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U. N. P. WILL FIGHT COLOMBO SOUTH Freddie Jayawardene Chosen Candidate

THE U.N.P. will fight the Colombo South By-Election. The Nomination Board has nominated Mr. Freddie Jayawardene as its candidate, and preparations are being made to make this election tell its own story of the people's support for the party of ordered progress.

Mr. Jayawardene has been one of the quiet but ardent supporters of the Party from its inception. He was one of the "ideas men" of the Propaganda Committee before the General Elections and suggested the starting of the U.N.P. Journals. He was in charge of counter propaganda against leftist

campaigns and carried out a difficult job with speed and efficiency.

He is an ardent patriot and is "Swadeshi" minded. As an officer in command of a battalion of pioneers during the war he did the famous "march" from Diyatalawa to Colombo to prove to Lord Mountbatten that the Ceylonese "sarong soldier" was equal to the task. Lord Louis accepted his proof and ordered large scale recruitment of peasants to the army.

More recently, he was placed in charge of the organization of the Party Rally. The whole island was thrilled by the success of it. Mr. Freddie Jayawardene is worthy of more responsible work and now the Party asks the people's vote for him.



(L. to R.) Mr. Freddie Jayawardene, Sir John Kotelawala and Mr. D. S. Senanayake at the Party Rally



RALLY: Sir John, Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Senanayake at the Rally



ARRIVING: The Leader arrives with Sir John and Mr. U. A. Jayasundera

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DEMOCRACY MR. DUDLEY

By Maha

THE dastardly crime of assassination against one of Burma's greatest patriots brings to the forefront a problem of democracy that was referred to by Mr. Dudley Senanayake at the Party Conference at Zahira College. Mr. Senanayake asked a pertinent and important question: are we to permit those who do not believe in democracy and those who are determined to smash democratic institutions to use those same institutions as a cover for their war on society?

An examination of the technique of revolution in Burma reveals the point and urgency of this question. After the death of Aung San his successor Thakin Nu set up a Government in which were included the leaders of the two main Leftwing Parties in Burma—namely, the White Flag Communists and the Red Flag Communists. It was found that the Communist Ministers instead of carrying out the agreed socialistic policy used their office to build revolutionary cells in the Departments under their charge. All their time was spent in creating an organisation from within the Government to violently overthrow the Thakin Nu Cabinet and establish a revolutionary state. When the matter was brought up for discussion the Communists declared that their intentions would at all times be to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and that there was no question of honour or truce in regard to the general struggle for revolution.

Thakin Nu, therefore, had to expel them from office and thus began a series of large-scale strikes and threats of assassination which compelled every Minister of the Burmese Cabinet to live in barricaded homes with special armed guards maintained day and night to protect them from bombs and rifle bullets. Ministers were escorted to and from work and the Secretariat was even more heavily guarded than during war time.

It can never be said that the Thakin Nu Government was reactionary. Thakin Nu himself is under 35 years of age and is a young man with all the



U. Tin Tut

zeal, energy and devotion to the cause of the people that can be expected of a young patriot who went through a period of enemy occupation and fought with the guerrillas against the might of both the Western allies and the Japanese. His policy was socialist not in words alone but in the day to day administration of Burma.

* * *

WHEN I was in Burma in the first half of the year, I saw for myself the intransigent attitude of the Leftist Parties. They desired nothing else but open and total war. The reason for this was that they had large stocks of firearms in various parts of the country and were thus ready to take on the Government particularly in the Central and Hilly parts of the country.

The Government made sincere and earnest efforts to avoid fighting but they discovered in the nick of time a deep-laid plot to murder the entire Thakin Nu Cabinet in the same way as Aung San's Cabinet had been mur-

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AND FOUNDATION-LAYING CEREMONY

THE Prize distribution and Foundation-laying Ceremony of Library and Sanga Hostel, Sudharmalankara Pirivena, Ella, Diyatalawa, took place on 18.9.48, at Ella, under the auspices of Hon. Mr. E. A. Nugawela, Minister for Education. Mr. L. J. de S. Seneviratna, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, distributed the prizes.

Mass meeting including a great number of distinguished representatives of the Island and Ven. Buddhist Clergy of great repute, was conducted by Sir Henry Kotlawela, Gate-Mudaliyar, Badulla.

Foundation stones of the Library and Hermitage, were laid by Messrs:—

(1) H. W. Amarasinghe, Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives.

(2) W. Leo Fernando, M.P. for Buttala.

(3) D. J. Wijesundera, Muhandiram, Kosgama.

(4) B. D. P. Wijewardena, Badulla.

Almsgiving to over 100 Buddhist priests was a noteworthy feature in the day's programme.

Proceedings were announced by loud-speakers.

IS IN PERIL

SENANAYAKE'S TIMELY QUERY

Amarasingha

dered one year before. When this plot was unearthed the Red Leaders knew that the game was up and they fled into the country from which they began to marshal their forces.

One of their methods of war was the assassination of Burma's strong man U. Tin Tut. In the whole of Asia there was only one other man of Tin Tut's calibre and that is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself. Tin Tut combined in himself a remarkable number of qualities that go to make a great leader. He knew his mind and he had the strength to express it. He had the capacity to lead the people, tell them what action should be taken to solve the particular problem. He had the cultural background and the ability to fit himself to the task, and he had an intimate and unchallenged knowledge of the administrative problems of Government. He had been a member of the Indian Civil Service, he had worked in London during the war as Advisor on Burmese Affairs to the Secretary of State for Burma, and later as Burma's High Commissioner in London. When the war in the West was over he was the head of the Burmese section of the Delhi Secretariat. He was not one of those who found himself in the Civil Service through accident. He was a brilliant and shining light in the Service whose reputation for brilliance was high under the British Regime.

In addition to all this he had the further competence of being a first-class public speaker whose speeches had the precision of one who knew his mind. He could hold the attention of any international assembly and impress upon however a distinguished a gathering the strength and validity of his case.

Above all, he was fearless and was prepared to pay the supreme penalty for accepting leadership in Burma during the present time. He was unafraid and could not be intimidated by a show of arms—and for all these reasons he had to be disposed off and put out of the way. The Communists decided on



Mr. Dudley Senanayake

the most effective manner of doing so and killed him with a hand grenade.

* * *

THIS is a lesson not only for Burma but for the whole world. For many years the Reds have made no secret of their ideal of revolution. What does this revolution imply? It means the overthrow of a Cabinet by the use of force. Surely, force implies the shooting or knifing of those in authority. Are we in the name of democracy to continue to ignore the portents of the future?

It is time that the warning and the question of Mr. Dudley Senanayake were seriously considered by the public of this country.

Society needs protection from the thug and the gangster and whether the gangster comes in the guise of a Sardiel or whether he comes in the guise of a politician makes no difference. They will threaten in the presence of a weak kneed backboneless opposition. They will wither and fade in presence of those who are willing and are prepared to pay the supreme penalty, if necessary, in the defence and the protection of the rights of men.



RALLY : L. to R. Messrs. E. A. Nugawela, Dudley Senanayake, R. Jayawardene, W. A. B. Soysa and Sir John Kotelawala

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FRIDAY, SEPT. 24, 1948

COLOMBO SOUTH

THE bye-election caused by the unseating of Mr. R. A. de Mel, will be on us in a few weeks. On previous occasions the Party was not in a position to throw its full weight on the side of its candidates owing to various difficulties connected with the organisation at headquarters. The party rank and file as well as the leaders were preoccupied with budget considerations and with Parliamentary sittings. The present bye-election therefore will be a very favourable occasion on which a Party could train its less experienced men on the running of an election.

The first stage of course is the nomination of a candidate. The name of Mr. T. F. Jayawardene has been announced by the Party Nomination Board consisting of the Office Bearers of the Party. It is impossible to find a candidate for almost any election whose nomination will be received with universal approval. There will always be something to say against the choice of a particular person. We are aware that even before nomination some sections of the public had prepared various grounds of criticism influenced by the single purpose of condemning any decision that the Party High Command may make. All those who belong to the Party, however, must learn now to practise the precept of Democracy that once a decision has been made on their behalf by an accredited and duly appointed Board of Nomination individual and private views must be subjugated and general support given to the decision of the Nomination Board. Whatever our private views may be about a particular candidate and his fitness or unfitness for nomination once he has received the sanction of the Nomination Board it is our duty as loyal Party men to make his cause our cause and work for him with zeal and devotion. Unless we adopt this attitude it will be impossible for us to work a Democracy. Democracy implies that the decision of duly constituted authority must be accepted although individual views may vary from approval on the one hand to hostile criticism on the other.

Mr. Freddie Jayawardene is one of the most promising younger men in the Party, loyal to its ideals and energetic in the furtherance of them. His father, Colonel T. G. Jayawardene, was one of the select band of patriots who held the flag of freedom high in his day. We hope that so eminently suitable a candidate will find universal support.

PATTERN OF IS THERE A

Asks

THROUGHOUT South-East Asia there is developing a single familiar pattern in politics. This is revolt and rebellion—in which the insurgents are led by the Communists of the Stalinist persuasion. In Malaya, in Burma, in Indonesia there is the Red insurrection. In Malaya the revolt is against the foreign ruler but in Burman and Indonesia the standard of rebellion has been raised against the ruling group of one's own kith and kin. In Indonesia, it is significant, that even while a relentless battle is being waged against the Dutch oppressor, when the pressing need of the hour is a solid national front against the alien enemy the Communists have decided to split that unity and raise the issue of a class conflict, which in Marx-

ist ideology might even drive the native bourgeoisie to subordinate their differences with the Dutch to the need for protecting their class interests. Communist insurrection within the Indonesian war of liberation threaten to disrupt that concerted effort of all forces that is so necessary for success against the Dutch. Yet the Communists are willing to take that risk.

What is the significance of this action? What is the significance of the general uprising of Communist forces throughout South-East Asia? Is there a single master plan which determines the pattern of Marxist behaviour in South-East Asia today?

These are not questions of academic interest to Ceylon. They are deep significance to us, because the answers to these issues may help us to understand the aims and intentions of the Communists of the Stalin cult in this country.

TRADE UNION POLITICS

AT one of the many meetings that went before that inspiring U.N.P. rally of a few weeks ago the promise was made that the Party would take an active interest in all aspects and movements of the country's life. That is a very necessary step. The political aims and aspirations of the people can find collective expression in the policies of the United National Party and an intensive recruiting drive should be made to draw in the people within the party. But man is not only a political animal. There are other sides to his activity. He has his economic interests; he has his cultural needs. It should be the aim of the U.N.P. to provide guidance and leadership, advice and instruction on these matters. The Party must not only develop its political philosophy, it must accept its responsibilities in the economic sphere.

Out of the economic needs of the working peoples has emerged the Trade Union movement. The tragedy of that movement in Ceylon is that it is being exploited by designing politicians for their private ends. The masses accept this leadership because there is none other they may turn to. Consider their difficulties. Correspondence about their grievances has to be conducted in English. The rules and regulations of Trade Unions are in English. Negotiations with employers have often to be in an alien tongue. In this predicament they find the Marxists ready to render them these services. The worker accepts it. And he reciprocates it by also listening to the revolutionary politics of the Marxists. In an unfriendly world he has only one ally, he thinks. Is it surprising therefore that the ideas of violence should gain ground among the working class.

It is time that the U.N.P. directed its mind to trade unionism. The Party should train personnel to go among the working class, to take up their grievances, to help them in their negotiations and inspire in them the confidence that those who abide by constitutional methods in the settlement of disputes are their friends.

According to information available it seems to have been the plan of the Malayan Communists to proclaim a Soviet Republic of Malaya in the almost inaccessible jungles in the northern areas of Malaya.

Communist planning in Malaya was deep laid. Long before the British authorities outlawed the Communist Party in Malaya, the Party's leading personnel had gone underground. These "underground" leaders are the brains behind the Malayan Peoples' Anti-British Army.

The strength of the now outlawed Communist Party has been estimated at 10,000 in 1947. But Communist influence is wider than the numerical strength of the Party. By 1948 the Communists had infiltrated into the Trade Union movement and had developed it into a very powerful force in Malayan affairs.

One of the dominant personalities in the Malayan Communist movement is Wu Tung-Wang. He is aided by Chang Ming-cheng and Lien Yit-fun. Britain has placed a price on Wu's head. Though intensive efforts have been made to trace him and the country has been combed to capture him Wu is still at large and directs the Communists of Malaya.

The strength of the Communists is concentrated in the Siam-Malaya border. The total strength of the

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REVOLT IN SOUTH ASIA COMMUNIST MASTER PLAN?

Nandalal



U. Tin Tut and Sir John Kotelawala photographed in the shadow of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon.

Bible of the movement. The local Stalinists merely mouth the repetitious slogans of that flaccid journal.

The Indian Party's conference was of tremendous significance. Let it be noted that it was attended by delegates from Yugoslavia and Australia. Marxists seldom go on pleasure trips and the presence of men from such distant areas was not of idle significance. The master plan for South-East Asia emerg-

ed at that conference. Its lines and tactics are easily deciphered in the resolutions of the conference.

The mistake most people make in interpreting Communist policy is that they always look for it in secret places. The truth is that the Communists are so conscious of their belief that they are the prophets of history that declare their intentions often from the rooftops.

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Malayan Peoples' Anti-British Army is estimated at about 11,000. Most of these are Chinese—the Indians and the Malaysians who have joined the insurrection are few. One of the reasons for the success of this revolt is the apathy and indifference of the local population. There is little incentive in their living conditions or in their relations with the British to induce them to vigorously resist the threat of Communism. At the same time there is the almost natural resentment of the people of their "capitalist" employers. Together with the stirrings of national sentiment, especially during the occupation of Malaya by the Japanese there is little inclination among the nationals to stir themselves on the side of law and order.

The success of the Communists in Indonesia is explained in terms of the poverty of the people. Hunger and distress are the best recruiting agents of the Communists. In Indonesia there is much scope for these propagandists.

While the pattern of revolt in South-East Asia can be explained partly by economic distress and the circumstance that freedom from foreign rule has little meaning to the masses unless it also brings with it freedom from want and disease the fact that these revolts occur simultaneously suggest that other causes may be at work.

In previous articles it has been pointed out how ideology determines Communist action. According to the Communist ideology we have entered into a new and sharper period of class struggle. The world has been divided into two camps—that of the working class and that of the capitalist class. The international expression of this conflict is the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the period of the war, the Marxists maintained that Fascism had to be destroyed. Hence the uneasy alliance of Russia, the U.S. and Britain as well as the support which the Communists gave the war effort.

After the conclusion of the war there has been a change in Communist policy. For some time the Marxist line was national unity. The Ceylon Communist Party, as was to be expected, tried this line and in an excess of zeal even advocated support for U.N.P. candidates at the Parliamentary elections.

The change in the Marxist line throughout South-East Asia came after the conference of the Indian Communist Party some months ago.

At that conference was forged the master strategy of the Communists of South-East Asia. It was after that conference that the Ceylon Communist Party changed the party line and policy. A delegate from the Ceylon Communist Party attended that conference.

The Indian Party's conference repudiated the "collaborationist", national front policy of the war period forged by P. C. Joshi. It adopted instead the line of independent action, of militant Marxism formulated by Adhikari. Theoretically that conference sanctioned vigorous action—a line which taken to its logical conclusion implies the present South-East Asiatic revolts.

One expression of the new line in Ceylon was the demand of the local Communist Party for militant politics—a demand which the Lanka Sama Samaj Party denounced as adventurism. To the Communists of Ceylon, it is to the Communists of South-East Asia, the Indian "gurus". There is blind adulation the "People's Age"—the Indian Communist Party's publication—is the

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

IDEAS of social reconstruction are in the air. Every country in the world feels the need for a greater emphasis on this side of the national activities. Remedies for social ills are everywhere to be found in abundance betokening an intellectual fertility, but not all of them can be reduced to practice. The test, however, should always be what is practically possible and also what is strictly just and necessary in the circumstances of every country. It is evident that the social conscience of the world has been roused to a pre-eminent degree. Men seriously question whether it is necessary that they should continue to be subjected to conditions which hamper their search for security, peace and happiness. The nineteenth century believed more than any other age in ideas of progress and accepted the evolution of the human race, under the beneficent and redeeming influence of science as inevitable. These assumptions have been swept away under the impact of reality in the twentieth century. We no longer feel that the human race inevitably progresses. We know that man can advance or recede in accordance with what he definitely and deliberately chooses to make of himself and of the society of which he is a member. In all societies, however, groups of thinkers are seriously concerned upon what basis our civilisation could securely rest if the achievements of today are to be accepted as conclusively constructive. It is evident that we require more than at any time before a knowledge and understanding of the principles of right action. An arduous duty is laid upon us to see that both as individuals and members of the state we throw the weight of our opinion on the right side. We cannot break away from the principles which have been tested and tried for centuries, and pin our faith upon new theories and fantastic notions which will disrupt the structure of ages. Towards such a sound reconstruction as is necessary, many thought-

ful minds have contributed. One such group of thinkers deserves very careful consideration as they discuss most efficiently and carefully, and with incisive analysis, the elements of a sound social reconstruction.

PLANNING by the state has become the rule in practically every country in the world, and planning on a scale which has never been undertaken so widely ever before. It is interesting to see what is the suggested shape of things to come as laid down by men who are exponents of a point of view which is fundamentally different from the revolutionary changes which aim at a complete uprooting of accepted fundamentals. Who will plan the planners? That is a question that has been pertinently asked many times before. It is not an irrelevant question because it is now possible in many countries for a few men who have seized power to carry out the most sweeping changes according to their own notions of what should be done, with no concern for the rights of the individual. In "Prospect for Christendom" (Colombo Book Centre) a Faber and Faber publication, edited by M. B. Reckit, the contributors being outstanding names. In their own line of study, there is an impressive exposition of the problems confronting the world today. "What will the planners themselves be planning for?" asks E. L. Mascall in an article on "The Person and the Family". And he continues: "Will the new order be one in which men and women will be treated as persons, in the full sense of the word, or only as cogs in a machine or cells in an organism? There is only too much reason to fear the adoption of one of these last assumptions, that is to say, the setting up of society on either a mechanical or a purely biological theory of man. For men are threatened today in the very heart of their being—in that inner sanctuary of personality where God has given to

each one a name and identity whereby he is himself and no-one-else—as they have perhaps never been threatened before." The old tyrannies did not destroy the nature of man by depriving him of the substance of his personality and his individuality. They exploited him but left him very much a human being. The new tyrannies mechanise man and he becomes an automaton and a puppet of the state. The humane philosophies of old are replaced by philosophies which openly defy all that man has wanted in his search for freedom and the good life. Aristotle regarded man as naturally a political animal, the end of society as the serving of the common good. This common good must be understood to be the good of the individuals composing any given society but this is denied in all totalitarian and revolutionary forms of society. In man, as he ought actually to be regarded, says the writer of the essay, "there is a twofold movement: a horizontal one, whereby the person enters into a life of mutual self-giving with the other persons who form human society, and a vertical one whereby the person in his concrete possession of himself transcends his status as a mere member of the community, as just one unit among others. The human person thus, by the very law of his being, both requires society and rises above it." Under this conception man is allowed to make free and responsible decisions, and to give himself to what he believes to be his rational good. He is most free in the sphere of his inner life. It is manifest that it is really in the interest of the State to allow the family to develop its own life for it is within the family unit that all the great qualities of real citizenship can be nurtured. Man, says Dr. Demant, "starts life as a being with natural ties

and these are relationships of whole persons to one another in the family. It is from this environment that he gradually learns to enter into association with a great member of other groups, but in each case with only one or two parts of his life—his work, his play, his citizenship, and so on. The family should therefore be the nucleus of all society which treats human persons as ends and not as means." The encroachment of the state on family life, with its false conceptions of the value of the individual, can only result, in disaster both to the family and the State, as what will be raised up will be a class of citizens degraded in mind and enslaved in body. T. S. Eliot writes with his usual penetration, of culture and treats of it in its aspect as an attribute of a given society rather than as a possession of the individual for to him culture implies a very complex and wide-spread activity and can therefore be seen at its best in the life of a people. The artist narrows down his interest to one activity, and his intensity in one direction blinds him to everything else. He may be also intellectually deficient. The strongest force however, that makes for culture is religion, and he in a wide sense regards culture as the incarnation of the religion of a people. It is religion that gives a meaning and purpose to all man's activities.

Altogether these and the other valuable essays in this collection give one an insight into the sound concepts which can effectively and humanely regenerate a disintegrating society which needs to be held together by valid principles capable of restoring man to his rightful place from which he has been dragged down by false and misleading philosophies which aim at striking at the nourishing roots of all human freedom.

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SPORTS Commentary

COVER-POINT

THE 1947-48 racing season ends tomorrow with the second day of the C.T.C. September Meeting.

A card of eight races has been provided and the exchanges are likely to be as keenly contested as last Saturday. I do hope, however, that there will not be a repetition of the ragged starting that spoilt most of the races last week.

The Goodwood Plate has been declared void and therefore the Autumn Plate will be the chief event.

In this race, Jape is an acceptor in the Autumn Plate, she should be able to win his fourth race off the reel. To my mind the Holywell mare is one of the most promising of the Griffins that were sent out from England and will be hard to toss even in the top class. Flying Sand and Vijayalaxmi have sound placing chances while Paddy Field who ran far below his best form last week may appreciate the longer journey tomorrow and create the upset.

The Chepstow Plate is to be run in two Divisions.

In the first, Shining Symbol has the beating of the lot if his rider does not take things too much for granted. Tornadic is such an honest-to-goodness performer that he should be well up at the finish as should Pharoah Fan. A straggling start put Nairu Street's chances out of court last week. He was finishing like a stayer and may get the mile.

In the Second Division I am inclined to think that Supremacy is quite capable of repeating his last win though, of course, he will not be allowed to be as friendless as he was on that occasion. Future Princess and Gracious Beauty should run into the money while I have a sneaking regard for La Nuff for the upset.

In the Dehlowita Plate the best of a very poor lot are Coolande, Matruh, Autonomy and Silver Ray.

There are four races for Arabs. Those in the top class will be out over 9 furlongs in the Dolosbage Plate the issue of which lies, in my opinion, between

the recently promoted Ta'an Walid and Thunderbolt. Though they are meeting a better type of Arab, the handicap will be all in their favour. Eisenhower, if ridden by Fairweather, can be recommended for a place. The top-weight Scarlet is a cut above even this class and may atone for her last defeat.

The Agra Plate over a mile should enable Mr. V. S. C. Singham to pick up a long overdue race though Ragheeb al Khan whose chief opponent is likely to be Tamin al Khair. Look out for Kiwi for any upset.

The Ragama Plate will be run in two sections. In the senior division Wadhah al Iraq is so very far ahead of his rivals that it is difficult to see how he can be beaten.

Hadir Ra'ad and Warrior should follow him home but if Tair Rawa is in galloping mood he may easily beat the lot.

In the second Division, Najran al Muluk, Shihan Aziz, Lion Flag and Star of the Sea, have most recent form to recommend them.

THE final of the Ceylon Golf Championship will be played this week-end at Nuwara Eliya. I am writing these notes before the start of the title meet but judging from what I saw of the golfers last Sunday in the Burdett Trophy I shall be very surprised if W. P. Fernando fails to win his second championship in succession. I also liked the way in which Derrick de Saram and Conrad Ephraums shaped in their matches and all-Ceylonese final is not impossible.

Ephraums is one of the most improved players and it speaks volumes of his grit that he held Archie Aitken to a draw in the Burdett contest. He had been down with influenza for three days last week and had to drive up to Nuwara Eliya on Saturday night after doing his job on the racecourse. He could hardly have been at his best.

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