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VOL V. No. 34

Organ of the United National Party
Rgd. Office: No. 238, Galle Rd., Colombo 3.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1952

Registered at the
G.P.O. as a Newspaper

PRICE 5 CENTS

All-Ceylon U. N. P. Youth League PROPOSES 50,000 MEMBERSHIP

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Propaganda Committee of the U.N.P. Youth League will be held today at the U.N.P. Youth League Headquarters.

The main purpose of this meeting is to draw up a programme of work for the next six months. The meeting will discuss a memorandum presented by its Chairman, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, which pro-

poses that fifty thousand full-blooded Youth Leaguers should be enrolled throughout the Island in the next three months. This is to be built round the present membership of 5,000 Youth Leaguers already on the rolls.

It is suggested that the programme of membership itself should have a co-related plan of strict investigation, not to take in all comers but after careful investiga-

tion of the bona fides of each applicant.

Membership in the Youth League is not to be thrown open to all and sundry.

The Propaganda Committee proposes to see that the basis of membership is a genuine desire to support the Party and not inspired by any other consideration either as self-advancement, self-interest or temporary enthusiasm. In order to prepare the way for the Membership Committees' activities it is proposed that a hand-book of the Party should be prepared by the Youth League stating in clear, simple terms why the youth of this country can and must fight Totalitarian Communism. The appeal is to be based on historical, economic and intellectual grounds.

It is felt that the intellectual challenge of Marxism has not been vigorously met and too much has been taken for granted about the

so-called intellectual appeal of Marxism to the youth.

It is proposed to challenge the very basis of the philosophical claims of Marxism. Some of the measures suggested are open forums where leading exponents of the Marxian economic theory are to be challenged to prove their assumptions.

Another proposal is to have group discussions calculated to give members of the Youth League the opportunity of free and frank discussion of Government policy with Ministers and public officials.

It is stated that the basis of membership of the Youth League must be designed to give each member a thorough understanding of why he is a member of the United National Party and not any other party.

The abuse of political opponents is to be banned not by written law but by making it unnecessary to adopt the role of bad lawyers whose only refuge is to abuse the opposition.

THE HIGH ROAD TO CHAOS

By A. S. Morrison

(Continued from Last Week)

THERE are certain other aspects of the Nava L.S.S.P. proposal to confiscate estates of an extent of 250 acres and above which it is worthwhile examining. For instance, to whom will the excess acres be given or will they be worked as collectives?

If it is proposed that the excess acreage should be distributed among the estate workers, this will result in Indian estate workers, a large number of whom have no permanent interest in this country, becoming beneficiaries under this scheme of confiscation to the detriment of the Kandyan villagers to whom Ceylon is their only homeland. And one can imagine the mortification of these villagers—amongst the most loveable elements of the population of this Island—at the spectacle of what were once their ancestral lands passing into the hands of an alien population. Thus for the second time in 150 years they will see their beloved homeland parcelled out among aliens.

If, on the other hand, these excess acres are collectivised, the situation as regards the Kandyan peasants will not be any better. Vast acres will still remain in alien hands because they will be worked by imported labour, most of whom have no permanent interest in this country.

In any case, therefore, it will mean the jettisoning of Mr. D. S. Senanayake's plans for the gradual acquisition of Up-country estates and their being used for the settlement of the dispossessed Kandyan peasantry. Totalitarians have no respect for the inherited love of a peasantry for the land their ancestors cherished and tilled for two thousand years until the rude hand of the foreign conqueror dispossessed them of it and which, under independence, they have high hopes of regaining. In Russia the compulsory transfer of whole population from the land of their fathers to some bleak Siberian prospect is done with a stroke of the pen and heedless of the passionate attachment which peoples have for the lands in which for generations their forebears lived and loved. Away with sentiment, even the most precious! say the totalitarians—to whom nothing is sacred.

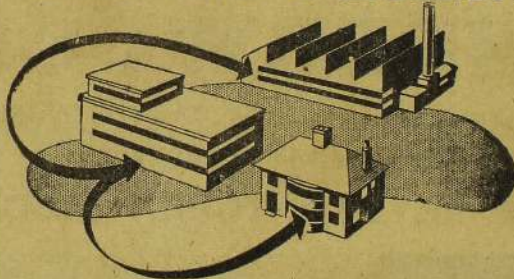
However, the revolutionaries of the Nava L. S. S. P., if they ever come to power, know that there is certain to be resistance to their

drastic schemes of confiscation from large sections of the local landowners. If not from the affected foreign interests, and they are, therefore, reliably reported to be preparing plans for a mass struggle. Is it too late for these gentlemen to pause and consider what the consequences will be to this country of such a struggle? With the appalling example of Korea before them and the terrific slaughter of the civil population there, callously and in cold blood brought about by Stalin's Russia as a mere matter of policy, do the intellectuals who lead the Nava L. S. S. P. light-heartedly plan to bring about a similar disaster upon this country, now reputed to be the most stable land in Asia? After all, is it necessary to plunge a country into chaos and into rivers of blood in order to usher in a Socialist State? Is the terrible price these gentlemen wish the people of this fair land to pay necessary or worthwhile for the purpose they have in view? Without bloody revolution isn't Socialism without Confiscation possible? Have not Britain, Denmark and Sweden proved that a Socialist revolution is possible without bloodshed and without the sacrifice of democratic liberties?

If the answer of the revolutionaries to these questions is that they do not care for a democratic solution to our problems in a country which gives them full scope to win over the masses to a Socialist programme as opposed to a programme of Confiscation and to carry out a Socialist programme by democratic procedures (which means legal procedures not revolutionary dictates), is, as I say, the answer of the revolutionaries to all these questions and appeals to their good sense, is that they are in Love with Bloodshed and bloody methods of doing things, then the people of this country stand forewarned that the alternative to the return of the U.N.P. is the conversion of a happy and peaceful country into a Second Korea. This means the agonising deaths of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of its men, women and children through violence, famine and disease. It means foreign intervention in our quarrels at a time when this country has just succeeded in getting rid of foreign rule. It means hundreds of dreadful evils inflicted on this country by bloody revolutionaries in their so-called hatred of poverty and in their mad attempt to bring prosperity for everybody in

(Continued on page 10)

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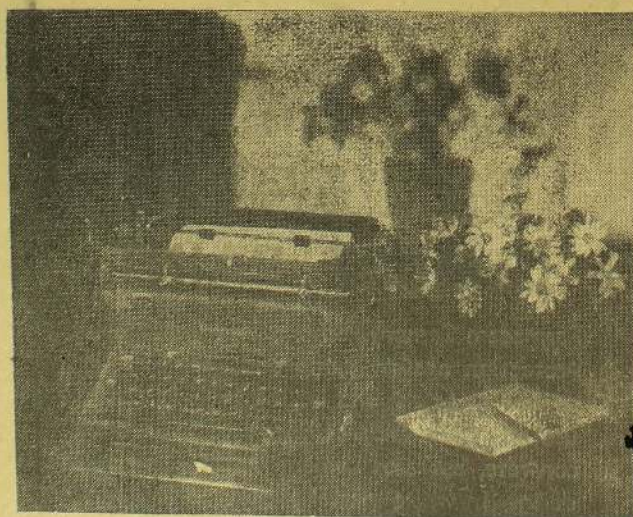
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CRANKSHAW Continues 'RUSSIA BY DAYLIGHT'

HE alone had the strength, the character, the stamina, the flexibility required for such a task; and for him, whether consciously or not, theory was far more useful as a means of rationalizing the accomplished fact than as a guide to future action. He was not, most decidedly not, a Russian; he came of Georgian mountain stock which regarded its Russian conquerors with contempt as ponderous hobbledoys. As for the Russian Jews with their doctrinaire word-spinning..... He was also, as we have seen, a man of the underground, who had stayed to fight again; and he had the distrust of the underground for the high-flown exiles.

Obviously this man had always been boundlessly ambitious. Just as obviously he did not seek deliberately to impose himself on Russia as its autocrat. There is good reason to believe that he suffered under the bitter condemnation of the dying Lenin, who saw too late where his junior colleague was heading—where he must inevitably head as the outcome of what he, Lenin, had done. Lenin, indeed, probably saw more clearly then, in those last months of his life, lying helpless, than Stalin himself could see. He did not set out to rule the people with an iron hand. We find him with his lieutenant, Kaganovitch, racking his brain with an almost touching naïveté over the problems of democratic centralism: "If a deputy of a Soviet goes to a meeting and knows beforehand that all questions and decisions have been already decided by a narrow committee of the Party, he won't show much liveliness." Kaganovitch had remarked in 1925. But by 1930 he had come to this: "One might say that this is a violation of proletarian democracy" (with reference to Stalin's own packing of the All Union Council of Trade Unions), "but, comrades, it has long been known that for us Bolshevik democracy is not a fetish; for us, proletarian democracy is a means for arming the working-class for the better execution of its socialist tasks."

The journey between those two attitudes was Stalin's own unpremeditated journey. From the sudden seizing of the initiative at Lenin's death, which largely depended on keeping Trotsky away from the funeral; through the unprepared attack on industry and agriculture, born of the realization that if something radical was not done immediately the Soviet Union would simply break up; through the clean sweep of the purges, which followed a genuine reluctance to kill or even imprison his opponents, through the pact with Hitler when all attempts at staving off war seemed to have failed; right down to the post-war decisions to exploit, cost what it might, the European chaos.....from the beginning to the end there is nothing but improvisation on one elementary theme, stated vaguely at first, but with increasing clarity and resonance; the survival, then the glorification, of the Soviet Union.

The implications of that theme were made dramatically clear to all the world in August, 1939, when, in an atmosphere of high spirits then unprecedented in the Kremlin, Molotov signed his pact with von Ribbentrop. But the theme itself was not formally stated until the war had been won and the Soviet Union had become a dominant power. Then arose the cry that the first loyalty of all Communists everywhere was to the Soviet Union; and Stalinism had reached its apogee.

"The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the object of our struggle and the principles of Soviet foreign policy coincide with the general direction of the development of mankind....."

"The best interests of all progressive forces throughout the world are identical with the interests of Soviet policy....."

"In our epoch, in which all roads

lead to Communism, all those who declare themselves for the Soviet Union are historically correct. All those who declare themselves against the Soviet Union are historically incorrect. They are trying to arrest the wheels of history. This cannot be done, and all who attempt it will be broken and crushed by the march of history....."

"Every victory of our Soviet Fatherland is a victory for progress and peace."

That is the most recent authoritative summing up of the ideological basis of the claim. It occurs in the official Soviet historical journal, *Problems of History*, for January, 1950.

It may be answered that there is nothing new in this; Lenin expected all Communists everywhere to look to the Moscow Central Committee for instructions. So he did; but Lenin was still thinking in terms of the Communist International, with its headquarters in Moscow not of the Soviet Fatherland. In those days Communists all over the world were required to obey the instructions of Moscow in order that their own local revolutions might be hastened. Today Communists all over the world are required to place themselves at the service of the Soviet State, a great Power among great Powers. There is a difference, as the Kremlin's treatment of Marshal Tito clearly indicates. It is a difference overlooked by contemporary Communists and even by opponents of Communism, who see it as the most natural thing in the world that Communists should look to Moscow, as all Christians once looked to Rome. They ignore two facts; first that loyalty to Rome was based on a divine sanction, as generally understood; second, that Rome did not set herself up as the capital of a secular power seeking ascendancy over other secular powers.

The use of the term Soviet Fatherland in the passage I have just quoted is calculated and deliberate. And the progress from the early days of the Comintern to the glorification of Great Russia, thinly disguised as the Soviet Union, and no longer disguised at all as the Communist Party, is easy to trace. It began, as I have said, with Stalin's speech to the industrial leaders in February, 1931, in which he threw aside the conventional invocation of the Revolution and made his passionate bid for a supreme effort with an appeal to Russian patriotism:

"No, comrades.....the pace must not be slackened! On the contrary, we must speed it up to the limit of our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. It is dictated to us by our obligations to the working-class of the whole world."

"To slacken the pace would mean to lag behind; and those who lag behind are beaten. We do not want to be beaten. No, we do not!"

The history of Russia, he went on to say, was the history of Russian defeats due to Russian backwardness:

"She was beaten by the Mongol Khans. She was beaten by the Turkish Beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish-Lithuanian Pans. She was beaten by the Anglo-French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her because of her backwardness—military backwardness; cultural backwardness; political backwardness; industrial backwardness; agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because to beat her was profitable and could be done with impunity."

"You remember," he continued, "the words of the pre-revolutionary poet: 'Thou art poor and thou art abounding. Thou art mighty, and thou art helpless, Mother Russia.'"

"We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us."

(Continued on page 3)

RUSSIAN DEFEATS. DUE To Russian Backwardness

(Continued from page 2)

As events turned out, Stalin had precisely ten years and five months before the test was to come.

It is clear enough that by the time he made this speech and opened the way for the rewriting of Russian history, Stalin must have been developing his final conception of himself as the God-given leader. And I think we must agree with Mr. Deutscher that "he saw himself not as a modern Pharaoh but as a new Moses leading a chosen nation in the desert." Mr. Deutscher goes on to quote, by way of analogy, Macaulay on Cromwell and the Roundheads:

"That singular body of men was, for the most part, composed of zealous republicans. In the act of enslaving their country, they had deceived themselves into the belief that they were emancipating her. The book which they most venerated furnished them with a precedent which was frequently in their mouths.

"It was true that the ignorant and ungrateful nation murmured against its deliverers. Even so had another chosen nation murmured against the leader who brought it, by painful and dreary paths, from the house of bondage to the land flowing with milk and honey. Yet had that leader rescued his brethren in spite of themselves; nor had he shrunk from making terrible examples of those who condemned the proffered freedom, and pined for the flesh-pots, the task-masters and the idolatries of Egypt."

The patriotic idea to which Stalin was now appealing was at odds with the whole teaching of Marxist-Leninism. The foremost Soviet historian at that time was Pokrovsky, who had rewritten the history of Russia in Marxist terms. For him the history of the Tsars was an indistinguishable part of general history, with no special significance, and of interest solely in so far as it could be made to reveal the working of Marx's "iron law." With the Revolution, the people of Russia had been reborn, and the more darkly the past could be painted, the more highly the future would shine. Stalin's idea of the Tsars as valiantly defending a backward people against the foreign invader was something totally new to people who had been taught for fourteen years that the Tsars had been vile oppressors battering on their helpless subjects in league with the rulers of all the world. Further, in Pokrovsky's hands all the burning issues which for generations had divided the Russians, and which must still divide them, since they arose from their deepest instincts—above all the pull, which I have already discussed, between Holy Russia and the dazzling West—counted for nothing at all. The past, as a formative influence, was a complete blank. To quote from Dr. Klaus Mehnert, to whom we shall revert:

"Thus, pre-revolutionary Russia, as painted by the Pokrovsky school, was like a prison in which the people languished under the cruel and brutal despotism of the Tsars. For them, the old disputes which for two centuries had split the Russian intelligentsia—the question whether the Russians belonged to the West or were a people apart—simply did not exist. Pokrovsky rejected the capitalist West and the imperialist fantasies of the Slavophiles impartially. For him the dawn of humanity began with the Bolshevik revolution. And this was the official line of the Soviet Union until 1934."

Dr. Mehnert, in his remarkable essay, "Weltrevolution durch Weltgeschichte," traces with care and meticulous documentation the whole development which we are now discussing; but since he is working exclusively from the angle of Russian historical studies, he dates the rebirth of the Russian idea from the proscription of Pokrovsky in 1934. We have seen how Stalin, in 1931, made that event inevitable in a political speech about the Five-Year Plan to an audience of industrialists which made nonsense of all Marxist historical teaching. But it is worth observing that the teaching went on undisturbed for another three years.

Stalin had sown the seed of the new idea; but for three years it lay apparently unheeded. Then, suddenly, things began to happen. This is not the only instance of a contradiction between Stalin's utterances and general Soviet usage remaining unresolved for a long period. We should remember that sometimes today.

In the very year 1931 in which Stalin sowed his seed, another historian, Eugene Tarle, was most violently denounced as "a bourgeois Russian historian, an imperialist, a chauvinist of the first world war, an ideological lackey of the imperialist front against the Soviet Union." This was because he showed signs of holding to an interpretation of Russian history not unlike that for which Stalin was preparing the ground. In the following year Pokrovsky died. He was given a state funeral and buried with all honour in the pantheon of Soviet heroes, the Kremlin wall behind Lenin's mausoleum. Then nothing happened for two years when, without apparent warning, the Kremlin issued a decree pronouncing anathema on the late hero, banning his works, and describing him as "an enemy of the people, a despicable Trotskyite agent of Fascism." Into the breach moved Eugene Tarle, to all appearances lucky to be alive after his public disgrace of three years earlier. And the transformation of Russian history under the aegis of the late ideological lackey of the imperialist front against the Soviet Union began at once. Professor Tarle, in his ripe old age, is still charmingly with us today, as a feature of every peace congress, used by Stalin, as the late Sergei Vavilov was used by him in the scientific sphere, to propagate ideas which have moved a very long way from the change of line that gave him his great chance.

One other thing happened in 1931: the return, as Dr. Mehnert points out, of two words, long banished from the language. The first was *rodina*, which is best translated as fatherland, but which has no exact English equivalent, with its conveyed image of the life-bearing earth, and which has no conceptual relationship with the word *otychestvo*, often used in the phrase "the fatherland of socialism." The second was *patriotism*. Both occurred in a Pravda leading article glorifying the Soviet citizen as a fighter "for the fatherland, for its honour, glory, power and well-being." And, Pravda added, "Defence of the fatherland (*rodina*) is the highest law of life."

Meanwhile the new historians were set to work rewriting history in an essentially anti-Marxist sense, though still in Marxist terms. It was to take five years before the Pokrovsky interpretation was officially demolished in detail; and meanwhile, the idea of fatherland and patriotism having been firmly planted, the first task of the historians was to develop the idea of the great man. Stalin required a precedent and a lineage. The great men chosen as symbolic figures were, above all, Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great; and their lives were to be rewritten so that both might be presented as direct forerunners of Stalin: Russian statesmen of infinitely farsighted vision who had taken upon their shoulders the burden of welding the inorganicized might of the Russian people into a coherent and tempered force to withstand the assaults of a jealous and treacherous world. Their greatest enemy was treason and they had not shrunk from the sternest measures to root it out, measures which had earned them in the eyes of an uncomprehending world an undeserved reputation for tyranny and cruelty. Only now, from the lofty eminence to which they had been brought by Stalin, are the Russian people able to look back and, from their new unity, appreciate the tremendous part played by these great men in laying the foundations of a great and proud nation. One of the most important essays in this field has been Professor Wipper's life of Ivan the Terrible. Wipper had started writing about Ivan in 1922 in the then accepted manner.

(To be continued).

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PARADISE IN PERIL

By A. S. M.

(Continued from last week)

A NEW threat to the peace and stability of this country now looms large on the horizon. Encouraged no doubt by the following Mr. Bandaranaike has been gathering around him ever since his reactionary programme of religious and racial discrimination was thrown out by Mr. D. S. Senanayake, a University Professor, who claims to be a Buddhist lay missionary, enters the fray with the astoundingly aggressive proposal that all Christian schools in which more than 60 per cent. of children belong to a different faith should be nationalised. The learned Professor made this suggestion at the 33rd annual sessions of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, which began at Kandy on Saturday last. And he delivered himself of this sapient suggestion as the President of the Congress. He also alleged that missionary schools were being set up in prominently Buddhist areas and that, by paying them grants, the Government was subscribing to the destruction of Buddhism.

What is one to make of this tirade against Christian schools, which have produced great Buddhists and patriots like Mr. D. S. Senanayake? Isn't it a historical fact that ever since the British conquest of Ceylon in 1815, Christian schools have, without fear or favour, and often in the face of official disapproval, given a liberal education indiscriminately to Buddhist and Christian children? What would have happened in the past if the missionary schools restricted their services only to the children of Christians and converts to Christianity? Would that not have gravely handicapped future generations of Ceylonese in their struggle for self-government? And can anyone deny that the great band of missionaries who thus equipped the Ceylonese to fit themselves for self-government rendered a unique service to this country? Are the institutions founded by these great Catholic and Protestant missionaries now to be penalised for the wonderful work they had done in the past and are continuing to do at present just because they have the equipment to continue and extend their great educational activities?

Besides, what is there to prevent Buddhists themselves opening schools to serve areas where Buddhists predominate, and why have they not done so? And if Christian missionaries are setting up schools in predominantly Buddhist areas, are they not rendering a badly needed service to Buddhist children who otherwise would obviously have no schools to go to? Why are Buddhists so backward in catering to the educational needs of these prominently Buddhist areas? And why penalise Christian institutions which have promptly stepped into the breach?

However, what appals one is not so much the irrationality of the Professor's proposal as the fact that he claims to make this atrocious suggestion as a Buddhist and on behalf of Buddhists? As a Christian who has been and is greatly attracted by the profound nobility of the teachings of the Great Master (and if I have not become a Buddhist it is purely due to the strength of the Christian tradition in which I have been brought up) I cannot help feeling astonished at the militancy of the Professor's demands since the aggressive character of them is utterly opposed to the fundamental

tenets of the very religion which the Professor professes. His proposal, if ever anyone attempts to carry it out, is bound to lead to religious strife. And religious strife is something the Lord Buddha has never, anywhere in his teachings, countenanced implicitly or explicitly.

And it is this same Professor Mañalasekera who intends undertaking a mission to convert Americans to Buddhism and who recently stated he was prepared to go to Moscow to attempt to convert Stalin to Buddhism. As a preliminary he now proposes to stir up the Buddhists against the Christians by demanding that a large number of Christian schools be seized by the Government. A missionary of this character has never undertaken the spread of Buddhism in any part of the world before, and, after his performance last Saturday, he would be doing a great disservice to a very noble creed if he ever called himself a Buddhist missionary. What success can he expect from such a mission in the Christian West if he sets out on it after having seriously made a proposal that violence should be done to Christian schools by their seizure by the Government?

As the days go by since Mr. Bandaranaike left the U.N.P. fold and as the reactionaries who hope to come to power by stirring up racial and religious strife emerge from their dark hiding places, one thing becomes ever clearer, namely, the wonderful wisdom and indispensable moderation of the Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake. But for him this beautiful island would long ago have become a second Burma, where Buddhism is the State religion and the four million Karen Christians have made common cause with the Communists and are fighting the Government (a Government which is by no means anti-Christian but is unfortunately, rightly or wrongly, distrusted by the Karen Christians). By seizing Christian schools does the Professor Missionary hopes to create similar a distrust of the majority Buddhist community in the minds of the four lakhs of Christians? Or is it his object to prove that the Communists are right when they assert that religions only divide the people and should, therefore, all be ruthlessly suppressed?

In conclusion, I would refer the learned Professor to the heartfelt tribute to Buddhism of that great mathematician, scholar and agnostic, William Kingdon Clifford: "The special mark of his (the Lord Buddha's) religion, it is said, that in which it has never been surpassed, is the comfort and consolation which it gives to the sick and sorrowful, the tender sympathy with which it soothes and assuages all the natural griefs of men. ... And surely no triumph of social morality can be greater or nobler than that which has kept nearly half the human race from persecuting in the name of religion."

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor, U.N.P. Journal

SIR.—I hope you will be good enough to register my name as a member of the United National Party.

I am a student of St. Joseph's College wherein I am studying in S.S.C. (English) Form. I am 20 years of age and I have a great ambition to defeat Marxists in the next General Election. I will do my best to serve your party so that I may serve Independent Lanka.

Yours faithfully,

M. EDMUND PERERA.

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THE CALENDAR, WHEN IT WAS AN INSTITUTION

IN the reconstruction and interpretation of the Lanka way of life in an independent Ceylon, empire building, customs and ceremonies were of course bound to go overboard. Nevertheless democratic and religious institutions like our Judiciary, Public schools, Missionary institutions, not to mention August Week habits and Christmas Trees formed down the years are certain to remain with us till the end of time. New institutions more democratic than communal are bound to grow. Comparatively new innovations are the C.F.A., our Rugger Union not to mention Cocktail Parties, all of which are an indication that the cry for British democratic institutions will persist.

On the radio in our Sinhalese and Tamil programmes such institutions as Quiz kids, Commercial Service are already taking strong roots as permanent features of the nation. All this seems strange but without the aid of historians and sociologists we know that all this is true. Perhaps like all islanders, notably the British who were evolved, something British through the ages we are also undergoing the process of being Ceylonese and so in such a set of circumstance as it was in England, strange things like the Spivs in London must inevitably happen.

An old world charming British institution that became obsolete with the going of the Colonial days is calendar worship. No more in Fort firms do old hands treading the humbler walks of life consider it their right to a calendar an inalienable right. Distributed with due ceremony by the senior partner the task of sharing the calendars among the staff became a very delicate one when as happened sometimes, the stock fell short.

The club peon, the bungalow cook appu and even the old gardener wanted a calendar. The favourite waiter wore a long face if you failed him. Yes indeed, sentiment then could outweigh material considerations like tips sometimes.

Even now those who can wangle a Government almanac or even a desk calendar derive much satisfaction from the fact. In the Colonial days, however, a feeling of snobbery crept over them when they thought of their friends who just managed to secure the ordinary pavement variety.

Much water has flowed under the Victoria Bridge since the calendar was made a Government publication.

Gone are the days when dates gave illuminating information and educated the subject on such matters as when good Queen Bess came to the throne, Gambetta died, Napoleon met his Waterloo and Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot.

~~~~~ By ~~~~~  
**T. M. G. Samat**  
~~~~~

During World War I, publication of the almanac was suspended. The Government Printer then was H. C. Cottle and his name appeared on the imprint. When the almanac reappeared after many years the name of Cottle was still there but Cottle fils H.R. had taken the place of pere. Today this personal note is omitted from the imprint.

At one time Government holidays were scattered throughout the year and the almanac helped Government servants to find out whether they had to attend office or not.

The prime purpose of a calendar is of course to show the date at a glance, but lesser lights set much store by it. What is home without a calendar to them? The more merrier, one on every wall, if possible. To others there was something of the olde worlde charm in this calendar custom now no more.



Mr. Sarath Indatissa

Has been appointed Surveyor at Ampari (President, Kalubowila West U. N. P. Youth League)

My Opinion

FOR a fairly long time I have studied the activities of the various present-day political parties. After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the only party to trust and depend on is the United National Party. The U.N.P. under the able leadership of our Prime Minister, will no doubt, restore our country to her ancient fame and prosperity.

We, as Sinhalese, must be grateful to the U.N.P. leaders for having gained our freedom in a most peaceful manner. Unlike in other countries, our leaders handled the affair so well, that not a drop of blood was shed in this connection.

We must not forget that we were a subject race for well over four hundred years. In between this period we had to face great difficulties. But our former leaders had the courage to face the situation bravely. So through the efforts of our past and present-day U.N.P. leaders, we have at last become a Free Nation.

It is only four years since we attained freedom. I can proudly say that, within this short period, the U.N.P. Government has done a really good service to the country. I need not mention, in detail, the great Agricultural and Industrial schemes already completed and the ones under construction. In a couple of years time, when the schemes under construction are completed the people will realise the useful and noble services rendered by the present Government.

I am sure, our people will not like to become a subject race again. I sincerely believe, our people will not be misled by the propaganda of the other so-called parties. I am definite, that no other party will give us the freedom we enjoy today. We have heard what has happened to some countries under Communist Rule.

Therefore, to safeguard our freedom from foreign rule and internal ruin, I sincerely appeal to our people to give every bit of support to the present U.N.P. Government now and for ever.—Yours etc.

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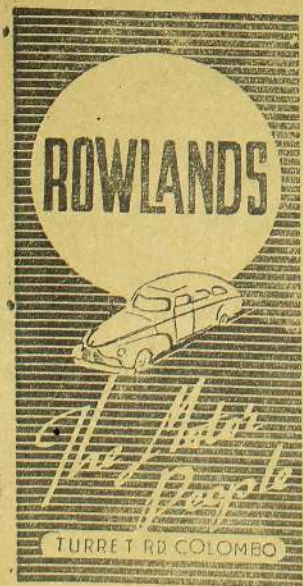
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THE GREAT BETRAYAL

The Party system of Government was introduced into Ceylon only a few years ago and, to judge from some recent happenings, has not taken enough root in the country to be able to stand up to the ill winds to which it is exposed and by which it is buffeted at times.

A case in point was the Mayoral election in Colombo last week when through the political treachery of some members of the Council the nominee of the United National Party was defeated in the election for the office of Mayor. Realising that there was a split in the ranks of the Right Wing group in the Colombo Municipal Council, the President of our Party, Mr. Senanayake, invited them to a conference at Temple Trees at which a "gentlemen's agreement" was arrived at which pledged support for Mr. Sella-muttu.

Admittedly this conference had not been summoned on Party lines and there were present at Temple Trees on that occasion Municipal Councillors, who, though not members of our Party, were definitely anti-Marxist. But nothing transpired at that meeting to suggest that a word of honour solemnly given would be broken within 24 hours.

That, however, was exactly what happened when two members who had pledged themselves to support the Party nominee consorted with their totalitarian colleagues and conspired with them to bring about the defeat of the candidate whose cause they had undertaken to espouse.

The excuse facetiously trotted out by the present Mayor (who found the bait of the gold chain of office too tempting to resist) that the differences that came to light at the Temple Trees conference had made him decide to leave our Party cannot hold water for long. If, as he is reported to have said, he was so disgusted with the discord that existed over the Mayoral issue, it was surely his duty to have informed the President of our Party at once that he was not willing to support the Party nominee. Had he done so even the following morning, it might have been possible to forgive him his lapse. But what really happened. Up to less than ten minutes before the time of election, Mr. Grero apparently stood committed to his word of honour. But then there entered on the scene three Red "Devils" who tempted him as in the Scripture. Under their joint attack his last defences gave way and he bowed down to them as his masters and received in return the high office of Mayor of Colombo.

In our "fair island story" there have in the dim past been instances of great betrayals but no political treachery can match the manoeuvres which led to the result of last week's Mayoral election in Colombo.

OBSEQUIES OF A KANDYAN KING

THE obsequies of a Kandyan King together with the coronation and abdication ceremonies were closed never to be opened again some 200 years ago.

Not the least of the obsequies personalities was the royal tom tom beater of the Kandyan court dressed in blue. The blue dress was the special attire for beating the tom tom before the Audience Hall to announce the death of the King of Kandy. Standing on a piece of iron by a pile of paddy the tom tom beater informed the Kandyan chiefs and people not only that their King was dead but also required them to wear mourning costume and to demonstrate their sorrow by uttering loud cries and lamentations.

On the day following the tom tom beater's ceremonies, male members of the royal family, chiefs and nobles headed by the royal tom tom beater took the body in a sandalwood coffin to the royal burial grounds. The body habited in costly robes of state and jewels laid in a coffin covered with embroidered white cloth was carried in an open hearse. Two youths following the bier on a platform borne by 4 bearers threw handful of rice on the coffin.

Assembled around the funeral pyre priests belonging to all Buddhist temples offered up prayers for the happiness of the deceased. The coffin on being taken from the hearse was placed in a kind of box made of sandalwood raised on a pile of sandalwood. Sandalwood figures

large in the proceedings. The lid of the coffin is struck now with a bill hook by a priest and immediately a relation of the deceased sets fire to the funeral pyre. Sandalwood oil, pitch perfumed with sandalwood preparations and other combustible fluids and blocks of sandalwood are put on the burning coffin by the chiefs and nobles.

The assembly but for the priests retire to their homes when the pyre is one mass of flames, the priests keeping the fire burning till the 11th day. The chiefs and nobles return on the 11th day to the burial grounds to perform the final rites. They are preceded by tom tom beaters and followed by their retainers who carry offerings of betel leaves, arecanuts, fruits and flowers. The priests then extinguish the fire by pouring buffalo milk and coconut water. The ashes are collected and a portion of these ashes placed in an urn which the chief priest seals while the remainder of the ashes are deposited in a grave with the offerings brought by the chiefs.

Mounted on one of the royal elephants the urn containing a part of the ashes are taken by a man carrying a drawn scimitar for the water cutting ceremony. Nobles and chiefs follow the urn bearer to a ferry at Katugastota where two canoes lashed together over which is arranged an arbour of plantain leaves and coconut leaves awaits the procession. Dismounting from his elephant the urn bearer entered the craft and was drawn to the middle of the stream by men who

(Continued on page 8)

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THE WAY TO LESSEN THE HUNGER Of Asia's Under-nourished Millions

THAT there are other means to attack the great problem of the pressure of population upon land and the evils of overcrowding, besides the drastic remedy suggested by the W.H.O. Family Planning Consultant, are revealed in the findings of the Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organization, who declares that it is possible to feed the under-nourished people of the world without wrecking the economy of the rest of the world. Improved methods of agricultural and industrialization and redistribution of land are the measures suggested. There appears to be no reason, therefore, to imagine that with the doubling of the present population in the next two decades, food production could not keep pace with reproduction. A system of collection and distribution of knowledge to use more productive methods could produce fruitful results. The function of the F.A.O. is to "bridge the gap between knowledge and practice."

At the present time the population of Ceylon is increasing by about 200,000 a year which means that if the present trends continue, the population will be doubled in two decades. According to the last census the population was seven and a half million. The question was whether Ceylon could increase its productivity fast enough to keep up with the rapidly rising population. At present nearly two-thirds of the rice, the staple food of the people, has to be imported from abroad. The main objective of Ceylon's development programme must therefore be to broaden her economy by increasing production of food for local consumption and by providing more employment in industry. Land development projects are much the most important part of the programme. There is very little industry in the Island at present. Improved methods of agriculture and industrialization are the means. Pressure of population upon land is felt in a number of ways. In former times the evils of overcrowding were accepted as part of the order of Providence because no remedy was known. But the West with its techniques has adopted, as the sovereign remedy, scientific population control, and planned parenthood, which is slow of acceptance in Eastern countries.

FAMILY LIMITATION

Dr. Abraham Stone, W.H.O. Family Planning Consultant who made a study of the population problem in Ceylon, has declared that Ceylon is in "great need" of family planning. From the point of view of the individual family, he is of opinion that it is essential that mothers should know how to space their children and how to plan their coming, so that they do not come at too frequent intervals, which was deleterious to the health of both mother and child. He has suggested that the rhythm method which did not require artificial contraceptives, did not cost anything and was not opposed to religious, ethical or traditional values of the population, deserved experimental study. Family planning takes many years before it begins to manifest results. "My position," said Dr. Stone, "is that in Ceylon production can hardly keep pace with reproduction at the present rate that you have high human fertility but that soil fertility and natural resources cannot be developed fast enough to take care of the very rapidly growing population and still maintain the standard of life, even as it is now."

F.A.O. IS OPTIMISTIC

The question "How can the earth's inhabitants get enough to eat?" is answered by Dr. Norris E. Dodd, Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organization, the agency of the United Nations, which is concerned with increasing the world's food supply. Says Dr. Dodd: "It may be possible eventually to feed the under-nourished half of the earth without wrecking the economy of the rest of us, simply by helping people to help themselves. Much

can be done with just a little money and just a little brains. It need not cost billions."

After a recent visit to nearly every under-developed, under-nourished area on the globe he has come to the conclusion that farmers of the hungry continents need help, not necessarily in the form of vast and expensive projects. The improvement of farming methods and tools comes first. Modern machinery on a big scale could not be introduced too soon as it would take years for Eastern peasants to learn to use the complicated machines and longer for them to adapt their system of farming in small blocks to mechanization. Much could be accomplished by showing farmers Simple Improvements in Tools and Methods.

SIMPLE TOOLS WANTED

When big projects and heavy machinery failed as witnessed in Shanghai where 3,000 U.N.R.R.A. tractors were rusting in a field outside the city. Food production was to have been multiplied by the co-operative use of modern farm machinery on a big scale. The scheme did not work. Chinese farmers could not get the hang of the tractors! On the other hand, how simple tools could be really helpful was demonstrated in Japan, where farmers were threshing rice with a wooden cylinder about 16 inches in diameter, studded with ordinary staples. It was revolved by a foot pedal and when the rice stalks were held against it, the staples extracted the grain neatly. With it one man could do the work of four men using hand platts. And it was so simple that it could be made cheaply and easily in any village. This was in contrast to the practice in India where the farmers were threshing with hand platts, a slow, laborious, wasteful process.

Most important to the farmers of under-developed areas is the knowledge how to restore and improve their soil by crop rotation, cover crops and fertilisers. In some areas lime and phosphate fertilizer can be made locally at small cost, but as a rule peasant farmers cannot afford chemical fertilizers.

The answer often is a cover crop to plough under after the food crop has been harvested. Growing of legumes might be rapid in humus and nitrogen thus added to the soil. The selection of seed is another factor in agriculture in which knowledge pays dividends. So food production on scientific methods, producing better and richer crops, was the only means of conquering hunger and relieving the pressure of population upon the land.

FUNCTION OF THE F.A.O.

The function of the F.A.O. as Dr. Dodd puts it, is to "bridge the gap between knowledge and practice." Its aim is to help and encourage every under-developed region to train their own instructors and to establish services which in time will do what the extension services in advanced countries do. Most under-developed countries have, in fact asked to be taught. For example, Thailand wants to know how to increase the production of its inland fisheries. Greece wants to know modern techniques of food preserving. Poland wants to know how to fight the potato beetle. In most cases F.A.O. has sent experts qualified to answer these questions. Nearly every country has knowledge and techniques that other countries could use. For example, most of the American methods of growing and utilizing soya beans come from China and some of the modern cheese-making methods were learned from the peasants of Bulgaria.

COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWLEDGE

If farmers in the United States and Canada use more productive methods than the average throughout the world, it is not because they are individually more clever. It is because they have had a good system of collecting and distributing knowledge. The American farmer has a vast machinery working for him; finding out and telling him the best way of doing things. Farm magazines, bulletins, radio news programmes, extension services and

county agents. As a rule the farmer of the under-developed countries has nobody to show him how; so he does things as they were done by his father and his grandfather for generations. In the old peasant economies of the East, agriculture was organized on a subsistence plan and so long as there was more land than people, misery and want only came about through bad administration or natural calamities like famine and pestilence. With improved methods of agriculture, the newly independent countries of Asia have shown that they have both the will and the ability to attack the great problems of pressure on population and find the way to lessen world hunger in a big and statesmanlike way.

production, under-employment overpopulation and the worsening poverty." He declared that political independence did not automatically bring about economic progress. The Government would, therefore, be judged by their economic and industrial achievements—how far they have been able to "feed the hungry clothe the naked and provide shelter to shelterless."

By Jurgen

Referring to Western countries Dr. Radhakrishna asks "Are not the countries in the Western Hemisphere, which had passed through the fires of wars and had been devastatedly restored to their economy and have they not got back their normal conditions?"

RECOVERY UNDER WAY

The problem of South and South-East Asia is quite different from the problem which Western countries faced at the end of the war. Most of the European countries were already highly developed before the

(Continued on page 11)

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WHAT RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAN DO?

(Continued From Last Issue)

Members help also in gathering stones, cutting boundaries, laying foundations and constructing the walls. Those who are skilled do the work of masons and carpenters. The expenditure is as follows:—

Cost of Constructing a House at Kiriwanapola		Rs.c.
1. Granite for foundation (provided free)	—	—
2. 13,000 bricks (at Rs. 15 per thousand)	195.00	195.00
3. Four door frames (at Rs. 5 each to make)	20.00	20.00
4. Three windows (at Rs. 6 each to make)	18.00	18.00
5. Seven planks (at Rs. 5 each to make)	35.00	35.00
6. Payment to fix doors, windows, etc.	7.00	7.00
7. Two bags of cement (for damp-proof course)	20.00	20.00
8. Payments to masons and bricklayers	180.00	180.00
9. Roofing	75.00	75.00
10. Hinges and metal fittings, etc.	50.00	50.00
Total	600.00	600.00

It may be argued that the drastic reduction of costs in the case of Kiriwanapola is a stray accident. But at Wewala the cost per house has been reduced further as shown in the figures given below:

Cost of Constructing a House at Wewala		Rs.c.
1. Granite (provided free)	—	—
2. 15,000 bricks (at Rs. 18 per thousand)	270.00	270.00
3. Payment to masons	150.00	150.00
4. Payment to carpenters	70.00	70.00
5. Two bags of cement	19.00	19.00
6. Hinges and metal fittings	45.00	45.00
7. Other expenses	20.00	20.00
Total	600.00	600.00

With the saving of Rs. 26.00 thus made, necessary items, like a window for the kitchen and iron bars for all windows, are added. Type Plan houses, as built by contractors, have half-brick thick walls and no inner doors. Co-op. built houses have inner doors separating the living rooms, brick-wide walls and additions.

The importance of this unique scheme to the whole Rural Development Movement of the Island is reflected in Mr. R. G. Senanayake's entry in the Log Book of the Wewala R.D.S. He writes: "A very interesting beginning has been made in Rural Development in all its many aspects. The housing scheme deserves encouragement; if the scheme is successful it will revolutionize the Government's building programme. I am extremely happy to hear that the development activities of Wewala are keenly supported and assisted by the Government officers of this area. Special mention should be made of the Land Officer at Kurunegala, Mr. Arasakularatne. I congratulate my friend, Mr. Kuruppu in enlisting village and official interests in the welfare scheme of his village."

"OUR VILLAGE—WE MUST DEVELOP IT"

When interviewed Mr. J. S. Kuruppu said: "This is our village, and we shall develop it." "It is a pleasure and a great privilege to be a unit of the island-wide Voluntary Movement that is at present engaged in developing our remote rural areas," he added.

Under his fatherly care are some thirteen Welfare Societies of Wewala. This village was the first to organise a Co-op. Dairy Producers' Society. Helpfully, cattle owners have agreed to sell milk at 30 cts. per bottle for free distribution within their locality even though they can get around 45 cents per bottle from boutique-keepers. Wewala can also boast of the first rural school in the Island that is run on Montessori lines. Every morning after their feed of milk at the Free Milk Distribution Centre, little boys and girls

spend about two hours with a Mahila Samitiya-trained lady teacher.

Adult Education classes conducted at night have an average daily attendance of about 23. Mr. Wijesekera Kuruppu, one of the two volunteer teachers, tells me that his women pupils take a very keen interest in their work. A Young Farmers' Club, modelled on the famous 4-H Clubs of America, has also been started. The farmers of tomorrow own communal plots today and are proud of the pineapples and plantains they grow.

Shirley J. Payoe

So much then on what co-operative effort has contributed to our Rural Development Movement. Suffice it to say that the development of the rural areas is an economic "must." Every progressive country must have a solid economy based not only on localized industrialisation but also in generally developed conditions in the rural parts.

As Annie Besant points out in her explosive book "INDIA: BOND OR FREE?", the final subjugation, humiliation and exploitation of the great Indian sub-continent was the result of the wilful disruption of her sound village economy by rapacious foreigners. Today wild beast roam and creepers thrive where once our farmers worked and lived. The tide of the jungle hides their fields. Yes, our villages too were destroyed. They must be restored and new lands opened up—because 71.9 per cent. of the population (1946 Census figures) live in rural sectors. Our villages were, and fortunately are, our schools of democracy. But Democracy will be an empty word—if our people are allowed to be stunned by poverty.

"Do not act as does the grass-blade
Lacking honest pride,
Drooping in feeble meanness,
Lightly brushed aside."
(The Panchtantra).

OBSEQUIES OF A KANDYAN KING

(Continued from page 6)

swam at the head of the canoe forward and swim for the shore. The urn bearer now taking the urn in one hand and the scimitar in the other strikes the former in the middle and immediately after plunges into the stream with the urn and scimitar in one hand. He comes up again at a considerable distance without the urn and scimitar and makes for the opposite shore.

The canoes are permitted to be carried away by the current, the elephant is allowed to return to its native jungle, the youths who threw rice upon the coffin and the men who carried the platform are taken across the river and with the urn bearer are forbidden to re-cross the same under penalty of death.

As soon as the chiefs and nobles have witnessed the urn-bearer, youths and platform carriers land on the opposite shore they return to Kandy where the successor of the late King surrounded by his household await their arrival in the square. The chiefs state that they had seen all the formalities duly observed when the new monarch orders that all those who had been at the funeral to retire to the bath and purify themselves.

The period of court mourning varied. If the late monarch was a father or uncle of the reigning monarch, the King and Court attired themselves in deeper mourning than they had worn previously for the last obsequies; but if relationship was more distant, then the royal household nobles and chiefs threw their mourning, the King alone wearing a blue silk handkerchief on his head for one lunar month.

T. M. G. SAMAT

Pakistan—A Visionary's Dream

ECONOMIC SUCCESS IN FOUR YEARS

PAKISTAN—the 'dream state' of Islam, is today a living monument of the success of democracy throughout the universe. Considering the fact that this State is only — four years old, and the vast development she has achieved in all spheres, the results are revealing.

The idea of a completely independent Muslim State was first launched by Dr. Mohamed Iqbal, the Persian poet, in 1930, through the All-India Muslim League established in 1906. It was only in 1940, however, that the All-India Muslim League made the foundation of Pakistan its true aim. It was a great battle. With the late Mohammed Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League on one side and Pandit Nehru and the Indian National Congress on the other the tug-of-war reached a bitter climax at times. But with the then good offices of the Labour Government in power in Great Britain, things came to a peaceful settlement. Though, however, it must be said that considerable bloodshed paved the roads, the great struggle ceased in 1947; with the establishment of Pakistan, a Muslim State and Hindustan, known as India to many, a Hindu Republic.

To be more accurate, the inauguration of Pakistan was on the 14th August, 1947. It was a memorable year to Muslims all over the world. Whilst millions laughed and rejoiced an equal number mocked and ridiculed Jinnah's optimism. She lost her Quaid-e-Azam very early. But there were others of the calibre of the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to steer her through rough and uneven seas. Perhaps, the fruits of the untiring efforts by the past leaders have resulted in the glory that is the Pakistan of today.

As the idea in establishing this State was to develop according to their own genius and culture, and implement a place where the principles of Islamic Social Justice would find free play, Pakistan was faced with great hardships at their journey's beginning. They had in fact to start from nothing. The refugee plight called for great sums of money. The disorganisation of the transport system, the fracture that was caused in trade and commerce upset the theory of budgeting with more expenditure and little income. Caught in such whirlpools in the short space of two hundred days, she balanced her first budget.

Pakistan stands on a concrete economical foundation. Her Central Government budget figure shows four surplus budgets presented in succession, i.e., during 1947-1952, revenue Rs. 5,771.2 millions and expenditure Rs. 5,501.7 millions, with a wide coverage of the country's economical, agricultural, industrial, educational and other social problems.

AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY

GEOGRAPHICALLY, Pakistan consists of two units. West and East Pakistan, situated to the North-West and North-East of the Republic of India, with a gap of about 1,100 miles. In population, she is the largest Muslim State and fifth largest State in the world, with a total of 75.69 millions. Karachi is the capital, and also the main air and sea port of the country. Lahore, like Kandy to us, is the next important capital. It is also the cultural and academical seat of Pakistan.

The West of Pakistan has one of the finest irrigation system in the world with twenty-two main canals and hundreds of feeders and rivers. They say, this system is only second to that found in the U.S.A. In the Sind, the famous Sukkur Barrage damming the river Indus, is considered the largest in Asia with a supply for over six million acres.

Like Ceylon, Pakistan is also an agricultural country. The majority Kashmir are fast moving with the help of the U.N.O. and the Security

of the peasants seek cultivation as their main occupation. Three-fifths of the cultivated land is under wheat and rice, whilst the most important cash crop is jute, appropriately known as "Golden Fibre." Jute worth Rs. 518.5 millions was exported to foreign lands during 1949-50. Cotton is Pakistan's second largest cash export, having had a foreign market value of Rs. 355 millions in 1949-50. Tea, hides, wool, seeds, manures, fruits and fish are other exports. She has also the pride of owning the largest sugar mill in Asia, with an output of 50,000 tons.

Pakistan is rich in minerals and I may state that a bright future awaits her. Petroleum, salt, gypsum, coal, sulphur, chromite, antimony and a variety of other minerals exist in parts of the country.

All Pakistan's industrial undertakings using power and a strength of more than fifty employees, have been exempted during the first five years from all direct taxation on so much of their profits, as do not exceed 5 per cent. of the capital employed. Such concessions have been given on buildings and machinery for a period of five years. To augment industries, the super-tax rate has also been reduced. In the exemption of the sales-tax, a large number of consumer goods take a primary place. Import duties on machinery, apparatus and appliances etc., and on raw materials used for industry have been reduced or even abolished in certain instances.

It must also be remembered that Pakistan was the only Commonwealth country not to devalue its currency.

SPENT ON DEFENCE

TO further strengthen Pakistan's economy she founded a State Bank, on 1st July, 1948, very much on the lines of the Central Bank of Ceylon.

The main theme for the formation of the State Bank of Pakistan, was to establish an independent monetary system, administered by the Bank, and to make possible fuller use of the nation's human and material resources and raise the standard of living in that country. It was another way of expressing the naked fact that money is the one mechanism by which the resources of a country can be used in production.

The State Bank of Pakistan would and has therefore important effects on prices, wages, income and employment. It also affects foreign trade.

The consequences of the State Bank of Pakistan changed the basis of relationship of the Pakistan rupee, to that of other currencies in the world, instead of linking it with the Indian rupee. The Bank also influenced the supply, availability and cost of money in Pakistan. It is the only body to issue currency notes, lend moneys to other banks and the State; buy and sell government securities.

As one of the aims of the State Bank was to strengthen the Banking system in that country, she also promoted a new commercial bank, the National Bank of Pakistan.

The feelings between India and Pakistan was so intense at the latter's inauguration, that both parties were left with a further battle to be fought, either in chambers or on the field. That was the battle in which the accession of two independent States, Hyderabad and Kashmir was to be decided. Thus Pakistan had to spend great sums of money on her defence, as she found her peaceful progress in danger of being interrupted.

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By FAREED ANIFF

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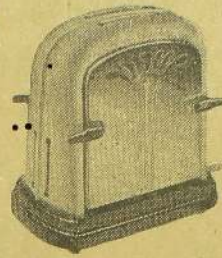
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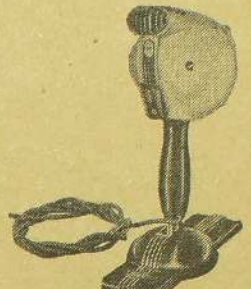
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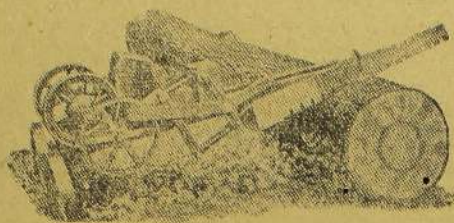
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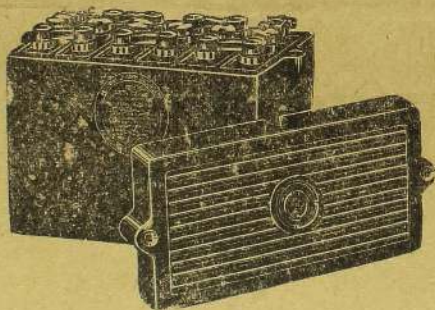
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MARXISM SPECIALLY INIMICAL TO CATHOLICISM

By Quintus Delilkhan

IN his fantastic opposition to religion, Marx did some discrimination. It was only natural that in studying the possibility of the rejection of religion, he should have realised that there was one organisation which was capable of showing resistance more than any other. Marx hoped to build a unified organisation of the workmen of the world. They were to be in some sense a church. He was to be their saviour. He had the vision to see that the old order of capitalism was bound to give place to the new order of a godless civilization. Most other religions would no doubt oppose the new gospel of materialism. But there would be one of them which would carry out the fight against materialism as a compact mass formation, very single-minded in purpose and effective in action. This would be the Catholic Church. As can be seen from Communist action in most countries, it is the Catholic Church that is the object of a very special hatred by the Communists. Even nuns who dwell in convents and have nothing to do with the world have been subjected to persecution as the spies of imperialism. It is not surprising that this should be done by Communist. It is a tribute to the Church which has consistently opposed the doctrines of Communism, and done everything possible to refute its fallacies.

In a letter dated 25th September, 1869, this is what Marx says in a letter to Engels: "During this journey across Belgium, the stay at Aix-la-Chapelle and the voyage up the Rhine, I have become convinced that it is necessary to struggle energetically against the priests, especially in Catholic regions." It is a conviction that Communism shares most fully with Marx. It shares this conviction so much that it has given ample demonstration that Communism can issue in nothing less than the struggle to deprive Catholic communities of their priests and it is felt that, lacking the guidance of those who can sustain religion, there will be no difficulty in dealing with individuals in summary fashion. Can any Catholic vote conscientiously for a government which will be run on Communist principles? It is absurd to imagine that any Catholic can in any way feel that his religion is secure if once the Communist elements in any country come into power. There is no doubt that every sensible Catholic knows the one and only answer to this question. Under the present government we can ask for an equality of treatment in all matters that are vital to our interests, both political and religious. We know that we can obtain justice in every respect.

But in a Communist dominated government, there will always be an active hostility to the people belonging to any particular religion, because religion itself is odious to the Communist mind. There can be no reconciliation between the Communist point of view and the religious point of view. If Communism cannot break the religious spirit in any community, they would show it some contemptuous tolerance. But the members of religious organisations would be made to feel in various ways the disapproval of their religious attitude towards life. They would not be given any kind of political privileges. They would be regarded with suspicion. They would be subject always to very unfair treatment. No member of any religious institution could possibly feel secure to enjoy his freedom in matters of religion. It would be an irretrievable error for any man who is interested in religious freedom to imagine that Communism would allow him the right to practice his religion unhindered.

Lenin held that there should be a fairly subtle method of undermining the religious beliefs of the people. He thought that they should be drawn into revolutionary social

work, and in process of time they would be automatically freed from the yoke of religion. Unwary youth who, fired with a sense of social wrongs, decide to do only the revolutionary social work that Communism recommends to their enthusiasm will soon find that their position is incompatible with their religious principles. Once they have gone over to the revolutionary side in any form or manner, it is hard for them to come back. They are bound by many ties of friendship and of work done together. They have felt that they have been given some work to do which in itself cannot be regarded as anti-social. It is not long before they discover that they have been badly indoctrinated with some of the half-truths of the social doctrine of Communism.

The Communist can, for his own purpose, quote scripture. He can demonstrate that he is sympathetic towards the poor and towards the labouring classes. He does not, of course, admit that his sympathy is conditioned by the working classes and the poor becoming political pawns in his manipulation for power. This statement would be rejected with indignation. But this actually is the core of the Communist sympathy with the poor and the masses. Each man drawn to their camp is one more vote for them, and the Communist is mostly concerned with this aspect of the matter. The Communist mostly concentrates on the masses. They are the sources of his power. The bourgeoisie are smaller in number, and he does not very much care for these "graduated funkeys of clericalism." It would be suicidal for this country to return to power men whose history must be regarded, in this and other countries, as utterly inimical to the interests of religion.

THE HIGH ROAD TO CHAOS

(Continued from page 1)

a Communist Utopia after everybody who remains alive after the holocaust will have lost his near and dear ones. What is the use of an Utopia to those who have survived the revolution if their near and dear ones are no longer alive?

To those who think that the picture I have painted is a highly coloured one and meant to frighten babes, I would only say: "Look at poor, benighted Korea, the so-called Land of Morning Calm. Japanese rule was a blessing to them, bad as it was compared, to what the Red Chinese and Stalin have done to them? With three million men, women and children dead in order to satisfy the revolutionary appetite of Stalin and Mao-tse-tung, of what earthly use would a Communist Utopia be to the survivors? Now it is for this, and nothing less, is what the revolutionaries of Ceylon are preparing for her people. Make no mistake about it, you armchair critics and pseudo-intellectuals who playfully debate the pros and cons of revolution with a purely intellectual love of civil strife! Revolution is an awful and a bloody mess, and in Ceylon it is absolutely unnecessary because it is open to those who are dissatisfied with the present Government to organise a party to carry out a radical Socialist program and to appeal to the electorate for support to carry it out by parliamentary methods. The Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, has repeatedly said in public that he deeply regretted the absence of a strong, constitutional Opposition party which, if the electorate so wished, could take over the government of this country. This was not a hypocritical gesture on his part. He meant every word he said, because he long ago realised the danger to this country's independence of revolutionary parties which owed their allegiance to foreign regimes.

Books & Authors By Quintus Delilkhani

MORE LIGHT ON BOSWELL

IN the tide of things, Boswell seems to be coming into his own on a scale which is almost unprecedented in this history of literature. One thought that one had known with this strange character, but there was recently a literary sensation of the very first magnitude when his journals came to light. Boswell had some qualities which were odious, and he is a man who is incapable of any kind of reticence. He had throughout his life turned the spotlight on himself. He was no doubt egotistical. He set a very great value on all that he did. He was a man who could not rest until he had given himself the fullest amount of publicity which could be squeezed out of any event in his life. His temperament was warm and sanguine. He loved to move about with the great. If he knew of a celebrity he hunted him with a persistence which is truly remarkable. He did not know what it was to feel humiliation over any rebuff, however openly it was administered.

This must have been a source of very considerable embarrassment and annoyance to his social contemporaries. He was hated by Horace Alpole who was accepted by his world as a most fascinating and interesting type, with an endless curiosity about all matters under the sun. Madame D'Arbalay disliked him very much. Dr. Johnson rebuked him on more than one occasion. The circle around Johnson never felt too comfortable with him. And Boswell could also show his dislike whenever he felt that he could do so with impunity. Poor Goldsmith was very badly treated by Boswell with the kindness which his condition deserved. Boswell was a snob when he thought the occasion demanded it. He had seen all sides of life during his stay in London. He used to dine with the best when his purse could stand the strain. But when the allowance made to him by his father had thinned out, Boswell could slip from the high grades of living to a very humble level. He would end up by taking his meals in the cheapest possible hotels, and this he evidently did not seem to mind.

The fact is that he was a man with a very considerable curiosity and a very great power of observation. He did not himself possess any very marked streak of genius but he loved the display of the highest gifts in others. He never missed anything which he considered as of interest to posterity. No one could miss the gargantuan figure of Doctor Johnson, but few men would have had the patience, the power of observation and the memory which would enable them to make of their subject the immortal book of talk and opinions that Boswell has created for the delight and amusement of readers who are capable of appreciating the quality of personality in a perfectly unique character. We know Boswell as we do not know most people who have lived before our time. There is a world of difference between the portrait of Socrates given us by Plato and the portrait of Johnson given us by Boswell. In Plato's pages there is evidence of a consummate art which has captured the imagination of the whole world. In Johnson, as given us by Boswell, we do not see the same skill and subtlety, but we have a certain topiographical quality which makes it readable in all parts in spite of the voluminousness of the verbal portraiture.

No one can fail to love Johnson as a warm-hearted human being after reading Boswell who brings out the very soul as it were of a great and a good man. Johnson must have been in his own way a trial to his friends, but they could not do without him. No amount of recollected description could have given us a complete figure. The biographers who diligently collect information cannot give us impressions which are instant and authentic. They can only make us realise traits of character in general. They can subject the works of a great writer to a most careful analysis. But that is an entirely different matter. We would wish to know what Johnson was like at close quarters. To read Boswell is to be given the opportunity to fully understand what Johnson was like to the man who met and enjoyed his conversation. Johnson is read today only in extracts of in such small books as "Basellas" or just a few of his essays. His poetry is scarcely ever mentioned. Even the "Lives of the Poets" is read only in part. But Johnson the man has been made immortal through this biography. We feel that we are admitted evening after evening to listen to great talk. Johnson was without a doubt a man with a strong moral sense. He had opinions on every subject which could interest the ordinary man. He was not like Coleridge in a later age who spoke on matters which no ordinary people could be specially interested in. Coleridge was obsessed with the problems of German philosophy. Only a selected circle of cultured minds could be interested in the normal topics of his conversation. He is most interesting generally in his talks on literature. The material we have about his talk is scanty.

Great indeed then is our indebtedness to Boswell that he has preserved for us this incomparable portrait of a man who could discuss topics in which we have an interest to know. Johnson was not interested in remote philosophical speculation but in the moral problems of human life. It is an experience of the utmost value to know what he thought on some of the matters which vitally effect our own lives. Boswell has done us this service, and we cannot be too lenient and accommodating in regard to the failings of this great recorder who has made the talk of Johnson a living reality to us. In the new book we have about Boswell we see him writing on his own in the style of a man of the world who can always make himself heard on the subjects which interest him greatly. He is capable of holding our attention on the ground of his own merits. Boswell could write. But his service to Johnson was so transcendantly great that we will not remember him as a writer of good prose and a second Pepys but only as the writer of the greatest biography in the English language.

THE WAY TO LESSEN THE HUNGER

(Continued from page 7)

war, and it was mainly a question of restoring what the war had disrupted. The economics of South and South-East Asia on the other hand have never been highly developed, and a new structure has to be built almost from the ground up so that the great wealth which they possess can be tapped for their benefit and that of the whole world. The task of recovery has been started and a stage has been reached at which it is possible to plan ahead. In the words of Dr. Dodd: "It may be possible eventually to feed the undernourished half of the earth without wrecking the economy of the rest of us, simply by helping people to help themselves. Until they get at least a subsistence ration the world will never have real peace or security."

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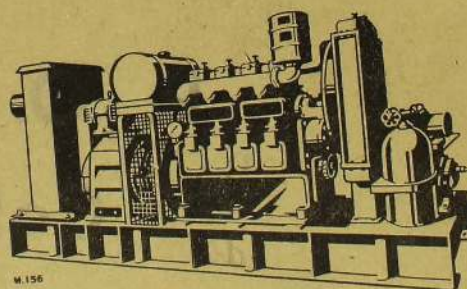
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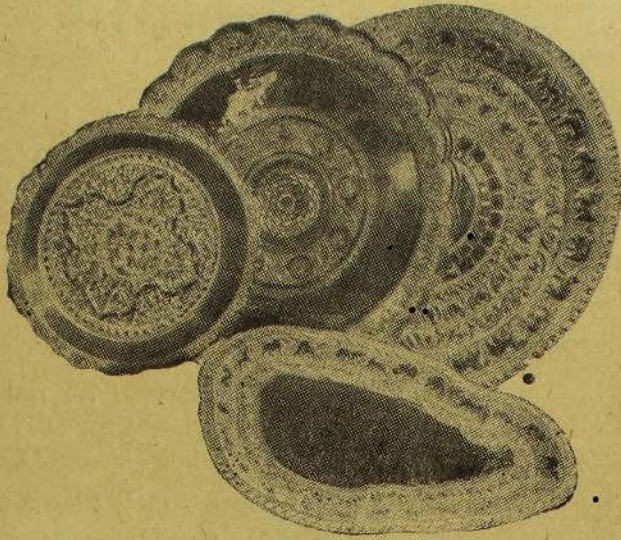
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