countries for our supply of firewood also.

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Mr. Linklater Says Goodbye!

By A. S. M.

ARE British institutions losing their nerve? Or have they lost their capacity for putting things across? These questions are prompted by the fiasco recently let loose on this Island by the British Council, an institution which was a tremendous success during the war.

The name of the fiasco it let loose on Ceylon is Linklater.

Of course, to begin with, he should never have come here under the aegis of the British Council's cultural programme, because, if I remember aright, he belongs to the dreadful generation who made the name of Britain stink in India. This gentleman with the musical name and quizzical look was brought up on the "Times of India" at a time when the pukka sahibs were doing their best to lose India and the Kiplingite tradition was at its height. "West is West and East is East, and never the twain shall meet"—this was the slogan on which poor Linklater was fed, and having been nourished on this kind of pabulum, can one blame the poor man if after every visit to the East he leaves such a stench behind?

And imagine the British Council, of all institutions, sending such a fellow on a cultural mission? The only acquaintance with culture he has ever had (to judge from what he said about Milton and Thackeray

and Dickens and the other great English classical writers) was running around in "The Times of India" offices, denouncing Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru and the other colossally great men India has produced in the past forty years and whom, naturally, this Little Englander could never understand or appreciate. Could the man who told a Kandy audience that Milton was a bore grasp the greatness of a Gandhi or a Nehru? It will require another Milton to build an epic that would adequately portray the titanic character of these men in the greatest and most pacific struggle for freedom the world has seen. And finding Milton a bore, Linklater could not hope to cope with the magnitude of the historical drama that was taking place before his eyes in the India of his time.

It is, therefore, not fair to blame Mr. Linklater for what happened here on the aerodrome before he left. What he said was only to be expected of him after his apprenticeship on the "Times of India." But what is one to think of the British Council and its representative? His attempt to explain away the misconduct of Mr. Linklater only added insult to injury. Thus, the cultural mission was not so much a damp squib as a stink-bomb, and one result of the whole sordid incident will be that the word "culture" will for a long time now be associated with a stink-bomb produced by the firm of Linklater and Himbury (the names do sound so well together).

Good-bye Mr. Linklater, and may you never come back!

Short Story

UTOPIA

AT last I seem to have lived long enough to know the meaning of life. I did not know this until I saw it through the amber sparkle of the glass of beer as I held it up against the light in the Chinese Cafe. It was at the same table against the window where she had sat one day beside me and I had talked and talked to cheat time and keep her with me as long as I could. And then she had gone and I had hastened after her, ahead of her, as if that stolen minute would be my last. That had been a happy day, but this was another. It had been bright that evening and the stars were magic lanterns in the sky. But now it rained. It seemed to rain for me, and the stars were hiding from the rain.

*

I SAW the people in the restaurant through my glass of beer, just below the froth. The Chinaman sat impassive and serene at his counting table. Perhaps, he saw more of life than I, for life passed by every day for him, all the year round. He took my memory back to another Chinaman and another cafe an year ago, exactly an year ago. He was a different kind of Chinaman. He was part of life, not an impassive and aloof witness of it. That other girl I dined with and who gazed at me with grey, sad eyes and sighed as a softness glinted in them. She had kissed me in a kind of dreamy passion only a night before the Chinaman spoke to her in German and then, with him, she went his way.

*

SOMEONE scraped a chair across the floor and I saw a woman lean against the table next to mine. She was gazing at me almost rudely, as if to tell me if I went away she would be alone with her companion in the room. Perhaps she had quiet things to whisper. I sipped more beer and won-

dered how one likes to whisper little things when one loves. I felt so near to those two people and, for once, I prayed in silence that they may always have their love. Someone in the room next door was laughing. It was good to laugh, sometimes, I thought, for laughter is so near to tears and one can never tell when tears will come. I saw more people come and go. Each one had a life of ease or trouble and they all came to eat or drink or talk. I had my beer, my memories and the rain. It was my rain. I thought, and felt a sense of secret understanding with the raindrops as they fell against the window and the spray beat gently on my clothes. All these people laughed and talked and joked. The Chinaman and I talked to ourselves with unmoving lips. All these people were part of life, each one helpless but unknowing of his helplessness. Each of them dreamed and planned and loved, hoped and prayed, each for different things. All searched the world for happiness, ached for glory each in some little sphere and each was harried and halted at every turn.

*

I ALONE knew the meaning of life and this new knowledge should have turned my head. I should have thought myself better than they, but didn't. What I knew then had come to me in pain and in my heart I found sanctuary. I had learned that life's greatest joy is in death, and all other thoughts only wound to kill. It did not matter what else one did or what the world was doing. The days must drag on their inexorable way, rising with the dawn and dying with the sun. When one's eyes close in sleep one dies, but with a new day there is birth again until one night one sleeps and the sunlight warms one's blood no more. Love and soft words cannot stir the blood, and fame and glory do not bring the dead to life again.

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Friday, January 11, 1952

THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE

Speaking at a social gathering last week-end Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Minister of Home Affairs, emphasised that Ceylon's proudest heritage was the tolerance she had practised over the centuries. This is a land, he said, of great tolerance in religion, in race and in community. It is this tolerance that has made our little island home the envy of both East and West. But, paradoxically enough, it is this very tolerance that the new-fangled political theorists would destroy. It does not suit their purpose that men and women of different religions, different races and different communities should live in amity and concord, each respecting and not obtruding on the other's beliefs and convictions. They would rather foster religious fanaticism and racial

animosity so that they may cash in on the resulting discord for their own nefarious ends. It is, perhaps, not difficult to understand such an attitude on the part of those who openly subscribe to the Marxist way of life, as their only hope of success lies in disruption. The graver danger, however, arises when those who profess to have no truck with totalitarianism, act in a way that is calculated to create religious or racial unrest. The tragedy of it is that some of those who indulge in such anti-social activity are "intellectuals" of high and even international repute in their own line. How such men can fail to see what a Frankensteinian monster they are attempting to create, must remain a mystery to many. Perhaps, it is due to some unidentified complex that they possess that they choose to imperil the whole fabric of law and order so as to gain momentary publicity. If they could but realise that the logical consequence of such a line of action is to pave the way for Communism, they would hesitate to indulge in cries and slogans that only play into the hands of the enemies of democracy.

Religion In Our New Age

By Upali Samaranayake

DESPITE the overwhelming materialism of our Modern Society, religion has not lost altogether its pristine power and place of importance. It has been able to preserve to a large extent its essential character despite the modifying influence of modern times. But to our good fortune also this has not prevented it from reconciling wherever necessary to the present order of things. And of course in this process of change certain functions of the Church have grown insignificant while others have developed in importance. Nevertheless, these changes without undermining the intrinsic values of the various religions have enabled them to maintain their usefulness in a fast changing world. This factor of adjustment and re-orientation is really the crux of religion in Our New Age. When assessing modern religion it is therefore the most vital factor to be borne in mind.

Before trying to assess the present state of religion it would prove invaluable to know something of its past. But for our limited—our purpose it would be adequate to concentrate only on those facets of the past which bear the greatest relationship to the present.

The most radical change from the past, is that the Church exists as a separate and independent unit, without any voice in the secular task of government. This is a most significant development. For the Church or its fellow organs once free from the enormous responsibilities of National Government is better able to dwell more effectively on its more important spiritual problems.

Even today its primary responsibility remains a spiritual one, and actually this function of the Church has tended to expand. For the exigencies of modern times have made it impossible for the Church to be contented with the mere provisions of spiritual satisfaction. It has been called upon to employ its powers in solving the most pressing problem of our times, engendered through world-wide distrust, ruthless ambitions and antagonisms. The other age-old responsibilities of the Church like those of social welfare

have diminished almost in accordance with the severance of its civil and political responsibilities. And today this once almost sole possession of the Church has dwindled to a mere measure of moral exhortation to the state and the prosperous citizens who are now the sole guardians of social welfare. So, we are faced with the inevitable conclusion that the principle responsibilities of the Church are those that concern the spiritual side of life.

Moral Re-Armament

CLOSE on the heels of religion proper has arisen another progressive force, known to the world as Moral Re-armament. It enjoys a synonymity with religion since its principle purpose, like that of religion, is to disarm all forces of violence and restore all forces of peace. Since its inception after the second World War, it has achieved sufficient success to make its maintenance worthwhile. Moral re-armament though entirely a spiritual force has considerable assets. Our modern world being a material one, there are certain elements in it who fight shy of religion. MRA, as it is popularly known, could successfully bridge the gap between religion and these irreconcilable elements.

Though the MRA has launched no programme of work in Ceylon we would be brought into closer connection shortly with the maiden visit of its architect Doctor Buchman to our Island.

What humanity lacks is not greater brains for greater institutions but our greater realisation of the immense possibilities of the present systems. With popular collaboration, and a stricter co-ordination of these ethical activities, the possibilities of world peace would never be so remote.

This is but a terse analysis of the positive significance of religion in Our New Age. Aren't we convinced in the belief that religion has a more valuable and spectacular contribution to the world than in any other period of its existence? We notice with appreciation its rising status from an agent of power and corruption in primeval times to an incarnation of spiritual deliverance in the modern world. This brings home the fact more readily that religion has the only effective penance for an ailing civilization.

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Shirley J. Payoe Takes You to a Model Village—I

ANY sane and sober review of our Rural Development Movement must record the sad fact that some good money has gone down the throats of a few bad colonists who perpetually cry for more and never deem it necessary to raise as much as a little finger to help themselves.

Having seen small men form themselves into hardy little bands and bravely face gigantic odds I have had to strengthen my aversion for those unchanging Oliver Twists. As a lesson to such spineless armchair farmers stand the achievements of the people of Kirivanapola; their tremendous courage; their limitless resourcefulness and the warm feeling of unity that binds them together. They preach—and put into practice—the co-op. principles. It is recorded that Mr. S. B. Senanayake, the Deputy Director of Rural Development, on one occasion complimented the people of this village and said in the course of his speech, "Your noble work should be an example to the whole Island."

Kirivanapola is a little village in Dambadeniya Hathpattu not far from Alawwa. Seventy-five dwellings go to form it. The three hundred and ninety odd people who live there own but one hundred acres of wet land—revealing the extent of harmful fragmentation. Apart from paddy cultivation the people depend mostly on catch crops. Here in 1950 a Rural Development Society was organised with only forty members for a start. Today, one and a half years later, the membership has risen to a hundred and forty-five. Says the annual report of the Society: "All those who do not fall short of the required age limit have joined the Society now."

In order to achieve the three main aims of the R.D.S.—the raising of

the economic level, the betterment of health conditions and the fostering of a sense of civic responsibility—the village has been divided into four sections, each of which come under the charge of two authorised Rural Volunteers. These volunteers go from house to house giving advice and helping to ease the lot of their people in every possible way. A Thrift Society, a Producers' Society, a Credit Society and a Co-operative Builders' Society have been established, and their beneficial influence over the economy of the village is now to be felt.

Thanks to the encouragement given by the R.D.S., manure-pits and kitchen gardens are now to be seen near most of the homes. They mean, in terms of village economy, a saving or an addition of a few valuable rupees.

Kirivanapola is as active as a beehive. Every conceivable Welfare Society seems to have been formed, and the surprising part of it all is that they are kept busy; not as useless show-pieces or dead daydreams on paper. There are, for example, a Mahila Samitiya for the women; a Community Centre to look after the recreational activities; a Boys' Club which, besides doing gainful work, gives the younger set an essential training; a Friend-in-Need Society which helps the needy during illness, etc.; and a Conciliation Board which settles minor disputes and keeps down unnecessary expenses on litigation. Training of villagers to transplant paddy according to new methods and the management of the Free Milk Distribution Centre have also been undertaken by the Rural Development Society.

The lasting cleanliness of the dwellings is maintained through a system of giving marks monthly for the best kept house. Such a system of marks for the ideal couple in the village ensures domestic harmony. As in cricket so in this connection, the top-scorers are awarded prizes annually!

VOLUNTEERS KEEP TEMPLE CLEAN

All work is done neatly and systematically, up to date charts being kept to present a true and graphic idea of the success or failure of a particular venture. My visit to Kirivanapola happened to be on a Poya Day, and I was taken around to the village temple where (under the direction of the Mahila Samitiya), men, women and children were engaged in keeping the buildings and the compound of their place of worship clean. Someone produced an attendance register; forty-three persons I noticed, had turned up for voluntary work that day!

The enthusiasm of the people is astounding. They follow to the very letter that co-op. slogan—Each for all and all for Each. Able leadership had fired the people and charged them with superlatom energy. The selfless service and the organising ability of Mr. P. B. Weerasooriya, who is a schoolmaster, has been of immeasurable value to the village. In fact the remarkable success of rural development work in Dambadeniya Hathpattu is due to able leadership. Like their prime mover, Mr. R. G. Senanayake, M.P., they worked silently and succeeded in inspiring others. Today the people work collectively—knowing the difficulties they have to overcome any making those very difficulties the reason for doubled endeavour. Expecting the minimum from the Government, and sincerely grateful for what they get, they work doggedly to prove to themselves and to their critics that determination and careful planning are the substance

of which miracles are made! Here is further evidence to explode once and for all the mistaken belief that our peasants are lethargic:

THEY BUILT THEMSELVES HOUSES

Some months after the Kirivanapola Rural Development Society was formed, it occurred to the Land Officer attached to the Kurunegala Kachcheri to utilize the pooled energy of the people to build permanent brick houses with the Government subsidy. A Co-operative Builders' Society was formed and entrusted with the job of erecting such houses on land distributed under the 99-year lease plan. The Government, it must be mentioned, gives a cash subsidy of Rs. 600.00 plus timber to the value of Rs. 200.00 per allottee for purposes of putting up a Type Plan House—which the allottee is expected to complete with wattle and daub (warichechi). Type Plan Houses built by contractors for the Government's major colonising schemes cost around Rs. 2,500.00 each. What the Co-op. Builders' Society planned to do was to build a better house at a fraction of that cost. It sounded fantastic to many. But today four completed houses testify to the success of the experiment, and had not the unexpected downpour last month come in the way, twenty such houses would have been completed as scheduled!

This is how the cost are cut down: bricks are baked by the Builders' Society members themselves—as far as possible in the very allotment where the dwelling is to be erected.

(To be continued)

Bandaragama Meeting Contd.

(Continued from page 2)

said there were mosquitoes as large as crows, in Polonnaruwa! Those people asked the poor peasants not to go to Minneriya, Kagama, Hingurakgoda and so on. Today the peasants who went there without a cent are income-tax payers and the yield per acre of the fields is 1:40 bushels. Our Leader was proved right and all the Sama Samajists and Communists were proved wrong. Everything they said would happen did not happen.

Continuing, Mr. Perera referred to Gal Oya and declared that the Opposition parties deliberately set about trying to belittle the magnificent achievement of Gal Oya. First, they tried to say it was a colossal blunder and could never be successfully concluded. When a three-year job was done in two and a half they said: "Oh that's easy. The American machines must get the credit!" When thinking people laughed at this stupid jibe Dr. Wickremasinghe wrote a pamphlet on the future failure of the Gal Oya scheme!

Referring to Mr. Bandaranaike, Mr. Perera said there was something tragic in a man trying to decide how many seats the U.N.P. could win when everyone knew he hadn't five men with him who could be sure of all getting elected! The Sama Samajists first used him to break the unity within the U.N.P. by tempting him with the vision of being Prime Minister. Then the leaders of the L.S.S.P. were afraid of him and tried to be on his good graces and went in deputation to ask him to kindly not contest their key men. Now even the L.S.S.P. was not afraid of him, for the country was not going to be deceived by such tricks as the use of national and religious cries. The country was being politically educated and the people could not be easily hoodwinked by Mr. Bandaranaike.

There were some who thought Mr. Bandaranaike to be a very clever man because he was a talker, but they found out that he was like a

gramophone record—on one side of a record you heard one thing, and when you turned it over you found quite another.

CANDIDATE FOR AVISSAWELLA

Mrs. Clodagh Jayasuriya, who was introduced to the gathering as a member of the Central Committee of the Women's League of the U.N.P., and the U.N.P. candidate for Avissawella, said it gave her special pride to see so many women at that meeting. The Women's League of the U.N.P. was daily growing in strength and she was particularly glad to see that in Bandaragama so many had come to attend that meeting. If there was no branch of the Women's League there she urged the women to form a small organising committee and write to the Women's League President, Lady Molamure, who would then take steps to visit them and help to found a Branch on sound lines.

Mr. Somaratne, speaking next said he did not wish to make a lengthy speech as there was a threat of rain but expressed his complete agreement with the views expressed by all the speakers. He had no doubt the country would vote for the U.N.P. as it was a Party that fully deserved the people's support. These might be faults as all human beings, and therefore human organizations must have faults, but the good far outweighed such minor deficiencies.

Mr. D. R. C. Kannangara in bringing the meeting to a close, thanked all those who had attended the meeting, specially the hundreds of youths who had provided a bicycle procession for Sir John Kotelawala.

Sir John thanked everyone and said he would not make a speech on that occasion except to say that it was the duty of everyone who called Ceylon his home to preserve the peace and stability Ceylon had achieved. In all Asia there was no more stable or peaceful or democratic land than Lanka. That was a great and priceless thing and it was the duty of everyone to see that the adults now enjoyed.

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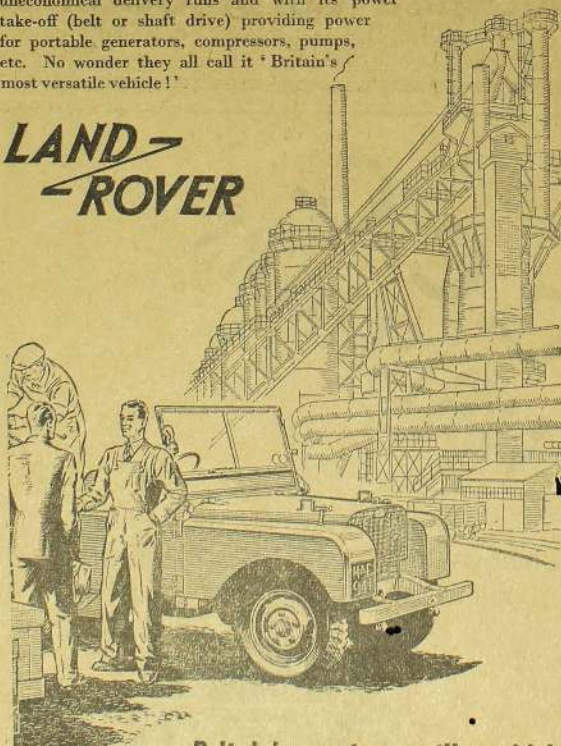
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C-PLAN EXHIBITION PLANS COMPLETE Vigorous Advance of Work

THE Colombo Plan Exhibition, organized on a very large and imposing scale will be the most impressive exhibition ever held in the East. Preparations are being pursued with enthusiasm and vigour and considerable advance has been made in the construction of the various stalls, pavilions, etc., at Victoria Park, the venue of the exhibition—in an attractive setting in the heart of the city. Interest in the Exhibition is enhanced by the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. Fifteen nations have been invited and have agreed to participate in the Exhibition, which is meant to focus attention on the "Colombo Plan," the outcome of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth which met in Colombo in January, 1950, when an agreement was reached that special attention was needed for the problems of South and South-East Asia which could not be solved by the countries of the area alone. The Exhibition, therefore, seeks to demonstrate the needs of the region and the contributions that will be made in the way of capital goods and technical assistance by the more advanced and developed countries of the Commonwealth and the United States of America. It is heartening to learn that the United Nations Organization too is prepared to participate and the Secretary-General has sent a representative on a fact-finding mission to Ceylon. The Burmese Government is willing to participate in the Colombo Plan and there is every likelihood of Burma joining this great enterprise. It is also expected that Burma would join the group of countries participating in the Colombo Plan Exhibition. This was revealed by the Burmese Minister in Ceylon, U Tint Swe, on his return to the Island after a short visit to Burma.

ALL-ISLAND RELAY

A feature of the Independence Commemoration celebrations this year will be an All-Island Relay Race which will culminate at the opening of the Exhibition by Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth. The race will be run in four sections as follows: Northern Relay starting from Point Pedro, the northernmost point of the Island, Eastern Relay starting from Batticaloa, Southern Relay starting from Hambantota and the Central Relay starting from Kandy. The running will be continuous by day and night from start to finish at the Exhibition grounds. The runners will bring a message of welcome to Her Royal Highness when she arrives at the Exhibition to declare it open. Another interesting feature will be the assembling of 90 men and 90 women representing the manhood and womanhood of Ceylon, at the opening ceremony. They will be selected from age groups ranging from 18 to 35 years, other factors in the selection being posture, health, dress, beauty in females and manliness in males, education, community type and build.

ORGANIZING AND PLANNING

The organization and planning of the Exhibition is in the hands of the Ministerial Committee consisting of the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Transport and Works and the Minister of Home Affairs and Rural Development. The Executive Secretariat headed by Mr. T. V. Saravanamuttu, the Commissioner, and his adjutant, Mr. A. Arulpragasam, will assist the Committee. The lay out, designing and constructional work are in charge of the Director of Public Works. The design and decor

of the national pavilions of the participating countries will as far as possible, be characteristic of the various countries represented. Australia, North Borneo, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia Laos, Malaya, Maldive Islands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, United Kingdom, United States of America, and Vietnam will have special pavilions.

NATIONAL PAVILION OF CEYLON

Ceylon being the host country, will have a National Pavilion on a larger scale designed to consist of several distinctive "halls." The main hall at the entrance will depict the story of Lanka—its historical background; Hall of "New Horizons" vividly presenting the various development projects planned by the Government in the Six-Year Plan. In the other halls, gems and antique jewellery, arts and crafts will be exhibited. A reception hall for the distinguished visitors will be specially designed. Kandyan architecture and decor will be emphasised throughout this pavilion. The Archaeological Section will show a glimpse of the grandeur of the ancient monuments of Ceylon with the display of model "finds" and photographs. It will reveal in some measure the great strides taken in the matter of excavation and conservation of the heirlooms of history. The unique bronze lamp recently discovered at Dedigama Kota Vehera, the birthplace of Parakrama Bahu the Great, will be on view for the first time at this Exhibition. There will also be objects discovered at Hindu archaeological remains. The Portuguese and Dutch periods will also be represented. A model of the Kuttam Pokuna (twin ponds) at Anuradhapura, the 1,500 years old large conch-shell used in the Abisheka ceremony of the Coronation of Kings, discovered at Madirigiri Vihare, model of Thuparama Dagoba and a Vatadage (Rotunda), the Ruwanwelisaya caskets, will be presented besides unique wood-carvings from Embekke. The Colombo Art Gallery will be the venue of contemporary paintings. The Canadian Government is sending the work of some of their best painters. Another important feature of the cultural side is the large section devoted exclusively to the cottage industries and handicrafts of Ceylon. Oriental Indian classical dancing, Kandyan dancing, Indonesian dancing, are some of the important items in the dance recitals. Interspersed with the Oriental programme will be the Western dance and music recitals. Tableaux and Pageants are also notable events during the period of the Exhibition. A programme of free open-air film shows has been arranged. Through the courtesy of the various foreign Embassies a selection of some of the best films will be made available for showing. The Ceylon Government Information Department's films in English, Sinhalese and Tamil will be screened throughout the period. Arrangements are being made to show "rush" news reels of the arrival of the Royal visitors, the opening ceremony and various aspects of the Exhibition.

THE COLOMBO EXHIBITION CREST

The crest designed is known as a symbol of prosperity and purity. On the back of a caparisoned elephant (Mangala Hastiya) is carried a pot—Purna Gaba or Nirakudam in which is a bunch of lotuses, symbolising purity. The elephant and the Purna Gaba, therefore, convey the idea that active progress is being made under the C-Plan and the prosperity which would dawn as a result. Apart from being a symbol of the State the elephant is always a symbol of the East. The blend of the two symbolic ideas is used to show the entire concern and participation of the Eastern countries in the movement for the social and economic upliftment of the East.

JURGEN.

Marxism Destroys The Foundations of Family Life

COMMUNIST doctrine has a crudity which is so open that it is astonishing it can be so carelessly impudent in its assertiveness. One must judge the communist by his philosophy, because when communism decides upon some course of action after having come to power, it can declare its policy upon the basis of the utterances of the teachers of its creed.

All through the ages, with perhaps some few aberrations, civilization has been built upon the basis of the family being regarded as sacred and inviolable. The more civilization advances the more is this position considered as fundamental to all civilised standards of living. It is however certain that if at any time we have a communist government in this country the people will discover that there is a relaxation of the accepted ideas in regard to marriage and the family. A communist government might not immediately go as far as the words of Marx and Engels encourage them to do, but they can do so if they are so minded. They have a contempt for what they consider to be bourgeois morality. They are the emancipated who have thrown off the chains which bind people under ordinary democratic ways of living. If they do not wish to go so far, they need not, but it is dangerous to any society to be dominated by a number of men whose philosophy of life is so tainted with error and folly.

Marx, with an almost comical seriousness for even a moralist of the new civilization, tells us that a new factor having entered into the life of the modern age, a new morality must also be evolved for the use of mankind. So again human life must follow the pattern of mechanical development which has occurred in modern times. Marx despises the developments of the mind. He finds it troublesome. Machines are mechanically productive and so why not human beings. He glides easily into a chaotic moral philosophy if that can be called a philosophy which is negation of the reason. Some idea of mass production is evidently behind the processes of his mind in formulating his belief. He really thinks that as machines have created a new economic foundation, there is need for "a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes." He does not trouble to be too explicit in this matter. Perhaps, he did not think it worth worrying about too much. After all men are only intelligent animals, and their morality does not matter so much as the old-fashioned moralists did. He himself did not worry too much about this domestic concerns. Marriage to him was a convenience which allowed him to have the freedom to devise an impersonal philosophy which he hoped would change the face of civilisation. Never did a man more ill-equipped to understand human nature set out on an adventure of this magnitude which is one of the most rash or social experiments ever recorded.

A philosopher at least tries to understand the consequences of a new set of ideas which he peddles for the benefit of mankind. This aim was not Marx's. He did not understand that to even the poorest man his home is the one compensation which a hard world of strife and of burdens can give. Within his home he possesses riches which

cannot be computed in the terms of money. It is wealth of a higher order. It is a kingdom of which he is lord and master. He may be treated ill by his superiors, he might lack for many of the conveniences of life, but in his home he is secure in his affections, he is interested to and he gladly gives of all he can to support his little kingdom of the few bound together, through good and ill fortune, by a strong chain of sympathy and understanding. There are defections in this home life. There are evils which invade the home. There are circumstances which make home life very difficult and sometimes unendurable but still it is home, and it can become to the majority of men the centre of their hopes and of their happiness. Once this bond is broken man has no centre to which his hopes and his endeavours automatically gravitates. He becomes merely an object without a purpose. He has very little to live for, except to make himself as comfortable as possible whilst life lasts. The home is man's essential moral anchorage. And unfortunately it is this heaven of peace that communism seeks to destroy according to the philosophy of Marx.

**By Quintus
Delilkhhan**

Marx does not clearly elaborate a theory of promiscuity, but his process of reasoning leaves one in no doubt that this was in his mind. One can see what he means from the words of his Communist Manifesto. And the attack he makes upon the existing system of marriage, "Bourgeois marriage," he declares, "is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private."

Marx is here dealing with a large problem on a basis which is childish but destructive all the same. It is a misreading of the institution of "bourgeois" marriage to say what he does about its character and condition. All this region of moral stability and substantial happiness was unknown territory to Marx. The position taken up by Marx is made more explicit by Engels who says: "We are at this moment moving towards a social revolution in which the present economic bases of monogamy will disappear....." This means a revolution in the home, and in the process of this revolution the home will also disappear. It is certainly not a prospect which any man with a sense of religion and a sense of moral values can face with equanimity.

It is but one step from this destruction of the home to the dispersal of the children. Here the State will step in and absorb the children. They will be converted into the slaves of the State, indoctrinated in all manner of godlessness, fed upon the vain and false philosophy of communism and made to do the bidding of the dictators. A philosophy cannot be good which does away with every sacred institution of the past on the mere ground that it is bourgeois. It is stupid to temper with human nature in this way. That Marx and Engels saw nothing wrong in this suggested course of action is an indication that reform is madness without a knowledge of the religious instincts of mankind. We in this country must see that we are saved the imposition of such impossible philosophies and codes of conduct.

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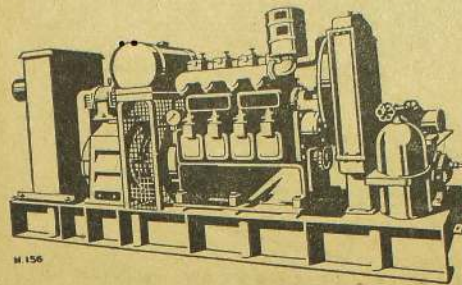
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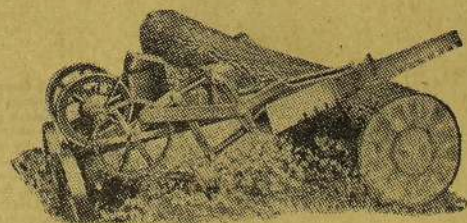
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CRANKSHAW Continues 'RUSSIA BY DAYLIGHT' Russian Nationalism Reborn

LOOKING back in the light of recent events, it is possible to trace the rebirth of the Russian idea to the year 1931, when in an impassioned speech to the men responsible for carrying out the first Five-Year Plan, Stalin threw aside his Marxist arguments and appealed directly to the national spirit. Certainly at that time something had to be reborn. As far as the people of Russia were concerned, the idea of the proletarian revolution leading to an age of liberty and light for the common man had broken down. Stalin had achieved absolute power as the result of a struggle which had all the characteristics of the old-fashioned palace intrigue, in which one man's wits are set against another's and the impersonal forces of history appear to play no part at all. He had used Kamenov and Zinoviev to overthrow Trotsky; he had then used Rykov and Bukharin to overthrow Kamenov and Zinoviev; he was now strong enough to act in his own right and drop Rykov and Bukharin. His able and trusted right-hand, Molotov, was to be made prime minister before the year was out, emerging from the obscurity of the Central Committee to be head of the constitutional government, and seizing the first occasion to proclaim his true functions to the listening world:

"I do not cease," he was to say, "to be a party worker; and from now on I regard it as my primary function to carry out the will of the Central Committee."

That meant the will of Stalin, as Secretary-General. For Stalin, in his fight for power, had contrived to pack the higher reaches of the Party with his own supporters, who owed everything to him. This was not a Marxist conception of the nature of government in a socialist society. Nor was it a Leninist conception, although its fulfillment had been made possible by nobody but Lenin.

At the same time, Stalin had just forced Russia through the collectivization of agriculture at the cost of a civil war between the government and the peasants. Lenin had seen the necessity for what he called co-operative farming; but at the time of the N.E.P. he thought it would take twenty years to reach the stage when the peasantry could be placed "squarely on a socialist footing." Stalin decided to rush through the full-scale collectivization once and for all, basing his decision on the need to bring agriculture to the point where it could, with reduced man-power (for the men were needed in the factories), ensure sufficient and more reliable supplies for the town workers. He did force it through, but at a fearful price, which the Russians are still paying. First there were the millions of ruined lives, the lives of the rich and middle peasants, the so-called kulaks, killed in the struggle, or exiled to Siberia; then the three million dead in the great famine which swept the Ukraine, when the peasants burnt their crops and slaughtered their livestock rather than deliver them to the government—a calamity which halved the farm animals throughout the Soviet Union and which had still not been made good when the Germans attacked ten years later; finally the permanent embittering of the peasants, especially in the West, which had all but fatal results in the first two years of the war.

At the same time the first Five-Year Plan was breaking down. Lenin had seen in the industrialization of the Soviet Union the only hope for the survival of the revolution. He

had been forced to postpone it because of the deplorable state of industry after the civil war and the intervention, seeking the help of the N.E.P. men to get the country on its feet. By 1927 gross industrial production had been brought up to the pre-war level, though there were bad patches, while grain production still lagged. Some sort of an organized effort was now necessary, and in 1928 Stalin abolished the N.E.P. and launched the first Five-Year Plan, which was crazily over-ambitious. The Plan and the collectivization went together. Both these policies, enforced industrialization using directed labour, and enforced collectivization, had been urged by Trotsky, and Stalin had already used the natural resistance to Trotsky's violence, notably as expressed by Bukharin, to rouse opinion against his major rival. But with Trotsky gone he proceeded to steal his thunder, destroying with his brutal and sustained attack on the old peasant economy, and by his slave-driving of the peasants forced into the new factories, the last vestiges of any pretence that the government was on the side of the people.

As if all this was not enough, the proletarian revolution had failed throughout Europe. Instead of Leninism there was Fascism and Nazism. And, with Russia in the throes of the most violent industrial and agrarian revolution in history—a revolution carried out from above in the teeth of popular resistance—Stalin found himself faced in the West with the new menace of Hitler, and in the East with the revived menace of Japanese imperialism.

Thus, by 1931, Stalin had proved in his own person that history was made not only by the impersonal interplay of social forces but also by the highly personal ambitions of individual leaders. He had also demonstrated to the people of Russia, finally and irrevocably with the liquidation of peasant resistance to collectivization and the introduction of penal labour laws, that they had no voice in the ultimate government of the country, and thus that the Revolution, from this point of view, had been in vain. It had also been proved by the Germans and the Italians that the national idea had a far stronger appeal than the idea of international brotherhood. And so he now found himself in the absurd position of an absolute dictator basing his appeal on a palpable fiction which denied the possibility of his own existence and had no popular appeal, confronted with twin threats from the East and the West by absolute dictators whose positions were firmly based on genuine popular emotions.

Something had to be done. The first thing to be done was to get the Russian people to believe in him and to revive their ancient patriotism. This was not easy when they were all taught at school that great men did not exist and national pride belonged to the primitive past. Lenin would sooner or later have been faced with the same problem, but Lenin was spared by the merciful hand of death. Stalin, however, did very much exist; and he proposed to continue existing for a long time to come. As far as the unlettered masses were concerned, there was nothing to worry about. He, a Georgian by birth, and a politician of genius, knew all about the Russians, their profound love of their native soil, and their devouring need to believe in a Little Father, a leader, quasi-divine, who would protect them from the worst excesses of the officials. But the Party was another matter. The Party with its radical Marxist training, and on which he utterly depended when it came to running the

(Continued on page 11)

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DYING LENIN CONDEMNED STALIN

(Continued from page 10)

country, expected him to behave in a certain way. He could do pretty well everything with the Party that could be done by skilled manipulation; but he could not without a serious upset stand up in front of it and offer himself as the God-given leader of the Russian people. For them he had to be the General Secretary, wiser than other men (because even Leninism expected some men to be wiser than others; Lenin had set that precedent), more experienced than other men, but still the servant of the Party. It would take some years before he could appear in public as the Leader. In fact, from 1931, it took exactly a decade plus the impact of a war. But at least he could prepare the ground. And the best way to prepare the ground was to revive the idea of Russia's destiny and the idea of the great man.

I am not in the least suggesting that Stalin consciously and lucidly held these thoughts. Indeed, he seems to be above all a creature of instinct. But this, in fact, is what his actions amounted to. If one saw Stalin as the cold-blooded, timeless calculator, it would be possible

to argue that his plan of campaign went back to the day of Lenin's funeral, when he inaugurated the Lenin cult, thus establishing a precedent for great men.

But all the evidence suggests that he has lived very much from hand to mouth, relying on instincts to tell him broadly what to do and on an unbrookable will to compensate for the blunders of execution. His sudden and improvised approaches to all the great crises of his life bear out this reading, which indicates that he owes his present stature to Russia far more than Russia owes her present shape to him. In so far as he broke away from the straight-jacket of Marxist theory, it would be truer to say, I think, that the prime cause was (as he saw it) in the shortcomings of his fellow-Marxists rather than in the shortcomings of Marxism as such. That is to say, standing a little apart and looking at his somewhat ridiculous colleagues with those appallingly shrewd Caucasian eyes, he saw that they were talking nonsense and were not at all the sort of men to put a great country on its feet and run it, least of all Russia.

(To be continued).

MORE AMENITIES FOR PITIGALA

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PITIGALA, Sunday

DUE to the efforts of its M.P., the Hon. Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Pitigala (Baddegama Electorate) is to have more amenities during the New Year. Postal facilities in the area are to be further improved with the opening of a new Sub-Post Office at Talagaspe. Applications for the Sub-Postmastership has already been closed and it is expected the new S.P.O. will come into effect within the next two months. With the opening of the new S.P.O., Pitigala area will have three sub-Post Offices—Mattaka, Amugoda, and Talagaspe—in addition to the "A" Grade S.P.O. at Pitigala, one of the oldest S.P.O.s in the district. It is believed in some quarters that the opening of three S.P.O.s within a radius of three miles from the existing S.P.O. at Pitigala is the first step taken to raise the status of the Pitigala S.P.O. to a main office. A telephone and telegraph service to Pitigala has been a long-felt necessity, since the nearest Telephone and Telegraph Station is the Elpitaya Post Office, eight miles from here, and this is to be remedied very soon.

Mr. Amarasuriya at a number of recent meetings, and Mr. C. Sittampalam, Minister of Post and Telegraphs, during a recent visit to Pitigala has given an assurance that Pitigala will be linked with telephone very soon.

The other improvements Mr. Amarasuriya has promised to Pitigala during the year are a span-bridge at Ambalangoda-Pitigala Road terminus, a primary school for the children of colonists at the Pitigala Settlement and a Police Station.

PROMINENT U.N.P. YOUTH LEAGUER APPOINTED SURVEYOR AT AMPARAI

MR. SARATH INDATISSA, President of the Kalubowilla West U.N.P. Youth League, and a prominent Social Service worker of Dehiwala, has been appointed a Surveyor at Amparai. Incidentally, he has been the first Speaker of the Pembroke Academy Union, and the President of the Zahira College Majlis. He also was the President of the Dehiwala Probodha Sangamaya and an Assistant Secretary of the Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia Y.M.B.A., and at present he holds various posts in many societies.

The formation of the Kalubowilla West U.N.P. Youth League has been entirely due to his efforts. Besides this, he had associated with Messrs. Hamilton Abeywickrema and Bernard Issacks in forming the Puttalam Youth League.

He is the eldest son of Mr. I. W. W. Indatissa, Licensed Surveyor and

Leveller, and a Vice-President of the Wellawatte-Galkissa U.N.P. Electoral Association, and Secretary of the Surveyors' Institute of Ceylon.

RS. 125,000 FOR R.D. WORKS IN KALUTARA DISTRICT

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PITIGALA, Monday

MR. JAYAWARDANA, Rural Development Officer, told a conference of delegates from seven Rural Development Societies held at the Itapana School recently that the Rs. 125,000 received at the Kalutara Kachcheri for village works such as the construction of wells, lavatories, culverts and etc., will be divided among the five D.R.O.'s Divisions—Horana, Panadura Totamune, Kalutara Totamune, Pasdun Korale West and Pasdun Korale East for distribution among the Rural Development Societies for the works they have undertaken.

Mr. G. de Z. Gunasekera, D.R.O., P.K.W., pointed out that his share of Rs. 25,000 would be not sufficient to meet the demands of societies in his division who are having in hand so many schemes outstanding and promised to interview the Director of Rural Development to get his share raised.

It was decided to celebrate the Independence Day and the Colombo Exhibition by launching a tree planting campaign in every village and the construction and repair of bridges, culverts and buildings.

U.N.P. TO ENTER TRADE UNION FIELD?

(Continued from page 1)

for them or in gaining the rights of middle-class employees. It was also felt that there should be harmonious relations with the only non-political Labour Union in Ceylon—the pioneer and leading Labour organization under the leadership of Mr. A. E. Goonesinha.

Mr. Montague Jayawickrema, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Labour is presently considering serious Trade Union work.

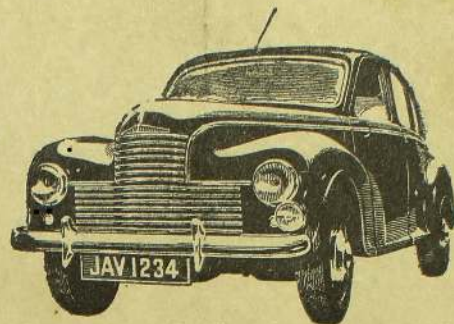
A few years ago Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara actively worked in the special interests of Labour at the Party Headquarters but before any organization as such could be set up he left for Indonesia as Ceylon representative.

Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis suggests that the lack of personnel with sufficient time to devote to investigations which are essential for Trade Union work, could be met from the reservoir of the Youth League.

The Estate Staffs, Mercantile Clerks, Motor Company employees are such categories in which the Labour Party Unions may not specialize, it is being suggested, might be a vast field for vigorous Trade Union activity for the U.N.P.

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