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FRIDAY, 1st AUGUST 1947

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LEFTIST CALLS SAMA SAMAJIST PARTY A JUNTA

The Party of Two—and little brother Robert

THE resignation of Mr. Boyd Wickremasingha from the Sama Samajist Party is proof of the fact that the N. M. Perera-Philip Gunawardena domination of this Party is driving out supporters who have been in the Party for many years.

What has been said in this paper about these men by the Bolshevik Leninists in the article published in the last issue of the paper is being substantiated by what happens every day in the country.

The N.M.—Philip—Robert Sama Samajist Party has been described by Body Wickremasinghe as a Junta. We said so all along!

If anyone wants to be a member of that Party he must be prepared to take orders, say "Yes" to everything these three say. Perhaps we should say "these two," for Robert is the little boy who listens to his master's voice and follows his master wherever he goes. Robert hasn't got very much upstairs, you see, and all he can do is this, poor fellow.

At the request of many readers we reprint sections of the article written by Maha Amarasingha for this paper in an early issue. That article shows how this Party behaved, and how all who disagreed with the Junta had to get out or were thrown out.

EDITOR.

(See Page 2)

First M. P.



MR. H. S. ISMAIL
U. N. P. Member of Parliament

This is For You

THE time has come for every patriotic person in this Island to make up his mind whether or not the country's interests demand that the United National Party should be returned to power in the Parliament. That should be the main issue before the country.

Supporting the contention that it should be returned to power is naturally our purpose. It would be quite reasonable for anyone to discount what we say on the ground that our's is a species of special pleading. Nevertheless, we are certain that the average person in this country is always ready to listen to reason. We shall, therefore, state the case as simply as possible.

We have won for ourselves a Constitution which cannot be worked successfully unless we have a Party which can command a substantial majority in the Parliament. The entire future of the country will depend on the success which attends the efforts of that Party. It is no longer a matter of prejudice against persons. It is the country that counts and must come first. We invite all those who wish to know our viewpoint on any subject pertaining to the good government of the country to write to us at any time.

Nominated



MR. G. ARTHUR DE ZOYSA
(Ambalangoda-Balapitiya)



MR. ALICK DIWITOTAWELA
(Welimada)



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SAMA SAMAJISTS UN-MASKED

By

Maha Amerasingha

LET us examine the historical background of this revolutionary party, or, of what remains of it. In the year 1935 the following gentlemen formed themselves into a political party which they called the Lanka Sama Samajist Party* (L.S.S.P.):

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva (President),
Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe,
Dr. N. M. Perera,
Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, and
Mr. Philip Goonewardene.

Things went well for a little while and two of them, Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Philip Goonewardene, gained entry into the Ceylon State Council not because of the acceptance of their revolutionary doctrine by the electors of Avissawella and Ruwanwella but for completely different reasons.

Mr. Philip Goonewardene entered Council by virtue of the fact that he was a member of that same bourgeoisie he had attacked. He was a son of a very influential person in his constituency—Boralugoda Ralahamy. It was the influence of this personality which made it possible for Philip Goonewardene to enter the State Council although he claimed quite vociferously that his victory was a triumph for the political ideology he professed.

Dr. N. M. Perera spent a great deal of his time exploiting the situation created by the malaria epidemic which provided many people with an opportunity of distributing largesse at the expense of the Government and the public of Ceylon. The villagers in the Ruwanwella constituency imagined that the supplies of food and medicine distributed to them during the epidemic came out of the pocket of Dr. Perera, and in their gratitude they marched to the polls at the election which came soon after and returned him to Council.

A short while later Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe was expelled. Dr. Wickremasinghe and a few others, including M. G. Mendis, left the Party and formed a new political organisation called the United Socialist Party of Ceylon.

The Sama Samajists opposed the war effort and in the interests of the war effort they were taken into custody. It is a fact which can be proved by documentary evidence that while the Sama Samajists pretend that they went to gaol for a cause and refused to compromise their political beliefs they wrote letters to a number of State Councillors requesting them to use their influence to obtain their release.

When Soviet Russia entered the war Dr. N. M. Perera wrote to Mr. George E. de Silva, Minister for Health, expressing his "indignation" at the beastly attack of Fascism on the freedom-loving peoples of Russia. The "learned" doctor stated that he and his colleagues in prison would now wholeheartedly support what he called the "war against Fascism." This letter was released to the Press and published in the "Ceylon Daily News" but the Government wisely analysed this to be a subtle method of trying to obtain release from imprisonment. It was somewhat ridiculous for so high-souled a politician and blood and thunder revolutionary to find his spirit fall him after only a few months in gaol. Just before the end of the war the detainees, as they were called, broke gaol and escaped to India where they led, not a very arduous underground life of scornful delight and living laborious days, as they would have us believe, but a delightfully Bohemian existence. Under the leadership of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, they formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon.

way gained once more the publicity so dear to their hearts.

At the end of the war they were released from prison much sooner than they would otherwise have been. They promptly toured the country burdening themselves with the gauds that deluded people flung upon them. They eventually forgot their own activities as writers of begging letters to members of the State Council, and attacked the friends from whom they had sought intervention with the Governor. They were not denounced because everyone in the know realised that they had to work off their bitterness in some sort of activity whereby they could gain the plaudits of the masses.

These two Comrades have never been happy unless they have been the centre of some controversy or another. And so, lacking the discipline demanded of true revolutionary workers they chafed at the leadership which Dr. Colvin R. de Silva had hitherto possessed.

With them to think is to destroy, and so they set about forming yet another Party; this time an old one under a new name, the Sama Samajist Party of India and Ceylon. Not being content with this peculiar departure they published a denunciation of what they called the "Police Spy" activities of Comrade Doric de Souza. They charged de Souza with having "carried tales" to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and also of having supplied the C.I.D. with information leading up to their arrest by the Police. They presented Comrade de Souza and his followers with the title of "Parlour Bolsheviks."

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon continued to function or at least to exist on paper as a separate entity and comprised the following leading members:—

Comrades Colvin R. de Silva,
Leslie Goonewardene, and
Doric de Souza.

The Sama Samajist Party of India and Ceylon was composed of:

Comrades N. M. Perera and
Philip Goonewardene.

By a strange irony Mrs. N. M. Perera chose to remain with Dr. Colvin R. de Silva.

* ❖ *

THE situation altered when Colvin R. de Silva and others returned to the Island and launched an attack on the Sama Samajists. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon published a journal entitled "Fight." In the issue for May, 1946, they denounced the statement of ex-Comrade Philip Goonewardene in which they described the latter's statements about the B.L.P.I. as "lies." The June issue of the same paper carried an article on the Knavesmire dispute which had the following paragraph:—

"Dr. N. M. Perera who speaks on behalf of a Party that claims to be 4th Internationalist shows that he does not understand the programme he professes to stand by."

After this game had lasted for some time there occurred a remarkable change of heart. Such endearing terms as "renegade," "traitor," "deserter" were forgotten and once more the B.L.P.I. boys and the Sama Samajists formed one party called the Sama Samajist Party of India and Ceylon whose leadership was kept a very close secret. (Apparently Dr. N. M. Perera had reason to imagine that he could wrest the leadership from the hands of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva).

This was in September, 1946, and "The Sama Samajist" in its issue of 28th October, 1946, proclaimed:

"All Trotskyites in Ceylon have become members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. Perhaps this is the last issue of the 'Sama Samajist.' In future it will be called 'Trotskyist.'"

Everything was lovely in the Sama Samajist garden and a great revolution was planned. All the energies of the Comrades were to be canalised into one stream of revolution, 20,000 Government workers were to be called out on strike.

However, they had not fully understood the mercurial qualities of Comrade N. M. Perera. No sooner had he finished his peroration to the workers assembled on the Galle Face green than he would slink away and beg of the members of the Board of Ministers to

intervene and save his face.* Dr. N. M. Perera talked bloody revolution when there were a few thousand people waiting to listen to him, but deep within him he realised the futility of following a career of a revolutionary. He cannot deny that he indulged in regular pilgrimage to the Ministers and finally paid his homage at the feet of His Excellency the Governor, which was the most dexterous feat of acrobatics of which a revolutionary politician has ever been guilty!

Never has such irony been seen in the real-life drama of the political history of this country. Here was a man who had denounced the Board of Ministers for negotiating with "imperialist white men" on the subject of freedom for Ceylon, here was a man who said that we should have no truck with the Secretary of State or his representatives on the subject of freedom, and yet he hurried to Queen's House and asked of the Governor to grant him a few crumbs from the imperialist table. The fact of the matter was that he wanted at any cost to assume the leadership of the working classes even if that meant the break-up of the Trade Union "Unity" which he had once said was the goal he had set his heart upon.

Comrade de Souza demanded an apology from Comrades Goonewardene and Perera for having called him a police spy. The Party High Command tried its utmost to bring about peace and goodwill, but all to no purpose. In desperation they had to appeal to an Indian Revolutionary who had received his training in Moscow, Comrade Bannerjee of the Headquarters of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India. He hastened to Ceylon and an Internal Court of Inquiry was held at the local Party Headquarters. Before the trial commenced all parties to the dispute agreed to abide by the award of Comrade Bannerjee.

Comrade Bannerjee declared that the

charge of "police spy" levelled against Comrade de Souza had not been proved and that, therefore, an apology was necessary and also that that apology should be given as much publicity as the original charge had received.

This was clearly a reasonable attitude but Comrades Goonewardene and Perera are too vain to agree to a course of conduct that would mean, what they imagine to be, a loss of face for themselves although it may mean the gaining of considerable credit by the Party as a whole.

And so they have refused to abide by the terms of the declaration and once more there is yet another breakaway by those two Sama Samajist twins—and a long suffering world will have to wait for the revolution that will thus be postponed!

They have thriven on the fact that at all times in the history of every country in the world it has been the common practice to attack whatever Government may be in power at a particular moment. Any man who attacks the Government of the day is assured of a hearing. Even today there are hundreds and thousands who attack the Labour Government in Great Britain. That is an indication of the fact that human nature is inclined to express dissatisfaction even in Utopia. Discontent is deeply implanted in the human soul and there will never come a time when human civilisation will produce a population satisfied with the way in which the country is governed. The Sama Samajists, however, have not only an infinite capacity for denouncing others, but they also have an equal capacity for denouncing themselves. And so they live in a fools' paradise of their own creation imagining that the reception they sometimes get at one meeting or another is purely as a result of this mysterious doctrine of Marxism they are offering to the people of this country.

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THE idea is again being mooted about a "Royal College" for girls. The old idea of snobbishness that hung about Royal College is still prevalent and what is asked for is not a Central School for boys and a Central School for girls, but something "super." These advocates may well know that this idea of a "Royal College" for girls is over half a century old and it has never materialised.

On July 11, 1895, were published the findings of a Special Committee appointed by the Legislative Council whose terms of reference were to report on a memorial praying for the establishment of a College for the higher education of girls. The Committee discussed the subject at several meetings with some of the promoters of the suggestion.

The promoters asked for a school which would ultimately be self-supporting from the fees paid for the girls, and would, in no way be a charge on the general taxpayer. They were prepared to pay liberal fees for such a purpose. Because they were unable to organise and carry on a scheme under private enterprise they sought the machinery of the Government.

The Committee agreed with the promoters on their disinclination to avail themselves of the existing schools on the grounds of the fluctuating existence and efficiency of such schools and of the denominational character of most of them.

Five Years

THE Committee resolved to recommend the establishment of such a school on an experimental and partially self-supporting basis for five years, with the exception and intention that after such probation it should be transferred either to the Municipality or to be carried on under some such powers as were given in the section of Ordinance No. 7 of 1887 or to some other Trust.

Where it differed was only in the estimates of costs. However, it showed that the promoters were ready to assure an attendance of 100 girls paying Rs. 120 a year on an average.

The Committee would not oppose an annual expenditure—during the five years' period within which the school was expected to be self-sustained—on the distinct understanding that at the termination of the period all aid from Government should cease.

Recreation for Women Employees

A WOMAN employee in the Fort complains that this drabness of working daily (almost) kills her. "Why don't we have weekly outings to break the monotony." A splendid suggestion, and I pass the idea on to the Lady Welfare Officer or to the Secretary of the Y.W.C.A.

On Saturday afternoons the women employees could be taken for visits to the Zoo, Heneratgoda Botanical Gardens and other places. The visits could be extended to Sundays too if it is a matter of outstation trips.

Letting the boys join is a matter for the Lady Welfare Officer to decide. But it will help to promote a great deal of camaraderie.

The particular correspondent also complains that there is hardly a building like the Y.M.C.A. (with lobby, res-

taurant and indoor games) where women employees could recreate and rest during their lunch intervals

She should be taken seriously.

Kanatte Episodes

LATE at night could be seen an elderly gentleman walking down Buller's Road up to the Kanatte Cemetery, where he knocks at the iron gate with his walkin'-stick and smilingly says: "Not this time, next time." He means there is still time for him to rest eternally at Kanatte. His mental equilibrium is unquestioned but whether he has a "peg or too" in the night is not known.

There was another gentleman, who, looking at the same gate (it was then in a dilapidated condition), used to remark that the Municipality was a very wise body of men.

When asked why he rejoined that when those who entered the cemetery saw the ramshackle gate, they were reminded of the unsteadiness and the tendency to decay, in all worldly things.

The gate then had one half tottering on its hinges, while the other half was kept straight by means of several bamboo sticks tied together. "A new iron gate, not necessarily an ornamental one, is urgently needed" wrote a journal. It is an accomplished fact now.

Old Adage Needs Revision

NEXT time some one tries to score over you and taunts with the hackneyed phrase: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," tell him he does not know his onions. For the ant is nothing more than a shameless beggar. She does not hesitate to rob from the really industrious worker—the cigale. The other legend of the ant retorting to the starving cigale, who begged for a few grains of food: "You sang in the summer, now dance in the winter," also needs revision.

I am indebted to a local naturalist for this theory, who in turn quotes Mr. J. H. Fabre, author of "Social Life in the Insect World."

According to him, in July, during the stifling hours of the afternoon when the insect world experiences a drought the cigale makes light of the general aridity. "With her rostrum, a delicate augur, she broaches a cask of her inexhaustible store. Crouching, always singing on, the twig of a suitable shrub or bush, she perforates the firm glossy rind, distended by the sap which the sun has matured.

"Plunging her proboscis into the bung-hole, she drinks deliciously, motionless and wrapt in meditation, abandoned to the charms of syrup, and of song."

Ungrateful

THE cigale's private well—betrayed by the oozing sap upon the brink—is discovered by the wandering, thirsty insects. The ants among these slip under the belly of the cigale, who considerably raises herself on her claws, leaving room for the importunate ones to pass.

But the ants, who up to now were cautious turn aggressive. They nibble the ends of the cigale's claws, tickle its antennae and tug at its wings. Some ungrateful ants even seize the cigale's proboscis and endeavour to extract it from the well! The cheeky ones!

Impatient at these brigands' attempts to drive from the spring the well-sinker who has caused it to flow, the cigale finally abandons the well—not without throwing a jet of liquid excrement over her tormentors, in utter contempt. But the ungrateful ants continue to reap the fruits of their usurpation.

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Friday, August 1, 1947

EVE OF THE POLL

WE are on the verge of the General Elections. The country knows the position of the various Parties that have put forward candidates. There is no doubt at all now that the United National Party will sweep the Poll. We have started well with a U.N.P. victory at Puttalam, where Mr. Ismail was returned unopposed. A tour of the key electorates has satisfied the Party organisers that we shall win a great majority of the seats for which candidates have been nominated by us. There is a great deal of wishful thinking by the Bolsheviks and Sama Samajists about the Mirigama electorate for which Mr. Senanayake has been nominated. They have adopted the practice of telling people in other areas that Mirigama is in their pocket. This is now definitely not so. The Mirigama seat will be won by Mr. D. S. Senanayake by a tremendous and crushing majority. That victory is assured. Everywhere he goes he is received with great acclaim.

It is now clear that the Mirigama contest is only a diversionary move by the Sama Samajists and Bolshevik Leninists to keep Mr. Senanayake busy so that he may not have time to go round the other electorates. But they have not bargained for the energy and capacity for work which has brought Mr. Senanayake to his present level of undisputed Leader of the country. He has not been known for academic malingering! He is not one of those arm-chair pundits who claims to have a monopoly of the political wisdom of the ages but when given a job of work fails to accomplish anything worthwhile. He has proved that academic distinctions are not by themselves any indication of a man's ability or value to the community. This is proved also by the recent victory of the Labour Party in England where from the Prime Minister downwards, with a few noteworthy exceptions, the men who have charge of a great and far-flung commonwealth have not seen the inside of a University.

It is a pity that men can be so mad with the lust for power that they do not have the decency to admit the fact that the United National Party is the only Party that can stabilise the Freedom that has been won. All those who have the interests of the country at heart cannot fail to support the United National Party and to vote for the candidates put forward by the Party. Those who place the country before sectional differences have no other choice. Why? Because the next Parliament is based on a Con-

stitution that cannot be worked unless there is a Party with a stable majority. If there is no such Party there can be no hope of stable government in the most crucial period of the political development of this country. What would the true patriot do in such circumstances except look after the interests of the country and vote for the U.N.P.?

Fortunately for the country this is not a request for a blind vote. The U.N.P. offers a constructive and progressive policy of national development for the country. That policy has been given the widest possible publicity in the journals of the Party as well as in booklet form. That policy is a natural growth from the development plans that were implemented by the people's representatives during the last fifteen years of the Donoughmore Constitution, with drastic changes wherever such changes were considered to be in the best interests of the country.

It is a diabolical lie to say that the U.N.P. is a Party that is solely concerned with the protection of the money of the Capitalists of this country. We categorically deny this charge and accuse the Leftist adventurers of lying deliberately and with intent to dupe the people.

We stand firm by the Free Education Scheme. We framed it. We passed it. We found the money for it. The Leftists did nothing about it except to fall on it like jackals in order to pay lip-service to it for election purposes. We stand firm by the Free Medical Services Scheme. We framed it. We passed it. We found money for it. We challenge the Marxist liars to say this is not true. We stand firm by the Land Policy of Mr. Senanayake who has already launched the scheme by which landless peasants will receive land bought by the State compulsorily for purposes of village expansion.

This is the Party we ask the people to support, and we have no doubt they will return U.N.P. candidates with large majorities wherever they are opposed by the Marxists.



DR. KANNANGARA

DR. KANNANGARA

By
S. M. Joseph

THIS small slight man, clad in immaculate white cloth and banian is the most discussed figure in the political and educational world of Ceylon. Some of our greatest men of modern times were singularly insular in their appeal to popular imagination. Their names mean little to the people beyond the seas, and their influence waned into insignificance with their deaths. But this humble boy, who by force of merit and character rose to be our first Minister of Education is already a figure of Arian proportions.

Gandhiji achieved immortal fame by giving the Indian people new spirit and new unity. Whatever the future may hold for that vast land, there is no denying the fact that out of dust he has made them into men. Our Minister, too, even if he appears odious in the ranks of the rich, represents as no one else does, the poor, neglected, undernourished youth of Ceylon. "risen against tyrants, tyrants of the soul, foreign tyrants, domestic tyrants," swindlers, hypocrites, corrupt schoolmen, exploiters and the whole vicious brood of the Pied Pipers of Education.

During the twelve years of his Ministry not only did he see his Department grow into massive proportions, but he also launched the scheme of Free Education. The colossal nature of the project rocks the imagination. While children of other lands will be born to a precarious and unknown future, the children of Lanka will be ushered into the world with the glittering gift of a free and splendid educa-

tion—so that they could fight and fight successfully the battle of life armed with that mighty weapon.

He was able to accomplish this because of his rare virtues of illimitable dogged patience, persistence, faith and unremitting zeal. And what a career of storm and stress his has been; "fighting, fighting all the way, with never a pause, never a rest." He has been relentlessly and mercilessly assailed by the most formidable array of enemies, that ever sought the destruction of a single victim and over this powerful combination of foes after a struggle of over a decade, he has triumphed, because he always met danger without flinching, and the more dark the hour, the more proudly has he faced its threats.

Ages from now, while his critics who loom so large on the educational horizon today, are consigned to dust and oblivion, his name will go down to posterity in peace after so many troubles, and honour after so much obloquy.

Peering into the dimness of the distant future, we can discern through the long vistas of a future age, the historian of our time assessing the achievements of our leaders past and present "in letters all of gold," but when he comes to chronicle the contribution of our Minister to the happiness of our race, we can see him dipping his pen in sunlight and writing the name of C. W. W. Kannangara across the stars.

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ONE OF THE GREATEST ACTS IN HISTORY

(By Our Special Correspondent in Calcutta)

FOR the first time in history, the unique distinction of securing independence through a Bill will have been achieved by India when two independent Dominions, to be known as "India" and "Pakistan," come into existence on August 15, 1947, under the provisions of the India Independence Bill presented in the British Parliament on July 4. The Bill, though not free from loopholes, is the constitutional confirmation of the Mountbatten plan on June 3. It can be said, and with truth, that so far as British India is concerned, a new chapter has been opened in which every vestige of British rule is swept away.

There was no opposition to the measure in the Mother of Parliaments; on the contrary, according to Reuter who very seldom waxes poetic, there was a "murmur of satisfaction" from both sides of the House at the first reading of the Bill. This means that the passage of the Bill into an Act is assured and is merely a question of parliamentary ceremony.



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL

Act of Parliament. The laws passed by either Dominion shall have effect in the municipal sphere as also extra-territorially.

* * *

SARDAR Vallabhai Patel has rightly described the decision to transfer power from British hands to those of Indians as "one of the greatest acts done in history by any Power." Yet, there is no miracle in the process so far as the British Commonwealth is concerned. Canada, Australia and South Africa, on reaching their full stature, have each in turn received their freedom from the British Parliament. India is merely following in the footsteps of these Dominions, as Ceylon soon will.

There is nothing equivocal about the India Independence Bill and its title amply describes its purport. It is indeed one of the most notable triumphs of the democratic system of government that one country which has exercised control and authority over the people of another, has given up that control peacefully and voluntarily. If India has cause to rejoice, Britain has reason to be very proud indeed.

The Bill is true to its name. Though it creates the Dominions of India and Pakistan, its provisions are so comprehensive that either Constituent Assembly can, by a simple law, passed by a bare majority, abolish the Governor-General or amend any of the existing laws. The new Dominions have the power to frame their own future constitutions and implement them. In other words, the British Parliament is divesting itself completely of all power and authority over British India.

Further, the measure is a marvel of compression. All that is needed is provided for in the Bill: sanction for what has been done; arrangements for the transition; plenitude of power for the Dominions soon to come into being and, above all, there is that master-stroke, the title: The Indian Independence Act, 1947.

* * *

BOTH parts of India start with Dominion Status, whatever that phrase may mean, in terms of the Statute of Westminster of 1931 and in the light of constitutional and political developments which have recently taken place. It is within the competence of these two Dominions to pass laws affecting or destroying in their application to India any Act of Parliament or any rule, regulation or order which may have been promulgated from time to time. It is further laid down that no Act of Parliament or any English law shall apply to any of the Dominions unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Dominion concerned. No law passed by either Dominion, again, shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the laws of England or to the provisions of any existing or future

A NOTICEABLE feature is that there is no specific provision in the Bill for the right of secession from the British Commonwealth and Empire on the part of any of these Dominions. The right to secede, however, is recognised, but the onus for so doing is thrown on these Dominions. After August 15, both the Union of India and Pakistan can opt out of the British Commonwealth if they so desire; nobody is going to lift a finger to stop them if they want to cut the painter for the association is essentially a voluntary one.

Thus, nothing is reserved; all is surrendered. Even the King's veto, still constitutionally enforceable in the United Kingdom, will go on the "appointed day," August 15, and with the power goes responsibility. The change is not merely tremendous; it is epochal.

From then on, the responsibility for the future happiness and well-being of some 400,000,000 people—the very number appals—will be in Indian hands.

* * *

IT is to be hoped that this great act of Britain will lead to a new partnership between East and West which is what all men and women of peace and goodwill desire, a partnership that will bring healthy results for the whole world. If the two new Dominions can give the lead to a saner outlook in human affairs and demonstrate this by a happy compromise of their own differences, they will have served only the millions of the great Indian sub-continent, but also more anxious millions beyond its confines. For these are anxious days with the world troubled with a conflict of ideologies which may make war inevitable unless the spirit of compromise is more evident than at present.

Thinking men and women the world over today regard with grave apprehension the developing struggle for predominance between the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the Western Hemisphere. There should be some way to compose their differences, for the alternative is unthinkable in the world of today.

If the Union of India and Pakistan, the newest members in the world's comity for free nations, can, by example and precept, indicate how this could be done, not only will this great sub-continent of India benefit, but the world will be a happier place to live in and peace, not only in our generation, but for years to come more certain. Mankind today everywhere is at the parting of the ways and needs prayer and Divine guidance as never before if we are to avoid the snares and pitfalls that threaten humanity.

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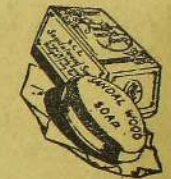
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SPORTS
Commentary
COVER-POINT

THE proximity of August Week makes a post-mortem of the July Races very much of a necessity, however conjectural such inquests usually are. With so many dress rehearsals for the August classics taking place during the meet which has just concluded, a line has been provided to most of the Cup races next month.

Naturally enough, it was the Governor's Cup, which was uppermost in the minds of racegoers as they trekked back from the course each Saturday as the July Meet advanced to its appointed end.

The first day of the Meet saw a Cup hope in *Irish Gem* introduced to the public in a five-furlong sprint. Her great victory under top-weight momentarily made her connections think that she would be as good a stayer as she had proved herself to be a sprinter both here and in Australia. On second thoughts, however, they have, I understand, decided to train her primarily for the Channer Stakes and the Clements' Plate—a decision with which I am in complete agreement, as I would have hated to see so gallant a mare do herself irreparable damage by being run out of her distance.

The second day of the Meet brought to light another Cup candidate in *Cosy Corner*, who had won over a mile in Bombay. Running over the same distance week before last, the Fairhaven gelding landed the odds laid on him but it was a near thing as *Cottage Creek* ran him to a head. Personally, I thought *Cosy Corner* won with something in hand but there are divergent views about that. Be they what they are, *Cosy Corner* will be an even better horse on Cup day than he was two weeks ago and must, therefore, be a very live challenger.

The Selvaratnam stable, which houses *Cosy Corner*, has yet another Cup winner in the making in *Mohan Tara*, whose victory in the Black Buck Stakes last Saturday proved conclusively that staying is his game. At the back-end of last season in England *Mohan Tara*, as a 2-year-old won, at odds-on, over 9 furlongs, which is a very rare feat on the English turf. The way in which she shook off the persistent attention of *Torchlight*, who was flat out, makes it almost certain that the Cup is safe in the keeping of the Selvaratnam stable. If the Black Buck Stakes revealed a good one in *Mohan Tara* who, incidentally, is now Ceylon-owned, and the emergence of *Torchlight* as a stayer, it also exposed the stamina limitations of *Nandhi Mithra*, who is definitely not the type that can produce a Cup winner. She seemed unable to lengthen her stride at the finish and is, I am afraid, only very moderate.

If there were pointers in plenty for the Governor's Cup, very little light was shed during the July Meet on the Roberts' Cup. The winners of two of the three Class I races for Arabs are not eligible and the only ponies entered in the Roberts' Cup, who have so far made any show, are *Qamar Adnan* and *Badir Zaina*. The former took his bit nicely to win over 7 furlongs but I must confess to a little doubt as to his getting a mile in a truly run race. As for *Badir Zaina*, his second last Saturday to *Miss Irene* was full of merit. She seemed in need of a race and will strip a fitter horse next week. In the Roberts'

Cup, too, the Selvaratnam stable seems to hold the key.

There were several pointers to the Lawyers' Cup during the July Meet. First, we saw a real smasher in *Kunj Lata*, who, like *Mohan Tara* and *Profile*, changed hands last week. We were introduced to another very promising youngster in *Sun Tan*, who came from a long way behind to beat the better fancied bracket of *Sri Lanka* and *Prince Wijeya*. She seemed to be eating up ground at the finish and should go far before the Handicapper takes her measure.

★

So much for the pointers to the August prizes. As for such of yesterday's races as I have not already touched on, the start-to-finish victory under top-weight of *Silver Prince* was a smart bit of work. He is, however, so unreliable at the barrier that he can never turn out to be a real good thing. *Commando*, who was tailed off early on and came through from the bunch in the straight, will soon be making up for his defeat.

Though *Ta'an Walid* did win the Bandara Plate for Class II Arabs over a mile, he would have had his work fully cut out to beat *Jahaj Mahal*, had Jockey *Raffaele* set the chestnut alight earlier. *Raffaele* found himself in all sorts of trouble in the straight before he could pull out and go in chase of the winner.

A notable double came the way of Mrs. Francis Amarasuriya when *Kiwi* and *Yellow Flower* won the first two races. The former is a youngster who should blossom out into a money-spinner when he is a little older.

As for the statistics of the July Meet, the Maharajah of Gwalior, with five wins, and Mr. R. P. Warden with three wins, are the leading owners, while the training honours were taken by young *Renga Selvaratnam* who sent out nine winners against *Walles'* four.

The most successful jockey was *Roger Eude* who rode five winners.

★

THE rugby season in Ceylon is making good headway. The two metropolitan clubs who had met each other the previous week when the C.H. and F.C. got the better of the Ceylonese, were out again last week.

The C.R. and F.C. met the Havelocks mid-week and came away from the match with such a clear-cut victory that one wondered whether it was the same team that had given such a woeful display in their key match week before last.

The C.H. and F.C. who at the start of the season did not seem to have a really first class side, are going on from strength to strength. They were out last Saturday at Badulla and had things so much their own way that they crossed the Uva line as many as nine times while only once did the home team get past the visitors' defence.

One of the highlights of August Week is going to be the Up-country-Low-country Test next week. The Up-country team has already been selected while the low-country XV will be chosen after trials this week. Two well-matched teams can be placed on the field and the resultant struggle will be worth going a long way to witness.

"To the Labour Party a Plan was an article of Faith"

EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRATIC PLANNING—I

By Gamini Corea

(By Air Mail)

THE Conservative Industrial Charter should finally convince us that British Conservatism no longer identifies its ideal economy with laissez-faire capitalism. In a sense, almost everyone outside the United States is for planning today. To the Labour Party a plan was always an article of faith. In France, most of the major parties are committed to the same economic plan and have agreed to try to keep it out of politics. In both Britain and France the governments have now accepted the principle that the volume of employment (and hence the national income) is the responsibility of the State.

By the control of prices and investment the State determines the composition of the national income—that is, what goods, services and capital equipment are added annually to the community's wealth; by a variety of measures and incentives it seeks to maximise the volume of this income; and by a system of taxation and other expedients of financial policy it again redistributes this income between classes—primarily from the rich to the poor.

The phrase "planned economy" has come into disfavour because doctrinaires have made it their plaything. One may call this state of affairs by another name—a "controlled economy." A controlled economy consciously seeks to maximise efficiency.

This is the aim of the plan. It determines the degree of planning. Only extreme individualism or dogmatic Marxism could contend that there is an necessary correlation either way between efficiency and the degree of planning. It may well be that efficiency is best served in a controlled economy by leaving a very wide sector of the economy to be influenced by the decisions of private enterprise.

The relation between the degree of planning and the direction of the individual by authority is unhappily less uncertain. And the attempts at democratic planning that are being made at present in France and England are of vital importance because they are attempting to strike a mean between planning and freedom and because they afford valuable experience of the new kinds of problems that arise out of this.

There are important differences between French and British planning. The French, unlike the British, have a single overall plan. The Monnet Plan is a plan for the capital reconstruction of France, made urgently necessary by the devastation of the war as well as by the fact that France was falling behind the other major industrial countries in economic development since 1930. The Plan is very much M. Monnet's baby. Endless dissension precluded the French political machine from being the agent of economic reform. Like Beveridge in Britain, Monnet sought to make his proposals a psychological rallying point outside politics and over the administration, even at the risk of losing the endearment of officialdom in the process.

ORGANISATION

THE machinery for effecting the French Plan consists of first, the Conseil du Plan, made up of

ministers, employers, trade unionists, technical experts and Monnet himself. It is possible that this body is largely facade, being mainly concerned with approval, while more effective power lies in practice with the second organ, the Commissariat du Plan with a secretariat of thirty, again including Monnet. Nevertheless it is interesting that the authority at the highest level is representative of wide interests and is not like in Britain, purely ministerial or even purely official. Thirdly, there are eighteen Commissions of Modernisation, analogous to the British Working Parties, in close connection with the individual industries.

The organisation in British planning is less clear. It is not a necessary virtue to create an elaborate formal structure. The formalist will despair of many British institutions. The machinery for planning in Britain has not taken anything like a final shape, and even the methods that are used have not been made public. A Chief Planner, Sir Edwin Plowden, and an Economic Planning Staff have successively been appointed, but the public have not yet been told of the exact nature or demarcation of their duties. Indeed in announcing the appointment of the Chief Planner, the Prime Minister made it clear that final decisions will still be the responsibility of the Cabinet. It is difficult to avoid the impression that the Chief Planner may be yet another addition to the Government's abundance of official advisers. Observers outside the government machine at present deplore the privacy that surround some of the data and assumptions of announced decisions. Wider publicity, if only for psychological reasons, may prove beneficial.

TARGETS

PLANNING involves setting targets for the economy and in particular for the basic industries. These targets can be more or less flexible, but they must be interrelated, specially in the case of industries providing the material for other industries. This alone puts an obvious premium on an overall plan.

In attacking the problems of planning and the fixing of targets broadly three questions have to be considered. First, are the resources available, particularly labour and raw materials, adequate for the plan? Second, is it possible to achieve the necessary redistribution of man-power? Third, could personal expenditure be limited to the amount of consumption that the plan has assumed and could the required savings be obtained?

The French Plan has set levels for the major group of industry but it is not clear how these levels are set. It seems as though the French planners determined that they wanted to get to certain levels, say the levels of output in a prosperous pre-war year, and thereafter modified their targets according to the possibility of attaining those levels. Thus the French short-term target was to reach the output of 1938 by the end of 1946. By mid 1948 it sought an increase of a further 25 per cent., the equivalent of output in 1929. The long-term target was to reach 25 per cent. above the 1929 level by 1950. There is, therefore a certain element of arbitrariness about these targets. But they are targets in the real sense of something to be aimed at rather than accurate prognostications devised in terms of markets and elasticities of demand. It is said that Monnet himself was not certain that his figures were not all wrong, but he claimed that they served a purpose.

(To be Continued)

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