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VOL. II. No. 3

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

FRIDAY, 30th APRIL, 1948

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

PRICE 5 CENTS

# COUNTRY RALLIES UNDER U. N. P. BANNER

## While Marxists Stage Dog-Fight



The Prime Minister

WHILE the battle of the Reds is on within their crumbling ranks, the nation is marshalling under the banner of the United National Party.

The monster Rally held by the United National Party at Alawwa at which thousands gathered from the surrounding hamlets, heralded a new drive by the United National Party to reciprocate the confidence placed in the Party by the country, by seeking the people's co-operation in the Government's task to ensure self-sufficiency for all.

The huge crowd listened to the stirring addresses delivered by the Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the Leader of the House of Representatives and Minister of Health and Local Government, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Minister of Food and Co-operative Undertakings, Mr. A. Ratnayake, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. R. G. Senanayake, Member of Parliament for the area, Messrs. M. D. Bandara, M.P. (who also addressed the Rally) and Mr. D. D. Karunaratne, M.P., were also present.

The Prime Minister in a clarion call to the nation to resuscitate its ancient splendour and prosperity, stressed the need for the elevation of the morality and discipline of the people (despite the sinister influences from certain quarters) in the building of a virile and free Lanka.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (who the enemies of the Government have suggested in their whispering campaign,

was a rebel within the U.N.P.) gave the lie direct to this false propaganda, when he declared that it was the United National Party and none other, that was able to retain the confidence of the people in the formidable tasks ahead. He appealed for the people's co-operation in full measure to enable the Government to go forward with renewed vigour, in satisfying the cravings of the people so that they may enjoy the benefits of all the freedoms (including that of self-sufficiency in our food) that flowed from political emancipation.

Mr. A. Ratnayake and Mr. Dudley Senanayake nailed to the counter the sinister machinations of the Leftist parties and warned the people not to fall victims to the wiles of these "political opportunists." They urged an all-out effort by the people to secure self-sufficiency in our food supplies and declared that if every person produced fifty pounds of food per annum, that was enough for self-sufficiency.

Mr. R. G. Senanayake, who was responsible for the organising of the Rally and who was affectionately greeted by his constituents, also endorsed the appeal of the previous speakers for co-operation with the Government. The people's needs, he said, would be ventilated by the members of the Party who would, by representation to the Government ensure that they were fulfilled.

### CRUMBLING RANKS

IN contrast to the solidarity of the people with the United National Party as was amply demonstrated at the Alawwa Rally, is the battle of the Reds that is now going on within their crumbling ranks.

It was all over a broken promise. The Stalinists and the Trotskyites met in secret conclave and solemnly promised each other to join on certain issues, the chief of which, of course, was the opposition to the United National Party, which is the biggest thorn in their side.

The agreement was made, sealed and ratified—in theory. When it came to implementing it over the nomination of a single Leftist candidate for the vacant Gampola seat in the House of Representatives, the pact was thrown to the winds and the dog-fight began.

The Communists complained that the Sama Samajists let them down. This infuriated Herr Doktor Dictator of the L.S.S.P. who thundered his denunciation of the "hirelings of Moscow." The Communists threw back the taunts and the feud had now turned a livid scarlet!

### TEARFUL TRAGEDY

THE broken promise has also left a terrible trail. It has proved more poignant than any known tragedy of parted lovers. The pact had showed such rosy promise of big things to come—which did not. They had planned with almost schoolgirlish excitement a joint Rally on May Day, despite the fact that their erstwhile Comrade Colvin R. de Silva had preferred to slip out at a crucial stage.

But Colvin's cute exit was but an ominous pointer to what was to follow. Fate stepped in and with cruel calculation cleft in twain the Stalinist-Trotskyite Axis.

The result is that, the bewildered public will be presented with a May Day comedy conducted by rival Leftist parties on May Day, which will each in turn cry "workers of the world unite" or in other words—"do as we say, but for God's sake don't do what we do."

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## THE L. S. S. P. HAVING COLLARED THE LOAVES

### Refuse the Communist Even the Fishes!

(By Comrade)

**THE L.S.S.P. Leader is far too shrewd to be caught napping by the Communist brains. The tussle for nomination to the Gampola Seat is a very illuminating case in point.**

Mr. Keuneman tried hard to steal a march on the L.S.S.P. Doctor and get away with the goods. He was manoeuvring for an united front for the Communist candidate having given the L.S.S.P. a blank cheque at Avissawella.

Dr. Perera caught all suspicions, played for time, and Avissawella and sprung a good one on the Communists by keeping strict in the law" at Gampola for as an "independent" candidate sympathies were with the L.S.S.P. entered the field!

The Communists went redder at the deception and all that they could do was to slash away at the Doctor and his Party.

But what could the Doctor do in spite of his love for Comrade Pieter? He may love even Mr. Bandaranaike personally. That does not mean that the L.S.S.P. leader will consent to tow the line to Mr. Bandaranaike in politics?

Comrade Pieter has yet to learn that politics is a dirty game where the finer senses have to be ruthlessly smothered if one is to get anywhere. He has lost the loaves and he has lost the fishes and he stands to lose even his political reputation if he continues to flirt with the L.S.S.P. leader who is far too cute for him to tackle.

The better thing for Comrade Pieter to do now is to make a bee line to Gampola and pitch his tent there till after the by-election.

Not that either the L.S.S.P. "sympathiser" or the Communist candidate will win. That is in the lap of the

Gods. They favour green, not red, after the New Year.

But then, May Day and the day after are looming ahead. With the B.L.P.I. Leader away in gay Paris, possibly planning to cross swords with Count de Gaulle and turn France B.L.P.I. (I. for India), could Comrade Pieter afford to give the L.S.S.P. Doctor a blank cheque in Colombo?

Between Comrades, it is a terrific quandry but Comrade Pieter is not a spent force, not yet, and he could still be depended upon to pull a fast one on Comrade Perera. Comrade Perera will however skin his eyes and wait for the next move.

Be that as it may, the fireworks both in Colombo and at Gampola will be terrific. They may gather force even in Kandy and the public are advised to secure their seats early. It will be very real mental recreation.

In Kandy Mr. Dhangaratne may lose the support of the Communists. That is the least they could do for the hard knocks they continue to receive from the L.S.S.P. The Communists having tasted their wormwood and gall in trying to make love to the L.S.S.P. may even get completely out of hand and support Mr. de Silva, the Independent candidate. Not that it will matter either way where Mr. Dhangaratne and Mr. de Silva are concerned. Both the Communists and the L.S.S.P. have shown themselves for what they are so thoroughly that the public will have nothing more to do with them.

What does the man in the street want with a party that cannot deliver the goods? no party programme, absolutely nothing constructive, completely devoid of sense, sensibility and fairplay and constantly breeding distrust and contempt between man and man?

The B.L.P.I. is gone, the Communists are going and the L.S.S.P. will fast follow on the heels of their loving Comrades, all to the limbo of forgotten memories, yet leaving a trail of destruction, hate and desolation behind them.

## WHAT PRICE LEFT UNITY?

By Nandalal

**IN** the columns of the daily

Press last week was conducted one of those dog-fights which enliven Leftist politics in Ceylon. The principal protagonists were "Comrade" Keuneman, the General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party, and his opposite number Herr Doktor N. M. Perera, the President of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party.

For the benefit of those who did not possess the patience to wade through the verbiage and dreary diatribes of Leftist polemics the bones of contention may be displayed.

Comrade Keuneman charged Dr. N. M. Perera with violating an electoral truce by nominating a candidate for the Gampola Seat. Dr. N. M. Perera retaliated with the remark that the truce which existed had to be "evaluated" afresh at every election and by-election. The Communist General Secretary further accused the President of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party of nominating to the seat one who had been described by the L.S.S.P.'s administrative secretary as a Party sympathiser and not a fully-pledged Party man.

Dr. N. M. Perera concluded a castigation of the Communists with the remark that even the electoral truce was an opportunist Communist manoeuvre and that this new line would be abandoned as soon as Stalin wanted them to accept a new theory. Keuneman's retort to this was that the Doctor was repeating a slander often used by such various individuals as Messrs. Hitler, Goebbels, Churchill and Truman.

In this piece of disputation the logic used by either side was appalling. The controversy, however, has a wider significance and interest than that of being merely another one of those periodic examples of sectarian warfare within the Left. This particular debate is interesting for the information it gives and the light it throws on the way the Left Parties in Ceylon work.

According to Mr. Keuneman, it was noticed that at one of the conferences of the three Left Parties the L.S.S.P.'s delegate was absent. Inquiries were made on the phone from the Sama Samaj headquarters and it was revealed that since Dr. N. M. Perera was away from Colombo, the L.S.S.P. could not send a delegate.

This is a striking example of the fact that in the L.S.S.P. political decisions are the sole concern of such higher-ups as the Doctor and his advisor Mr. Phillip Gunewardene. Is it not strange that within a party which claims to be the vanguard of the proletariat and the intelligence of the working class once the two leaders are away there should be none capable of representing the party at a conference, none so steeped in the party's theory and outlook as to take a decision for the Party which would be in keeping with the Party's views.

The truth is that there is no one so capable. The structure of the L.S.S.P. is such that it is an autocracy of Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Phillip Gunewardene which prevails within it. Democratic methods are not present because a few mental morons of the middle-class fascinated by the personalities of the two Sama Samaj leaders form the Party. These men are not versed in the intricacies of Marxism, because their knowledge of Marxism does not go beyond Strachy's "Why You Should be a Socialist" and the writings of that rabid romantic revolutionary Lem Trotsky. Trotsky's knowledge of Marxism is negligible.

Such is the quality of the L.S.S.P.'s executive and that the rank and file are only a group of complaisant yes-men, incapable of independent thinking.

The point also emerges from the debate that the L.S.S.P. is the least concerned about the development of the party on genuine democratic lines. A well-knit revolutionary party, judging by the writings of Lenin and other Marxists, is not concerned with the winning of a Parliamentary seat here or there. What matters most to it is the spread of its outlook and theory and the effective organisation of the people to achieve its ends. That, at any rate, is Marxist theory.

In actual fact, however, the tactics of the L.S.S.P., especially in the Gampola by-election, show that what is of greater concern to the leadership is the strengthening of its own bargaining position in the Parliament; that what matters is less the putting across of a particular line than the winning of a seat for a man who may be expected to keep Left.

What else is the significance of nominating as the Party's candidate a man who for several years sympathised with the L.S.S.P. but apparently was not sufficiently impressed by it to declare himself a member of the Party? Did the Party lack a candidate of its own whom it could present to the people of Gampola? After all, voters are not being asked to vote for a particular person. They are expected to decide for a particular policy. Politics with the L.S.S.P. is a matter of personalities and not of principles.

This fact must be carefully kept in mind by our young men who, disillusioned by the existing social order, immediately presume that the Left Parties are free of blemish. These Left Parties are not genuine working class movements. They are organs for the ambitions of a certain section of the petit-bourgeoisie who are impelled by the same motives for power as the bourgeoisie against whom they rant.

The case put forward by the Communists is interesting in that it shows how steadfastly they cling to their new policy of unity of democratic parties to achieve "genuine" independence and a government which brings justice to the workers, peasants and oppressed sections of the middle class.

The Communists are political chameleons. They change their views with remarkable rapidity. They are as remarkably enthusiastic about every new fashion in their political thinking as they were of the last they had affected.

Once they confessed to a desire for unity with the "good bourgeoisie" and called for support to U.N.P. candidates in areas where there were no Communist or worker candidates. That theory is now considered tactically incorrect. After a period of a nebulous outlook, the recent Congress of the Communists in India has now inspired the local Stalinites to seek Left unity. It will be noticed, though, that a strange logic determines the thinking of the Borella Communists. They seek unity with the L.S.S.P. but once their hand of alliance has been rejected it is possible for them to excrete the Sama Samajists as the "Trotskyist agents of American imperialists." So the Sama Samajists are in the pay of President Truman! Once Adolf Hitler financed them!

These childish tactics together with the constant shiftings of the Communists, on the one hand, and the personal politics of the L.S.S.P. on the other hand, mean that Left unity is impossible to attain with the Parties as now constituted. As for the B.L.P.I. boys they will join any group who talks of a revolution. One need not take those social frustrates seriously!

What is the lesson of these demonstrations of political infantilism among the Leftists?

Most people are fascinated by these parties because they presume that either the L.S.S.P. or the Communist Party will be the midwife at the birth of a just social order. They seriously believe that the present Left parties are real Marxist parties. Marxism is one expression of men's longing for social justice and economic equality. The dialectical Materialist Marx was inspired by that vision as much as any starry-eyed visionary. His writings are inspired by that ideal.

But ideals suffer a peculiar fate. There is one sentence of the historian Trevelyan which illustrates the tragedy which falls to every dreamer. "An ideal creates an institution, but the institution suffocates the ideal," Trevelyan wrote.

The hopes of Marxism are buried under the personal ambitions and manoeuvrings of men who call themselves Marxists. The common man, who is drawn to the Marxist Parties by the resounding orations of the Communist Manifesto must learn to distinguish that not all who parade the theories of Marx are interested in social justice. The impulse for power makes some men Marxists.

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# THE DEATH KNEEL OF COMMUNISM HAS STRUCK

**PATting** a grunting bear on the head every time it grunts and feeding it in the notorious "Munch" way will never be repeated again in Europe. Statesmen of Europe have now learnt the salutary lesson of trying to halt the advance of a beast with an umbrella. Nehru has not repeated the same mistake in India nor Thakin Nu in Burma. The statesmen of the world are determined to prevent another conflagration which, if it comes, will be the end of civilization.

The working classes of Italy have given their verdict on Communism in no uncertain terms. They are a literate body unlike the masses in India, Burma or Ceylon. Fortunately for them they were well removed from the source of inspiration of Communism and the local leaders and pawns could not dupe the Italian voter in the manner the Communist firebrands get away with it in Ceylon.

The voters of the great industrial centres of Italy, the fertile breeding grounds of Communism, swept away the monster from their hearths and homes in spite of the most thorough and efficient propaganda machinery ever set in motion to fight an election campaign.

The campaigners had limitless funds which they threw about in prodigal profusion for the orders from their masters were to win at any cost. Yet they lost and lost most convincingly. Italians that once misguided people have emerged as liberators of Europe and perhaps of the world.

They lost their all in the last terrible gamble with Nazism and Fascism. They paid for it with rivers of blood and will continue to pay perhaps for another generation or more.

Hitler with his hordes poised for the spring right on top of Italy at Brenner was on his way to Egypt, the oilfields of Iran and India. The route lay through Italy. The duping of the Italians is now History. They were the only soldiers the Germans would fight shoulder to shoulder with. They were the master race next to the Aryans. They should reinherit their Roman Empire, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Abyssinia, and Africa, the whole of their former heritage will be theirs for the asking. That was the Hitlerian vision for the Italians and it worked with the results we now know.

And so with the Communists the present strategists with world ambitions, with the same methods, the same cunning, the same subterfuge but far more powerful and ruthless.

Hitler would have made slaves of any nation he conquered, including Italy, to his master race and State.

The Communists would do the same if they get the chance. Then there will be no Dominions of Pakistan, India or Ceylon, no Republic of Burma, Siam or China, but a grand union of Communist States, with the reigns of Government, we all know where.

Yet our memories are short. The battlefields of the world from Europe right across Asia to Japan are still littered with the debris of war. Millions of men, women and children were destroyed, tortured and raped and yet we still go on playing with fire like the fools we are.

Our Communists and the lighter brands the L.S.S.P. and the B.L.P.I. are the same, trying by whatever means to gain a foothold in the country.

It is your duty and mine to stem this avalanche with all the resources at our command.

# MAY DAY TOMORROW

G.C.S.U. and P.S.L. Stand Out

**WHILE** there will be the usual fireworks tomorrow and carried over possibly to the day after the day will mark the final split between the B.L.P.I. and Communist Parties on the one hand and the L.S.S.P. on the other.

One very marked feature will be the absence of any speakers from the Public Services from any of the platforms although there is always the possibility of a black leg court-ing cheap publicity.

The Eksath Kantha Peramuna will boycott the L.S.S.P. after the recent rude rebuffs they received and grace the B.L.P.I. and Communists with their presence.

Among the Kantha Peramuna ladies there are some really fine speakers who are well worth hearing. Their soft tones should to some extent steal the venom in the song of hate the male of our species will give vent to at both Price Park and Galle Face. The ladies are expected to wear red sarees with green blouses. A better harmony is, however, said to be green and gold. The male attire will be nondescript, from shorts and shirt to a dhoti.

The public will very much miss the thunder of the B.L.P.I. Doctor who is at the moment in Paris, possibly measuring his strength with Marshal de Gaulle.

Comrade Pieter will go at the L.S.S.P. Doctor with might and main and so will the Doctor at Pieter. Leave him alone for that. But the Doctor will not be in the company of the Kantha Peramuna ladies whose presence Comrade Pieter will inspire.

That does not mean that the L.S.S.P. meetings will be without their ladies.

Altogether the public are assured of a very good time but I envy the Police.

## "A Large Number of Leftists Behind Prison Bars"

**THE L.S.S.P. Leaders predict that—**

- (1) Fascist Government may be set up in Ceylon.
- (2) Leftist Leaders may be put behind prison bars.

Dr. N. M. Perera is a shrewd man. Some day he is very shrewd and yet others—too shrewd. His two recent predictions certainly belong to the third category. He has developed "keeping people guessing" to a fine art, or else how could he, by any stretch of his imagination predict a Fascist Government for Ceylon and by the same breath say that most of the Leftist leaders may be behind prison bars again?

If and when these Leftists do get themselves behind prison bars who will be left to form this Fascist Government of his prediction? All the world knows that what is left of Nazism and Fascism now shines in the garb of Communism. To be more precise, out of the dictatorships of Fascism, Nazism and Communism of the pre-war period the first two had been broken up but Communism remains.

What is the form of Government the Doctor envisages for Ceylon should his Party, the L.S.S.P., obtain a majority in Parliament as he declared at Jaffna recently?

(Continued on page 7)

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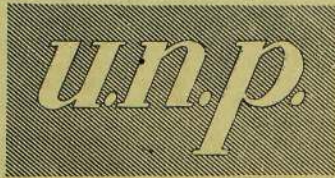
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### SPRATS AND SHARKS

Mr. Emmanuel Muttukumaru, the Chairman of the Chilaw-Negombo Planters' Association, has good reason to comment as he did at the last annual general meeting of the Association.

The country is steeped in bribery and corruption, not only in the Public Services but in the day to day life of the people, so much so that it has almost degenerated into a commonplace in public life.

It is an unenviable legacy of a century and more of a foreign bureaucratic regime that should be ruthlessly stamped out.

When Mr. Muttukumaru, however, goes on to accuse the Government of the country of spending public money on "anything and everything that seizes the fancy of our leaders with undreamt of prodigality and the minimum of consideration," it is a different matter.

We are unaware of any such instance and while we do not hold any brief for the Government or its actions, it must be said in fairness that Mr. Muttukumaru should have made out a clear case with facts and figures in order that the Cabinet as a whole or any individual department or Minister may know exactly what the accusations are.

We maintain that in the absence of facts and figures, these accusations in the result only tends to undermine public morale, particularly at this stage and lends ammunition to the disruptors of our society.

Mr. Muttukumaru goes further. He says "the people are becoming aware of the fictions and tricks of the budgeting methods of Government which seeks to present an entirely unreal picture of our true financial position." As far as we are aware there had been only one budget presentation since the country attained independence.

If Mr. Muttukumaru refers to the last budget, it is certainly up to the Finance Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to take up the matter immediately be returns to the Island next week.

As regards bribery and corruption, the terms of reference of the Commission are suffi-

# RIGHT AND LEFT PSYCHOLOGY

## Outline of the Impulses that Make a Revolutionary

By A Special Correspondent

IN "Arrival and Departure" which is the second part of the saga of a modern man in search of a faith, Arthur Koestler submits his hero to a psycho-analytic study. The hero is a Leftist who has suffered much for his political convictions—torture, imprisonment and the other incidentals in the life of a revolutionary in the Balkans and Central Europe.

It is finally disclosed by the psycho-analyst, who submits the hero to his inquiries after a nervous breakdown, that all his sufferings, willingly endured on behalf of the "cause" and his Marxist Party, were efforts to expiate a subconscious sense of guilt acquired after an incident in his childhood. The incident pertained to a game with a younger brother who through the carelessness of Koestler's hero, was wounded in the eye. Since that accident, the hero was unknown to himself, overwhelmed by a sense of guilt. To pay for what his sub-consciousness considered his sin the hero joined the Marxist movement and endured the martyrdom which such membership entailed.

The moral is that all the heroics, the posturings and the denunciations which a Leftist revolutionary indulges in may be rooted in primitive impulses and psychological compulsions. Recent research in psycho-analysis seems to confirm this theory. According to many contemporary exponents of this science whether a man is a conservative or a revolutionary, whether he belongs to the "Right" or the "Left" is determined by his "parent-regarding attitude." This attitude is a deep-lying psychological influence which determines human behaviour.

In a popular exposition of abstruse scientific principles there is always the danger that over-simplification may distort vital theories. This fact should be borne in mind in considering what is briefly remarked in this article of one of the impulses that decide the views of a radical and a conservative.

Psychologists recognise that the child's attitude to his father is an important element in his life. This attitude is a mixture in different degrees of love and respect on the one side and fear and rebelliousness on the other. Later in his life, the father is identified with or rather the image of the father is projected into, the institutions of the society in which the individual lives. The use of the term "father-land" is an example of the projection of this father-image to the concept of one's country. The father-image, by methods which it is outside the scope of this article to discuss, gets involved with other organisations and conventions of the external world.

Psycho-analytical work in its social implications seems to indicate that the attitude to the father is a potent force in the political outlook of the individual.

THE "right" or the conservative attitude comes from a predominance of, obedience to, admiration of and identification with the parental-figure or its substitute in the external world. The "Left" or Radical, results from a rebellion against this figure. The Leftist who is against the established order, in the name of social justice, is really sublimating, and finding a medium of expression for his revolt against the authority of his father.

ciently wide to rope in not only the sprats but more particularly the sharks. Of that we are quite satisfied and it is a matter for surprise that Mr. Muttukumaru should take upon himself to pass judgment even before the trial.

This is further illustrated by studies which have been made in relation to the views of the Leftist on specific questions.

One of the cardinal points in Leftist ideology is the theory of the equality of man and his brotherhood. The Conservative, on the other hand, is attached to the leader-principle. The leader represents the father.

The attitude of the Conservative is in harmony with the tendency towards loyalty towards parents\* and consequently substitutes for parents. The Leftist's attitude, on the other hand, corresponds to the almost universal revolt of the young against the authority of the old.

The conflict of child with parent is most obvious in the views of the Left on such issues as discipline in education and punishment of crime. The Socialist, generally, stands for the absence of restraints in education, for freedom in education. In the punishment of crime the Left stands for reform of character rather than deterrent penalties. It will be seen that the Left takes the standpoint of the child, while the Right, which demands discipline and argues that relaxation of discipline and punishment will be followed by disorder and chaos, takes the point of view of the parent.

Another sphere in which this parent-child conflict operates is that in regard to patriotism. The States makes a great appeal to the unconscious because it stands in a symbolic relation to the parent-figures of infancy. This is particularly indicated by such words as "patriotism" (from pater-father), and "fatherland" which we use in talking about our country.

★ ● ★

THE Right stands for loyalty to one's country. The Left on the other hand, which is impelled by the revolt against parental authority, substitutes for patriotism and nationalism, an internationalism or cosmopolitanism. This is seen in Marxist writings which declare that the workers have no fatherland. Cosmopolitanism or internationalism is especially emphasised by the B.L.P.I.

The Conservative stands for class divisions and their maintenance because an authoritarian upper class is a substitute for the authoritarian parent. The Leftist by the same process of identification, regard the ruling class as a tyranny which needs to be overthrown.

It would have been noticed that those on the Left, particularly the more radical wing of the Left, is unorthodox in its dress, and is indifferent to prevalent forms of etiquette which it despises as "decadent, bourgeois, habits." Convention, and tradition are also identified in the unconscious with the parent against whom the Left is in a state of permanent revolution.

The Leftist attitude to private property is another sphere in which this revolt manifests itself. The capitalist is again the authoritarian parent. Ian Suttie, an eminent writer on psychology, remarks of the divergent attitudes of Right and Left to property: "The capitalist aims to play parent to other people and the communist aims to be children altogether." But, of course, in the attitudes of these two groups other factors such as the fear of growing hungry, the desire for money and security, play an important part. The "parent-attitude" is not the only issue here.

In considering the child-parent relationship as a determinant of political behaviour it should be remembered that this emotion operates in varying degrees with various individuals. People cannot be classified as easily as one draws a distinction between sheep and goats on the basis of this emotion. In each individual, it is an ambivalent attitude combining with love, homage and respect with envy, hatred and rebelliousness. This explains why some Marxists who are in revolt against established authority should yet adore Stalin and accept the leader principle in a modified form.

# RE-SETTLE THE EX-CONVICT

Says "Caliph"

I HAVE been always critical of the way the problem of crime has been tackled by those responsible for such work, including the public. I was rudely shaken from my armchair criticism by a member of the Ceylon Discharged Prisoners' Aid Association, whose Patron is the Governor-General, and whose leading members include Lady Moore, Sir John Howard, Justice Basnayake, Mr. Susanta de Fonseka and Mrs. Alice Kotelawala.

He told me he will not give me a suggestion as how to prevent crime. But he told me what the Association is doing to reclaim the convicts and make good citizens of them. If one reads the report of its work one realises the difficulties in making a man of a criminal. It is not so easy as making a criminal of a man.

### VARIOUS DIFFICULTIES

THESE good workers interview, investigate, meet employers, plan for trades, purchase equipment and stock and finally settle an ex-prisoner in his new undertaking.

But their disappointments and difficulties are many, for after all this planning the ex-prisoner goes his own way and ignores or is indifferent to the arrangements made for him on his own asking.

Most of them apply for aid in cash, but when given jobs either refuse to accept them or leave them after a few days of employment.

"A fair number of hardened criminals applied to us for help. On making very careful investigations it was found that rarely do they desire to do any form of regular employment but instead clamour only for a large sum of money to venture on a trade of which they have but little knowledge."

"They were rude, desperate and nonchalant in their attitude and turned abusive when their requests were not immediately complied with.

"Some were back in prison even as we were investigating their cases. They are confirmed 'prison birds' and they clearly need treatment which is not yet provided for in our work. We strongly urge, therefore, that the Government should take early steps to establish for such hardened criminals a system of suitable detention in a special institution where appropriately trained workers may take them in hand and try to reform them."

Women, it is reported, when discharged and let out unescorted, are usually accosted by men and women touts of doubtful character and "inveigled into leading a questionable life once more."

The Association's workers, when they tried to rescue these ex-convicts, are usually met by abusive language from these touts.

### TYPICAL CASES

HE next showed me the files of the Association which is a psychological record of humanity. Some typical cases of aid are:

**Case A:** Man 46 years old. Served 15 years 3 months for murder. Was petty trader prior to conviction. Was set up as itinerant refreshment vendor at ..... Is doing well.

**Case B:** Man aged 38 years. Has five children and wife. Served one year and has further period of two years under police supervision; served nine different times in prison; was four months in arrears of house rent and the ..... Urban Council to whom the house belongs was about to eject the man and his family when the Committee paid the rent and stayed the ejection; prisoner's wife set up in petty trade and the man encouraged to work.

**Case C:** Man 53 years of age, 3 convictions for theft. No relatives whatever. In poor health. Employment as gardener was found; food, shelter and clothing provided. Is leading a decent life now.

**Case D:** Man 38 years of age. One conviction of five years for culpable homicide. Was cultivator prior to conviction. Learnt shoe-making in prison.

Could not revert to cultivation as one leg was amputated. All necessary shoe-making tools were supplied; also place to work was found and he has now set up his own trade at .....

**Case E:** Woman 20 years of age; convicted for abandoning her new-born infant (which eventually survived); both mother and child were given food and shelter and the latter medical attention. The mother was found employment as domestic (the child is with her).

**Case F:** Prisoner now serving 15 years for highway robbery; his wife and three children who were dependent on the prisoners were undergoing great hardship. Wife could not go to work as her youngest child was only ten months old. She was encouraged to start a small trade in vegetables, betel, coconuts, etc., and funds were provided. She is getting on well.

### BACK TO THE LAND?

"BACK to the land!" is the hackneyed cry of many a man and armchair critics will certainly say: Why not settle these ex-convicts on the land?

But it is not so easy. The Association member convinced me so. For red tape-ism is nullifying the good efforts of these workers. It appears several discharged prisoners applied for Crown land and the Association got in touch with the Revenue Officers concerned asking for due consideration to be given to these applications.

The Association also made it clear that if the land was given to the ex-convicts, it would supply the men with tools, manure, seeds, etc., to help cultivation.

The rest of the episode is amusing. The authorities replied that the applicants should await Land Kachcheri in the area and apply again on such occasion. But when asked when such Land Kachcheri would be held, their reply was: "We don't know!"

Here are men eager to reform their lives and settle themselves on the land, but being denied it by officialdom!

### PREJUDICE

THERE is another difficulty. When the antecedents of an ex-convict is recounted to a prospective employer, he rejects the application without hesitation. Quite reasonable, but there are many ex-convicts who do well like Miss X.

Miss X was released after ten years of imprisonment owing to her good conduct. She was originally sentenced to death for killing her 2-year-old child under grave and unbearable provocation by her husband who was a confirmed drunkard. The sentence was commuted to "life" and later reduced to 20 years' imprisonment.

Having worked as an attendant in the Female Section of the Prison Hospital, she, on release, applied for employment in a private hospital. The hospital authorities were horrified at the thought of employing a murderer!

But the matter was explained to them and the woman was given a trial. She soon proved the ablest worker in the hospital, and one of the doctors wanted a nurse to look after his own children at home, he promptly chose her!

"It has often been proved that not every single individual who enters prison is a despicable, useless criminal unworthy of sympathy." The Association says.

"We have learnt by actual experience, and dealings with prisoners over many years what excellent types of human beings find themselves behind prison bars owing to lapses sometimes through sheer carelessness, through unpremeditated actions, sometimes through utter want and despair and through circumstances beyond their control.

"We have observed that in quite a number of cases prisoners have repented for their actions and have learnt the lesson of their life by serving a term in prison and they then make up their mind to mend their ways and to lead a good life."

Yes, let's not make them outcasts. Let's give the ex-convicts a chance. They must be resettled. That is one half of the crime problem solved.

## Letter to the Editor

GOVT. SERVICE DRAMATIC CLUB  
c/o Audit Office,  
Buller's Road,  
Colombo 7, April 20.

The Editor,  
U.N.P. Journal.

Dear Sir,—  
I AM appending below for favour of sympathetic publicity either in your news column or in your correspondence column a copy of a circular letter issued by Lt.-Col. P. A. J. Henu, Chairman of Committee of this Club, to all Heads of Departments regarding this Club's activities.

If you, through your good office, give the annexed due publicity, I have no doubt that we will find the necessary talent we need.

Thanking you in anticipation of your valuable assistance in this matter.

I remain,  
Yours faithfully,  
A. MYLVAGANAM,  
Hony. Secretary, G.S.D.C.

### COPY

Colombo Port Commission,  
Colombo, 20th April, 1948.

Dear Sir,

With the revival of the Government Service Sports Society after the cessation of hostilities, the Government Service Dramatic Club, too, has resuscitated its activities.

With the limited talent available, this Club has produced since the war (1) a Variety Entertainment to which items were contributed by members of the Government Service and their families, and (2) presented "An Evening with Shakespeare" over Colombo Radio last October.

At the last Committee meeting of this Club, it was decided that plays and productions should be sponsored by this Club not only in English, but also in Sinhalese and Tamil as well, and that our programme of work, which includes production on the stage and over the radio, should be brought to the notice of all members of the Government Service with a view to giving as large a number of members as possible opportunities to participate in our activities.

For the present we are working on a suggestion to produce a Sinhalese play, "Sri Wickrema Raja Sinha, the last King of Kandy." It is anticipated to stage this play in or before August this year. Mr. Dick Dias, the well-known Sinhalese playwright and producer, has kindly consented to produce this play and in this he will be assisted by a Production Committee consisting of Messrs. S. L. B. Kapukotuwa, L. D. Abeywardene, Mudaliyar E. A. Abeyasekera and Mr. W. A. Perera of the Colombo Municipal Council Stores, Darley Road, Maradana, as convener.

Arrangements are also being made by this Club to broadcast over Colombo Radio, on 22nd April, the eve of Shakespeare's Birthday, a recital from Shakespeare's works.

Regular monthly Radio Plays in English, Sinhalese and Tamil are also contemplated, and I shall be very grateful if you will ask the members of your department who are interested in, and have experience of, Dramatics, to send in their names and addresses before the 30th instant to Mr. A. Mylvaganam, the Hony. Secretary, Government Service Dramatic Club, c/o Audit Office, Buller's Road, Colombo 7, stating in detail in which branch, English, Sinhalese or Tamil, they are interested.

Thanking you for your assistance in this matter.—I remain, Yours truly,

(Sgd.) P. A. J. Henu,  
Chairman, G.S.D.C.

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# SPORTS

## Commentary

### COVER-POINT

IT never rains but it pours. And so it is even in cricket. Owing to war and other causes Ceylon was for long denied the pleasure of entertaining touring cricket teams and the result was that cricket in the Island was in danger of languishing. But with the advent of Easter, we have had almost a surfeit of good things. First, we entertained Bradman and his men when they passed through Colombo on Easter Saturday. A week later we welcomed our Holkar visitors, led by the G.O.M. of Indian Cricket, Col. Nayudu, whose fortnight's tour of the Island ended last Sunday.

Coinciding with the conclusion of this tour, the Rajah of Pudukottah's team has arrived in the Island to play a series of cricket and hockey matches in Colombo and the outstations. This team includes four players who have been invited to play for the South Indian Zone against the West Indies. They are due to meet the three major Colombo clubs, namely the S.S.C., the C.C.C. and the Tamil Union, in that order, but I doubt very much whether the visitors can get the better of the home teams. The Pudukottah tour is sponsored by the Tamil Union on whose grounds all the matches to be

played in Colombo will be staged. The Rajah, who is a very keen patron of sport in South India, has not been able to accompany the team but will join it by the end of next week. I watched their opening match last week-end against the Olympians at Negombo and came away with the impression that the visitors are not quite up to the first-class standard in Ceylon.

★

THE Holkar State team left Ceylon last Sunday after a fortnight's tour during which bright cricket was provided, even if the standard reached was not too high. Personally, I would have preferred their programme to have been made up of three club matches in Colombo, one fixture against the Combined Schools and a three-day test against a C.C.A. team to wind up the tour. This would not have given Nayudu and his men an opportunity of meeting the leading clubs in Colombo, who could easily have met them at level terms, but it would also have provided a truer index of the capabilities of the tourists. With no intention of belittling the strength of the Holkar team, I make bold to assert that club teams like the S.S.C. or the Tamil Union would have taken the tourists very much further at all events than the makeshift C.C.A. team did

last week in the last match on the Oval.

The composition of the C.C.A. team left one guessing as to what the principle of selection was. If it was the intention of the Selectors to give those who had missed the boat in the earlier matches a chance of meeting the Holkar team, the inclusion of Sathasivam and Nagendra would be difficult to explain away. I feel sure that Sathasivam himself will be the first to discount a suggestion which I have heard made that his selection was due to the fact that the team needed a "show man," in the absence of the S.S.C. invitees! Youngsters like Toussaint and Bagot might well have been given their chance of gaining an early acquaintance with top-class cricket.

If all this is controversial, few will join issue with me when I say that the highlight, from the Ceylon point of view, of all the matches played against Holkar was the emergence of young Gunasena as the coming bowler in Ceylon. Very much in his teens, Gunasena has still a couple of years of school cricket ahead of him and I do hope that his entry into first-class cricket will not be hustled. A youngster of such promise "must" be nursed with all the care in the world, lest he be introduced to big cricket at too early an age.

It is true that even now he bowls like a veteran, never being flustered even when hit, but he must be allowed to develop his natural abilities to the full before he is called on to tackle the bigger tasks which lie ahead of him.

Before passing on from cricket to other sport, I should like, on behalf of all listeners to convey to the gallant Colonel and his men from Holkar the appreciation of Ceylon cricket fans of the very sporting manner in which all

the matches were played and of the entertainment they provided. A team of triers whose Captain set the example, the Holkar team were always favourites with the crowd and we all hope they will take away with them as happy memories of their visit as those who watched them have of their exploits on the field.

★

THE first entries for the C.T.C. May Meet, which ushers in a spell of racing at Headquarters which goes on without a break till November, closed last Monday. All events have filled up well except the Class I races, where the smallness of the entry is probably accounted for by the fact that there are not many horses in the top class.

The first day's programme caters for the main for sprinters. Jai Lanka and St. Just should fight out the issue of the Windsor Stakes, while Ingopar, Profile and Erajh appear to be the pick of the bunch in the Hatton Handicap. The straight race for Class III horses has attracted a few newcomers but they will have their work cut out to beat Ladysmith, Lullaby and Peace Talk.

Nobility, Macheta and Golden Gleam are the best of the poor lot in the Alutnuwara Plate.

If Seventh Wonder is anything like fit, the Simla Plate for top class Arabs is his for the asking. If not, Noble Duke, New Jack and Jutland will bear watching.

Al Shanfara and Kiwi should decide the issue in the Koweit Plate, while Tawus al Bayda'a and Yellow Flower have an opportunity of re-staging their Nuwara Eliya dead-heat when they meet in the Punwila Plate in which Itmad Jubayir will be their principal rival.

## AT LONG LAST!

### The Communists Have Declared a Policy — and what a Policy!

(By A Gampola Voter)

THE Communists have introduced Comrade Ratnaweera to the Gampola electorate with a formidable policy which I shall endeavour to analyse in my own poor way.

"Bangawewa!" is the keynote. The Policy begins with a double D, viz.:

1. Down with the U.N.P.
2. Down with the Soulbury Commission!

Now, this is hedging with a vengeance or the Communist Party does not know its own mind.

Seventeen years of campaigning have taught the Communists nothing. Is it a surprise that even the L. S. S. P. are chasing them? Stick to it Comrade Pieter and try again. Remember Bruce, the spider and the web. You may yet get a few flies into yours.

3. Independent Republic of Ceylon outside the British Commonwealth—hedging again, for some very significant words are missing. In charity, I will say that they are not omitted by design.

4. Return of military bases to Ceylon and the eviction of British troops.

Now Comrade Pieter, having got the military bases (not naval bases, mind you) how do you propose to evict the British? By the hammer, sickle, sticks, stones, brickbats and bottles of sand? Mr. Senanayake had planked upon the courtly bow with smiles and handshakes. That method is anathema to the Communists. Eviction denotes force, even if it were to parcel up the Britishers and dump them in the Colombo harbour as another politician suggested in the State Council, now defunct.

Comrade Pieter has still to explain how and in what manner and with whose help the British troops are to be evicted.

5. Confiscation of all estates, factories, banks, insurance companies, harbour, &c.

Well that is a mouthful, particularly the harbour. Be careful Comrade or you may be choked!

6. Abolishing of landlordism and the distribution of land to the landless peasantry.

An extremely cute bit of appeal to the Gampola elector!

Who are the landlords, Comrade Pieter? Anybody who owns land is a landlord to my way of thinking. How do you propose to abolish landlordism and at the same time make landlords of peasants by giving them land?

Now Comrade, who is the eel with the twisting backbone, you or Banda?

7. Cancellation (of) all rural debt. Certainly another good rural vote-catcher. Who does not wish to borrow and not repay? Why bother, Comrade with any other platforms? An "Open Sesame" like this alone is sufficient for the whole of Lanka to go Communist. What a brainwave that the other Comrades across the street—the B.L.P.I (I for India), and the L.S.S.P. have sadly missed. This is what I call BRAINS.

8. People's Government in a People's State.

Now, now Comrade Pieter, one would almost accuse you of Political Dishonesty. Are you really serious? If you are, have you discarded the A.B.C of a Communist State?

Have you really given up the ambition of being the Dictator of Ceylon? Do you really contemplate forming a strong Opposition to your Government and let Senanayakes, Kotelawalas and Bandaranaiques pull you to pieces at Galle Face and Price Park when it comes to their turn? Tut, Tut, Pieter, give us another one or let us have a shipload of salt.

And now for a more precise, concise and accurate policy elaborated upon the above eight points:

1. Up with the Communists.
2. Down with the U.N.P.
3. Down with the L.S.S.P.
4. Down with the B.L.P.I. (I for India).
5. Down with the L.P.
6. Down with the Independents.
7. Down with the British Commonwealth ("of Nations) omitted because there are no nations outside the Soviet Union of Republics."

(Continued on page 7)

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# POLITICAL BANDWAGGON

By Lakshman Seneviratne

**T**HE economic data, recently supplied to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East of nearly fourteen lakhs of our countrymen receiving less than Rs. 25 a month, is a damning indictment on economic imperialism, though it constitutes a challenge to Social-Democratic Nationalism. I have familiarized the public for well over a decade with the grim economic realities that tragically underlined the daily lives of the peasants and workers. And the Social-Democratic solution, I offered, sacrificing the champagne and caviare, one was accustomed to in Paris, was talked about, but never legislatively applied.

Politicians turned to economics, only under the pressure of Communist political growth in the country. Nationalism cannot thrive on hysteria about history or histrionics motivated by personal power lust. I remember asking, again and again, for an economic policy that gave each village family two hundred rupees per month. Hence, one was interested to note, that Rs. 144 per month is computed to be the minimum required by a family of five living in an urban area.

This degrading economic picture of Lanka, however, has been cynically etched by profiteers in economic imperialism, with the enthusiastic connivance of local stooges.

**D**EAN INGE, in the "Hibbert Journal" has been indulging in a pastime of nations that have already gone under or are doing so, waving a nostalgic farewell to what they consider a glorious past. He writes: "The 19th century was our golden age. Our insular security, our coal and iron, our mechanical inventions, our cheap and efficient labour, made us for a time the workshop of the world." But our good Dean is no "Red" Dean. He would have liked to go on giving cosmic reasons for morally justifying colonial economic plunder. For he goes on to say, "How did we use our good fortune? At first by a reckless increase in our population, chiefly by means of a reduction in the death-rate; then by exporting capital and machinery, to enable new countries to do without us. And at the same time by running our agriculture for the benefit of the town labourer. Ruling nations, like ruling classes, rule themselves out. Our day as a Great Power is over."

**I** HAD discovered that, in my writings, long before World War II. But the grim fact remains that Lanka is economically in bondage to a not so Great Power which, fortunately at the moment, is in the politically progressive hands of the Labour Party of Britain.

We have to evolve an economy by industrialisation and mechanized agriculture, which would reduce Lanka's tea industry to that of a negligible economic satellite. The national income should be raised by increased productivity. And per capita incomes should be increased primarily in the homes of the peasants and workers. Prices must fall, incomes and wages must rise and nationalized social amenities must be the actual birthright of the people. Reverse tendencies in our economic life will have to be immediately halted. For the adult franchise voter, the ultimate arbiter of democratic political power will judge the Government by the economic improvement he can see, in his own daily life. The Donoughmore era saw no deep understanding, though I often pointed it out, of the necessity of harnessing capital, and banking, in the interests of the people. This, of course, would have involved Social-Democratic legislation, for which the country had't the political power.

**F**OR instance, Hugh Dalton, writing on "Thoughts On Finance," in the "New Statesman and Nation," London, suggests Government intervention in requesting financial institutions and large investors to subscribe to Government bonds and securities, with its undoubted advantages to national, local and industrial finance.

Dalton says, "Power should be taken to prescribe, and to vary from time to time, a minimum percentage of the funds of large investors to be held in gilt-edged securities. This would apply for example, to the insurance companies, etc..... Under the Bank of England Act there is power already to issue such a direction to the banks."

Well, I recommend Dalton's proposals for legislative application, within our local economic context. But, we must have a Central Bank first, for the banks here must be made to collaborate actively in progressive national economic development, as the price of being allowed to continue in business.

**C**OMMUNIST propaganda locally hasn't yet, as the Stalinites recently did in France, littered rural areas with posters "In Defence of Property—Vote Communist." For both Stalinites and Trotskyites locally are more obsessed by strategic and tactical manoeuvres to do each other out, and secure exclusive political power, than in any subtle exploitation of peasant land hunger, to electorally increase Communist power, prior of course to the "grand soir." However, the L.S.S.P. has gone religious, which is almost as good or even better than my contact Bertrand Russell posing as a Catholic. That is an index of the strength of Buddhism in the country, rather than any revolutionary ideological conversion of Trotskyism into a spiritual philosophy! Meanwhile B.L.P. and Stalinite leaders, at a meeting when Comrade Pieter Keuneman was not calling the former and the L.S.S.P., "Trotskyite agents of American Imperialism," sat in cynically pious silence, without any contradictions while a Bhikkshu called for a bloodless revolution, by the vote, in Lanka.

**A**PPARENTLY the Cominform considers the Czechoslovak coup recently, as a blood saving Stalinite refinement on Marx's original exhortation for a bloodthirsty, violent seizure of power, on the 1917 Soviet model.

However the Cabinet must gather together a team of economic experts and send them to New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries to study Socialist

economic planning, before investigating and evolving a plan for Lanka.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who, I have the pleasure of knowing, told a Madras audience recently: "You may take it that capitalism and free enterprise in the form in which we have known them, are doomed. The conflict is between Democratic Socialism and Totalitarian Communism."

Whether we are able to bring about economic justice by peaceful, progressive, parliamentary, constitutional methods or whether by silence, inertia, inaction and slowness of volition, we play into the hands of those who are enemies of such constitutional progress—these are the alternatives facing us today.

This is a lesson I learnt from the G.O.M. of French Socialism, M. Blum, before the Donoughmore Constitution in Lanka.

Wisdom from Bombay has never been

a traditional import into Lanka. So that D. F. Karaka's naive assertion that Eisenhower will be the Democratic President in the U.S. this year in his periodical "March" was contradicted by Eisenhower telling pressmen in Washington that he wasn't standing for the Democratic Nomination. And nobody here was even mildly surprised. Oxford must do better next time. Why Cambridge supplied atomic physicists to both sides in any future World War, Peter Kapitza from the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge to Stalin's Russia, and Robert Oppenheimer, whose knowledge of eight languages include Sanskrit, to the Los Alamos Atomic Project in the U.S.A. Oppenheimer was the man who built in the first atomic bomb. This shouldn't elate Cambridge Ministers in the Cabinet. But it makes plans for a Marxist fratricidal civil war here, and particularly a Trotskyite one, seem ludicrous. Can Stalinite stooges here kidnap Kapitza from Russia?

## "A Large Number of Leftists Behind Prison Bars"

(Continued from page 3)

Will it be a popular Government of the people by the people and for the people where should he be the Prime Minister he would permit the Opposition to pull him to pieces at Galle Face, Price Park, across the length and breadth of the land or across the floor of the House itself as he does the "Senanayake Government" now?

If that be so, let him make it clear to the electorate and not keep things under his sleeve or people guessing as to what his actual intentions are.

Or is he taking a cue from his political opponent the other worthy Doctor who kept the now notorious immigration question well under his sleeve throughout his election campaign and tried to foist it upon his electors after the event?

## AT LONG LAST!

(Continued from page 6)

8. Independent Republic of Ceylon within the comity of nations of the Soviet Union of Republics.
9. Down with the British.
10. Up with the Soviet Union of Republics.
11. Down with all estates, factories, banks, insurance companies, harbour.
12. Down with the landlords.
13. Up with the landlords.
14. Everybody's money should be everybody else's.
15. A People's Government in a People's State (with Comrade Pieter as Dictator).

Gazette Communique: We the Communist Party do hereby present ye the Gampola voters with this our policy and hereby command ye to vote for our Comrade or perish!

The L.S.S.P. and B.L.P.I. (I. for India) policies are not yet known.

"Their clothes last twice as long,

thanks to Sunlight!"

Now that I have their clothes washed with Sunlight they last twice as long. No need to beat them. Sunlight's rich lather washes away every bit of dirt, and our clothes come back thoroughly clean and smelling as fresh as morning sunshine. Sunlight is good for hands, too.

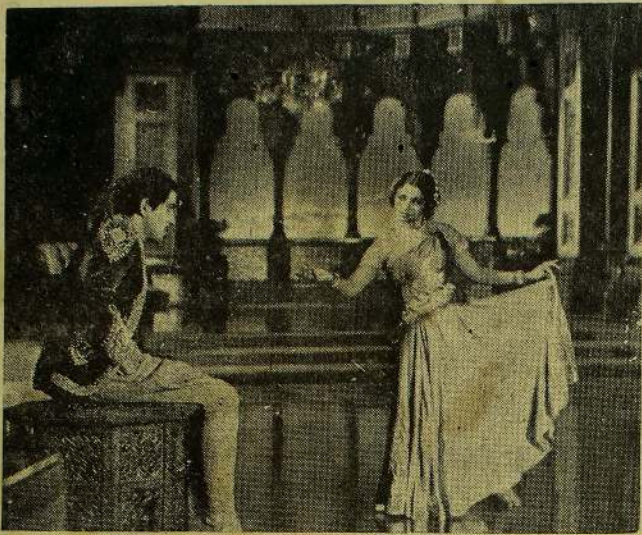
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