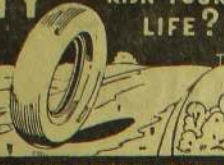


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100,000 Youth Leaguers by March 31st

EFFICIENT SOCIALIST POLICY FOR U. N. P.?

REGIONAL COMMITTEES TO ORGANIZE ELECTORATES

SEVERAL important decisions were made at a meeting of the Propaganda Committee of the U.N.P. Youth League held at the Party Headquarters last week.

It was decided to launch an all-Island drive for 100,000 members, the target to be reached by 31st March.

The setting up of Regional Organizing Committees to be in charge of groups of con-

stituencies was to be recommended to the Working Committee of the Youth League, scheduled to meet under the Chairmanship of Sir John Kotelawala, on Sunday, February 3rd. These Committees, it was suggested, should be composed of both Youth Leaguers and members of the Main Party.

As an example of what was intended it was suggested that Matara.

Hakmana, Akuressa and Hambantota might be grouped into a regional area and a Central Committee might plan Youth League Development with a target for a Membership Drive. Similarly, Kotte, Moratuwa, Avisawella and Panadura might be organised by a Regional Committee.

It was also agreed that a Manifesto should be prepared early. There was need of an intellectual basis for such a Manifesto and Programme.

The Party's Policy should be based on Efficient Socialism, and the draft of a Programme could be then presented to the Working Committee of the Youth League and then to the High Command of the Party. It was agreed that each member of

the Committee should work out a draft all of which could be discussed before a final draft Manifesto was prepared.

"Camps and Classes" was adopted as the slogan for Youth League development. It was stressed that every Leaguer should be perfectly aware of the reasons for his being a member. Personal advantages, careers, jobs, etc., should not be the mental reservations on which membership should be based.

The meeting also adopted a resolution calling upon the Main Body to take disciplinary action against such members as betrayed the Party's cause. "The public must by such action be shown that we respect principles, not persons," it was said.

U. N. P. Captures Trincomalee

From Our Own Correspondent

MR. T. AHAMBARAM, J.P., was elected Chairman of the Trincomalee Urban Council, on 10-1-52. He defeated Mr. S. M. Manikkarajah who has been the Chairman of the Urban Council for the last seven years.

Mr. T. Ahambaram is the General Secretary of the Trincomalee U.N.P. Branch and is the President of the Trincomalee U.N.P. Youth League. He is a member of the All-Ceylon Fisheries Advisory Board, a Justice of the Peace, a Member of the Police Board of Inquiry, District Public Assistance Advisory Committee, Local Public Assistance Advisory Committee and Opium Board, Trincomalee. He is the President of the St. Joseph's College Old Boys' Association, St. Antony's Sports Club and Shivananda Sangam, Trincomalee. He is a Patron of the Trincomalee Sports Association and Industrial Learner Society. He is a member of the Koneshwar Temple Restoration Society.

Mr. Ahambaram is a great social worker and has by his exemplary conduct in all public matters proved that the U.N.P. is for the people.

He first entered the Urban Council in the year 1945 when he was returned to Sinnakade Ward. In 1948 he was returned to the Bazaar Ward, Ward No. 8 which was a part of his original ward. In 1951 elections he gave his own ward to his nominee, Mr. V. Poopalapillai, who incidentally was returned uncontested, and contested Ward No. 1 far away from his original ward and consisting mostly of Christians. He



Mr. T. Ahambaram

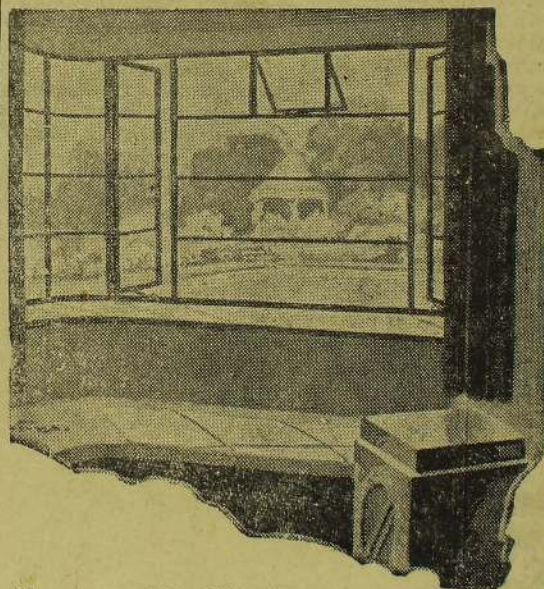
was returned with the biggest majority for any member in the Trincomalee, 1951 triennial elections. This victory was unique and proved beyond doubt the popularity of Mr. T. Ahambaram and of the U.N.P. Party of which he is the live-wire in Trincomalee.

The people of Trincomalee has decided once and for all that they are determined to end communal hatred and caste prejudices.

Mr. T. Ahambaram has the unenviable task of cleaning the Urban Council administration which is now completely rotten and making good the damage caused to Trincomalee by its representatives not co-operating with the Government. Mr. T. Ahambaram is equal to the task and we wish him all success in his endeavours and extend to him our fullest co-operation in all his schemes designed to bring happiness to Trincomalee.

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HUBERT WIJEGUNewardene ANALYSES COMMUNIST ATTACK ON RELIGION

THE first, the greatest, the most general peril is certainly Communism in all its forms and degrees. It threatens all openly and assails individual dignity, the sanctity of the family, the safety of civil life, and above all, Religion. It is a great and a universal danger which threatens the entire world.

What does Communism teach?

There are three main elements in the system advocated by the Communists: (1) The denial of God and the suppression of religion, especially the Catholic Church. (2) The abolition of private property. (3) The establishment of what is called a Proletarian State. (4) The stirring up of hatred between various groups in society (called the "class-war"), in order to bring about (1) and (2) and (3). I define it as nothing less than power based upon force, and limited by nothing—by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule. "The dictatorship of the Proletariat is a relentless struggle waged with bloodshed."

Where do the Communist get their ideas?

Communism, as taught by Lenin, is based largely on the doctrines of Karl Marx, a German philosopher of the last century. Marx wrote several books against the prevailing capitalistic system, and urged the adoption of a social reform of its own invention, which he called Marxism, and later, Communism. However, Communism, as we see it in the world today, is not the same as that which Karl Marx proposed. Lenin added many ideas and propositions, mostly destructive and atheistic, of his own. Lening also borrowed from several other European philosophers. So we can quite correctly say that, basically, Communism is a kind of hodge podge of radical 19th century philosophical teaching, mainly German, to which

the ideas of Lenin and his associates have been added.

How do they hope to bring worldwide revolution?

Communists are trying to get the working men and women, together with the boys and girls, of every country to join in destroying all existing forms of government, other than Communism. In these hard times, when a godless and greed-inspired capitalism is breaking down under its own excesses and so many men and women are out of work, the Communist hold out all manner of impossible things that sound good, but, in reality, are only deceitful promises, to allure the hungry and the discouraged.

You say that Communist want to abolish private property?

Communists say that no one should own any private property. According to the Communists, instead of each of us having things which we can all our own, everything must belong to the State—i.e. to everyone in common. They want government control of every conceivable vocation and activity. To bring this about, the Communists want to set up what they called a proletarian State, which means, in theory, one that is governed only by the working class; but in practice one that is run by the atheist portion of the working class.

Are they right in trying to abolish private property?

No; every man has a natural right and instinct for private property. It cannot be suppressed. This Communists found out in Russia. In trying to abolish private property, they seek to stifle the inborn trait in every human that cries out for recognition as an individual, that voice of reason which tells us that we are the equal of any other person on earth in our inalienable privilege to enjoy those rights, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Communism wants to change human nature to produce a new kind of man: It reaches into the minds

and souls of its victims and forcibly changes morals and beliefs and rights to fit its own tyranny. It is a despotism and a domination far worse than that of any Czar. It is cruel dictatorship gone insane with power and oppression, which seeks to reduce human being to level of slaves.

Whence comes the right to hold property

The first and fundamental source of all property rights is none other than God. He alone has supreme dominion over the entire universe. Hence, He alone can give any part of the world to whom He pleased. He may give much to one and little to another, for He is the Lord, the Creator and the Ruler of all. As a matter of fact, God has given the whole world to mankind. This the Bible tells us when it echoes the words of God at the moment of creation: "Let us make man to our image and likeness; and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth....." Now, the reason why God gave to man this dominion over all things in the world is this: Every man upon earth must serve and worship God to merit eternal happiness. But, as food, clothing, house, property, and other material things are necessary for all that, God wills that a certain amount of such earthly and temporal things be in the possession of each man. Therefore we say that every man has a right to property, to a share in the world's goods and products.

But the Communist want to give everybody a share?

That is only partly true. The Communists want to give each man a share, but it must be measured out by the tyrannical leaders of their own party. The wealth produced by the workers will be distributed at the discretion of Communist State officials. In this way, citizens may be sufficiently flourished, but they will be deprived of economic freedom, for they will depend entirely on the favour of the Communist State for the security of their livelihood. In such a position, they are slaves of the State.

What do you mean by Capitalism?

Capitalism and Capital are words that are used very often and in a very careless manner. Capital is that part of wealth which is used for the purpose of obtaining more wealth. Capitalism is a system in which men, either individually or by banding together into companies or corporations, hire other men to work for them at certain salaries in order to increase profits.

Modern Capitalism is the present industrial economic regime, which in the words of the Pope, has become "hard, cruel and relentless in a ghastly measure." Power and wealth have accumulated in the hands of a few, while the masses of men have been deprived of the ownership and control of property and reduced to the level of wage-slaves.

Is Capitalism wrong

The capitalistic system in some parts of the world today is wrong in its abuses and injustices. Strictly speaking, Capitalism in itself is not wrong, but it has led to widespread and cruel excesses. We have what is called an economic domination concentrated in the hands of a few. The capital of the world is not properly distributed, and a threefold struggle has arisen for economic supremacy itself, for control of the State, and finally the clash between States themselves. Such a condition is wholly contrary to the teaching

of the Catholic Church. The Pope condemns the present capitalistic regime in the strongest language.

Why, then, is Communism not right in overthrowing Capitalism?

Firstly, because, as we said, Capitalism is evil not in itself but in its abuses. Secondly, because the plan which the Communist propose would only result in a case of the cure being worse than the disease. For, in the Communist plan, the worker would have less property and less freedom than he has today. In order to clean a house a man does not destroy it. The Communist would destroy the social structure and abolish private property. Such is against justice and natural law.

What do you mean by labour?

Labour, in its strictest sense, means a conscious and systematic activity of the human mind or body with the intention of producing definite results or profit. Labour is the name given to the great body of working men in the world. Labour is of three kinds. **Intellectual Labour**, when the mind produces something that can be sold—as a book. **Physical Labour**, or, as we sometimes say, **Manual Labour**, which is the work of the hands, such as working in a factory. **Mixed Labour**, which is a combination of both intellectual and physical labour such as an invention. Labour in relation to Capital is labour that one man hires out to another and which is used in working or in increasing the property or goods of another.

What does the Church teach on Labour and Capital?

According to the teachings of the Catholic Church, the right of an individual or of a group of individuals to acquire and hold in private ownership some of the world's means of production is quite in harmony with the moral law, provided they are not acquired or used unjustly to injure the workers. And if Capital profits from the work of Labour, then Capital has a right to such profits, provided it gives to Labour a just wage, good working conditions and reward for faithful service in some form of an old age pension.

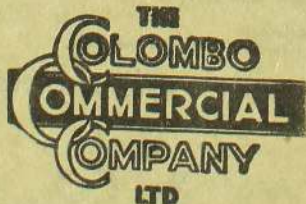
What do the Communism teach about Religion?

The Communists say, "Religion is the opium of the people." This is a slogan invented by Karl Marx, and repeated, parrot-fashion, by Communist ever since. On the contrary, Irreligion is the opium of the people, especially Communist irreligion, because it fills the people's minds with the false dream of a paradise on earth, in which all will be free and content, finding complete happiness and satisfaction in the exercise of their lower instincts, with no life beyond the grave and no supreme judge to demand an account of our works. Religion, far from being the dope of the people, is the hope of the people, for it is only by a return to true religion that freedom, peace and social justice can return to the world. For religion alone can bring out of been the higher aspirations of justice, charity and brotherhood and duty to God and neighbour. Indeed, religion inspires them to heroism. It sent the martyrs singing gaily to their deaths in the Roman amphitheatre, it produced the saints and scholars who saved civilisation and learning in the dark ages; it fired the crusaders with heroism for their faith; it inspires the thousands of missionaries, nuns and brothers throughout the world to give up their lives, for no earthly reward, for the good of their fellow-men. And things of the ancient people in Ireland. The Irish are passionately religious. If religion were the opium of the people, we should expect the Irish to be particularly subservient and contented, bowed in sleepy submission to the yoke that has been imposed on them for centuries. But you know the long fight they have fought for their faith and freedom.

Continued on page 3)

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Education and the State

By Stanley Weerasinghe

THE true functions of the State and in particular the proper relation between State activity and private enterprise, have long been a favourite theme of discussion. But there are certain points that claim the attention of the student of education because of the light they throw upon the settled policy of modern civilised States with regard to the establishment and control of school system.

Writers reaching from Hobbes, the father of modern political theory, through Locke, Adam Smith, Bentham and J. S. Mills differ widely in their accounts of the origin of society and in their views of the relation of individuals to society after the latter has been formed but they agree in assuming the individual as the primary fact from which society has somehow to be deduced.

Of these Mills recognises certain necessary functions of government, such as those relating to taxation, the judicature and police. He makes, however, a long list of exceptions to the rule and prominent among these is education. On grounds of expediency State intervention is here, he says, necessary, because the consumer is not a competent judge of the commodity. Schools and colleges should therefore be provided by the State and elementary education should be made compulsory; but there should be no monopoly and no discouragement of private teaching. Still, the broad principle remains that it is the duty of the State by all practicable and promising means, to seek to raise its citizens to a higher plane of life. Thus we find that a modern civilised State makes elementary education compulsory and free. In a word, the principle of unrestricted competition which means victory to the strong and death to the weak, has been definitely abandoned and the power of the State to help forward the moralisation of the individual has been abundantly recognised.

Education like the other beneficial influence at work in a civilised community, may be conducted by all or any of three means: First by voluntary effort with a view to profit; Secondly, by voluntary effort arising from philanthropic or religious motives; Thirdly, by the agency of the State.

During the Middle Ages schools, as then existed, were dependent on the Church, which provided teachers, met expenses and settled aims and ideals of education. It has now been recognised that philanthropic motives even when combined with religious zeal are not enough to rescue the masses of the people from the evils of ignorance and defective training and so the organisation of primary education is an accomplished fact.

Primary education has been thought of as being for the poor who cannot pay for it and secondary education for the middle classes, but now the point of view is that the business of the State is to keep open the ways of intellectual opportunity from the bottom to the top of the national system of education in order to secure as much as possible of the advantages which accrues to the community from making the best of great abilities, however humbly born. Thus by a sort of capillary attraction the idea of State intervention rises up from the level of elementary education to which Adam Smith would have confined it, to the higher stages of instruction, secondary and academic. The State should prevent woefully inefficient private schools from imposing upon ill-formed knowledge on the average student.

STATE FUNCTION—GENERAL CONTROL

The State should provide schools of different kinds—primary, secondary and technical—suited to the needs of each locality and so co-

ordinated as to prevent needless multiplication of effort. The State having provided the means of education it should, on the same grounds, compel careless parents to live up to their privileges, at least to the extent of requiring that every child should go through the primary course.

The State should decree that compulsory attendance is expected from pupils. An educational function of the State is that of assuming the general control and direction of the school system.

The State performs a valuable service when it disseminates information concerning improved methods and that of seeing that suitable provision is made for a regular supply of efficient teachers.

HURBERT WIJewardene ANALYSES COMMUNIST ATTACK ON RELIGION

(Continued from page 2)

What do the Communist do about Religion?

As soon as they obtain power, they smash and persecute religion with satanic fury. They are fired with fanatical hatred of Christianity. Karl Marx said: "Religion and Communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically." Lenin said: "All religious ideas are an unspeakable abomination." Lunarcharski said: "We hate Christianity and Christians..... Christian love is an obstacle to the revolution. Down with the love of our neighbour! What we want is hatred. We must learn how to hate and it is only then that we shall conquer the world." This diabolical hate is shown in their actions. In Russia, churches were robbed, burned and destroyed, priests and bishops murdered, or sent to rot in the Soviet prisons; the preaching of religion punished by prison, even death. In Spain, in their effort to make it like Russia, they burned churches, schools and institutions for the sick poor, crucified priests, violated and murdered nuns and committed frightful blasphemies and desecration of the Blessed Sacrament. As Our Lord said: "By their fruits you shall know them." Such are the fruits of Communism.

(To be continued).

It is the teacher alone who can supply the driving power. And it is the business of the State, by providing the means of training, with or with-

out the help of universities, and by establishing an effective system of registration, to see that the requisite power is forthcoming.

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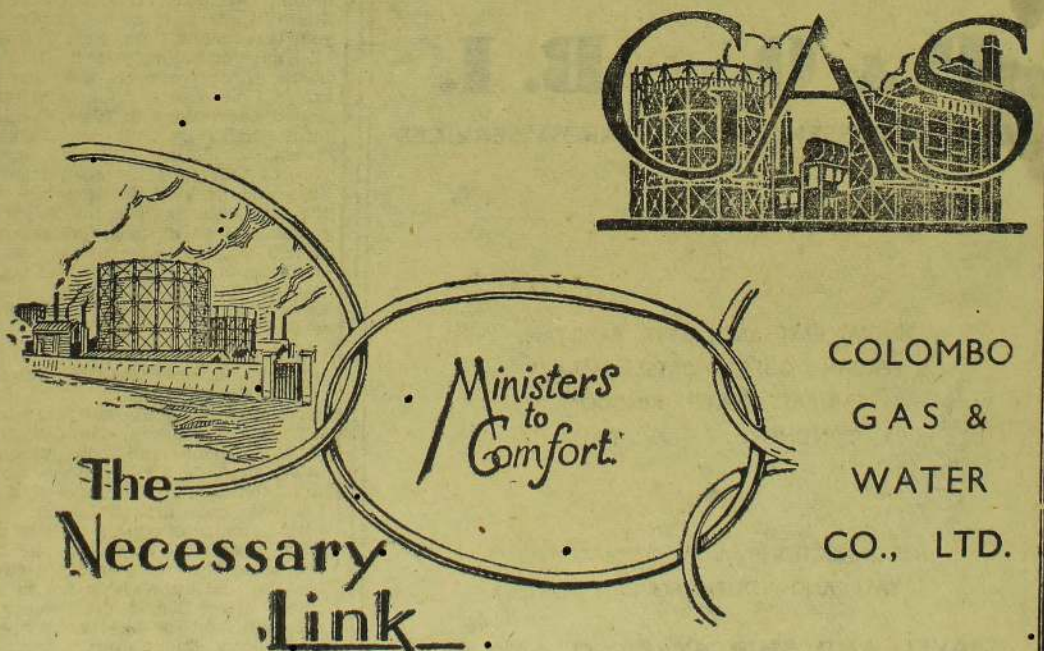


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Continuing "Russia by Daylight"

TITO AND THE SATELLITES

In 1942 he produced a revised version, prefaced by a modest little note which gives the unwary reader no indication at all of the magnitude of the revolution in his own approach: "The first edition of my essay from 'Ivan Grozny' was published in 1922. The subsequent appearance of new sources and of original works by U.S.S.R. historians prompted me to revise my work and to publish it in a new and enlarged edition." The general drift of the new interpretation can best be indicated by Wipper's own attack on the nineteenth-century historians, which is also an attack on his own past opinions:

"All these suffer from a defect which played a fatal role in establishing Grozny's reputation. They were perfectly indifferent to the growth of the Moscow State, its great unifying mission, Ivan IV's broad designs, his military innovations and his brilliant diplomacy. To some extent these judges of Ivan Grozny resemble Seneca, Tacitus and Juvenal who, in their sharp attacks on the Roman despots, concentrated their attention on Court and metropolitan affairs and remained indifferent to the vastness, the border-lands, the external security and the glory of the celebrated empire."

Those words, which might occur in a well-conceived apologia for Stalin, appeared, as I have said, in 1942. It took the war to bring them out, just as it took the war to bring Stalin out as the supreme leader of his country, of the Soviet fatherland. But the ground had been well prepared.

Thus, when, also in 1942, the army went back to golden epaulettes, the Guards were recreated, and new orders were named after warrior saints and Tsarist generals, this was not the outcome of a sudden opportunist move. It had been well pondered. The outside world, as well as the Russian people, were quite right in believing that Stalin had moved away from Marxism and was reviving the old imperial idea with himself as the great Vozhd in place of the Tsar. Our error was to attribute this process to the strains and stresses of war. It would, I believe, be more correct to say that the war gave Stalin a pretext for an open and wholehearted return to the Russian idea than to say that the war forced it upon him: it had already been forced upon him

by the whole monstrous weight of Russia. But he was in the position of an atheistical Archbishop of Canterbury, the prisoner of his clergy. The sheep-dogs, were trained to certain methods and ends; they knew nothing else. The methods and ends in the shepherd's mind were changing; but he had no other dogs. In the stress of war, once the behaviour of the Germans had made it impossible for the Russian people to do anything but fight back (and it was more than a year before this happened as a general rule), in the uncomplicated act of resistance to a foreign invader, Stalin was able to do without a great deal of the elaborate apparatus of coercion provided by the Party and to rally the people round him as the supreme warrior chief. But when the war came to an end and the old peacetime treadmill had to be resumed, his figure was no longer enough in itself, and the whole apparatus of Party and Police had to be purged, restored, and strengthened.

It is possible to argue that some of the ineptitudes, muddles and desperate improvisations attributed to Stalin in previous chapters have not been ineptitudes, muddles and desperate improvements at all, but only appear so because the full course of the grand design has not been run. Indeed, it is possible to argue almost anything, including the thesis that by coldly betraying Mao Tse Tung and supporting Chiang Kai-Shek (as Stalin did over a great many years) the Kremlin was consciously doing the Chinese Communists a good turn—though it is to be hoped that these themselves know better! But there is one thing that cannot be argued (although people hypnotized by Soviet power tried very hard to do so for a time), namely, that Stalin knew what he was doing when he pronounced anathema on Marshal Tito.

Thus the first and most important thing about the Tito affair is precisely that it does demonstrate conclusively, once and for all, that the Kremlin can and does make mistakes, and that to imagine that it is infallible and invulnerable is to play straight into the hands of the Communists, who devote their miserable lives to trying to make it seem so. The members of the Moscow Politburo are, as human beings, fallible; while in so far as they are still Leninists, their whole philosophy is rooted in error—or so those of us who are not Leninists must believe. And yet we attribute to these preposterous representatives of a backward country, running a system based on false premises, a subtlety and prescience unexampled in the history of the world. Perhaps those who have not followed me so far will meditate on the Tito blunder and ask themselves whether the men who can perpetrate one howler on this massive scale may not, after all, have perpetrated others. It might also be a good thing to ask whether their very insistence on the supreme importance of theory and planning does not give them away. For the only people who have to take theory seriously are those without an instinctive sense of reality; and the only people who have to take planning seriously are those without an instinctive sense of order.

If our first debt of gratitude to Tito—whether we approve of him or not—is for his simple exposure of the Kremlin at a loss, the second is for his daring to call Stalin's bluff. This is an aspect of the Tito affair which has not received the attention it deserves, perhaps because we shrink from its implications. But the fact remains that the head of this small, vulnerable, almost completely encircled State, a State, moreover, deficient in national unity, has dared to stand up to the Soviet Union more radically and steadfastly than the greatest powers in the world. Whether inspired by faith or by superior intelligence as to the real state of affairs inside the Soviet Union and the satellite ring, or by the sort of attitude which lies behind this book, Tito has said to Stalin in effect: "I do not believe in your threats and I am ready to stake all I have on calling your bluff." For nearly three years he has maintained that position in face of the united execrations of his Cominform neighbours and the darkest threats of violence. For a great part of that time he has sustained an economic blockade imposed at the very moment when the Yugoslav economy is at its most vulnerable. If this is not a lesson to the rest of us—a lesson which makes its point whether Tito is ultimately done away with or not—then I don't know what is.

A third service performed involuntarily by Marshal Tito is his forcing of the Kremlin's hand. He has compelled Stalin to show the true logic of his attitude towards the satellites sooner and more precipitately than he would otherwise, I think, have done. He may even, as I believe, have brought about an actual change of policy. For by defying Moscow so steadfastly he has compelled Moscow to admit in effect that its real interests lie not in the spread of the Communist ideology as such but, and for whatever purpose, in Russian imperialism. Furthermore, having once had to throw off its ideological camouflage, the Moscow Politburo has given up all pretence behind the Iron Curtain everywhere that its interest is anything but dominion by force. This demonstration has opened the eyes of many simple souls who were far from being fellow-travellers, as well as heavily disillusioning not only fellow-travellers but some hitherto loyal Party members.

Finally, we must not overlook the effect of Tito's revolt on the Krem-

lin itself. The psychological shock was certainly profound. But, more than this, it was an unsettling experience. We have already seen that Stalin and his friends are not by any means so completely obsessed with their own readings of Marxist-Leninism as they pretend. They are nevertheless, as I have said, still very much the prisoners of the Marxist attitude, and they are accustomed to justifying all their own actions and condemning all the actions of others in quasi-Marxist terms. But in the Tito affair, for the first time in many years, they are up against a major event which cannot be explained away, by any stretch of the imagination, in even pseudo-quasi-Marxist terms. It is easy enough to pretend that Messrs. Attlee and Bevin are in the pay of Wall Street, or that the British coal magnates themselves invented nationalization as a convenient way of passing on their losses to the nation (indeed, one sometimes, shivering, wonders). But to explain exactly what has happened in Yugoslavia in terms which would convince a child calls for an appreciation of reality, of the way the world works—the world of human beings behaving like human beings—which is not fostered by a close study of *Problems of Leninism*. The actual explanation offered is that Tito is a spy and always was one; but it took the Kremlin some time to commit itself to that assertion, and too many Communists know it to be a lie.

In these aspects, as well as in others not mentioned, the Tito affair has an importance which has not even yet, I think, been widely enough realized. It falls very nicely into line with the general thesis of this book—which, it may already be suspected, is that Stalin and his friends are not, to put it vulgarly, all they are cracked up to be, and that Soviet Russia, even if she has not feet of clay (plaster of Paris, perhaps?), has, to put it politely, her fair share of those internal contradictions in which Karl Marx, with the light of battle in his eyes, saw the downfall of organized societies. Even those who set themselves most determinedly against the present Yugoslav regime, who see in Tito, his quarrel with Stalin notwithstanding, simply a pocket replica of Stalin, should be glad that he is what he has proved to be. Indeed, the very worst that can be said against Tito, the independent, is that he can bring no more woe to the people of Yugoslavia than can Tito, the most ardent and impatient of Stalin's disciples.

The first thing we have to ask, if we wish to derive any benefit from this affair, is why Russia let it happen—or rather, why, having blundered into letting it happen, she has allowed Tito to survive for three years.

Russia let it happen, obviously, because she did not know any better; it simply never occurred to her that, especially after the lesson of Finland, a weak country would defy her. The immediate and obvious answer to the question why she has allowed Tito to survive so long is surely that she could do nothing else.

Certainly the Kremlin has tried to pull Tito down. It has uttered threats of a kind probably never before heard in time of technical peace between nations. It has demonstrated with troops on Yugoslavia's frontiers, and fomented incidents. It has appealed to anti-Tito elements inside Yugoslavia to rise against the Government and turn it out. It has declared that it is the solemn duty of Communists everywhere to fight against Tito. And, above all, it has imposed an economic blockade designed to ruin the Yugoslav economy—a blockade, moreover, which is by no means painless for the other

(Continued on page 5)

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"RUSSIA BY DAYLIGHT"

(Continued from page 4)

satellites, especially Czechoslovakia and Poland, who have both suffered very heavily from their interrupted trade with Yugoslavia. But with all this, three years have passed. Tito still stands, and the Kremlin has not yet tried the most effective way of removing him—or driving him from Belgrade—namely war—war open, or war disguised in the Spanish manner.

Since, as we have seen, the Kremlin has no moral scruples about war whatsoever, the elementary conclusion is that so far the Kremlin has felt that it cannot safely go to war with Tito. It may also have believed—indeed, it should so believe, if all it has said about the failure of E.R.P. and the imminence of the American slump is still taken seriously in Moscow—that the economic blockade, laced with a lively and persistent war of nerves, will sooner or later make Tito's position untenable. But if the Soviet Union is really as fit for war as so many people have been making out, we should surely have expected some sort of military intervention long ago. The most familiar argument for the Kremlin's warlike intentions is the "face" argument. Surely, having stuck her neck out so far, Russia must go through with it if only to save her own face. That is how the argument runs, but it holds a fallacy. The Russians have never been interested in face, but only in force. What they hold is held not by prestige but by policemen. It is only in the initial stages of a new and predatory move that the Russians rely on the prestige of their might to paralyse their victims in advance. When it comes to running a secured imperium they have never relied on face, and they know it. They have never cared about that sort of thing at all. If the Tsars had really cared for face they would never have given way at the Con-

gress of Berlin. If Stalin had cared for face he would never have dared commit his innumerable treacheries on the foreign Communist Parties. The most that can be said is that if the Kremlin was bent on intimidating an adjoining small state into subjection it might think twice about showing weakness in face of Tito. But for the time being there are no more suitably placed small states to be intimidated; and there is also every reason to suppose that the Kremlin has advanced as far into Europe as it proposes or desires for some time to come. If this is so, the argument that Russia cannot afford to drop Tito like a hot potato and go back on her word means nothing. The Bolsheviks have done little else in their thirty years of power but drop things like hot potatoes and go back on their word. They cared little for the face they lost over the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact or over the betrayal of the German Communists. By their particular mode of calculating (which is nevertheless, in the long run, a faulty mode) these betrayals cost them nothing. As for the face argument, this is an example of the sort of confusion that can arise by thinking of the Russians as Orientals (I take it on trust that the true Oriental is in fact a believer in face). They are not Orientals; they are Russians. And it says something for their wholly contemptuous attitude towards such refinements of honour that nobody at all, not even America and the British Empire with all their might, has yet drawn the obvious conclusion from Russian weakness in face of Tito. Both these two mighty Powers let Tito face the dragon, while they themselves shiver with fright in the shadows and babble about the bombing of New York.

But if this particular argument—the argument that the Kremlin must crush Tito for reasons of prestige—holds no water, prestige is not

the only reason for a possible armed attack on Yugoslavia, and the fact that no such attack has so far been launched does not mean that it never will be. It is only possible to say for certain in this context that the whole training of the Communist Party is against any sort of aggressive war that cannot be finished quickly, and that this is reinforced by the traditional Russian reluctance to storm a strong position if it can be undermined. Add to that the almost certain fact that the Soviet Union is, as I shall soon try to show, in no fit state to risk embroiling herself in a total war, either materially or morally, and the chances against anything like an open attack, either by the Soviet Army, or by the satellite armies surreptitiously reinforced by the Russians, are pretty heavy.

In this connection, too, we have to ask whether the reconquest of Yugoslavia and the substitution of a Soviet puppet for Tito would really be to the advantage of the Kremlin for some years to come. The opportunity for seizing Greece has gone, and the chief value of Yugoslavia is as a stepping-stone to Greece. Furthermore, we may also ask whether Tito the villain, the Trotskyite and scapegoat, may not (as reckoned in the tortuous calculations of the Moscow Central Committee) be more valuable alive than dead as a cover and a pretext for the new rule of force in the other satellites—a rule which Tito himself precipitated? The extraordinary way in which he has been built up by the Moscow propagandists suggests that this question may not be far-fetched. Instead of playing Tito down, and pretending that he does not matter, the Kremlin has done everything in its power to build him up as the arch-enemy from whom all evils flow—and there are plenty of evils in the satellites to be accounted for. This build-up has gone, of course, hand in hand with the campaign to eliminate from the European consciousness the fact that Tito was ever a Communist; and the "loyal" Yugoslav Communists are thereby, by implication, written down into the same category as the Communists of France or Italy—comrades who will one day be gathered into the arms of the great father, but who must for the time being plough a lonely furrow. At the same time the figure of Tito the heretic has become completely obliterated by the figure of Tito the

veteran Anglo-American spy. And all this seems to me to suggest very strongly that whatever limited campaigns the Kremlin may pursue, using Bulgaria, for example, as a stalking-horse and Macedonian independence as a rallying-point for an internal Yugoslav opposition, its real policy is, as it were, to write off the Yugoslav corner of the map as something which threatens the Cominform, in the way that Wall Street threatens the Cominform, but in which the Cominform has no special and proprietorial interest.

Far more important than what Russia is doing to Yugoslavia, it seems to me, is what she is doing to the remaining satellites, either as a result of Tito's defection, or using this defection as a pretext—to such an extent that it is hardly too much to say that if Tito had not occurred it would have been necessary for Stalin to invent him.

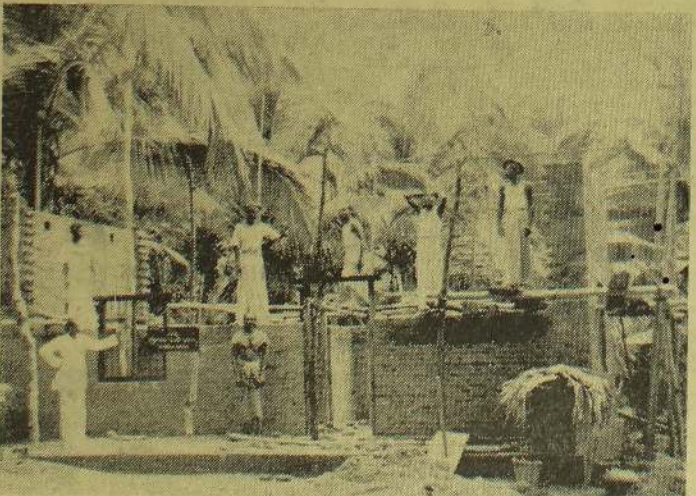
For what she has done, with the purges and trials and the virtual transformation of the Cominform organization into a branch of the Soviet Security Police, is quite deliberately to kill the spirit of the Communist Party in Eastern Europe. This is done by behaving towards its most ardent and devoted leaders in exactly the same way as those Communist leaders themselves behaved towards their Socialist colleagues of the Popular Fronts. In other words, the late loyal servants of Moscow, Rajk of Hungary, Kostov of Bulgaria, Gomulka of Poland, have received a large dose of their own precious medicine. For just as they allied themselves with the Socialists, only to kill them off when they had climbed with them into power, so they find themselves being discarded once they have fulfilled their function of establishing the Kremlin's power over their own countries.

(To be continued).

Rural Development



In the village of Wewala, the slogan is "Our Village—we shall develop it." The people get together & work free to build roads & schools.—(Photos by Shirley J. Payoe.)



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THE FORTHCOMING FESTIVAL

THE visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh and the opening of the Colombo Exhibition are now just round the corner and in a few weeks' time Ceylon will hit the headlines as she has never done before. From far and near, from over the seas and from the hinterland hundreds of thousands of people will flock into Colombo for a festival unparalleled in Ceylon's long history and likely to remain unsurpassed in the future. However much all this tremendous influx will benefit the country, a very grave responsibility lies in the Government in respect of food and health. At a time when food is both scarce and costly any large-scale migration, however temporary it may be, is bound to affect the economy of the city. Avaricious traders have already planned to make the most of the situation and several consumer goods, which are likely to be in demand, have even now gone underground and are available only at a price far in excess of their real value. The Government has, fortunately, not lost sight of

this fact and arrangements are being made to provide rice and flour in unlimited quantities so as to put an effective check on the activities of black-marketeers. But man cannot live either on bread or rice alone: he needs meat, fish or vegetables as well. And it is here that unscrupulous traders can hold the community to ransom. The running of canteens will certainly help the casual village visitor but the interests of the Colombo residents must also be adequately safeguarded. As it is they find it increasingly difficult to solve their daily food problem. When the little that is available has to be shared among a much larger population, it is obvious that something should be done to ensure the availability of increased supplies. One way of doing this would be to open a series of fair price stalls all over the city at which not only fish and meat will be sold but vegetables will also be procurable at reasonable prices. In the matter of health, too, it is very essential that the Medical authorities, both Municipal and Government, should keep a very close watch on the situation and see that the crowds that throng the city do not bring sickness and disease with them. Top priority should be given to sanitation particularly in view of the fact that there is still no drainage in many parts of the city. Cleanliness should be the keynote of the Medical campaign and nothing must be left to chance.

The Insufficiency of Marxism an Inevitable Conclusion

By Quintus Delilkhani

IT has been demonstrated in many issues of this journal that in every phase of its thinking and of its actual development upon the field of history, Marxism has demonstrated a total insufficiency. This is the inevitable conclusion that one is compelled by the logic of fact, and the compulsion of honest reasoning, to arrive at. The hold of Marxism on the minds of many men is not to be explained by its being a rational explanation of things as they are, nor by the presumption that it embodies a superior form of justice or of a higher order of wisdom than the world has hitherto known. Marxism has achieved a hold upon masses of men by giving them a vision of a newer world by falsely offering to break loose from the harms and oppressions of capitalism, but at the same time the practice of its principles has more than amply demonstrated that it promises what it cannot fulfil. In every country in which it has been tried, we find that human ills have multiplied beyond reckoning. We can get statistics to tell a comparatively accurate story of what happens to man in his physical condition. He can be shown to have more food or less food more means of transport or less means of transport more

opportunities of education or less means of education but when we pass on to the imponderable region of the spirit we cannot assess the damage done to men by the loss of their fundamental freedoms which democracy alone respects and guarantees.

The highest merit of the democratic state is that it gives man the opportunity of deciding the issues of his own development. He is free to choose the highest good which he thinks will satisfy the needs of his personality in its desire to express itself most fully. In communism every thing is regimented. Even those things which are in themselves good are thus poisoned at the root. Men may desire culture. This is one of man's needs. No society can develop in the line of civilization unless there is a satisfaction of this need. Men must however be free to choose the avenues of advancement. They must not be told what they are to think. They must not be compelled to cut themselves away from the most liberal thought of the world. The State finds that such liberalism in thought imperils its violent hold on the minds of men. Soviet and communist culture exist only that men might imbibe those ideas which will enable them to maintain the supremacy of the communist state.

The communist imperialism aims not only at an extension of its

(Continued on page 7)

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Asian Stability and the U. S. A..

By Eardley Gunasekera

BRITAIN is great, America is powerful. The gulf between the two qualities is wide and it is the power of the latter in contrast to the greatness of the former that must help in Asian stability. The eminence of each nation in its particular branch should not be a delicacy that should be enjoyed by them only. On the contrary let the less fortunate and backward nations partake in its immense value—a value that could help to remedy many political difficulties. We as Asians could only appreciate the ability of Western Powers if only they will extend to us a sympathetic hand for the combat of a common foe in Russian imperialist aggression.

Many of us are oblivious to the fact that Communism is not the voice, taste and conscience of the people but rather the fanatic arbitrary dictates radiating from the Kremlin. Its seemingly intellectual appeal, its seemingly impressive phraseology are nothing but crafty devices of individuals seeking their personal good. And it is in moments when frustration, poverty and social turmoil have overpowered us that this doctrine so full of wishful thinking takes root. We in Asia find ourselves in this condition today.

Into this environment Communism is gradually infiltrating. To help fight this menace is one way in which the United States could help the Asians. Besides this, however, there are other considerations which we will presently think of. The prospect of China becoming the venue of another battle as Manchuria was in the Russo-Japanese war, not forgetting the long unending conflict that is being waged in Korea. The U.S. must be prepared to meet this danger because some time back Americans believed that Japan was fighting the war for America. It was the battle for the Open Door. Japan was successful to a degree in this war in that she eliminated Russian influence in China.

Where Japan succeeded in one direction she failed in another in that she was never able to get on in peaceful terms with China. The trends China-Japan relations were taking were the subject of critical examination by the United States.

Japan's failure was due to many causes since at a time when Chinese nationalism was at its zenith and when she was making an impressive attempt to assert her rights Japan made it a point to impose Confucian traditionalism upon her. This kind of treatment would never be entertained by the Chinese as about 80 per cent. of her population was agricultural in her pursuits. It is to prevent imposition of this type which attempt to thrust alien methods of thought and life on a people that live happily in an atmosphere impregnated with a tradition, custom and mode of thought that is peculiarly their own, external aid is sought. If we enjoy and live in content in an environment we are used to then there is no necessity to replace it by untied and ill-suited conditions.

China has been an inestimable source of food for the rice eating population of Asia. It has now turned Communist and many people are faced with the grim prospect of not being able to procure adequate supplies to feed themselves. These are the Communist Fabian tactics, and no rational person will accept a doctrine that fosters methods of this type. We in Ceylon, however, do not face such a situation and thanks must go to our Government and our bureaucracy. The United States, therefore, being a powerful nation, has a very grave responsibility in Asia. Inhuman acts of Communist aggression deserve treatment consonant with power, wealth and efficacy.

Nevertheless it must be remembered that mere numbers and military strategy are fundamentally insufficient to ward off the Red onslaught. We are now confronted with another aspect of United States responsibility in Asia, for it is in this aspect could the duel purpose of eradicating Communism and installing a higher standard of living so vital to Asian stability could be achieved. The United States must not only be interested in questions of the moment such as the Korean war but also in observations derived from past experiences as well as an effective policy for the future. The problems involved in Asia are indeed difficult to solve since they are the result of peoples having differences in race, language, religion and cul-

ture. In their attempt to help us the United States cannot hope to administer a universal remedy.

The United States has progressed a great deal. In practically every branch of knowledge it has been able to hold her own, such as in industry, commerce and agriculture. Her new techniques in these branches have spread to Asia and has revolutionised Asia methods in these particular fields. This is precisely the reason why the United States must help to cure the complexities that may have arisen as a result of these changes.

The United States when embarking on a constructive policy for Asian stability must preserve Asian traditions and aspirations. Many have emphasised this fact and they include great personalities as Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Romulo and Dr. Palar. The standard of living throughout Asia is appallingly low and she requires more food, modern technology, education, health programs and land reforms. These are the problems that need immediate attention.

In the policy America hopes to pursue for Asia they must always remember that wherever possible she

should champion the cause for freedom and encourage it. They must foster union among Asian peoples wherever possible. That the United States is wealthy from point of view of money as well as from the point of view of specialisation, no one will dispute. Being placed in this advantageous position the United States must be willing to give private assistance and governmental aid in economic, social and educational fields. This does not mean that the United States must dominate over Asia. Finally in uplifting the living conditions in Asia and helping them to solve the problems they are afflicted by the United States could do so through the channels of the United Nations. By working through the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the many specialized agencies of the United Nations, the United States could help in the technical assistance scheme.

This is the condition in which Asia finds herself placed in, and it is absolutely impossible for her to solve her difficulties from the available resources and knowledge found in Asia itself. We are backward in certain departments of everyday life, we need help and the United States can give it to us.

Insufficiency of Marxism

(Continued from page 6)

authority throughout the world but it hopes to exercise its power over the total area of the human mind. Where there is fear the development of the mind of a people cannot expand. They have to wait upon the direction of the State, and the State when based upon tyranny of the individual is jealous of freedom of thought. In these circumstances, cultural institutions might multiply a hundredfold, but cultural content is bound to be dwarfed and stultified. The very springs of human thought are bound to run dry. There is no room for bold speculations. Even science must follow the Soviet way. The scientist is not free to deal with the world of material fact. His investigations must take into account the requirements of the State. He must not be guilty of running counter to the narrow and established conclusions which are deemed vital for the State to maintain in the interests of its own survival. There is no disinterested love of truth, and this is a chain binding men to a form of intellectual slavery.

Religion has always sustained man in his life on earth. It has been a most persistent factor in the development of man. But even in this region which is the prerogative of the individual conscience, Marxism steps in with its prohibitive fiat in favour of a uniform materialism, endeavouring to undermine the established beliefs and usages of the ages. Such a boundless tyranny of the mind and body as communism connotes is unparalleled in history. And yet there are the apologists of communism who expect the believers in religion to accept

their version that communism is not against the individual right to believe but only against the organised worship of people who have been misled into superstition and should not be allowed to pass on these superstitions to the young. Marxism lays hold of the mind and soul of a nation and endeavours to mould it through fear and coercion along materialistic lines which take away the whole zest of living.

It also fails to realise the facts of human nature which is at its best only when least under unfair coercion. Human rights are unknown to communist teaching. What is emphasised is the duties owed by the individual to the State. The State exists for the carrying out the ideas, plans and programmes of those who are at the top. A whole race cannot surrender its rights to so few without running grave risks of being the tools and victims of power.

It is hard to imagine that any country which has enjoyed its freedom could possibly make an exchange of this heritage for one in which there is constraint at every turn. The pressure of economic conditions which are hard should not blind us to the fact that the resources of every country are limited, that the men who promise may not be able to fulfil their promises, that they are able to do so only whilst out of power and when they are seeking for it, and that once they have obtained power the only difference would be that criticism of any of their failures would not be permitted. It is absurd to assume that communism is able to fulfil its promises. It cannot. Time is necessary for all things, and under a democratic order time is a

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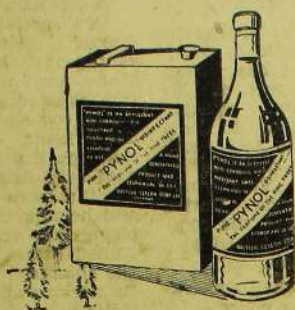
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TRINCO STATUES WERE MADE OVER 1,000 YEARS AGO

EVERY year on a day in the fourth week of January takes place an old Trincomalee event on Swamy Rock. Dashing of coconuts, offerings of fruits and flowers, part of the ceremonies followed by invocations, are all religious customs as mellow in age as time itself.

One detail of this ancient ceremony on Swamy Rock once seen will always be retained in the memory. And this is the loveliness of the light thrown across the sea when the priest closes his invocations raising a censer full of burning embers. It is most beautiful.

A better setting for the origin of this lusty survival of the past than Swamy Rock cannot be imagined. No political associations intermingled with the loves and hatreds of the Dons of Portugal had Trincomalee then. The Dutch were still among the Things to come. Those were days when the peace and beauty of this wonderful natural harbour were matched by the beauty and serenity of its beautiful name Ponnai (Smiling Infant). In comparison with the times when these annual ancient ceremonies began, the Dutch times concerning the death leap from Swamy Rock of the disappointed maiden Van Francina Rhede was comparatively recent.

In 1795 the British Expeditionary Force under Colonel Stuart captured Trincomalee. Then Swamy Rock in Fort Frederick was, like now, a solitary cliff rising 400 feet above sea level. Koneswaram—the temple of 1,000 columns, an edifice which stood on Swamy Rock, had already been lost to us for in 1622 it was demolished by Constantine De Sa, the Portuguese. The materials were used for fortifying the heights in which the temple stood. Ancient characters might yet be discerned on the walls of Fort Frederick. Some idols were rescued from destruction and conveyed to a pagoda at Tamblegam.

Of Trincomalee, in a despatch to the King of Portugal, Constantine De Saa wrote thus: "When I went to take this Fort I found engraved on the pagoda among other inscriptions one which ran thus: 'This pagoda was built by.....' nevertheless shall the time come when Francis will destroy it and thereafter there shall be no King in Ceylon."

Two 13th century stone statues of Vishnu excavated in 1945 are deposited at Trincomalee Kachcheri and just over a year ago three bronze statues related to about the 11th century found near Fort Frederick were taken round the Island and installed in the new temple constructed by Koneswaram Temple Restoration Committee. The January ceremony this year should be marked with more religious enthusiasm than ever before induced by these 11th century "finds."

The story of how Trincomalee was once called by that beautiful name Ponnai—Smiling Infant centres round an old legend of the sacrifice to the sea in an ark of sandalwood of the infant daughter of the King of Deccan, in consequence of an oracle which declared that the King's dominions were imperilled. The sacrifice of the daughter of the King, a baby in arms, was the only means to avert the peril. The ark of sandalwood with the infant was wafted to the shores of Lanka and landed south of present day Trincomalee at a place still known by the name of Ponnai.

The King of the district adopted the infant and she succeeded to his dominions. A Hindu Prince having ascertained from the puranas that the Rock of Pannai was a holy fragment of the golden mountain Maku hurled into its present site during a conflict of the Gods, repaired to Ceylon and erected upon it a temple of Siva. The princess hearing of his arrival, sent an army to expel him and concluded the war by accepting him as husband. She endowed the pagoda which he had built with the many rice fields of Tamblegam.

The summit of this promontory rock is considerably higher and above the perilous situation on which the priest during the times of Emerson Tennant officiated. It was according to Tennant formed of a huge mass of rock and this primeval altar of old superstition bears the monument of a Christian suicide—a pillar of four alternately square and octagonal commemorates the unhappy fate and dreadful death of a young and beautiful woman. The inscription is nearly obliterated. So far as could be made out the following could be discerned:

ToT Gedaghtenis
Van Francina Rhede Tuen Van
AD 1687, 24th April
OR GEREGT.

The lady's name and date was distinct and tradition fills up the particulars of the catastrophe of Francina Rhede. She was the daughter of a gentleman of high position in the Dutch service betrothed and at the time of her death was about to be deserted by her affianced husband an army officer. He was on board a vessel that had spread its sails for Europe. Before getting clear of the coast, the ship had to tack and pass out parallel to the precipice. The motions of the vessel had been watched with intense interest by the forsaken one; as it approached the rocks she rushed from her apartment and flew along the edge of the cliff closing under which the vessel was gliding. The point was nearly gained when the ship and false lover were turning from her towards a foreign land; a moment she balanced herself on the projected crag then plunged the dizzy heights. Her mangled remains were rescued in fragments.

T. M. G. SAMAT.

Insufficiency of Marxism

(Continued from page 7)

sound a constructive builder. In a state in which communism triumphs there is a tremendous process of destruction, an immense break-up and a wild refashioning of the economic structure with a total disregard of what has gone before. This means that there is an extraordinary degree of waste of the resources of the country. And when communism builds it is in accordance with a programme which has not been productive of all that it claims it can do. The very hostility of communism to some sections of the community would mean the destruction of a good part of the nation's mature talent in business and industry. Communism has its own form of favouritism. There can be no impartiality where there is so much passion and hate.

There is no doubt that in Ceylon we are strengthening the bases of the democratic order which has the supreme merit of preserving all the fundamental human freedoms.

This is the best and only safeguard of the rights of the individual which it is the primary duty of the state to protect. It is hard to imagine that a people who have been used to these freedoms can possibly barter it away from sheer perversity and these freedoms can possibly barter it away sheer perversity and wrong-headedness. The present Government is building up the economic security of the country. It must be given the necessary time for the realisation of its schemes which are predominantly for the benefit of the country. A really free Ceylon is necessary to the nation's happiness. This advantage we possess. Whilst we are working for economic advancement, we must not throw away the priceless benefits of democratic freedom. It is the one possession which we must strive to retain unimpaired and whole. With this possession, economic freedom and economic advancement will minister abundantly to the happiness of the people of Ceylon.

How The Marxists Set About It

HOW is it that a creed such as the Marxists profess has to struggle hard for recognition? After all, a political philosophy which claims that it alone can abolish poverty and that it alone is a panacea for all the social evils of the civilised world should prove supremely attractive to the masses in every country. Nevertheless, this harbinger of the millennium is looked at askance by the masses in all democratic countries and has to fight for popular support with the gun and the bomb.

Let us examine first the Marxist contention that they alone can solve the problem of poverty. This is Lie Number One. I call this a lie because the two countries which first abolished poverty amongst their peoples are Sweden and Denmark, and they abolished it in two decades without strikes, without lock-outs, without secret police, without imprisoning a single political leader and without concentration camps. Above all, they did so without in the slightest degree infringing the rights and liberties of the individual. And if there are two countries in the world where the nostrums of Marxism have no apothecaries they are Denmark and Sweden. They and not Britain or Red Russia are the great social laboratories in the world since in those two Scandinavian countries the abolition of poverty is an accomplished fact and not a pious aspiration.

And the unique thing about their great achievement is that at no time during their histories did they consider it necessary to possess colonies to exploit in order to maintain their standards of living. Contrast this fact with the satellite states of the Red Russian Empire and the colonies to which some of the European countries still cling.

Another great fact about these Scandinavian countries is that it open to anybody from any other countries in the world to visit them and to see for themselves, without conducted tours, how well their social order works. There is no secret about it and they have no skeletons in their cupboard to hide from the most inquisitive visitor.

On the other hand no one except a well authenticated Communist of the true red breed is allowed to go where and when he will in Russia wherever he goes even within the the circumscribed limits allowed him the shadow of the secret police is ever near him. Now if Russia is the Utopia it the why them in all their achievements with restrictions on the foreign visitor? If Red Russia is the great welfare state is claimed to be, why not invite people from other countries to enter its premises and see what they have done and given the other countries every assistance to go and do likewise? For instance, take Capitalist America, the bete noir of the Marxists, how is it that, despite all the dreadful things the Marxists say about it, visitors are freely allowed inside it and are free to roam all over the country? Is the Big Bad Capitalist Wolf such a bad fellow after all? There are grave defects in its system, but the beauty of it is that these defects are freely discussed in the Press and on the platform and reforming agencies are hard at work doing their might and main to put things right. Take the Negro problem, for instance: no one can deny that it still remains a bad blot on the American social scene. But

valiant white Americans including Mrs. Roosevelt, the widow of the late President, striving to put things right while the Christian Churches are in the forefront of the fight.

By A. S. Morrison

But the plain fact is: Is there any difference between the Communists State's treatment of its political opponents—the concentration camp and the complete loss of civic rights—any better than the treatment of the Negroes in the Southern States? If it is justifiable to destroy political opponents by liquidation in a slave labour camp or by a stage-managed public trial or by public execution (as in Red China), then the plight of the Negro in the Southern States of the U.S.A. is, I make bold to say, a better one than that of the citizen in a Communist state who is discovered to be a critic of Stalinism. I say the plight of the Negro is better because he is a free man within certain limits and he has every hope of his situation being bettered, because his inferior status is today a matter that seriously disturbs the social conscience of White America. On the other hand, what hope has the poor benighted Soviet citizen in Russia or the satellite states once he has fallen foul of the secret police? Is there scope for discussion of his plight in the Red press or on a public platform or in a private club? The silence of the grave descends upon him, while his near and dear ones live in an agony of fear both for him and themselves. Where a man's fate is shrouded in silence, what hope can there be for his rescue?

But the fate of the Soviet citizen who dares to express his disapproval of Stalinism is not such a dire one as the penalties that overtake the real Marxist leaders in the satellite countries who still cherish some hopes for the independence of their countries. Woe be unto them if they obstruct the imperial plans of Red Russia. The post-war history of these States is the story of the judicial murder of the genuine Marxists who attempted to baulk Russia's designs. Can anyone forget how at a mock public trial that great Marxist patriot of Hungary, Rajke the man who spent nineteen years in jail under the old regime for his Marxist activities, was ordered to be executed like a common felon because his great crime was that he dared to be a patriot and to instigate a plot for rescuing his country from the grasp of the Kremlin. Tito of Yugoslavia, as all the world knows, is the only Stalinite to escape from the prison-house of Stalinism, and he is today able to maintain that independence only with the aid of American capital. Thus a Marxist states is preserved by a capitalist state. We shall never see the capitalist state preserved by a Marxist state.

However, even the judicial murder of the genuine Marxist leaders of the satellite states does not open the eyes of the contradictory breed of Marxists produced in Ceylon. Their eyes will only be opened when they are rudely closed by a bullet fired by one of Stalin's public executioners—the special corps of executioners reserved for the disposal of Marxists whose views prove too independent for Mr. Stalin, the Saviour of the Peoples, the Little Father of the Russians, and the Scourge of the Marxist leaders of countries which come within his grasp. The local Marxists who shout: Long live the Revolution! will not live long once a revolution comes. So they ought to thank Mr. D.S. Senanayake and Sri Nehru for saving them from the dreadful fate that has overtaken their Marxist brothers in the satellites of Imperial Red Russia. (to be continued).

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Youth League Formed At Bandarawela

A MASS meeting was held at Sivali Vidyalaya, Bandarawela on Saturday the 19th inst for the purpose of forming a U. N. P. Youth League for Bandarawela.

Dr. B. G. Gunawardena was elected to the chair, pro-tem, to conduct the meeting next Mr. A. S. Basnayake Chairman U. C. Bandarawela, explained the purpose of the meeting.

Mr. P. A. Jinadasa Niyathapala, Vice-President All-Ceylon Youth League in a lengthy speech while explaining the policy, programme and aim of the U.N.P. traced the struggle for political independence from 1915 to its culmination in 1948. Next he explained the various National Projects like the Dry Zone Colonisation schemes and the Gal-Oya multi-purpose scheme undertaken by the U. N. P. Government for the welfare and progress of the country. He also said that as the leftists say the U. N. P. is not a capitalist party and that it was not formed with such a motive.

Mr. Tudor Wijesiriwardena Hon. Joint Secretary, All-Ceylon Youth League next addressed the gathering. He said that in order to maintain the unity of all communities and to work the Soulbury Constitution the U. N. P. was formed in 1947 by getting together the three major communities of the country. As such the aim of the prime movers of the U.N.P. was to maintain unity of all communities.

The Youth League he said is pledged to maintain this brotherhood of communities. Secondly he said that the League is there to maintain the democratic ideal in this country.

Thereupon a motion to form a Youth League for Bandarawela was unanimously passed by the house.

Mr. A. S. Basnayake, the newly elected U. N. P. Chairman for Bandarawela u.c. and a one time leftist explaining his unusual position that day on a U. N. P. platform, said that he was convinced by the barrenness of leftist ideas and that now onwards he was prepared to work with the U. N. P. for the well-being of the citizens of Sri Lanka.

He also said that he was driven into the ranks of the leftists by the undemocratic attitude adopted by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike as the late Minister of Health and Local Government. According to him, when some members of the Bandarawela U. C. went in deputation to see the former Minister of Health and Local Govt. He had strongly refused to help the Council. Mr. Basnayake had been a vehement



Mr. J. Niyathapala

(Vice-President All Ceylon Youth League)

ment critic of the Minister. Is he a defender of the democratic ideal in this country asked Mr. Basnayake.

One hundred and five members then joined the Youth League by signing the necessary forms and the following were elected as office-bearers:—

- Presidents.** Mr. A. S. Basnayake.
V. President. (1) K. D. Solomon.
" (2) M. Marimuttu.
" (3) Hadjar M. Mohideen.
Secretary. B. M. Dingiri Bandara.
Ass. Secretary. G. M. W. Gunadasa
Treasurer. D. F. Perera.
Audit Ben Perera.
• and a committee of 75.
Partons G. H. Kotelawela.
P. M. J. Wickremasuriya.
L. J. Gunawardena.
W. H. Nomi Silva.
M. P. Yapa.
N. Dias.
H. W. Cornalis de Silva.

Finally Mr. B. G. Gunawardena addressing the gathering from the chair, said that he was glad to see such a big crowd at that meeting, even though the organisers had not given sufficient notice about the meeting. He said that it only showed what developments were in store for the future to the people of Bandarawela. Next he explained the salient features of the teaching of the Lord Buddha and Karl Marx and showed very clearly that a good Buddhist can never hope to be a marxist.

The meeting terminated with the singing of the National Anthem by a bevy of girls.

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Prime Minister At Eheliyagoda



The Prime Minister being greeted at Eheliyagoda during his recent tour.

By our own correspondent
THE highlight of the Prime Minister's visit to the Ratnapura district was the laying of the foundation stone of a new hospital at Ratnapura which when completed will be one of the most modern institutions where up-to-date equipment will be provided and specialist treatment will be available

similar to that which at present is enjoyed by the inmates of the General Hospital Colombo.

In his three day tour Mr. Senanayake was accorded a cordial reception wherever he went. Even in the leftist electorates like Kiriella and Nivitigala a spontaneous welcome was accorded. Mr. Frank Hettiaratchi M. P. for Nivitigala, a leftist, greeted the Prime Minister warmly.

(Continued on page 11)

Books & Authors By Quintus Delilkhan

Wilfred Pickles of the B. B. C.

WE have quite a good deal of talk today about the need for culture. When we say this we do not mean that there should be culture for the elect only. Knowledge is now widespread and there is no way of confining it to any one class, even if a tendency of this kind should manifest itself among the intellectual snobs. I do not mean that such a tendency would show itself however in any reasonable body of men like those who control democratic Governments, or those liberal scholars who believe that literature is a republic and not a monarchy. The reference is to the small band of modern intellectuals who write for just a coterie of their admirers, who think that what they say is of such importance that a man who wishes to know their thought should worry to find out their recondite and obscure meanings. This is an entirely objectionable form of snobbishness and exclusiveness and it is doing a great deal of harm to the general appreciation of poetry. No great genius with an universal cast of mind ever wrote with deliberate obscurity, folding up his words in a dark mantle of allusions in order that he might keep off the common man from forbidden ground. All those who felt the immense urge of genius hoped that they would be remembered by posterity. This is just what makes the difference between the poet of transcendent genius, and the intellectual dabbler in verse who is only of any value for his generation.

We have all need for poetry in our lives and the more of it there is the better would it be for the common man. So priceless a gift should be in widest commonality spread. We cannot think of Homer without feeling that these words were on the lips of every Athenian. Dante and Shakespeare and Campens were read by all kinds of people both in their day and in subsequent periods of the world's history. This is the prerogative of great poetry. But we are in an age in which the art of reading is to a very great degree being superseded by the art of listening. We turn on the radio and there are talks on every imaginable subject under the sun. An age of hectic activity needs this form of mental recreation. People have no time for themselves. There is so much to do. Under existing conditions, good poetry should as it were be brought to the ear of the listener by any one who could sympathetically interpret it for the common man.

It is here that Wilfred Pickles is a great public benefactor through

the medium of the B. B. C. Most people who are asked to read poetry think that it is their duty to go to it with tremendous solemnity and to endeavour to dramatise every word that said this might to some extent be justified in the dramatic presentation of poetry on the stage. It is generally fatal to the interest of the listener who thinks that he is being treated to some tremendously high-brow recital. He feels that it is not for him, and so he switches on to something more exciting like music. The broadcasts of Wilfred Pickles drip with humanity. It overflows, from a large-hearted appreciation of the common bond that binds us in our intellectual interests with millions of people who ought by right to be readers of poetry.

Wilfred Pickles is deeply influenced by the music of words. To him therefore the reading of poetry is a matter of melodiousness and rhythm. He was once a builder's labourer when young, and was engaged in the prosaic duty of connecting a pipe with a main sewer. But to Pickles this did not interfere with his great love of poetry which required no background except the intense enthusiasm of the mind. He recited to his fellowworkman a poem from Housman's "A Shropshire Lad". This Housman is a poet who lands himself to effective presentations. Rhetoric would kill the verse Pickles must have discovered himself as capable of holding people spell-bound by the urgency of his enthusiasm and beauty of his mellifluous recital. Such a man would not remain a workman for long. He is now one of the greatest assets of the B.B.C. London.

And there is a very interesting story about him also in connection with poetry. It happened when the now successful broadcaster was a poor young man. He very badly wanted "The Oxford Book of English Verse" from the Halifax Public Library. He confessed his theft recently to his wife and she told him "Well, perhaps if you hadn't 'borrowed' that book you would never have done—'The Pleasure is Mine'—and a lot of folk would have missed hearing poetry." "After supper", says Wilfred Pickles, "I went to the bookcase, took down my own leather-bound copy of 'The Oxford Book of English Verse' and began wrapping it up. I carefully put the tissue round the volume then the cardboard then the two layers of brown paper. And on the outside I wrote in big letters: The Chief Librarian, Halifax Public Library, Halifax". Through him millions have listened to the choice lines of Milton, Keats, Chesterton, Wordsworth, Yeats, Hardy, Francis Thompson and others. It has been a great gain to the cause of literature.

Prime Minister At Eheliyagoda

(Continued from page 10)

The tour of the Premier started with a visit to the Eheliyagoda Hospital where Dr. W. G. Wickremasinghe D. M. and S. S., Dr. J. Perera Medical Superintendent Ratnapura and Dr. P. V. de Croos D.M.O. Eheliyagoda received him and conducted him round the wards. Among others present were Mr. Cyril Attagalle M. P., Mr. S. M. Samarakoon, D.R.O. and Mr. A. E. B. Kiriella. Mr. Senanayaka spoke to several of the patients. He made enquires about the shortage of drugs adding that it was the responsibility of the D.M.O. to see that steps are taken in time to prevent shortage, and maintain an adequate supply for the needs of the hospital.

Prior to his arrival at the Hospital the Prime Minister was received at the turn off to the hospital by Mr. A. E. B. Kiriella President of the Eheliyagoda U.N.P. branch who presented a memorandum containing details of the needs of the hospital including a request for the speedy removal of the T. B. patients from the hospital as they were a potential source of infection to other inmates and to the town.

The Prime Minister replied that the requests would receive his early attention.

Earlier at Minnana the Chairman and members of the Palle Pattu V. C. and the village headmen conducted the Prime Minister in procession to the Village Committee office where an official welcome was accorded.

The Prime Minister thanked them for the welcome and advised them to realise that the freedom which they had achieved should be safeguarded. In the present troubled world that in this country the people have been able to manage their affairs peacefully was indeed a blessing. But there were today a few people who tried to disturb the peace and harmony. He appealed to them to do their part in safe-guarding the freedom which they now enjoyed after 400 years of foreign bondage.

The Talawitiya branch of the U. N. P. welcomed the Prime Minister at the Baduwatte junction and conducted him in procession to Talawitiya where an illuminated address was presented. The Prime Minister planted a coconut sapling before he left for Ratnapura.

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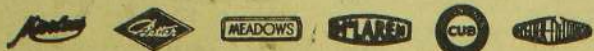
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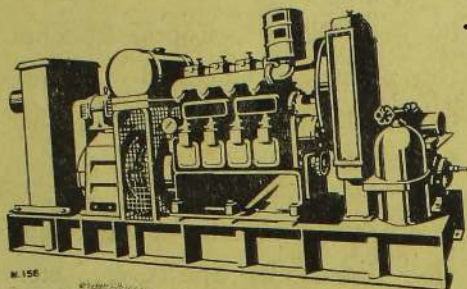
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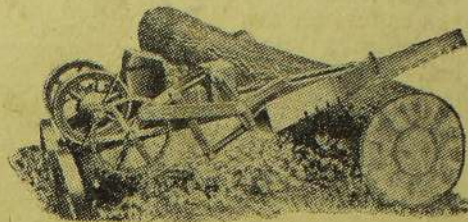
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