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GOVT. PARLIAMENTARY PARTY DECIDES ON UNITED ACTION WILL STAND SOLIDLY BEHIND PREMIER

(By Our Political Correspondent)

THE Parliamentary Party of the U.N.P. met in a Committee Room of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, 26th November, at 10 a.m. One of the major decisions which will have far reaching effects in the future was that the Parliamentary Party (which consists of several Independent Members who were elected as such) would support the Government and vote with the Government in all matters connected with Government business.

This will give the Government a clear majority over the fragments of the Opposition Parties and will enable it to carry through its program of progressive legislation even if the delaying tactics of the Opposition are strengthened by a Union of the various fragments. Matters which concern the internal working of the Party were eschewed because it was felt that such matters should be discussed at the Party Headquarters at a private meeting.

Contrary to the impressions given to the country by the Opposition Parties and by Opposition journals ably supported by the "Times of Ceylon," the meeting was conducted in an atmosphere of friendliness and cordiality. Dearly as the Opposition politicians have wished for disunity and a break-up of the U.N.P., the meeting made it clear that there would be ever-increasing strength within the Party.

The Parliamentary Party's decisions extended to other practical measures for a more closely knit organisation. It was decided to have Committees of members under the Chairmanship of the Parliamentary Secretaries so that information on the functioning of Government and the intentions of Government should be made available to the rank and file. It was agreed that Cabinet Ministers should be called in whenever explanations on major policy were necessary.

The Leader was assured by all present that it would be their endeavour to consider the interests of Government and of the Party at all times.

The Leader of the House was in fine fettle, and one or two Ministers who spoke at the meeting explained the difficulties that had to be faced. The U.N.P. will face the budget debate and other debates to come with confidence and with the strength of unity, in addition to the strength of administrative ability and talent which it really possesses in a marked degree.



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Opposition "Game of Misery"

By "Ranjit Nihal"

THE recent outburst by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council at a speech at Barnsley when he called upon the Government's opponents to "stop playing a game of general misery which was harming the national interest", is applicable to a marked degree to the opponents of the Government in Ceylon today.

No sensible person can reasonably object to constructive criticism of its actions by its opponents. But such criticism must, of necessity, be serious and sincere to be effective.

The present mood of the Government's opponents appears to be more intent on scoring small debating points

rather than concentrating on offering criticism that could be regarded as being in the interests of the public weal.

Recently an Opposition Leader who belittled the Independence obtained for Ceylon by those who now belong to the United National Party, told his audience that the sponsors of this independence were such nitwits that they must have believed that independence was "something that could be eaten."

Apart from the cheap and crude humour that characterised this jibe, it provided a good example of what Mr. Morrison described as "the Government opponents playing the fool at a time when the problems facing the nation were too serious for a Party game."

When it is remembered that the Leftists who espouse the "poor man's cause" have themselves never known want or shared the poor man's suffer-

ings their advocacy for such "cause" (which provides them with a convenient expedient for political purposes) can be taken to lengths that may do incalculable harm to the people.

It is true that in the rough and tumble of politics many things are said and done to promote the popularity of rival political parties. But when the tussel is waged at the expense of the progress of the people it is nothing short of a tragedy.

In a young democracy, such as ours, where illiteracy is still so rampant (necessitating the use of symbols at elections) no emphasis can be too strong to condemn the abuse of the credulity of the masses by political showmanship which is aimed at securing the popularity of a political party at the expense of the public good. Such an attitude displays not only an utter lack of responsibility but is tantamount to constituting a public danger.

That such irresponsibility is displayed to a lamentable degree by politicians of Leftist leanings is a reproach that the more responsible elements in their circles (if there are any such existent) should strive unceasingly to remove.

★ * ★

ONE of the most astonishing displays of such irresponsibility I have ever witnessed occurred recently at the Colombo Town Hall when a Leftist City Father (of the Island's premier local body, mark you) actually carried a basketwoman's wares

into the room (where the members of the Council had adjourned for tea during the debate concerning hawkers) in full view of the hawkers and their womenfolk who thronged the corridors outside. This piece of buffoonery had the desired effect for the hawkers cheered their "hero" loudly.

But here again, was a good instance of a City Father "playing the fool" instead of performing his duties as a Councillor with that measure of responsibility and dignity that was expected of him.

A more recent demonstration of a Leftist politician playing the fool was the comedy of the Ceylon Communists rejecting the Ceylon Independence Bill as a "fake" while their Communist counterparts in the House of Commons accepted the Bill without reservations.

A report of the Commons Debate on the Bill stated that there was some laughter when one of the two Communist members, Mr. Philip Paratin said he accepted the Bill "for myself and my Party." But Mr. Paratin retorted: "It is very important in Ceylon that I accept it" Ceylon Communist Party, please note!

It is all very well for the Leftists to indulge in these political pranks but they will soon learn to their cost that this kind of political opportunism will not fool the people all the time.

Unless they face up to the situation and realise in its full gravity that (in the words of Mr. Morrison) "all men should think constructively", they would only hasten the disillusionment of the people who were misguided.

AN EMBASSY FROM KANDY-1804

By V. E. S.

EARLY in February, 1802, news spread in Colombo that Three Princes had suddenly arrived. The British, it was stated, had received them kindly and promised to make them Kings with just one stipulation that the reigning King at Kandy was first dethroned.

The news was not contained in print. Many learnt afterwards from those who were wise that an Embassy from Kandy had arrived, composed of Three Ministers of State. One of the three Ministers was the Second Adigar, Migas Tenna, son-in-law of the Prime Minister, the First Adigar, Pilima Talavuva. The Embassy headed by Migas Tenna had come to meet the Governor of the British Colony, the Hon. Frederic North, and arrange a Treaty of mutual understanding.

On 5th February the Embassy drove in three stately carriages to meet the Governor. Excitement rose when people saw that the doors of the carriages were left open. Some imagined the carriages had defective locks. The Governor had provided the carriages, so fancy, not one, not two, all the carriages had defective locks. There was something deep in that. Royal Courts the world all over were bound to be agitated; a World War was near at hand. Those who talked, and talked, were not aware that the three distinguished visitors themselves had wished the doors left open lest sensitive people should feel they were driven to the Governor locked in like prisoners!

North who was the youngest son of the second Earl of Guildford, received the Embassy with great courtesy and charm. Migas Tenna appeared to North to be very young and open. North modestly had forgotten that he

too was young (32) when he came as Governor in 1798.

Proceedings were pleasant but a little difficult when items of business were taken in hand. The Embassy pressed for the return of certain districts which the Dutch had withheld. North's reply in essence was disappointing to the Embassy. Migas Tenna argued brilliantly but North had nothing new to add.

North's proposals were then placed before the Embassy and discussed at length with William Boyd, Acting Secretary to the British Government. One proposal referred to the maintenance of 1,800 men who would be at the service of the King at Kandy when required. North was aware that civil dissensions within the Kingdom were rampant and the Embassy was informed that he considered it an obligation to protect the King and secure the Throne against all enemies. North's concern was no doubt appreciated but the Embassy felt that soldiers drawn from among their own countrymen had in the past proved worthy of their Sovereign's confidence and trust.

Boyd considered North's proposals were urgent and insisted on a final decision within ten days. This was refused to the great disappointment of North and Boyd.

As the Embassy returned to Kandy, Migas Tenna whispered to his colleagues "We failed but did not lose."

As They Sit in Parliament

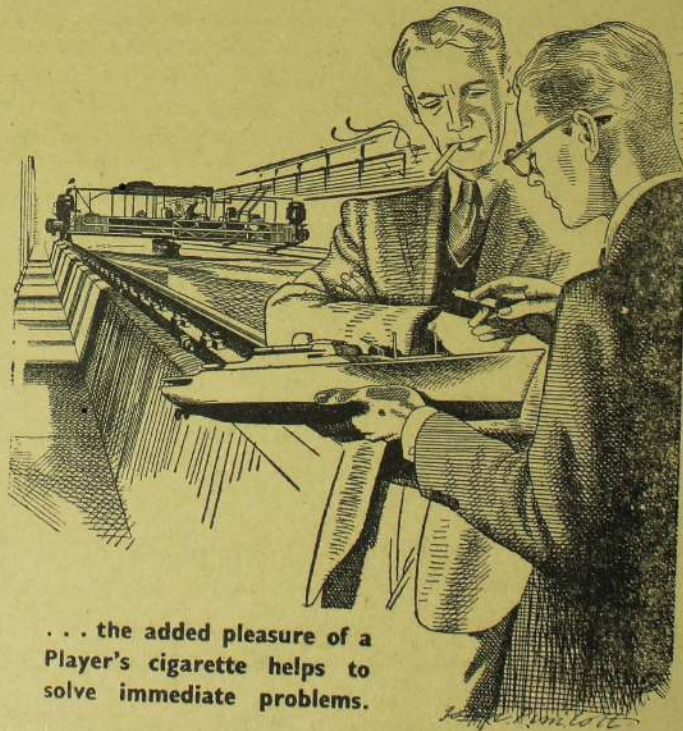
Peal the bells and fire the salvos,
Let the bugles shake the air
With their wild exultant music,
Worthy of Sri Lanka fair!
Never in our Island's story,
Never in our civic lay,
Was a nobler Meeting gathered
Than we have this joyful day!

Lo! the spirits of our fathers
Start from every turf grave
To belaud this end of bondage,
Hail the Flag their free sons wave.

Gemunu and Elara parley,
Pledge a bond of racial peace;
Heralds bearing olive branches
Vouch Ceylon for Ceylonese!

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This is Russia—2

By William C. Bullitt

CRAIST FIVE-YEAR PLANS

IN their attempts to move toward the Atlantic they met much tougher opposition. They ran into the outposts of Western civilization, a higher civilization than their own in every phase of life. And they made little headway because of their "backwardness."

Peter the Great, who ruled from 1682 to 1725, decided to end that "backwardness." He visited western Europe and studied industrial techniques. Peter was a man of great energy, intelligence and ruthlessness, and he was determined, whatever the cost, to Europeanize the economic life of Russia in order to increase the war power of his state. But as the great Russian historian Klyuchevsky wrote:

"His beneficent actions were accomplished with repelling violence. Peter's reform was a struggle of despotism with the people, with their sluggishness. He hoped through the threat of his authority to evoke initiative in an enslaved society, and through a slave-owning nobility to introduce popular education, as the necessary condition of social initiative. He desired that the slave, remaining a slave, should act consciously and freely. The interaction of despotism and freedom, of education and slavery—this is the political squaring of the circle, the riddle which we have been solving for two centuries from the time of Peter, and which is still unsolved."

Stalin is still trying to solve it. Peter's plans were the forerunners of Stalin's Five-Year-Plan. And Peter, like Stalin, imposed them on his reluctant subjects by force and executions.

Peter sought, as a first step toward the West, "a window to Europe." He moved his capital from Moscow to the marshes which border the Neva River, and there on piles built St. Petersburg—which is now Leningrad. To hold and enlarge this "window to Europe," he defeated the Swedes, and in 1721 annexed Ingermanland, Estonia, Livonia and parts of Karelia and Finland.

When the Patriarch of Moscow, the spiritual chief of the Orthodox Church, opposed Peter's reforms, the Czar abolished the Patriarchate and put in its place a government agency called the Holy Synod. Thus Peter brought the Church under his control, just as Stalin has now brought the Church under Soviet control by establishing in the Soviet Government a Committee on the Affairs of the Orthodox Church, the chairman of which is a kind of Soviet Commissar for God.

Peter's efforts to strengthen his despotism and his armies by bringing European science and industry to Russia were continued by his successors, and the Russian court under Catherine the Great, 1762 to 1796, had the outward trappings of European life; but behind that facade the Russian peasant continued to live in filth, misery and serfdom.

Catherine longed for military glory. She prepared in secret a daring plan of aggression. Her first objective was to seize the shores of the Black Sea, the Balkans and Constantinople. She attacked Turkey and made large territorial gains, but did not get Constantinople. Her second objective was Poland. Her second objective was Poland. As a precaution against war with Prussia and Austria, she made them partners in her crime, and together they partitioned Poland: first in 1772, again in 1793 and finally in 1795—after the Poles of all classes had fought heroically in defense of their freedom. The name of Poland was wiped completely from the map of Europe.

Russia took the greater part of the country. But Russia found Poland hard to digest. The words of the Polish national hymn, "Poland is not dead so long as we live," became the motto of every Pole. It is difficult to govern men who have known even a little

liberty by the system of tyranny invented by the Mongol Khans. And Catherine the Great's grandson, Alexander I, was forced to deal with the demands of the Poles for a constitution. In 1815 Alexander gave them one which united Poland to Russia in the person of the Czar, but granted the Poles a separate political entity, a parliament, liberty of the press and the right to use their flag.

The Russian subjects of the Czar, however, resented the grant to the conquered Poles of rights which had not been granted to the conquering Russians. It was indeed a strange contradiction, and the Russians began to demand similar rights. In 1832, after a Polish uprising, the Russian autocracy solved this contradiction in a characteristic manner. Instead of granting its Russian subjects the same rights as the Poles it took away the constitution of the Poles! That made everything level, but on the Russian level—a lower level than the Poles had ever known.

As Sir Bernard Pares, dealing with the events of the year 1832, wrote with profound truth: "Poland fell entirely under Russian bureaucratic government. . . . If it was as if Russia could only hold Poland by unclivilizing it." In 1918 Poland regained her independence. In 1939 she was again wiped from the map by joint attack of the troops of Hitler and Stalin, the two totalitarian dictatorships embraced over her body and Stalin telegraphed over her body and Stalin telegraphed over Ribbentrop: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm."

Today Russian troops occupy all Poland. A puppet government controlled from Moscow is now installed in Warsaw. And unhappily there is no reason to believe that the Russians will be more inclined at present than they were 114 years ago to grant the Poles rights which have not yet been given to Russians.

GROING TOWARD DEMOCRACY

THE first outward sign of Russian interest in political democracy and individual freedom appeared following Napoleon's invasion of Russia. After defeating Napoleon, the Russian armies had marched to Paris. In France and Germany, the Russian officers saw a standard of living, culture, freedom and happiness so much higher than their own that, when they returned to Russia, a number of the younger officers began to promote secret societies for political reform.

December, 1825, a dispute with regard to the succession to the throne gave the conspirators an opportunity to act. They organized an uprising in St. Petersburg, but the military governor easily broke their forces with a few cannon shots. One hundred and twenty "Decembrists," as the conspirators were called, were tried and five were executed. (The Czars of the 19th century did not "purge" the families and friends of their opponents in the manner of their predecessor Ivan the Terrible or their successor Stalin).

But the democratic waves set in motion by the Decembrists continued to sweep over Russia throughout the 19th century; they approached tidal proportions in 1905, and finally submerged the Czardom in 1917. During those 92 years Russia seethed with political, economic, intellectual and artistic ferment. It produced such superb writers as Pshkin, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Tolstoy and Chekhov; such notable musicians as Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Moussorgsky and Rimski-Korsakov; and it developed the ballet into a great art. Mendelyev, Pavlov and many other Russian scientists did first-rate original research. Railroads and industries began to transform the hitherto almost wholly agricultural economy. The population increased enormously, reaching 170 million in 1914.

Only the Czars seemed incapable of development. They clung to their autocracy, and such concessions as they made to the forces of change were always too little or too late. Indeed, they made concessions only when defeat in war had aroused their subjects to fury. Five hundred and fifty-six localized peasant revolts took place during the reign of Nicholas I, 1825 to 1855, but

he could think of nothing better to do than to suppress all freedom of thought.

At the close of his reign, however, he became engaged in the Crimean War against France and Great Britain, and he bequeathed to his successor, Alexander II, 1855 to 1881, a resounding defeat. Alexander II, a wavering man of good intentions, under pressure of the patriotic rage and democratic energy engendered by this defeat, liberated the serfs in 1861. And in 1864 he established trial by jury—more than 650 years after it had been established in England. He was assassinated.

Alexander III, 1881 to 1894, returned to repression as a policy, persecuted dissenting churches, muzzled the press and hunted down political reformers and revolutionists. He was succeeded by the last of the Czars, Nicholas II, a weak little man as incapable as a child of guiding the wild energies of the Russian people. Nevertheless, Nicholas announced shortly after his accession to the throne: "Let all know that I intend to defend the principle of autocracy as unswervingly as did my father."

In 1905, the defeats suffered in the war against Japan added patriotic resentment to all the other grievances of the Russian people. A general strike from one end of Russia to the other on October 10, 1905, forced Nicholas II to retreat a trifle from absolute autocracy; and on October 17 he granted his subjects a partial bill of rights and a parliament called the Duma.

(To be Continued)

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Friday, 28th November, 1947

PSEUDO-EXPERTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

WE have witnessed a series of frantic efforts by Opposition parties to condemn the Ceylon Independence Bill. When it became apparent that the outcry of the only real "brains" of the Opposition, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, could not make the people reject the Independence measure, and the less impressive efforts of L.S.S.P. and C.P. pundits began to pall, reinforcements were rapidly brought up. Lo and behold, they went to Hulftsdorp and dug up a lawyer whose only claim to "expert" knowledge on the subject was that he had appeared for a few "labour" cases, with considerable profit to himself! It is strange that before this worthy entered the fray he should not have realized that where the more informed, and by far the more brilliant advocacy of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva had failed to convince, his ineffective contribution could make no impression. Perhaps there was some lurking doubts in his own mind, for he sought cover under the pseudonym "S.N." When Dr. Jennings, who knows more about Constitutional Law than anyone else in the East, considered the matter for nearly a fortnight, "S.N." barged in and displayed his ignorance not merely of constitutional

nomenclature but of common English idiom as well. Accustomed, as he normally is, to the simple process of following the beaten track of quoting case law in our Courts, he found his single effort at original interpretation considerably strenuous. He reminded one of that Shakespearian character who revealed himself to be a fool each time he opened his mouth to speak.

We can understand the difficulty of the Left-wing Politicians. Mr. Keuneman abandoned a legal career, very wisely we think, for this opportunity he had for a public statement on a matter of legal interest has found him totally unprepared for a little effort at understanding the implications of Constitutional Law. He has little excuse, however, for making so stupid a statement as the one which was given so much publicity by the "Times of Ceylon," for Mr. Keuneman claims to be a journalist and all good journalists are credited with some measure of intelligence. But, perhaps, we have forgotten that he did not survive in journalism for long. That may, perhaps, be a consoling factor.

As for Dr. N. M. Perera we are informed that he obtained a Doctorate of Science for studies in Parliamentary practice in the British House of Commons. Even making allowance for the wartime fatigue of the examiners who had to assess the quality of his work one would expect of someone who had the leisure in his days in prison at least to read something about Parliamentary matters, that he should have had a nodding acquaintance with the language of Constitution makers.

Letter to the Editor

THE INDEPENDENCE BILL

The Editor,
U.N.P.,

32/3, Flower Road,
Colombo.

Sir,—

MAY I be permitted in elaboration to state that both the members of the Government Party and the members of the Opposition groups have their special distinctive contributions to make in placing our country on the road to National Independence and that neither party should try to score a point off the other and permit the discussions to weaken Ceylon's position either vis-a-vis the British Commonwealth or in the international sphere. The Government Party might endeavour to make explicit what is implicit in the Bill and the connected agreements; and the Opposition groups might refrain from arguing as in the Law Courts in the manner of the opposing Counsel and making axioms of every unsubstantial doubt. Wherever doubts exist, and where on any point the Bill is silent, we must construe in terms of the fullest potential freedom for Ceylon. Let us not, out of any complex born of distrust or past subordination draw adverse inferences that might in the future prove useful to those, if any, who might be opposed to the attainment of full sovereignty by us. The Bill and other connected documents have to be interpreted not according to the letter of British text-books on Constitutional Law, all of which are daily getting out of date and have no

binding effect on us and will soon be discarded, but according to the utterances and statements of policy laid down after the war by the statesmen of the world, including British politicians on the untrammelled right of all nations to Full Freedom and Complete Independence.

Ceylon's capacity to exercise the following rights needs to be affirmed and stressed by our representatives in Parliament:

- (1) The right to secede from the British Commonwealth.
- (2) The right to remain neutral in the event of the British Commonwealth being involved in war.
- (3) The right to conclude agreements of any kind or nature with countries outside the British Commonwealth.
- (4) The right to sever allegiance from the British Crown.
- (5) The right to terminate at any time the agreements now entered into with Britain regarding Defence, External Affairs and the Public Service.

A special responsibility lies on the mover of the connected resolution in the House of Representatives, viz., the Prime Minister, on the Leader of the House, the Hon. Mr. Bandaranaike, on the mover of the resolution in the Senate, viz., Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, and on the seconders of the resolution in both Houses and the leaders of the respective Opposition groups, to see that their utterances do not detract in any way from this ideal and status of Sovereign Independence of our country, the agreements and seeming limitations

In the case of all these people their difficulty really is that they have pushed themselves into such roles that they have to act their part at all times and at all places. They have to condemn. They must attack. They must sneer. They do not care whether such attitudes as they adopt are justified or not. Their every utterance is calculated to make the people believe that they are the only patriots of this country and that all others are lacqueys of imperialism and traitors.

The country, however, has refused to accept their position. Facts must triumph. Truth must have its victory. This country will be free and independent, whether they wish it or not. We have no doubt that it is the desire of Left-wing Politicians that Sri Lanka should continue to be a Colony of the British Empire for no other reason than that they would like to sign the agreement and have themselves proclaimed as the liberators of this Island! Such self-seeking is not unusual. They will languish in the same hall of ignominy to which history has assigned the notorious traitors of Sri Lanka who sold the pass in former times to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally to the British Empire builders. The name of Senanayake will be written besides those illustrious and immortal names of our historical figures who attempted to keep this country free of the foreign yolk. Senanayake belongs in the gallery of the great. He is undoubtedly a reincarnation of someone like Raja Singha who led his people courageously against the enemy during the epic days of full blooded nationalism.

being of a voluntary nature to last so long as they benefit Ceylon and terminable at our option.

The speeches made in the British Parliament in this connection particularly at the Second Reading have left no doubt as to the independent character of Ceylon's future status. British Parliamentarians both from the Government and Opposition benches, have done well by Ceylon by expressing themselves unequivocally on the question of Ceylon's right to full Freedom. It is trusted that the speeches of our own representatives in Parliament whatever differences they might have among themselves will not undo the effect of these utterances, which have contributed in a substantial and unmistakable manner towards the recognition of Ceylon's unfettered right to complete Independence.

The members of our Parliament might consider the desirability of passing legislation to the effect that whenever any doubts arise regarding the interpretation of the provisions of the Ceylon Independence Bill and connected agreements, no interpretation shall be placed on them which will in any way derogate from the Sovereign status of Ceylon but that on the contrary every such interpretation shall at all times further the recognition of such status.

My suggestion on the last point has no bearing on the allegation that secret agreements have already been entered into by the present Government of Ceylon with the Government of the United Kingdom and is only an endeavour to obtain a statement of policy when we restart our career of National Independence.

Yours truly,

S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM.

156, Hulftsdorp,
22nd November, 1947.

WANTED—A BRAVE CLEAN LANKA

WE have had a relapse. The country has fallen back to gambling and vice, after a steady tend of improvement, when nearly everyone was kept busy with jobs, and horse-racing being perforce abolished.

THERE had been many raids on the local "bookies" whose offices have been called "bucket shops." (Why "bucket" unless it is a bottomless bucket that draws in the money of the foolhardy patrons?) But nothing really happened. It is not the fault of the police that they fail to press a prosecution to its logical end.

The "bookies" are wily for the police.

Their ingenuity is such that whenever a Police raid is executed, no revealing papers are found, nor any clues. A betting slip may be the only thread to hang on to. And if ever a prosecution is successful the "bookie" is ever willing to pay off the fine.

For it is no secret that the bookies are the richest men in the city today, though their hidden wealth is neither assessed nor taxed.

ANOTHER type of vice that is sucking the morale and morals of our people is the "social club." These clubs, posing under romantic names, are really hot-beds of

SAYS
MOHAMMED

I had personal experience of these clubs when I was out enumerating for the last Census. In one particular club I was introduced to the "President" who, in turn, introduced me to some "members." In the main hall a game of billiards was going on.

The crowd that was watching, I noticed, was not very sporting. "Play safe," "Silly shot," "You tried a cannon instead of an in-off," "The other shot was the one for a really big break"—these were the mutterings I heard, and I wondered how the players could play their normal games, subject to so much harassing.

But I soon realised that the crowd had much interest in the game as the players. For they had laid their bets on the games. So had the players. And the stakes were enormous.

After enumerating them, I was taken to another room. I had rudely broken up a game of "baby." But once the player assured themselves that I was a harmless enumerator and not a C.I.D.

officer, they went about their shady business. Here too the bets laid were very heavy.

In the inner chamber I was introduced to the "ladies." They were a giggling, girlish lot in the deshabelle, who beckoned me laughingly with a "see you some time" air.

There was of course the inevitable liquor bar too.

These are the main features of these social clubs, whose membership, though unlimited, is scrutinised more closely on application than at any snobbishly exclusive club.

THERE was once a Police drive against these clubs. But, like the "bookies," these too have a way of dodging the law. The most unfortunate part of this matter is that it is most difficult to distinguish between the respectable clubs and the shady "social clubs."

So it is idle to blame the police for inaction and just sit down and twiddle our thumbs. If the country is to wipe off this stigma of gambling, vice and drink, let's roll up our shoulders and get down to the task. It is not enough to achieve a "Brave New Lanka." Let it be a "Brave Clean Lanka."

Art & Letters By Quintus Delilkhan

FLAUBERT & "MADAME BOVARY"

ONE cannot think of Gustave Flaubert except as the man to whom style was the supreme aim of the verbal artist. Wilde who considered himself considerably influenced by Flaubert, parodying the efforts of Faubert to create style by the most meticulous and painstaking methods he employed, said that he had spent a whole afternoon on literary labour, and all that he had succeeded in doing was to insert a comma, and then decide to take it away. But to Flaubert the chief thing was the word. He believed that there was only one way of expressing an emotion or an object and that it was the duty of the artist to labour incessantly and even with a prolonged agony until that one word had been found. With him the labour in discovering the right word was gigantic. It meant days and nights of exhausting toil to produce even a paragraph of any one of his few books. I think that this kind of labour is a matter of the past. Few people today take such care for finding the right word which must sometimes be as difficult as finding a needle in a haystack. John Morlev once described journalism as literature in a hurry. Most modern books err on the side of the setting down of first impressions. The writer generally believes in his own originality and also in his spontaneity. Books must be produced in keeping with the tempo of all things in an age of bustle and precipitateness in all things. It is refreshing to go back to Flaubert who had a conscientious and difficult theory of writing and who acted upon it in all that he did in the way of producing masterpieces. Each book of his, and they are a mere handful compared to his prodigious talent, bears the impress of his delicate selection of words. But there are, of course, other methods of work. A very great and fascinating book by Theophile Gautier was constructed in a different manner but it bears the impress of great writing. It said that Gautier wrote "the Romance of the Mummy" in a printing press and passed each page off for setting before the ink was dry on it. He wrote in a white heat, out of a full mind and by the power of an inspiration which knew no bounds within its special genre. There is a remarkable unity

about that book. It reads smoothly from beginning to end. The words have the power to evoke great pictures of the ancient life of Egypt, of its heroic loves and its aroma of the centuries, as of some embalmed body coming to life under our eyes. Flaubert worked in an entirely different manner, and it was therefore inevitable that a certain element of stiffness and formality should appear in his work though the whole of it is covered with the light of genius. In "Salambo" he made ancient Carthage rise to its former glory. In "The Temptation of St. Antony" he takes us into the life of the desert and makes us see with a terrible vividness that the desert is as filled with the allurements of temptation as is the crowded city. He wrote other books breathing his hatred of the bourgeoisie mind. But the one book by which he is instantly remembered is "Madame Bovary" in which he lays bare a woman's soul revealing its awful tragedy of both indulgence and of frustrated desire, against a sordid provincial background, and ending in suicide. It is a terribly realistic novel which if it has not moved the world has at least been read and discussed by it. Whatever else may be said of it, it cannot at least be denied that the writer of the book was a great artist, and that it will always challenge subsequent artists to produce anything which approaches to the same level of rare and unique achievement in style.

In "Flaubert and Madame Bovary" by Francis Steegmuller (Colombo Book Centre) we have a brave and copious attempt to understand the genesis of the writing of this book which is a world's masterpiece. Mr. Steegmuller has had access to sources, both published and unpublished, for the writing of this fascinating book. Perhaps too much space has been devoted to Flaubert's romances in actual life, because a great artist is not necessarily produced by the mistakes or the extravagances of his straying appetites. Such a writer as Flaubert was born with an immense capacity for style which he did not create his labours but which he evoked from the substance of his own mind because it was already there. He is a wonderful stylist because he was born with the soul of an artist. There is a tendency on the part of the modern biographer, under the influence of psychoanalytic schools of thinking, to lift the veil from the individual life and give us a peep into all its shortcomings and vices, as if these were the generating sources of power.

(To be Continued)

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

THE highest honour a Turf Club can pay one of its members is to frame a race and name it after him. It does not fall to the lot of many to be so honoured during their life-time. So far as Ceylon is concerned, I can think of only two who, before today, lived, or sojourned in the Island long enough not only to have this honour conferred upon them but also to have the even greater privilege of handing over to the winner the trophy which attached to the race. These two were the G.O.M. of Ceylon racing, the late Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, who had his name perpetuated in the Bandaranaike Cup, and that doyen of the local turf, who, happily, is still with us—E.L.F. De Soysa, Vice-Patron of the Club, whose record of 14 Governor's cups is likely to stand for all time. The E.L.F. De Soysa Cup for class 3 horses during August pays fitting tribute to the great patronage he used to extend to the sport of Kings.

The latest to join this very distinguished couple is the present President of the Club, W. B. Bartlett in whose honour the C.T.C., for the first time last Saturday framed and ran a cup race named after him.

The Laird of Lindulla, as W. B. B. is affectionately regarded, never had a very large string but the few horses who sported his familiar silks, were always popular winners. I can still vividly recall that smashing little sprinter of his, the Griffin Saver, who even in the lean years of the depression credited her owner with nearly half a lakh of rupees for an original outlay of less than Rs. 4,000. Weight never meant

a thing to this great-hearted chestnut and I doubt whether there has been a more popular sprinter in Ceylon since the passage of time made Saver drop out of the game. Another flier of W. B. Bartlett's who wrote her name large in the annals of Ceylon racing was Maureen, who in an all-too brief career made herself the favourite of Ceylon race-goers.

All these recollections are by way of introduction to my comments in the W. B. Bartlett cup which was the principal event on last Saturday's C.T.C. race programme, which advanced the November meet to its penultimate stage.

Eight good sprinters lined up at the barrier, with Jai Lanka and Clair de Lune sharing the bulk of the public money. Gay Hero played up at the Start and when the field was eventually sent off to a straggling start, Clair de Lune was hopelessly left. After St. Just and Luzon had made the pace a scorcher from the start, Jai Lanka, who was lying handy all the time, came with a rattle below the distance to have over a length to spare at the finish. I, for one, was surprised when the red cone went up signifying an objection against the winner and I understand it was lodged on the ground of interference in the straight. As was generally expected, the Stewards decided against the objection and the Judge's verdict was allowed to stand. A three-year-old English entire, Jai Lanka has proved himself to be a great sprinter, who should pick up more races before the Handicapper takes his measure. For a debutant Navarro ran a very forward race finishing with giant strides to put St. Just out of the money.

If Jai Lanka's victory had an appropriate symbolism, in view of the fact that the Ceylon independence Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons the day previous, this symbo-

lism was emphasised in the very next race when Sri Lanka, well ridden by Jockey Rook, carried top-weight to victory in the Beacon Plate over a mile. Backed down to odds-on favouritism on the strength of his earlier win over 10 furlongs, Young Fearless was well placed all along the back-stretch but could not quicken his stride when the heat was turned on in the straight. Red Poll flattered till the distance and then Sri Lanka shot out of the bunch and moving strongly, was not unduly extended to beat his stable-mate Lyndhaven, who was flying at the finish. I can find no excuse for Young Fearless' defeat except that the aged gelding likes a more galloping course and did not relish the early bustle.

The Stayers Handicap saw a pretty finished in which Seafire owed much to Jockey Sawyer's vigorous handling for his narrow victory over Jovial Lady. When the favourite Vijay Laxmi hit the front 6 furlongs from home, it looked as if he would not be caught but Seafire, who had settled down to third place after leading at the start, came with a fine turn of speed in the straight to overhaul Jovial Lady, who had passed the favourite a furlong from home.

Races over the Channer Straight usually resolve themselves into a scramble on the stand's side of the course but in the Madukelle Stakes, Royal Tip ploughed a lonely furrow on the far side and had the race won a long way from the post. A youngster in Erajh, who is rising three, was introduced to the game in this race and, though he ran a lot green, gave promise of better things once he becomes used to racing.

The programme opened with Tahaj Mahal dictating his own terms to a small field of 4 to win pulling up, from a fast finishing Mr. Colman.

Mansur Abdullah then came along to demonstrate what a good pony he is, despite his years, when he won the Oasis Stake with so much to spare that he merits promotion. The gray bids fair to challenging Miss Irene as the most consistent pony racing in Ceylon and will win in the highest class over a distance of ground.

★

THE biggest shock for punters came in the last race of the day when Tamim al Khair took it into his head to gallop and won easily from the late finishing Bronze Wing and Kingsley. Mandub al Sharq set the pace early on but near the 6 furlongs, Tamim al Khair took the lead and kept it till the end. I have a feeling that most of the jockeys expected him to fold up as usual in the straight and, therefore, allowed him his big lead. When they realised that the grey was not stopping, it was too late. Tamim al Khair's victory gave Jockey W. Silva a double and Trainer Amaris his second winner, the first being Seafire. Trainer Selvaratnam again took the training honours with three winners.

★

THE Indian cricketers have now made Brisbane, which is the venue of their first test match which began yesterday.

That nothing succeeds like success was proved by the tourists who followed up their Sydney triumph by taking most of the honours in their engagement with Queensland. Counting within their ranks men like Brown, Morris, McCool and Tallon, the State team is by no means a backmarker in Commonwealth wicket and yet at one stage on the first day 7 Queensland batsmen were back in the pavilion with only 199 runs on the board. Once again it was Mankad who caused the rout, every Queensland batsman being in trouble when facing him.

Morris, a former Sydney cricketer, proved a veritable rock of Gibraltar and aided by Rayner pulled the game a little out of the fire before stumps Morris' century was by no means flawless but it saved his state from disaster. Having called the tune till tea, the Indians seemed to lose their grip on the game momentarily and Queensland did well to finish the first day with a total of 289 for 7.

When the match was resumed on Saturday, Queensland carried their score to 347 young Rayner defying the Indian attack till he was within sight of his century, when he nibbled at an out-engineer from Amarnath and was caught behind. Mankad then wound up the State innings to finish up with a bag of 6 wickets at a little over 12 runs apiece.

The usual disastrous start by the Indians was retired by Mankad and Amarnath, the latter of whom is still unbeaten with 101. Cricket in Ceylon is making good headway.

The last two days of the match saw the Sydney role reversed. At Sydney the previous week Australia were set 150 minutes to make 250 odd runs and failed by 49 runs. At Brisbane, the Indians were given the same time to make 251 runs and came within 24 runs of doing so before their last wicket fell, leaving Queensland winners of a memorable match.

India, as expected, gained a first innings lead when the match was resumed on Monday and seemed set for victory when they had the first three Queenslanders out before close of play. But on the last day fielding lapses gave the State the respectable total of 289 for 7 leaving India two hours and a half to score 242 runs. Amarnath and his men accepted the challenge and, like Bradman's Australian XI the previous week, made a grand bid and went down with all their flags flying.

The Sinhalese Sports Club, who were last year's Inter-club champions, had both their "A" and "B" teams out in action and came away with full points from their two engagements.

The "A" team were opposed to the C.C.C. who found C. I. Gunasekera in rather destructive mood. Waddilove, Badcock and Carier between them scored over half the C.C.C. total and Gunasekera wound up with the excellent bag of 7 for 60. He followed this up with an elegant half century, which paved the way for the four wicket victory of his club. Later in the innings, R. B. Wijesinghe was seen to great advantage in knocking up an unbeaten 45. Wijesinghe is going from strength to strength in his batting and is staking a claim to be regarded as one of our best all-rounders.

The S.S.C. "B" team had a field day against Moratuwa. Dalpathadu and F. R. de Saram first saw to the dismissal of the outstation club for a paltry 116. Then De Saram went on to prove his versatility by scoring a polished 89, while B. Navaratne gave him good support with a typically aggressive 64.

The only centurian of the day was found on the Oval where M. Sathasivam showed all his familiar artistry to score 108 not out, when the Tamil Union made a fighting reply of 194 for 2, to a big N.C.C. score of 249 for 8 declared. For the Nondescripts Prins and Spittel topped the 50 while MacLean and Abeysekera also contributed useful scores.

Sathasivam's century naturally overshadowed everything else in the Tamil Union innings but Dharmalingam's knock of 41 was also full of merit.

As I said last week, the Tamils have a very strong batting side which will take a lot of beating and may, quite conceivably, again provide the stiffest challenge to the champions, as they did last year.

PILAWOOS HOTEL SILVER JUBILEE

"PILAWOOS HOTEL"—observed its Silver Jubilee on Saturday, the 15th instant.

The occasion was celebrated with the opening of a spacious, well-appointed, excellently furnished and airy new wing, capable of accommodating an additional hundred or more guests.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance, arrived at the Hotel promptly on time and was received by the proprietor Mr. K. Ahamed and Manager Mr. C. S. Coumarin, under whose direction the hotel has made rapid strides, and in the presence of several other distinguished guests, including the Mayor of Colombo and Deputy, declared the new wing open.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Jayewardene recalled the many happy occasions in which during his career he and his friends resorted to "Pilawoos" to have the best possible for whatever the occasion was.

Mr. Ghany, Deputy Mayor of Colombo in a short and witty speech, said that "Pilawoos" was an institution from which no person with any sort of taste for delightful food could possibly escape. Several other leading citizens who were present also expressed their felicitations and having partaken of a sumptuous repast the gathering dispersed at a late hour.

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MARSHALL OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

GEORGE C. MARSHALL, who was named by President Truman to be United States Secretary of State when James F. Byrnes resigned because of ill health on January 7, 1947, came to his task with a thorough schooling in diplomacy and international relations. As Chief of Staff of the United States Army during the recent war, he was consulted on foreign policy and participated in all of the major meetings of the leaders of the Allied nations during the war and post-war years, and dealt extensively with civilian governmental leaders of Allied nations as well as the United States. He is also a veteran of more than 13 months as the President's special Envoy to China, where he endeavoured long and patiently to bring peace and unity to that nation torn by civil war.

GIVEN UNANIMOUS SENATE SUPPORT

Less than an hour after the President had sent the nomination to Congress, Marshall had been unanimously confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of State, after a 1-minute session of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The confirmation followed a statement by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, that immediate confirmation would demonstrate to the world the Senate's bi-partisan support of Marshall and the nation's foreign policy.

"It is highly important," said Vandenberg, "that the Senate of the United States, continuing to pursue an effective bi-partisan foreign policy, make it perfectly clear immediately that there is no interruption of that unity."

Vandenberg said Marshall was a man of "stout heart, sterling integrity and rich experience" in whom the people of America have "total confidence."

On the House side of the Congress, Representative Charles A. Eaton, Republican of New Jersey and Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said: "We will continue to present a united front to the world. There is no place in foreign affairs for partisan politics."

Former Secretary of State Byrnes confidence in Marshall's ability was expressed early in the recent war in the course of a speech when he said that his belief in ultimate Allied victory was based to a large extent on his personal confidence in "the statesmanship and military genius" of General Marshall.

The American people's confidence in Marshall's ability was expressed by two other members of the United States Congress. Representative Sol Bloom, a Democrat and ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said that Marshall had one of the "most able minds" demonstrated during the war, and asserted that he was equally as well qualified to carry out America's foreign policies as he had been to lead the military forces to victory.

Representative James W. Wadsworth, a Republican and also a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, added that he termed Marshall a man with "everything necessary to make him one of the great Secretaries of State in the country's history." He said that he felt confident that Marshall would carry out the work that Byrnes has "so ably begun."

LED ALLIED ARMIES TO VICTORY

IT was under Marshall's leadership that the Allied Armies reached victory in the greatest and most difficult war in history. Marshall became Chief of Staff on September 1, 1939, the day that the German Army rolled eastward into Poland and began its years of death and destruction. Six years later, not only had the German Army been met on its own ground, outmaneuvered and destroyed, but across the world the once-arrogant Japanese

Army also had been halted, turned back and brought to defeat.

"To George C. Marshall, more than to any other one military man, credit for this double-barreled victory is due," said the "Washington Post" of the man who had played a leading role in the co-operative military efforts of the United Nations. "In it his personality was the basic ingredient; his deliberate and logical mind, his long experience in command, his thoroughly developed strategical sense, his ability to co-operate, his genius for co-ordination and—above all—his extraordinary understanding of logistics."

ONE OF THE GREAT COMMANDERS OF HISTORY

MARSHALL was relieved as Chief of Staff, at his own request, on November 20, 1945, and was succeeded by General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, the man Marshall had chosen to lead the Allied Armies to victory in Europe. Six days later Marshall was awarded an Oak Leaf Cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal, the highest non-combat award, with a citation which said in part:

"In a war unparalleled in magnitude and in horror, millions of Americans gave their country outstanding service. General of the Army George C. Marshall gave it victory. His was the vision that brought into being the greatest military force in history. He was able to exercise greater influence than any other man on the strategy of victory."

"Statesman and soldier, he had courage, fortitude, and vision, and best of all a rare self-effacement. He has been a tower of strength as counsellor of two Commanders in Chief. His standards of character, conduct and efficiency inspired the entire Army, the nation and the world. To him, as much as to any individual, the United States owes its future. He takes his place at the head of the great commanders of history."

When Marshall turned over his post as Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower he planned to retire to his farm near Leesburg, Virginia, which he had bought in 1941 in the expectation of retiring to it when he would have finished his term as Chief of Staff in September 1943. The war had ended that first hope, and it was to be again postponed—in November, 1945, President Truman called on Marshall to accept the important post of his special representative to China with the personal rank of Ambassador. "Like a good soldier", the President said, Marshall accepted the onerous task.

HIS JOB IN CHINA

HIS job in China was to bring some order out of the chaos into which China had been plunged by civil war. Marshall's insight into the issues involved in the situation, his patience, moderation and firmness in dealing with the extremists on both sides, enhanced his immense war-time prestige both abroad and in America. He made many efforts to further the extension of the democratic basis of the Chinese Government, in the interest of the Chinese people; he repudiated the "reactionaries" in the Kuomintang and criticized the preponderance of the military in the Chinese Government, as well as the extremists among the Chinese Communists; he tried to find co-operative elements both in the Kuomintang and in the Communist camp. While stressing his conception of the nature of a more democratic Chinese Government under the new constitution, Marshall's personal statement on leaving China nevertheless reflected his sense of discouragement at his failure to bring the warring sides in China together. Marshall was flying back to America after 13 months of peace efforts in China when his appointment as Secretary of State was announced.

The 66-year-old Marshall, an influential soldier of great ability and the first Army career man to take over America foreign affairs, inherits perhaps the hardest task of all. But the

men who have watched him during the last seven years say he has sufficient ability and prestige to carry the brunt of conducting American foreign policy in the next critical years, when he will have to supervise the writing of the main political peace and also tackle the question of the economic peace on which the whole political structure must depend.

Marshall invariably has impressed profoundly those with whom he has come in contact, even in early youth back in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, where he was born December 31, 1880. His father was an operator of coal and coke industries in south-western Pennsylvania.

DUTIES AS WARTIME CHIEF OF STAFF

ON July 1, 1939, Marshall was detailed as acting Chief of Staff and exactly two months later was promoted to major general and appointed by President Roosevelt to the office of Chief of Staff with the rank of general. On December 17, 1944, he was promoted to the newly created five-star rank of General of the Army.

(To be Continued)

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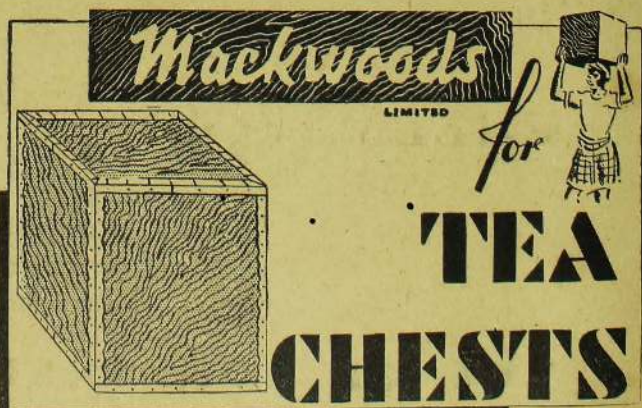
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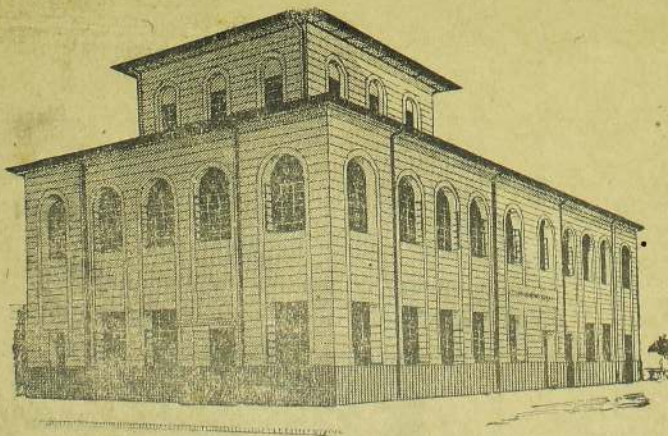
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