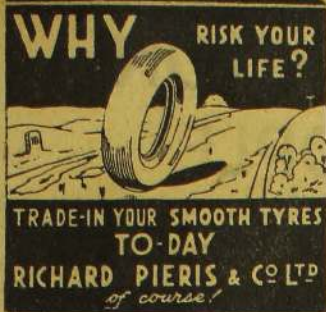


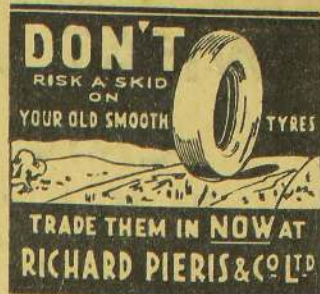
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A Small Nation Fights For Its Very Existence

Sri Nehru's Statesmanlike Pronouncement

WHY is Ceylon so perturbed about the Indian immigration problem? Now that a calmer atmosphere prevails in Indo-Ceylon relations, it is worthwhile examining those aspects of Indian immigration which intimately and vitally concern Ceylon.

Talking about the position of Indians in Africa, Sri Nehru said: "We do not want any Indian in Africa to have any kind of vested interest against Africans there. We have made it clear he must help Africans in their progress. In so far as he does that he is welcomed there. If not he has no place there."

If Sri Nehru applied these words to the present dispute in Ceylon, there is no doubt that it would have been a splendid starting point for negotiations between India and Ceylon. I have no doubt, however, that his approach to the situation in Ceylon is not different from his approach to the situation in Africa. Since he has repeated in the Indian Parliament his obiter dictum about India needing to treat Ceylon as a "younger brother," it is obvious that he does not want any Indian in Ceylon "to have any kind of vested interest" against the Ceylonese people.

Now, the plain fact is that a large section of the Indian community in Ceylon, who patently have no permanent interest in this country, insist on having a vested interest in it. Ceylonese cannot forget how, after the Japanese air raid on Colombo in April, 1942, thousands of Indians in Ceylon, traders as well as workers, fled precipitately to the mother country. It will be found that these are the very Indians who now clamour for full citizenship rights in Ceylon. It is a fact that, apart from those who fled this country after that air raid, a large number of other Indians would have also done so if they could have afforded it and if their fears had not been calmed by the superintendents of estates. Can the Indians

who actually left the country under these circumstances be said to have a permanent interest in Ceylon?

Then there is another important point in Sri Nehru's speech which pertinently applies to Indians in Ceylon, although he was speaking of Indians in Africa. I refer to these particular words of his: "We have made it clear the Indian must help Africans in their progress. In so far as he does that he is welcomed there. If not, he has no place there." Here is an aspect of the Indian problem in Ceylon where the Indians have a far from creditable record. When the Soulbury Commission came out to Ceylon in 1945 spokesmen of the Indian community in Ceylon vehemently opposed the grant of full self-government to this country unless Indian interests were provided with special safeguards. Can this be said to display a desire on their part to "help Ceylonese in their progress." Besides, on the last occasion when Indians did exercise the vote they made it clear beyond all doubt that they regarded themselves not as Ceylonese, but as a race apart by giving their mass vote only to Indian candidates, despite the fact that in the old Legislative Council and State Council, the Ceylonese members unanimously supported all proposals put forward by the Indian Agent in Ceylon for improving the wage standards and

living conditions of the Indian estate labourer. But the Indian representatives who were in the last Parliament, both by their demeanour and their speeches, waged a "cold war" against the Ceylonese ruling party even before the Indian Citizenship Bill was introduced and maintained a covert agreement with the Marxist members of Parliament.

All fair-minded Indians in the motherland must therefore appreciate that Ceylonese people (except that fractious minority who call themselves Marxists) have just cause to be alarmed about the claims of Indians, who have no permanent interest in this country, to be granted full citizenship rights. A small people like the Ceylonese cannot

not afford to nourish in their bosoms a large crowd of avowed aliens and permit them, by the exercise of the vote, to decide the very complexion of the government

By A. S. Morrison

of this country. In a time of international peril these Indians can again be relied upon to abandon this country and flee to the motherland, as they did on a previous occasion.

(Continued on page 2)

U.N.P. SWEEPS THE POLLS

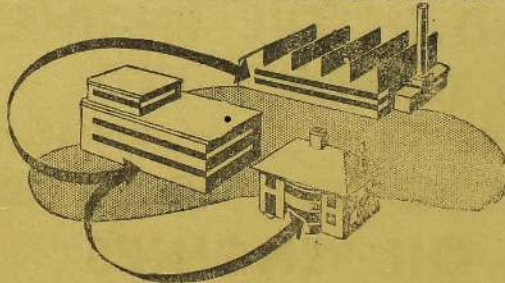


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WHAT A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION CAN BRING TO THE PEOPLE

By M. Y. M. Laffir

"WITH the advent of revolution," wrote Marx, "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains." Has the revolution achieved what it set itself to achieve? Now let us examine this statement of Marx and see how far the revolution has emancipated the proletarians in the lands in which it broke out.

We shall take the U.S.S.R. as our first example which has been variously described as the "land of socialism," "the first workers' country," etc. No doubt the urban workers and the rural peasantry suffered much under the oppression of the Czars and the Kulaks, but yet it cannot be denied that they had no liberty. They had the right to oppose, criticise and to strike work. And in fact a series of strikes were conducted by the workers prior to 1917 to ameliorate their conditions. In other words there was the means for the people to fight for their rights. And what rights can they dream of possessing today when they belong to the State than vice-versa? What the "October Socialist Revolution" in Russia did was, that it galvanized the chains of the workers rather than breaking it. Thus the revolution betrayed the interests of the workers. The revolution has only enabled the workers to escape from the frying pan of the Czars to fall only into the fire of the Communists. Nor is this all. With the advent of the revolution has emerged the Soviet bureaucracy and thus bureaucracy has built up the most strongest police state in the world. In Russia the rule of law is the law to serve the party ends. The people have no freedom of thought, speech, or expression. Furthermore they have no freedom of movement within their own land. The borders of the Soviet Union are hermitically

sealed both against ingress and egress. And it is estimated that there are about twelve million people in slave labour camps. This in short are legacies that the "October Socialist Revolution" has left behind to the workers of Russia, and this exactly is what will be left behind in our countries too if a socialist revolution were to break out.

While assessing the legacies of the revolution the untold misery and sufferings that a country has to undergo in the process of a revolution cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. With the commencement of the revolution is let loose a reign of terror, which stalks the land and upsets the existing social order. Law and order ceases and then begins anarchy. In Russia the wealth and property of the Kulaks were not only confiscated, but the Kulaks themselves were simply shot without any trial. Creative brains and critical minds find no room in Russia. They are sacrificed at the altar of the dictatorship of the proletariat only? Because they disagree with their policies. Anyone who opposed the revolution was called a "counter-revolutionary" or as they are now termed "American agent," and under these charges thousands were liquidated. Through the blood and tears that flowed out of the poor workers in Russia, in the Eastern European countries and in China emerged the dictators. It was really not a dictatorship of the proletariat that was consolidated in these coun-

tries, but a dictatorship of a handful of ambitious men at the sacrifice of the proletariat. It should be noted that in revolution it is the common man who falls a victim to the bullets that will be exchanged between opposition parties.

The revolution in Russia was not to be the end. It became a contagious disease and at the conclusion of the last war we saw the rise of people's democracies in Eastern Europe. This was the result of the sheer force of arms of the liberating forces of the Soviet Union; that occupied these countries. Communism is haunting the world today and it is spreading much faster

than Nazism or Fascism spread. This force must be crushed or else we will be annihilated.

"Only a socialist revolution can clear the road to socialism." Unfortunately Marx could not foresee what would follow a revolution. It is only the dictatorship of a reactionary clique minus democracy that ensues after a revolution.

Today the term "democracy" has been used so much out of context by the Marxist that it seems to have lost its precise meaning. "People's democracies" are the terms used to name the satellites of Russia. One

(Continued on page 3)

A Small Nation Fights for Its Very Existence

(Continued from page 1)

As against this class of Indian every Ceylonese has met hundreds of Indians who have become part and parcel of the Ceylonese people unobtrusively and automatically, simply by virtue of their having intimately associated themselves with Ceylonese interests. They are to be found in the public service, the professions and in trade. Nobody regards them as being anything but Ceylonese.

To a small people like the Ceylonese, the demand of Indians with no permanent interest in Ceylon for full citizenship rights, constitutes a grave threat to the very existence of the Ceylonese as a people with a way of life and culture of their own. A very important consideration with all truly patriotic Ceylonese is that the injection into the body politic of this country of a vast number of alien Indians threatens to upset the ethnic and economic balance of this country. Taking the economic side of the question first, Indians are dreaded because of their low living standards and their willingness, on all occasions, to under-cut Ceylonese as regards wages and professional remuneration, in all walks of life. No Ceylonese who was a labourer or a white collar worker during the terrible depression of the thirties can forget how unscrupulous employers (Europeans, Indians and Ceylonese) retrenched tens of thousands of Ceylonese employees and replaced them with cheap Indian substitutes. I know personally of cases where Ceylonese estate conductors were replaced by Indians who consented to work for less than half the salary paid to the Ceylonese and who even consented to live in two-roomed wattle and daub huts, while the Ceylonese conductor's bungalow was given over to a European assistant superintendent who had lost his billet elsewhere and was found a job on an estate which considered it necessary to retrench its Ceylonese conductor.

All over the country this distressing spectacle of the dispossession of Ceylonese employees by Indians was witnessed. No Ceylonese who cares about the welfare of the people of this country wishes to see a repetition of these pathetic scenes except the Marxists who wish to create chaos in this country and alien Indians who are mere birds of passage here and who have no affection for the Ceylonese people and no real love for Ceylon. In fact one might with a slight adaptation, state the position metrically as follows:—

"He might have been a Russian, A Frenchman, Turk or Prussian, Or perhaps Italian, But in spite of all temptations To belong to other nations, He remains an Indian."

Now as regards the threat of Indian immigrants to upset the ethnic balance of the Ceylonese people, is it too much to ask the true Indian patriot in India (as opposed to the rabid Indian nationalist) whether he would refuse to concede to the people of Ceylon the right to protect their homogeneity as a nation against the influx of vast numbers of South Indian immigrants, whose cultural and living

standards are admittedly far below the standards of similar classes of people in Ceylon.

In this connection, I as a non-Sinhalese Ceylonese, may be permitted to talk of the interests of the Sinhalese people in particular. This has been primarily the land of the Sinhalese for the past 2,500 years and the civilisation they have built up is predominantly a Buddhist one. They have a rich language, magnificent architectural traditions and what has survived of their ancient art is something any race can be proud of. All this rich heritage is gravely threatened by the heavy inroads of Indians into Ceylon during the past one hundred years. The Sinhalese people number a mere four and a half millions, and for such a small people to be expected indiscriminately to grant citizenship rights to Indians, who come here temporarily merely to earn a living or to pursue a trade, would be to commit racial and cultural suicide. The Sinhalese people, therefore, in particular, having built up a rich culture (derived from but at the same time distinct from that of India), have every civilized right to preserve the integrity of their race and their undoubtedly valuable culture against the encroachment of vast masses of people from outside who have nothing in common with the language and culture of the Sinhalese.

What I have stated above is not a piece of special pleading. They are facts which no impartial observer can dispute. But in holding this uninstructed brief for the Sinhalese people, I wish to emphasise that as a race the Sinhalese are not narrowly nationalistic nor is their culture an exclusive culture, hide-bound in the rigid forms of the past. They are remarkably cosmopolitan in outlook and ever-ready to learn from other cultures. In their relations with other races, too, they do not practice that kind of aloofness for which the Englishman is famous. In fact, they are utterly lacking in that sense of racial discrimination which has disfigured Europe over the centuries. Nobody ever hears of race riots in Ceylon, and one of the conspicuous features of the Sinhalese districts of Ceylon is the existence of pockets of non-Sinhalese (in numerous cases of Indians) working as labourers or farmers or traders, in perfect harmony with their Sinhalese neighbours. The Coast Moor from India can be seen all over Ceylon, running his little boutique or shop, in utter dependence upon his Sinhalese customers and unmolested by them.

Thus, the fact that the four and a half million Sinhalese people have now awakened to the threat to their culture and to their very existence as a race, does not conflict with that spirit of innate hospitality which has always characterised them. It would be a disaster for them if their hospitality were abused and if hundreds of thousands of immigrants, who in reality have no permanent interest in the country, were to be given full citizenship rights.

Ever since Ceylon attained Dominion status the Sinhalese people, led

(Continued on page 4)

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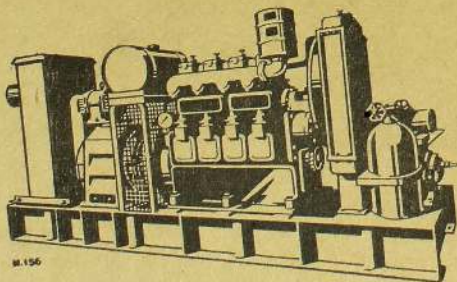
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N.L.S.S.P. LEADER'S ALLEGATION

"Utterly False" Says Viharadhipathi

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, repudiated the allegation of Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the N.L.S.S.P., that the Mahiyangana Restoration Society led by him, was responsible for acts calculated to bring dishonour and disservice to Buddhism, by making use of the bricks of the Mahiyangana Chetiya ruins to construct lavatories.

The Premier said that he was never the President of the Restoration Society, nor was he even a member up to now, but he hoped to associate himself as soon as possible with the Society, and help in its undertaking to restore the Chetiya.

The restoration was undertaken by the Society, with the advice and assistance of the Archaeological Department.

As to the allegation that its bricks were used in the construction of lavatories, the Premier said that Senator W. A. B. Soysa, Treasurer of the Society, had met him (the Premier) soon after reading in the Press the allegations of Dr. Perera.

Senator Soysa had informed the Premier there was no truth whatsoever in Dr. Perera's statement and an official denial repudiating the statement was issued to the Press duly signed by the office-bearers and members of the Society's Committee.

UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS, SAYS SOCIETY

The Mahiyangana Restoration Society issued the following statement:—

The restoration work of the Mahiyangana Chetiya commenced under the auspices of a Society of which the late Prime Minister, of illustrious memory, was the President.

The work of excavation is almost over and the foundation-stone of the new Dagoba is to be laid in September. This decision was arrived at at a meeting held in the Office of the Prime Minister a few days before his untimely death.

The bricks recovered from the debris of the old Dagoba have been carefully stacked in the courtyard of the Dagoba and all other

articles found in the debris are being carefully protected.

INCORRECT STATEMENT

Dr. N. M. Perera has in the course of an election speech given vent to an utterance that the bricks of the old Dagoba are being used for the construction of latrines. This is an incorrect statement. It is a pity that responsible men should give vent to utterances which are far from being true. The public, however, cannot be misled by such propaganda.

The Mahiyangana Restoration Society considers it their duty to deny categorically this unfounded allegation of Dr. N. M. Perera.

The excavation was carried out by the Archaeological Department.

The statement is signed by Senator W. A. B. Soysa (Honorary Treasurer), Mr. D. B. Welegedera (Honorary Secretary), Muhandiram A. W. D. A. Wijeyewardena, Mr. H. M. O. Charles Silva and Muhandiram Pathirana, members of the Committee.

AN UNTRUTH FABRICATED

The Viharadhipathi of the Mahiyangana Rajamaha Vihare, who, it was stated by Dr. N. M. Perera, handed him two bricks of the ancient Chetiya which were alleged to have been used in the construction of latrines, denies categorically that he ever complained to Dr. Perera of this alleged desecration and adds that he has not even met Dr. Perera in all his life. The statement of the Viharadhipathi which is in Sinhalese, is as follows:—

"I understand from newspaper reports that Dr. N. M. Perera at election meetings refers to both the Mahiyangana Chetiya and me. This forces me to make a public statement on the subject.

"According to these reports Dr. N. M. Perera exhibits some bricks purporting to be bricks of the Mahiyangana Chetiya and states that similar bricks were used for the construction of latrines.

"I must state in this connection that the bricks unearthed at the site of the Chetiya are carefully stacked on the Chetiya compound but since they are not under lock and key it is possible for someone who visits the Chetiya to steal a brick or two.

(Continued on page 7)

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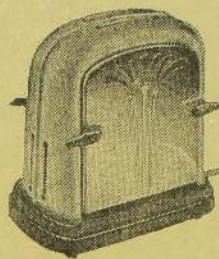
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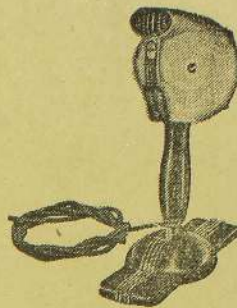
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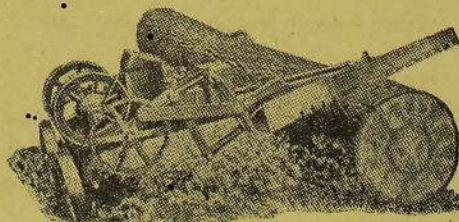
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COMBATING BANDITRY IN MALAYA

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A RECENT arrival from Malaya, Mr. T. S. Rajan, on a holiday, gives his personal views on the present conditions prevailing in Malaya today. In his opinion nothing more could be done by the authorities in counteracting the present menace to the country's freedom than the adoption and implementation of the methods at the moment in Malaya, the land of his birth and adoption. Its present malady, he thinks, can be attributed to an almost infectious disease that is entirely foreign to Malaya. The symptom is there, he adds, and may well spread all over the body politic or eat into the body of the country like a gangrenous ulcer. If the trouble is conveniently classified under Communism, he emphatically asserts that it is an imported ideology, grossly violent in its character, unknown to Malaya of recent happy memory. The population polygenous in character with its diverse customs and manners is by no means discontented. He is positive that the inter-relationship between the various communities such as the Malays, Chinese, Indians, etc., is most cordial and convincing.

THE MALAYAN CEYLONESE COMMUNITY

Referring to the Malayan Ceylonese Community which constitute a very small minority, he states, that though least is not the last in their contributions to the country's future and its development. They are as much concerned as everybody else for the return of peace to this once land of bliss, milk and honey. They make up the smallness of quantity by the greatness of quality, remaining loyal and law-abiding, never indulging in perverse politics or party strifes, living and letting others live, hospitable to all and hostile to none. Their aim is peace and security. Hence it must be adduced that this small fraternity is strongly behind the government in its fight to end the emergency which started a little over three years ago in order to drive away a handful of dissident and spoilt children of Jap legacy as it was then visualised. This view has completely changed in the course of time.

UP AGAINST WELL-EQUIPPED ENEMY

Continuing, he says: It was found that the authorities were up against a well-organised and well-equipped enemy. Let one not dissociate with the fact that Mao Tze-tung already has the support of some section of the Chinese population of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, with over 70 per cent. Chinese in the population of Singapore and nearly 40 per cent. on the mainland of Malaya. It is obvious then to conclude that these relatively huge Chinese elements in the country will put Malaya in an uneasy position if it were not acted upon quickly and with precision. The present stalemate in Korea and a few premature victories by Mao's forces around the 38th Parallel gave a sudden impetus to the Chinese opinion in general and to the reactionaries and opportunists in particular. It almost seemed an upheaval to them. Yet I can speak with no diffidence that this revelation made no deep or lasting difference in the ideas or attitudes of the right-thinking Chinese in Malaya.

CURE ALREADY UNDER WAY

A cure for this is already under way. The new High Commissioner of the Federation, Sir Gerald Templer, a military genius, has taken over the reins of the Government. Appropriate steps and stunning blows are being "ministered unto" the bandits—a name devised to differentiate the Communists peculiar to Malaya—with telling effects. Strict curfews are clamped on areas which "misbehave." Normally the towns are free from bandit activities

save for some remote rural areas and villages or "ulus" as they are called in Malaya. The inhabitants in these areas live in constant fear. "Sealed lip" policy is followed by people in general where the authorities fail to get little or no information at all to track down the bandits or bandit agents. "Protection money" racket of recent past was very prevalent and is now gradually dying out. It should not be misconstrued that the people are averse to help the Government but that they are afraid of subsequent reprisals that may descend on a family or household in no sweet or sophisticated way—most cold-blooded in character, ruthless in its deal and far excel the Japanese in its methods. According to Briggs Plan all loose and scattered squatter gypsies are brought under a scheme known as the resettlement scheme. These huts are grouped together within a perimeter fence of barbed-wire. Special constables are posted at each entrance to stand guard against possible Communist infiltration. These squatters have for long been the wholesale supplies and agents and the hand-maid of their depredations.

THE COST TO GOVERNMENT

The present emergency is costing the Government one million dollars a day. Through bandit activity the economy of the country is much shaken—plantation work and rural industry at a standstill; train services are curtailed to minimum. Passenger train services are only available during the day and night mail services are practically done away with on account of frequent derailments and destruction to life and property.

A SMALL NATION FIGHTS FOR ITS VERY EXISTENCE

(Continued from page 2)

by that great statesman, the late D. S. Senanayake, have attempted to weld the different races in this country into one nation, united in diversity. Today power-hungry reactionaries are doing their level best to undo the great work of the dead leader. And it is a matter for great regret and one that has caused tremendous resentment among patriotic Ceylonese, that the Indians in our midst have shamelessly and unscrupulously exploited the situation and allied themselves with the Marxists who (here as in India) plan to bring about a state of utter chaos and misrule. Thus, the very conduct of the Indian leaders in Ceylon is not such as to inspire confidence in them among the Ceylonese people.

In bringing about a better understanding between Ceylon and India on this question of immigration, therefore, the people of Ceylon will expect the Indian government to look at it in all its aspects and not merely from a narrow Indian nationalist point of view, since the Indian problem presents a real threat to the racial and cultural integrity of the Ceylonese people. It is a comforting thought that through the centuries and millenniums, the masses in India have been willing to listen to the voices of its great men. In the present issue, therefore, Ceylon has good grounds for believing that Sri Nehru, when apprised of the full facts, will generously accept the point of view of Ceylon, namely, that the unrestricted grant of citizenship rights to all Indians in Ceylon would constitute a serious threat to the ethnic and economic balance of the people of Ceylon. If this is borne in mind, it should not be beyond the wit of the statesmen of Ceylon and India to devise a solution that would be equitable to both parties. Once such a solution has been reached, Ceylon and India can march forward together in a spirit of genuine co-operation and concord. Both countries need each other and, as Sri Nehru said, they cannot afford to quarrel.

THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES

Colombo Their Natural Home

AFTER ten years' hibernation in Nuwara Eliya, the Government Archives were exhibited to the public recently at the Historical Manuscripts Commission exhibition held recently at the Art Gallery and the opportunity was availed of by many, particularly students, both boys and girls, who showed particular interest in the maps and rare ancient manuscripts from which they learnt much about Ceylon's past history. It was, however, a fleeting show as the Archives were removed the next day to their temporary home in Nuwara Eliya. There were many who heartily endorsed the hope expressed by Professor Pakeman, the Chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission at the opening in welcoming the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education—the hope that before very long the Archives will come back from their temporary home, in Nuwara Eliya, to their proper and natural home, the administrative capital of the Island.

EVACUATION AND SECURITY MEASURE

The removal of the Archives to Nuwara Eliya was a security measure adopted during the war, particularly the Japanese raid when public offices, schools and other institutions were evacuated and public servants were given cash advances to enable them to leave the city and secure safety for their families in outstations. It will be remembered that there was a general exodus at that time when the Civil Defence Commissioner had one of the most formidable and unenviable tasks to perform. Among the other public departments that found accommodation elsewhere were the Post Office Savings Bank and the Registrar-General's Office. It was stated that the archives which had been stored in the basement of the old Secretariat building for many years when the Archivist's Department was under the purview of the Chief

Secretary, needed a suitable home in a building air-conditioned and free from the ravages of white ants which had destroyed many valuable documents. But this pious resolution was implemented only after this department was taken over by the Ministry of Education.

PROGRESSIVE ADVANCE

It remains to the credit of the Ministry of Education that a real and progressive advance was made in the preservation of the documents by subjecting them to cleaning, fumigation and other technical treatment. The Archivist as well as his Assistant were granted study leave to proceed to Europe and acquire a knowledge of the latest scientific methods and studying the methods pursued in the Archivist's Departments of foreign governments, besides visiting the libraries of the various universities in the United Kingdom. Faded documents are now copied under ultra-violet ray and paper and silk are used in the repairing of damaged documents. At the exhibition in the Art Gallery there were specimens on view showing the method of repair by splitting paper along its thickness, that is peeling off the upper layer of the membrane from the lower, so that the verso of the paper is lifted away from the recto. The repair material is then inserted between the two layers and the parts pasted together again. This method has been tried with success, but is limited to printed works. It is interesting to note that this art has been introduced and the officers trained in this particular technical process are on the spot.

COLOMBO: THE NATURAL HOME

The Archives with the latest equipment and scientific gadgets ought therefore to be within easy reach of students. In its present temporary home they are not easily accessible. "Few people in Ceylon, I think, know what a very fine collection of archives we possess—they are continuous from the middle of the 17th century, 300 years ago," said Professor Pakeman who continuing declared: "Few countries, I think none in Asia, have anything approaching a collection so complete. The Government Archives are temporarily housed in Nuwara Eliya, but we hope that before very long they will come back to their natural and proper home, the administrative capital of the Island, and will be housed in a building with special air conditioning and plenty of room for expansion." Once this hope is realised the public will be gratified.

JURGEN.

U.N.P. Branches in Eastern Province

MR. V. CARTHIGESU, propaganda assistant of the United National Party, addressed two public meetings at Muttur constituency in the Eastern Province and organised two Branch Associations at Koddigarappattu and Muttur. He explained the policy of the party and the principles for which the party stood. He advised the people to take lively interest in promoting the principles. It was up to the people to loyally support and maintain the good work done for the economic welfare of the country.

The following office-bearers for the two branches were elected:—

Koddigarappattu:—

President: Mr. A. S. Fernando; Vice-President: Mr. M. M. Kurus; Hony. Secretary: Mr. M. Francis Kurus; Hony. Treasurer: Mr. V. Mariyanayagam; and a Committee of seven members.

Muttur:—

President: Mr. S. M. A. Jainudeen; Vice-President: Mr. A. C. M. Haniffa; Hony. Secy.: Mr. K. A. Roche de Vaz; Hony. Treasurer: Mr. S. Seyathu and a Committee of ten members.

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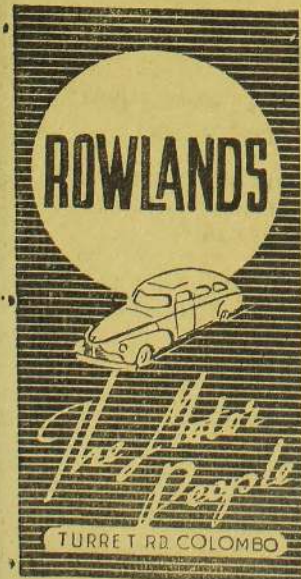
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Friday, May 30, 1952

THE FIRST LESSONS FROM ELECTION

Ceylon is still in the throes of the first General Election to be held since her attainment of Dominion Status.

The exigencies of printing have made it necessary for this editorial to be written after only the first day's results have been made known. Even those few results are, however, sufficient to warrant the assumption that our party will once again be given a clear mandate by the people to carry on the administration of the country for another five years.

By far the most significant of the first day's result was the capture of two Red strongholds in Kandy and Kalutara and the total discomfiture of the Lanka Sama Samajist Party.

The U.N.P. victories in Kandy and Kalutara are symptomatic of that revulsion of feeling among voters who had at one time been taken in by the specious promises of the Leftists but have now realised the error of their choice. We have no doubt that as the election progresses more and more electorates, which had been represented by Marxist members, will reject them in favour of candidates committed to the democratic way of life. The eclipse of the L.S.S.P. has not

come as a surprise to political observers. In their death struggles their leader chose to probe the depths of political dishonesty with a spurious tale of the uses to which bricks from Mahiyangana had been put. The lie direct to his hoax has been given by the High Priest of Mahiyangana and the public will, no doubt, draw the proper conclusions from this exposure of the Red leader's deliberate attempt to deceive them. Though this last-minute bid to excite religious tension has lamentably failed, the men and women of this country will not soon forget the despicable trick, so unworthy of the traditions of democracy, that was tried to be played by one who in the last House of Representatives held the high office of Leader of the Opposition.

We are not unaware that our Party did in fact lose some seats on the first day of the election. However regrettable that may be we are convinced that it is only a very temporary setback which has been more than compensated for by our glorious triumphs in Kandy and Kalutara. It used to be the proud boast of the Marxists that the ancient capital of Lanka and the sea-board towns on the west coast were impregnable redoubts of their totalitarian ideology. That these alleged bastions fell so early in the assault proves that belief in the Marxist creed is rapidly waning and that it will not be long before our fair Island home is rid of those forces of destruction which would annihilate religion and take away all our cherished freedoms.

Reply to Marxist Spokesman

"NON POSSUMUS NON LOQUI"

A GARRULOUS and virulent Marxist spokesman has recently warned priests to keep off politics. If he hopes, by this threat, to silence the Church and its ministers, he is mistaken; and he surely knows it," states the latest issue of "The Messenger," Ceylon's Catholic weekly, in an editorial.

The reference is to a statement made by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva at a meeting in Nedimala last Sunday, when he said: "I should like to warn the Catholic clergy to lay off politics and confine themselves to the practice and preaching of their religion."

The editorial further states:

"The answer of the apostles of today cannot be any different from the answer of the first apostles in the face of the first persecutions—non possumus non loqui: we cannot be silent.

"We have made the position of the Church abundantly clear. The Church does not meddle in politics. But the Church cannot be morally neutral. As the Pope has said in a recent broadcast: 'She cannot forget for an instant that her role of representative of God on earth does not permit her to remain indifferent between good and evil in

human affairs. If she passes judgment that does not mean that she is thereby abandoning a neutrality hitherto observed, for God is never neutral towards human events, in the course of history and so neither can His Church be.

STRANGE LANGUAGE

"The Marxist demagogues have of late been loud in their insistence that they have no quarrel with religion, and that they stand for freedom of worship. This is strange language coming from a group of people who have said over and over again that they are not just a reformist party, but a purely Marxist party.

"What new brand of Marxism is this that hugs religions to itself in a loving embrace?"

KNAVE OR FOOL?

"Any man who claims that Marxism and Religion are compatible is either a knave or a fool. He does not know what he is talking about, and had better go back and study both Marxism and Religion. Or else he knows—and then he is a knave. No one can profess a simultaneous belief in God and a spiritual soul on the one hand and in dialectical materialism on the other, without reaching the vanishing point of sanity. The people of this country must not fall a prey to the same Trojan-horse tactics that made dupes and slaves of such large masses of people in so many European countries."

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When the State Sponsored A Newspaper

AMONG the first issues of newspapers in Ceylon which figured among the exhibits shown at the Art Gallery recently by the Historical Manuscripts Commission was one published in 1837 under the sponsorship of the Government—the "Ceylon Chronicle" which was conducted by a Committee of Management of a number of gentlemen. With its publication the Supplement to the "Government Gazette" was discontinued.

The prospectus preceding the first issue states that the "Ceylon Chronicle" will be conducted on free and independent principles and that its columns will be open at all times to point out and refute misrepresentations and to give correct and impartial accounts of the measures of Government.

It is further stated that the real interests of all will be fairly advocated and every effort made to advance the prosperity of each and every part of the country by publishing impartial accounts and sound information upon all subjects calculated to promote the welfare of this "prosperous and rising colony." The Committee of Management, while deeming it necessary to prevent misconception, hasten to state in the most unreserved terms that although the journal is set on foot with a view to supporting the Local Government, it is not intended that it shall be either directly or indirectly under the control of that Government. The subscription rate was 12 shillings a quarter and published on Wednesday and Saturday. Enquiries regarding advertisements and payments were to be made to

Dionysius de Neys of the Colombo Library.

ONE PARTICULAR OBJECT

"One particular object," states the prospectus, "is to lay down facts, establish principles, examine arguments and to place within the capacity of any attentive reader all questions of local political interest in Ceylon and above all to endeavour to form a state of 'public opinion' in the Island which shall not be based upon the language of ignorance nor the chattering of presumption, nor the venom of evil speaking, nor the poison of calumny—still less upon a system of intentional misrepresentation and mystification, but on the contrary upon the result of a fair balance between conflicting opinions as to the true interests of the colony, clearly expressed on both sides."

Three years earlier was founded the only private owned newspaper, the "Ceylon Observer." Reference is made to this paper in the first issue of the "Ceylon Chronicle" as will be noted in the following excerpt taken therefrom:—

"While admitting that it is in the interests of any community that there should be 'competition' between the conducting of the Public Press, so far from wishing that the publication of the 'Ceylon Chronicle' may lead to the extinction of the 'Ceylon Observer' and the re-establishment of a single one-sided paper that we should deprecate nothing more than such a result. We shall head each article in numerical succession 'The Observer Observes' or 'Facts vs Assertions' and this series will present a running commentary upon the current local politics of Ceylon."

SENEX.

Commerce Minister Opens New Maternity Home

PITIGALA, Monday

A NEW Maternity Home at Amugoda (Baddegama Electorate) built on the land donated by the late Mrs. K. V. Punchihamy de Silva and Mr. H. S. Martinez Fernando of Amugoda, was declared open by the Hon. Mr. H. W. Amarasinghe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the presence of a large gathering. On arrival, Mr. Amarasinghe was received on behalf of the residents by Mr. H. S. Martinez Fernando by garlanding Mr. Amarasinghe.

Mr. K. S. de Silva, Superintendent, Elpitikanda Estate, a nephew of the late Mrs. Punchihamy de Silva, offered a sheaf of betel (Bulath Hurulu) with a key placed on it and invited Mr. Amarasinghe in the oriental manner to declare open the Maternity Home which was accordingly done by Mr. Amarasinghe amidst applause from the large gathering present.

Mr. Amarasinghe, after thanking Mr. H. S. Martinez Fernando and the late Mrs. K. V. Punchihamy de Silva for their generosity in donating the land on which the Maternity Home was built, said that hitherto the expectant mothers of Amugoda, Pitigala and surrounding areas had to go to Elpitikanda Hospital, eight miles away, and now thanks to the

public-spirited Mr. H. S. Martinez Fernando and the late Mrs. K. V. Punchihamy de Silva, they will now have two Maternity Homes (the one just opened and another at Pitigala now nearing completion) as such the day should be one of rejoicing to the people of the area and he (Mr. Amarasinghe) said he too can join in their rejoicing because he was given the opportunity of donating Rs 10,000 to build the two Maternity Homes.

Mr. Amarasinghe announced that he would offer a prize of Rs. 50 to the first child born in the Maternity Home he just opened. This was followed by offers of prizes by Mr. K. A. de Silva, landed proprietor and general merchant, Pitigala, a nephew of the late Mrs. Punchihamy de Silva with an award of Rs. 25 to the first male child born while Mr. H. S. Porolis Fernando, landed proprietor, Amugoda, with an award of Rs. 25 to the first female child born at the Maternity Home.

(P.S.—A woman from Porowgama has since given birth to the first child at the Maternity Home and Mr. Amarasinghe has accordingly awarded her the Rs. 50 he promised at the opening ceremony of this institution. —(Pitigala Cor.).

N.L.S.S.P. LEADER'S ALLEGATION

(Continued from page 3)

"I do not, however, believe that it is possible to construct a latrine with a few bricks removed in that manner.

UNTRUTHS

"The statement of Dr. Perera that the bricks of the Chetiya have been utilised for the construction of latrines is an untruth fabricated to serve political ends.

"It was stated in the newspaper reports that I had given two bricks of the Chetiya to Dr. Perera and that I had complained to him that similar bricks were being used to construct latrines.

"This is what Dr. Perera is reported to have said. This is a com-

plete falsehood.

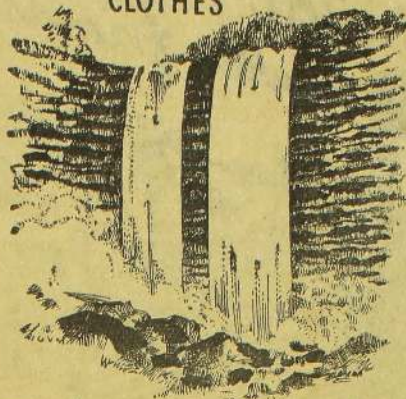
"Even though I have seen pictures of Dr. Perera in the newspapers yet I have never met him. So how could I have given bricks to a man I have never met in all my life? It is doubtful whether he even knows me.

"I would advise Dr. Perera not to attempt to exploit either sacred places of worship or the Sangha for political propaganda.

"It is my hope that the present Prime Minister will before long fill the vacancy in the Restoration Committee caused by the death of his father our late Prime Minister."

—Sgd. Ven. U. Sri Rewatha, High Priest of Mahiyangana Rajamaha Vihare, Bintenna-Aluthuwara, Bibile.

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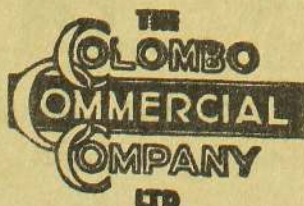


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Only U.N.P. Can Assure Us of Good Government

By Quintus Delil Khan

OUR greatest need in the country is good government, and only the United National Party can give this assurance to the country. The Party has a tried and experienced men who have demonstrated that they are willing to work for the common well-being on the most sane, balanced and acceptable democratic lines. No greater advantage can be enjoyed by any country than that the men who are directing its future are men who can be trusted to preserve the essential freedoms which sustain democracy.

Any party which appeals to our electorates on the ground of being more truly democratic than the United National Party is making a claim which is preposterous on the face of it. The antecedents of men determine their future conduct. Those who have not been able to act according to the discipline of a healthy democracy cannot be expected to consult the common good, and subordinate their interests to it, when they are not under the powerful direction of party which has the motivation of unifying democratic principles.

This possession of such sound principles in a demonstrable coherence is what will make it possible for this country to obtain the greatest amount of benefit from the continued influence of the U.N.P. in building up our individual and national prosperity. It is absurd to imagine that a body of men, different in their political complexion, all competing in the most unscrupulous manner for power, could possibly combine to do the country any good. They would be engaged in moves and counter-moves, in the most incessant strategy to gain personal ascendancy, in wrangling to keep up the appearances of a united front, to have any time or opportunity of giving a single-minded attention to the needs of the country.

Under such circumstances, the country requires the United National Party to be seated in power, much more than that it should have new men in power. An opposition party, composed of contrary and contradictory ideologies, will serve some purpose as an opposition; but for the purposes of good government men must have some fundamental basis of agreement if there is to be concerted action in securing our progress.

It is an appalling position that there has been so much effort made to distract this country from its true good by the offer of the most tempting and the most irredeemable promises. A country does not prosper on this kind of insubstantial fare. During these times of public excitement, many tall and unfounded stories are told by plausible politicians but there is always disillusionment in the offing. It is evident,

however, that the United National Party candidates were honourably under no necessity to endeavour to fool the public, as they could, in the name of the Party, give the fullest assurance to their constituencies that the party programme was a practical one, that it had done much in the past and that it had both the capacity and the willingness to do a work of permanent value for Ceylon in the many useful directions.

But the country should always remember the insidious effort which was made to mislead electorates and to bring us to a condition of chaos and bankruptcy. In the scramble for power, there was no weapon which was left out for the purposes of success by people who, if they had been returned to power, would have plunged Ceylon into a state of unrelieved turmoil and chaos. The people of this country want peace to draw together in one common bond and work for the establishment of higher standards of living. They want to preserve their religious heritage in respect of every religion, and do not require that one religion should be favoured at the expense of others, or that revolutionary elements should dominate the life of the country and mould its future according to plans that have brought nothing but misery and abolition of liberty in other countries. It has been a cruel wrong on the country that leaders who have been trusted should have allowed the least degree of risk to be run by the people in matters of such moment as their traditional ways of thinking and of living. No country can forget such attempts at monstrous disservice.

For the future, there should be a clear and definite effort to educate the masses for democracy. Democracy involves very heavy obligations. No one can enjoy liberty, and leave so precious a treasure unguarded. Our eternal vigilance must not be allowed to waver. The voters who are entrusted with the power to create governments should know why that power has been placed in their hands. It has not been given to them to be used to their own destruction, to the elimination of all those features of government which enable them to be the masters of their own destiny, or to result in the entrusting of power to the hands of people who can take the most drastic and determined action to sweep away their priceless gifts of religion, human rights and freedom.

Democracy must be allowed to create in the least degree a mental vacuum into which can pour in large elements of everything that is irresponsible, anti-democratic and chaotic.

If we want good government to always continue we must perform our democratic duties and thus ensure our own absolute security in all things necessary for the preservation of a true, prosperous and disciplined democracy.

What A Socialist Revolution Can Bring to the People

(Continued from page 2)

begins to wonder how could there be democracy in a one party state! A strong and a united opposition is the best test of democracy; in fact it is the government of tomorrow. But this is unknown to those who inhabit the people's democracies, the Soviet Union and Red China. The voice of the dictator prevails and is all powerful. Communism, it is, said, has come to do away with capitalism, but it goes without saying that communism creates the most powerful form of capitalism when the entire wealth of the country is vested in the state.

"The possession of private property," says Plato, "creates in man a sense of generosity," and once this property is plundered by the State that sense of generosity too is plundered by the State. "Right" is in-

herited in man from his claim of ownership or possession. So what rights can man have in the Communist States when they themselves are possessions of the State? It is quite evident that when a man loses his claim of ownership that he has lost his rights as well. What right can he have when he is "only a cell of the great organism of State"? and obeys it at the point of the gun. And last but not the least is that the so-called "Socialist revolution" is going to be the last of all revolutions. To strike work is the best weapon that workers possess in our lands to increase his wages and to improve his conditions, but with the revolution this weapon of the worker is snatched by the iron hand of the dictator. If he strikes he will have to face the firing squad or enter the mines in Siberia. The

(Continued on page 10)

OPPOSITION COALITION GOVT.—An Impossibility

ABOUT eight political parties have nominated their party men to oppose the United National Party candidates at the forthcoming general election, but none of these parties both totalitarian and those that support the totalitarian parties has a chance of forming a government of its own. Thus in the event of defeat of the U.N.P. at the general election. The opposition parties will have to form a coalition government or appeal to the country again. The Opposition parties know how difficult it is for them to get a mandate from the country. Therefore, even with difficulty they will have to form a coalition government and avoid another General Election.

The political parties which will have to form this coalition government are the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Republican Party, the Communist Party, Viplavakari Sama Samaja Party and the Federal Party. As far as this coalition government is concerned, the Republican Party, the Federal Party and the V.L.S.S.P. are of very much less significance than the other three Opposition parties because each of those three parties cannot win more than one seat. Therefore, in the event of defeat of the U.N.P. the three leading Opposition parties, the N.L.S.S.P., the S.L.F.P. and the C.P. will have to form a coalition government.

A close examination of the policies and the principles of these three political parties reveals that these parties can never form a successful coalition government. The Communist Party, on principle, regards both the N.L.S.S.P. and the S.L.F.P. as her political enemies. According to Marshal Stalin, the grand leader of the Communist Parties of the world, the tactics of the parties such as the N.L.S.S.P. and the S.L.F.P. have decidedly been "to achieve reforms which serve merely to bolster up Capitalism and to disrupt the revolutionary forces." Stalin continues: "Proletarian dictatorship must eliminate the bourgeoisie" which means the parties like the S.L.F.P. and the N.L.S.S.P., "rally all the labouring classes round the proletariat" which means always the Communist Party and "arm the new society against foreign enemies." Moreover the Communists always say that "the Trotskyists are unprincipled. But Mr. Pieter Keuneman, the Communist leader, has stated that, in order to achieve his object he and his party are prepared to co-operate with any or all Opposition parties. Obviously, his object is to eliminate the bourgeoisie parties such as the S.L.F.P. and the unprincipled Trotskyist parties such as the N.L.S.S.P. and force the labouring classes to rally round the Proletariat which is entirely the Communist Party.

On the other hand, the Trotskyists of the N.L.S.S.P. too deal with the Communist Party. Dr. N. M. Perera of the N.L.S.S.P., at a meeting held

at Anuradhapura, has warned the people "beware of the Communists, they are dangerous." He has continued: "They are not human beings. In a country with a great culture the Communists cannot go on."

A coalition government of the S.L.F.P. and the N.L.S.S.P. too is not at all possible because these two parties never agree on any policy. The Fourteen-Point Programme of the N.L.S.S.P. states: "Grant citizen rights to all those who wish to be permanent residents." Further they demand that the immigration and passport regulations should be ended while the S.L.F.P. of Mr. Bandaranaike is very conspicuously silent on this matter. It is not only on the Indian issue that these two parties disagree but almost on all the important issues.

At a N.L.S.S.P. meeting held on 4-5-1952 at the Dedduwa Government Girls' School, Dr. N. M. Perera has said: "We have pledged to support Mr. Bandaranaike. If the N.L.S.S.P. succeeds in winning thirty seats a coalition government will be formed." But just three days later Dr. Perera has said at a meeting held at Anuradhapura that "there is no organization called the Sri Lanka Freedom Party but it is a collection of sticks in the mud." "Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike is a man who is not sure of what he thinks, talks or does." Thus it necessarily follows that Dr. Perera and his party have pledged to support Mr. Bandaranaike who is not sure of what he thinks, talks or does. Another prominent member of the N.L.S.S.P., Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, has said at Bandarawela that the S.L.F.P. and the C.P. were parties that sprang up like mushrooms. Further he has said that these parties were always on the lookout and waited for a chance to gain ends and he has advised the voters not to believe in these mushroom parties. But Mr. W. Dahanayake also of the N.L.S.S.P., who once said "I do not love thee Banda dear" to Mr. Bandaranaike, has presided at a meeting of the S.L.F.P. which is both "a collection of sticks in the mud" and "a mushroom party." These astonishing statements and the actions of the Trotskyist leaders of the N.L.S.S.P. show that the Communists were quite correct when they said "the Trotskyists are unprincipled."

The unprincipled N.L.S.S.P. Trotskyists, the inhuman Communists, and Mr. Bandaranaike who is not sure of what he thinks, talks or does, can never form a coalition government which will maintain peace and stability in the country. Thus only the United National Party can form a government which will maintain peace and stability in the country and at the same time give the country a sound economy and a programme of development that will steadily raise the living standards of the population. Vote U.N.P. and enjoy the benefits of a sound economy, freedom and stability.

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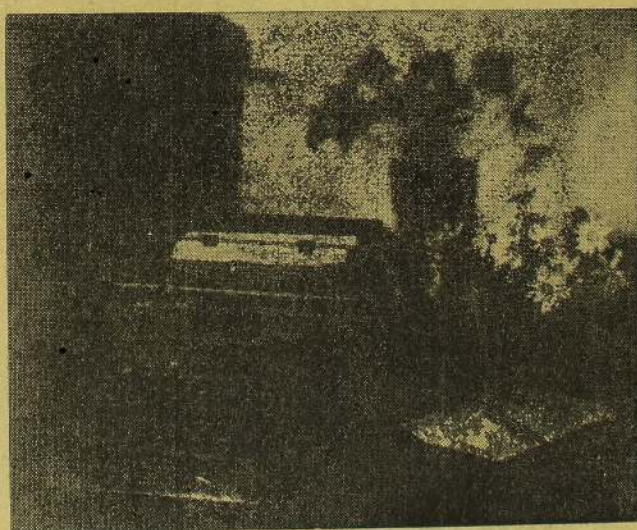
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WHY WE SHOULD SUPPORT Mr. ANANDATISSA DE ALWIS

Asks K. Alahakone

A YOUNG orator—a keen patriot has been put forward by the United National Party for the Kotte Seat, to fight the political battle against Marxism. Although he is young in age he is old in political consciousness. "Political consciousness leads to political activity." There is no doubt that Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis in time to come, will be a great politician.

Let the voters of Kotte know him as a true lover for his motherland, for his nation, for his religion; a strong supporter of democracy and a strong enemy of Marxism.

Are the voters of Kotte being aware of the immense services rendered by the U.N.P. Government? If so why not support the U.N.P. candidate who has sworn to serve and work for the welfare of the people, and on this issue the U.N.P. candidate will not hesitate to sacrifice his life.

For the last five years the citizens of Kotte had elected a Marxist. If they are to return him to Parliament again, the people must remember that they are voting for a totalitarian Party whose victory would result in the utter destruction of democracy and all Freedoms. Their every vote will be against Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Association, Freedom of Worship Civil and Social Freedom, and above all, Political Freedom, which we won, after a period of 400 years of foreign domination.

But if the voters of this electorate wish that democracy and its freedoms should continue, they must think carefully and exercise their vote in such a way to preserve democracy. Today, the only Party which safeguards democracy is the U.N.P. It is the only Party paying due regard to all religions.

Apart from the religious issue, the most outstanding question is the Indian citizenship rights, to which the Opposition members are in favour. They want citizenship rights to be given to the immigrants from India. Today the Government has locked the door to prevent the Indians from coming into this Island. But Leftist parties intend to open it. What will happen if this is being done, is a question which is left to be faced not only by the citizens of Kotte, but also by the whole country in this critical moment in its history. This is not only a struggle to preserve political freedom but a struggle to preserve the national survival.

Especially the voters of Kotte must take this into consideration earnestly as it is their own representative in the last Parliament is among the "modern Ehelapolas" struggling to sell this country for Indians. Are the voters of Kotte been aware that if they are voting for their former representative that they are voting for Indian citizenship rights—and they are indirectly opening the "closed door" for Indians?

Alas! What will happen when the door is opened? Eighty thousand Indians will swarm into Ceylon and join the eight lakhs who are at present here.

Red leaders like Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Robert Gunawardene and others make false promises on political platforms to solve these problems, and this is how they are solving these problems. If the voters of Kotte have eyes to see and minds to understand these political threats of the Leftists, they would never vote for a Leftist candidate.

The present Government has taken several steps to tackle these problems, and has solved to a great extent the problems of landlessness and unemployment. I may quote a few words from the "Landlessness in



Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis.

the Kandyan Kingdom" to verify my statement: "The Government has prevented non-Ceylonese from purchasing any more Crown land and has banned further importation of Indian immigration labour."

Meanwhile, steps are being taken to increase the availability of land. The Government is carrying out an extensive scheme of colonisation in the dry zone and is purchasing a number of estates in the up-country areas and settling peasants on them."

The policy of the Government of restricting Indian citizenship only to those who have an abiding interest in this country and further restricting the right to obtain grants of Crown land from the Government only to Ceylon citizens by descent is clearly necessary in order to preserve as much land as possible for the Kandyan peasantry who are greatly in need of it today.

Those are some of the services rendered by the present Government for the people of this country. If the voters of Kotte and the rest of the country possess a feeling of love for this nation, they should think seriously and exercise their vote to save our motherland from the danger of Russian Imperialism or Revolution.

Voters of Kotte! Support the U.N.P. and return the nominee of that Party to represent you.

WHAT A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION CAN BRING TO THE PEOPLE

(Continued on page 8)

masses become feeble either to strike or to revolt, because the secret police watch them closely by day and by night. Here we could recall Morrison's statement:

"If a tap is heard in your door in the morning, it can be the milkman in a democratic State, but a policeman in a Russian State."

The Socialist revolution is more violent and brutal than the French revolution. The agents of the Kremlin are dispersed all over the globe to carry out the duty of their masters and it is the duty of every citizen in Ceylon to think twice before casting his or her vote.

"The authority whom the Ceylon Communist party has to satisfy and obey is not the masses of Ceylon, but the Soviet democracy acting through the Cominform," wrote Dr. Colvin R. de Silva in his little book "Left Disunity." Whatever the ideological quibblings of the L.S.S.P. may be their leanings towards Russia makes it a fifth column for Stalin and now it is left to the people of Ceylon to consider with great care and deliberation before making his choice in the forthcoming General Election.

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The operations of this Association are spread throughout the Commonwealth and, besides having Branch Offices in all the capital cities of Australia and New Zealand, it has District Offices in practically every town of note in Great Britain and in South Africa, and in the East is represented at Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, and Hongkong. Ceylon Branch is the central office for the control of the four establishments last mentioned.

The Association has been responsible for the introduction of some of the most important features of modern Life Assurance, and for many years has offered sound Life Assurance Contracts to the public for premiums well below the average, with full bonus rights, the figures of which have proved well above the average. This has been rendered possible by the careful selection of lives which has resulted in a favourable mortality experience, the marked economy of Management expenses and the cautious investment of funds. A Perusal of Financial Statements, will show that the security of the Association's policy contracts is above question.

One well-known British Journal writes of the Association as follows: "The contracts of the Association are liberal to the Assured. Its premiums are low and its financial resources second to none. In a word the National Mutual of Australasia is an Office which can with confidence be recommended to intending assurers."

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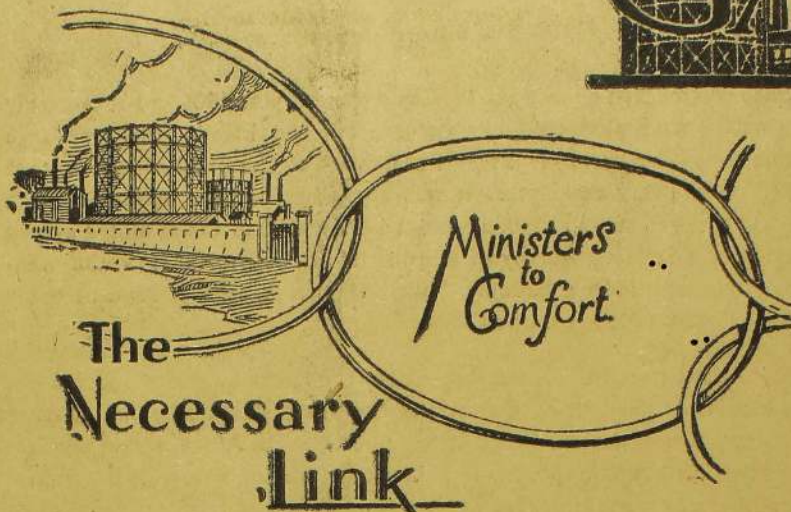
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