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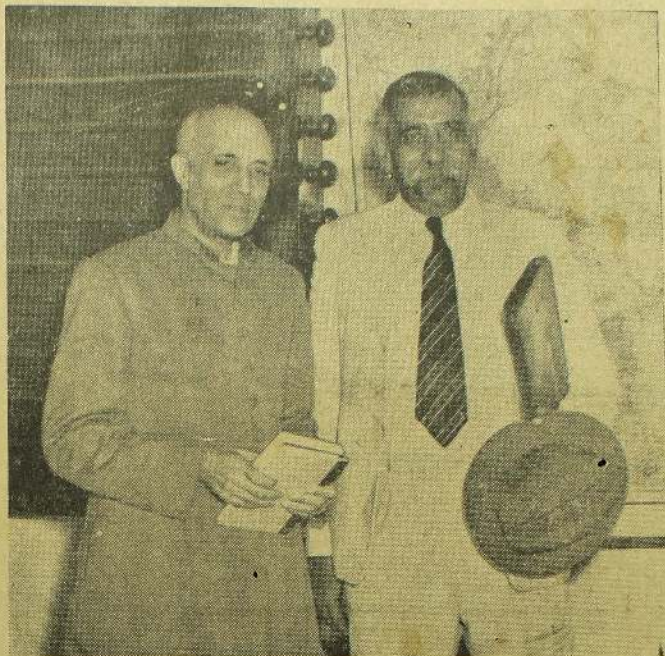
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THE PREMIERS MEET: The Special studies of the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka at the Delhi Indo-Ceylon Talks

U. N. P. SOLVES INDIAN PROBLEM

Justice Will be Done and National Interests Protected

THE United National Party gave an undertaking to the country that it would settle the Indian problem once and for all. That undertaking has been fulfilled by the Prime Minister's successful mission to New Delhi where he had talks which ended in certain conclusions entirely satisfactory from the point of view of Ceylon. The United National Party had always held the most reasonable possible view on the Indian problem of citizenship rights namely that anyone who desires to be a citizen of this country must make

up his mind without any mental reservations and must state that he will abandon all claims to the nationality of any other land. We have been of the opinion that when an Indian wishes to have the rights of Ceylonese citizenship he must forswear the rights of Indian citizenship. This means that he cannot have two nationalities, one as an Indian when he is in India and another as a Ceylonese when he is in Ceylon.

This view was placed before Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Delhi talks and the latter considered it to be entirely reasonable. This will clear up one of the points which has been at issue between the two countries for many years.

The Case of Philip Gunewardene

An Apology

WITH reference to the Editorial under the heading "The Case of Philip Gunewardene" appearing in our issue of the 2nd January, 1948, we intended to cast no aspersions on the integrity or the character of the Honourable Member concerned and that we had no idea whatsoever that the language used in the Editorial

referred to above was a reflection on the House or that it was a breach of privileges of the House.

Now that it has been brought to our notice by the Honourable the Speaker that he personally thinks certain parts of the article amount to that, we take this earliest opportunity of tendering our sincere apologies to the House collectively and to the Honourable Member concerned.

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THE Ceremony, which is to inaugurate the commencement of the Railway Works, will take place on Tuesday, the 3rd August, at 5 p.m. at a point where the Line crosses the Northern Extremity of the Cinamon Gardens in Malicha Kande, distant half a mile north-east from the Moor-man's Mosque in the Marandahn Road.

The Ceremony will be conducted in an imposing manner by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Henry Ward, attended by the principal Government Officials and the Members of the Legislative Council.

Refreshments will be provided by the Railway Company in a large building erected on the ground.

Thus ran the "birth-notice" of the Ceylon's first Railway issued by the Agent of the Railway Company and published by the local Press on July 7, 1858.

The highlight of the Ceremony was the "Turning of the First Sod" by the Governor.

with "God Bless Queen Victoria" in illuminated letters.

The peak of the roof of the building was surmounted by a huge replica of a crowd with the usual Union Jack fluttering on high.

The "Ceylon Observer" of August 5, 1858, described the gathering thus: "There has been no such gathering in Ceylon as that of Tuesday last and nothing could have been better managed... We reached the Triumphal Arch at a point where the Maligahakande Road strikes off from the Main Road at Marandahn towards the spot prepared for the Ceremony."

The road was lined with well-filled carriages and alive with pedestrians of all classes in all costumes of every colour and of every shade of colour.

THE number of carriages that passed in from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. could not have been less than 400, and the number of spectators including the masses of natives... could not have fallen short of 5 or 6 thousands. Of this number probably some 300 or 400 were European ladies and gentlemen.

At a few minutes before the scheduled time of the Ceremony, the Governor arrived by horse-and-carriage, with a strong entourage. The bands of the 50th and the Ceylon Rifles played appropriate tunes as the regimental ranks of the above presented arms in a guard-of-honour. The Royal Standard was hoisted.

The Governor and party proceeded to the spot marked out for the "Turning of the First Sod." The Chief Resident Engineer, Captain Cumming, handed the mammoth (silvered, with an ebony handle) to the Governor. The Right

Reverend Bishop Chapman implored the Divine Blessing on the operation to be started.

A roar of artillery and a burst of applause greeted the first cut of the earth by the Governor. The first sod was deposited in a special wheel-barrow of polished satinwood and ebony.

AN amusing sidelight to the Ceremony was the effort by the Official Photographer, Mr. Parting (who introduced the Photographic Art to Ceylon on June 24, 1856) to record it, for the benefit of future generations. The public were enjoined to remember to keep perfectly still for a few seconds after the group was arranged.

But the ladies were fidgety and annoying! Mr. Parting's first photograph of the ceremony was spoilt by one of them. The most conspicuous feature in the foreground happened to be the back view of a lady with a "most portentous breadth of crinoline culminating in a bonnet of delightful minuteness!"

The second picture was taken provided ladies that could be kept in order only were allowed to pose!

At 6.30 p.m. the gathering retired to the "Crystal Palace" where refreshments were served. Said the Governor in the course of his speech: "This Fairy Palace, this mighty concourse of people—Europeans and Natives, Civil and Military, Planters and Merchants, Sinhalese, Tamils and Moormen, what does it mean?—except that all feel that something has been done today that

Says

Mohammed

must affect, for good I trust, the fate of every man in the Island."

SIR C. J. MacCARTHY, the Colonial Secretary, proposed the first toast: "The Queen." Mr. C. P. Layard, the Government Agent of the Western Province, proposed the toast of "The Royal Family." Mr. H. B. Thompson, the Queen's Advocate, proposed "The Army and the Navy." Finally, the Governor toasted: "Success to the Ceylon Railway."

There were sixteen tables laid for over 600 guests and among the Ceylonese who were "Captains of the Table" were: Messrs. H. Dias, Markar, L. P. Christoffels, E. H. de Silva, J. H. de Saram and Dr. Mutukristna.

The Opening Ceremony cost the Railway Company £2,000, an expenditure which the Colony had to bear ultimately. The infant gave its first kicks in a promising way.

For the Governor announced in December of that year: "Work on the first 13 miles from Colombo to Kandy was fairly started with a staff of about 1,000 coolies and that plans covering another 13 miles were before the Government for approval."

Thus was born the first Ceylon Railway.

EX-SERVICEMEN'S COLONY PROMISES WELL

(By K. Stephen Perera)

AS destructive criticism seems to be the order of the day the public is perhaps not aware of the vast strides made by the ex-Servicemen's Colonisation Scheme at Polonnaruwa. What was once a thick jungle, infested by dangerous animals and malarial mosquitoes is today one vast field of paddy. The uncultivated land too is crying for development. Success has really been achieved by those pioneers who were recruited from the vast army of ex-Servicemen who were thrown out of employment after the war. This great scheme is national in every sense of the word. It has not only converted a jungle into an agricultural region, thus helping the country in its struggle for self-sufficiency but also solved to some extent the problem of unemployment.

It is, however, to be regretted that a few ex-Servicemen who obtained employment here do not seem to be aware of the national importance of the scheme. Their behaviour of late brings out in strong relief the general laziness and the lack of national consciousness among a certain type of Ceylonese.

A group of these colonists had even to be discontinued as they were found to be unfit for work. They, it appears, had been allotted by the authorities after careful experiment, a simple task of cutting fifteen holes 2 ft. by 2 ft. by 2 ft. per eight-hour day. But every possible excuse seems to have been framed by these colonists to show that it was a task beyond their capacity. All they could do (these men who were once hardy soldiers) is to cut six holes per eight-hour day! Needless to say an average person can cut 25 such holes in a land under normal conditions.

What some colonists seem to want (a few of them are actually "fighting" for it) is high wages and very little work.

Their conditions of living here are by any standard, better than those of farmers in any other part of the Island where the ordinary villager leads a hand-to-mouth existence. The latter lives in a small hut, which in this country more often than not in a malarial area. He supported, sometimes, a large family. He has no medical attention, no proper clothes to wear, and hardly any food except for the rice he obtains from his field which is rationed in these days of austerity.

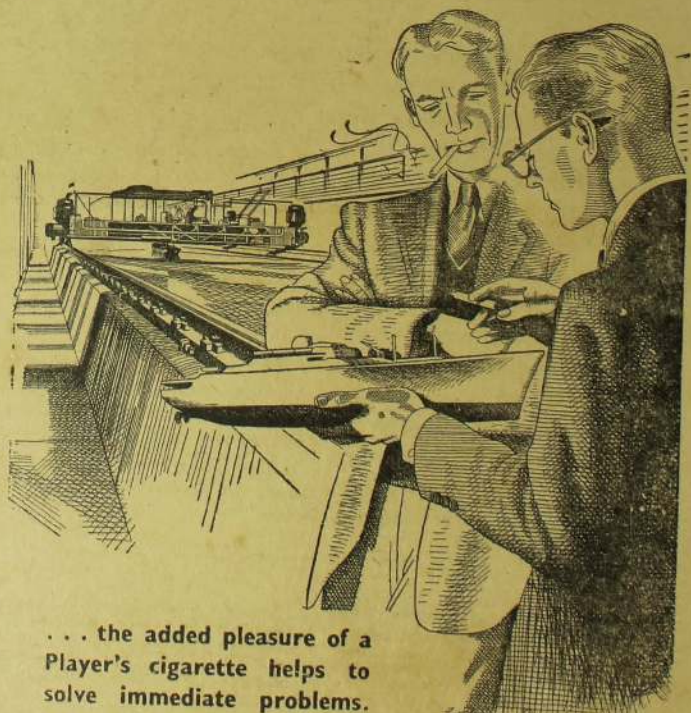
In marked contrast with this we find those lucky ex-Servicemen who went over to Polonnaruwa in cemented and well ventilated Nissen-huts, with canteens, proper medical attention and other amenities. And after two years of satisfactory service a colonist is eligible for two acres of cultivated land and a share equal to a profit of 15 acres of land in this Co-operative Farm. This is fair and reasonable.

The vast areas which have already been brought under cultivation bear every promise that the Polonnaruwa region will once again be turned into what was the granary of the Island in ancient times. It is therefore a pity that there should be mischief-makers who seem to be annoying the authorities merely for the sake of mischief.

A certain type of colonist seems to be taking a particular delight in unwarranted demonstrations outside the camp. They are for all purposes and intents out to wreck this great scheme which was working so smoothly until a few days ago.

These demonstrations are really the work of a few petty-minded men influenced by outside political pressure. A few Overseers seem to be working hard for recognition among their fellow-men and cheap popularity among the semi-educated men.

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PROBLEM OF THE BACK-BENCHER FRUSTRATION COMPLEX BREEDS REBELLION

"Vote and hold your tongues" policy does not make for "informed support"

THE following from the British journal, "New Statesman and Nation," deals with a problem very similar to that which confronts the Leader of the House in the Ceylon Parliament. It will be read with interest by all those who desire to study the problem from an objective viewpoint.—(Editor).

The end of the Recess is always welcome to a Government. Ministers can no longer concentrate on their Departments; and to the conflicts and anxieties of Whitehall and of the Cabinet are now added the uncertainties of Question Time and of Debate. Legislative speed depends very largely on the success of the Leader of the House in handling two potential storm centres, the Opposition and his own supporters.

In the present Parliament the Opposition has not proved a very formidable opponent. This is due less to its numerical weakness, than to the mastery which the Treasury bench has now achieved. The Opposition is not only outnumbered, but out-debated and out-maneuvred. Ministers have shown wisdom in conciliating the Opposition on occasions when they could have over-ridden it. Thereby they have saved parliamentary time by removing the chief cause of organised obstruction from the other side of the House. The Government has established firm but cordial relations through the usual channels; and in each Thursday's discussion of business—a symbolic trial of strength—Mr. Morrison has proved that a Cockney David's sling is a match for the Churchillian panoply. For this side of his work the Leader of the House deserves a good deal more praise than he sometimes gets from supporters who fail to realise how much goodwill would have been forfeited by an unfair exploitation of the Opposition's weakness.

GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF ITS SUPPORTERS

There is a surprising contrast, however, between the Government's handling of the Opposition and of its own supporters. Toward the former it has shown patience, tact and diplomacy; in dealing with the latter it has too often been inclined to take loyalty for granted so long as things go smoothly and to rely on the Whip when they go badly. A cynic recently observed that there would have been no rebellion on foreign policy had the rebels been handled with a fraction of the consideration devoted to the official Opposition. This, of course, is an exaggeration. Genuine and deeply felt differences divided the Government from the framers of the "Grand Remonstrance"; but it is possible that a public explosion might have been averted if the Prime Minister and Mr. Morrison had realised that confidence must be a two-way relationship.

Mr. Morrison will no doubt reply that he has been the prime mover in the relaxation of Standing Orders and in the formation of Party groups. He could retort that it is difficult for a Minister to talk frankly at a Party or group meeting in the morning when he knows that he will read a verbatim report of his speech in the "Evening Standard." He can indeed establish an excellent defence, but as an experienced parliamentarian he knows that this is not enough. It is his duty to remedy the defects in an organisation which was hurriedly established after an unexpected parliamentary victory and before the character of the new parliamentary party was known.

The Labour Party, inside and outside the House, has always been more sharply disciplined than the Conservatives. Trade Union experience has made it impatient of minorities, and its leaders—as the Annual Conference shows—are well versed in exploiting a written constitution in order to suppress incipient revolt. To the tradi-

tional demand for conformity is now added the parliamentary principle that a Cabinet is responsible not to its supporters, but to the whole House. In opposition, Socialist back benchers were at least able to elect their own Front Bench, to assist in the formulation of policy and to take extensive part in Debate. In the present Parliament they can claim no such rights. Their two duties are to vote and to hold their tongues.

PARTY RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

Under these conditions a sense of frustration is inevitable. Government supporters must watch in silence the active participation in debate of Tory members with only a fraction of their ability. Sometimes—but much more rarely than a year ago—they must listen in silence to an incompetent presentation of the Socialist case. Long hours of enforced attendance under these conditions very easily produce a mood in which revolt seems the only method of self-expression.

What could be done to ease this sense of frustration? No one suggests that the Parliamentary Party should be transformed into an Australian caucus. The recent incident at Canberra, where the Party ordered the Cabinet to reverse its decision on Bretton Woods, shows the consequence of giving it control of politics. The responsibility is removed from the House to the Committee room, and the Cabinet is placed at the mercy of the Party boss. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison have the full backing of their most critical supporters in firmly meeting any change in the relation between the Government and its supporters which would undermine the principle of Cabinet responsibility. The back benchers cannot hope—except by open revolt—to exercise power.

But do not the weekly Party meetings and the groups provide just those channels through which influence can best be exerted? Experience indicates that they do not. Despite a vast improvement in the conduct of business under the chairmanship of Maurice Webb, a meeting of several hundred members is too unwieldy for serious discussion—and too leaky as well. Moreover, once an important issue is formally raised in the Party Meeting, the Government is almost bound to make it a matter of confidence. The minority is faced with the dilemma of either challenging the Government on the floor of the House, or withdrawing ignominiously. Nor do the Party groups at present fulfil a very useful task. They are too large and too heterogeneous either to win the confidence of Ministers, or to discuss coherently. One or two groups have functioned effectively. The Finance Group, for instance, which is really composed of experts, works harmoniously with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Civil Aviation Group early came into conflict with Lord Winstone and Ivor Thomas organised opposition to them on the floor of the House, and had the satisfaction of seeing new Ministers take their place. But, broadly speaking, instead of reducing frustration, the groups have increased it.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR BACK-BENCHERS

The most obvious way to improve relations would be for Ministers to encourage well-informed participation in debate. The Opposition, like the Labour Opposition in past Parliaments, works without any rigid separation between the Front and the Back Benches. The Government relies exclusively on the Front Bench for the presentation of its case. Ministers might well regard their supporters as useful light artillery in big debates and supply some of them with ammunition. Consultation, for instance, between Mr. Barnes and those back-benchers interested in transport would have greatly improved the debate on the Transport Bill. Well-briefed Government supporters could put spirit

into the debate by immediately replying to Tory attacks. At present such briefing is unobtainable, and the task of answering the Opposition is left to the Front Bench.

In the second place, all Ministers have long ago recognised the need for intimate relations with journalists. They spend much time and sometimes take considerable risks in briefing correspondents "off the record" so as to ensure a fair statement of their case in the Press. But no corresponding service is provided for Labour M.P.s who are far less in the picture than the Press gallery. Wise Ministers are selective in their contacts with journalists, and say much more in private than in full conference. No doubt it can be argued that a journalist's livelihood depends on keeping confidence and that a Minister has no guarantee that frank talk with a Party group would be equally respected. But if these fears are justified—and at present they are—then the conclusion must surely be that the groups must be so reconstructed that all of them, instead of a very few, enjoy the full confidence of the Minister. A "good Party" is at least as important to the Government as a "good Press."

FRANK DISCUSSIONS WITH CRITICS NECESSARY

Consider one or two concrete examples. The Bill to nationalise iron and steel is not due till the next Session. Now, surely is the time for John Wilmot to gather round him a

small group of M.P.s—some of them perhaps with no previous knowledge—who are prepared to study the steel industry intensively and to begin preparing themselves for the debate on the Second Reading. The same principle applies to conscription. So far, the Government has not made a very strong case for this measure, which will anyway meet with strong opposition in the Labour movement. Mr. Alexander would surely be wise to consult with some of his critics, and by frank discussion to obtain some really well-informed support from the back benchers well before the debate. If he leaves this task until the Bill is tabled, he is asking for trouble.

The Leader of the House would be wise to give a good deal of his attention to this problem of the relations of the Government with its supporters. Formal machinery of consultation is not enough. What is needed is the acceptance by Ministers generally of three principles; first, that "off the record" discussions are as necessary with back benchers as with the Press; second, that such discussions should be regarded not merely as an arduous addition to Ministerial duties, but as a source of positive assistance; and third, that M.P.s, like journalists, are usually trustworthy, just to the degree to which they are trusted. No Government has ever had a keener or able Party behind it. It would be a pity if its keenness were blunted because its ability was not used.

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Friday, January 9, 1948

BACK BENCH FRUSTRATION

THE system of Parliamentary Government is new to this country and many people appear to find it difficult to accustom themselves to the new order. The procedure in the days of the State Council was for each member to be a law unto himself and the Ministers were at the mercy of back benchers because they had to canvass for support for their respective schemes. They in turn pacified back bench critics by the process of attending to the wants of various constituencies.

Under the new system of Party Government the back bench has been relegated to the position of being part of a voting machine. Having joined a Party or a group which has thrown in its lot with the Government Party the members on the Government side find themselves in the role of lookers on. This has created a sense of frustration and murmuring is going on every day against the system which gives the fullest possible freedom of expression only to those in the Opposition who are often very third rate exponents of stock theories. The back bench on the Government side is certainly in a difficult position. Many of them are young men who entered Parliament with high hopes of high endeavour. To find that they cannot hit the headlines without becoming rebellious in the process is certainly something they never expected. That this is not something peculiar to this country may be seen from the article published in this issue which deals with the difficulties of back benchers in the British House of Commons.

The first session of the Parliament has placed a heavy strain on Ministers and members alike. It has been an unusual session in many respects and there has not been the time in which to settle down to a policy of consultation with back bench opinion. It is possible that this lack of consultation has created a feeling of restlessness particularly among

the more progressive individuals in the Party.

An attempt or two, however, has been made to have Party Conferences and form study groups in order to keep back benchers adequately informed of changes in policy. This will have to be done on a wider scale if the Party is to be kept together throughout the four years of battle still left to fight. One important point emerges. It is easy enough in England where the Labour Party has set out with a clear cut plan of nationalising according to a full blooded programme which had been outlined for several years before Labour got its first real chance of implementing its avowed plans. The back bench in the Labour Government is likely to know what Government policy would be on particular issues. Even these factors have not completely kept down the rebellious spirit of younger members of the Parliament who have on more than one occasion expressed their views in strong terms. Again there have been a few occasions when groups of Labour M.P.s have voted against the Government or on the other hand have refused to vote either way. It must be remembered that a group or two of Labour M.P.s can afford to take an independent attitude sometimes because the Government Party

is numerically so superior to the meagre strength of the Opposition, that a certain degree of independence can be conceded to back bench opinion.

In our own Legislature there are two important difficulties. In the first place the Government Party does not count too great a majority over the Opposition Parties and cannot therefore afford a loss of face caused by its back benchers refusing to vote with it. Secondly the policy of Government we regret to admit is not as yet clearly defined. It is true that this admission may be used against us by those who have nothing to do but spend their time making traps for fools. We have not developed as a Party with the hoary traditions of Party Government behind us but under the adventitious aid of the Soulbury Constitution which made it imperative for a Cabinet system to be successfully worked in Ceylon. No sooner had we accepted the Constitution than we had to face a General Election. The interim period was insufficient in which to thrash out clear cut issues of policy. In general, however, the Party has decided on implementing a policy of Efficient Socialism and it will be the duty of Cabinet Ministers and the Party Whip to keep close contact with back bench opinion on the practical steps to be taken to implement this policy.

THE COMING CEYLON

CEYLON has emerged from a feudal system during recent times. Little traces of that system are still left to remind the present generation of the days gone by. Then agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. But it was done mainly to earn one's bread more than for any other purpose. Trade was almost unknown to the people of Ceylon then. This was the Ceylon of the past.

The present situation is an entirely different one. Politically Ceylon has advanced more than any other country. Having been a Crown Colony only one and a half centuries ago, Ceylon is now a Dominion. From the lowest rung of the British Imperial ladder, Ceylon has now reached the top-most rung. Thanks are due to our leaders like the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke for this achievement in so short a time which is undoubtedly a happy augury for the future greatness of Ceylon.

In the last century, the administration of Ceylon was placed in the hands of a foreigner who had no interest at all in Ceylon's welfare. The Governor was everything and it was left to him to decide on any matter concerning her future. That was the situation a few decades ago. But, now everything rests

upon the people of Ceylon themselves. Therefore it is for them to make or mar their future. At present all schemes for development are drawn up and put into operation by men whom the people have called upon to do so. They are true patriots and men with experience and ability. They will have the interests of the people at heart and carry out their duties accordingly.

The Industrial Revolution has begun to assert its influence over Ceylon only now. Machinery is being used in various agricultural and industrial activities. In the lands brought under the colonization scheme in the Dry Zone machinery is being used to a great extent. The factories opened by the Government now use different kinds of engines to carry on their work. All these point to the fact that Ceylon is safe in the hands of those who have been responsible for these accomplishments. These further bear evidence that the coming Ceylon will be brighter than the past or present Ceylon.

At the beginning of this century only about fifteen per cent. of the people were found to be literate. Now the rate of literacy has risen up. Although the methods of education did not give equal opportunities in the past, the future will see a much better educational system. Then there is no doubt that there will be 100 per cent. literacy

(Continued on page 5)

The Renaissance of the Malay Race

(By Z. D. Musafer)

THE Malaya Union had perished unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Desperate efforts were made to revive the body but there was no spark of life left. It was dead as mutton. Out of the depths of humiliation and suffering they underwent under the Japanese, the Malays emerged into the surface, with the grim determination that they would no longer be strangers in their own country. There were no foreign correspondents to splash flaming headlines in the world Press the story of the silent and almost bloodless revolution by which the Malays recovered their lost heritage and pride of race.

Heedless of the new spirit of Nationalism which had transformed the lives of the Malays, the British Government formulated a scheme of constitutional reforms for Malaya, which was known as the Malaya Union without consulting the Malays. The history of Malaya Union is interesting and instructive. It furnishes valuable lessons to Ceylon, particularly on the question of citizenship.

The Malayan Association in England, composed of British businessmen, in consultation with Chinese and Indian magnates, submitted the plan known as the Malaya Union to the Colonial Office. The National Government under the leadership of the Arch Imperialist Churchill accepted the scheme. It was based on the premise that Malaya did not belong to the Malays but to the mixed communities, e.g., British, Indian and Chinese. They were prepared to confer dual citizenship on the Chinese and Indians, since the Chinese and Indian Governments were not prepared to relinquish their rights over their nationals. The Chinese Government in particular had always maintained a strict control on her citizens, living in foreign countries.

She once refused the request of the Malayan Government to permit a Chinese lawyer to become a British subject in order to be made a judge of the Supreme Court.

With the grant of dual citizenship to the Chinese and Indians, they proposed the formation of a strong Central Government, into which the Straits Settlements, Federated and Unfederated Malay States were to be incorporated. In order to facilitate the entry of the Federated and Unfederated Malay States into the Union, the Sultans were to be stripped of all their powers and to be reduced to the role of spiritual leaders of the Malays. The treaties which the British had entered with the Sultans to protect them against external aggression and preserve their internal sovereignty were to be treated as mere scraps of paper.

The aim and object of making the Sultans veritable puppets was to exploit the rich natural resources of their States by an influx of cheap sweated labour from the famine-stricken districts of China and India. The Sultans had in the past resolutely refused to countenance any scheme of exploitation which would hold them in perpetual bondage to foreign capitalists. Plantations will spring into existence. Chinese and Indian coolies will troop in increasing numbers. The Malay peasants will be stripped off their holdings to make room for estates. The price the Sultans had to pay for their vigilance in protecting the welfare of their subjects was liquidation.

The principle feature of the Malayan Union was exploitation on a gigantic scale. Pre-occupied with planning revolutionary changes in the domestic sphere, the British Government without any appreciation of realities of the situation proceeded to implement this scheme. Since no Malayan civilian was prepared to proceed on the mission of coercing the Sultans to sign their death warrants by consenting to the Malaya Union, Sir Harold MacMichael, who had never seen service in Malaya was entrusted with the task. Armed with the authority of the Cabinet to depose any Sultan who refused to consent on the ground of collaboration with the Japanese, he came to Malaya when the drums of war had hardly ceased to beat. He succeeded in his policy of intimidation.

THE British Government were in a cleft stick. The treaties were still in force. Rumours had already reached England that the consent of the Sultans had been obtained under duress. British civilians, headed by the veteran Sir Frank Sweetenham had already taken cudgels on behalf of the Malays. The debate in Parliament had revealed that many members were shocked by the cavalier treatment meted out to the Sultans. The Government, however, ignored all the storm signals and proceeded to inaugurate the Malaya Union in the teeth of Malay opposition.

The Malay were not idle. They realised that their doom would be sealed if the Malaya Union came into existence. They sent the fiery-cross of revolt throughout Malaya. The rising temper of the Malays was evident in the frequent riots which took place between the Malays and Chinese. Under the inspiring leadership of Dato Om Bin Jaafar, the United Malay National Organization was formed. It was the sole representative body of the Malays. It was enthusiastically supported by the Malays, rulers and subjects alike. There was not a single dissident voice to challenge its supremacy.

On April 1st, 1946, a particularly appropriate day, the Malaya Union was inaugurated. Dato Jaafar flung a decree that no Malay should join any council set up by the Malayan Order-in-Council. The Sultans refused to attend the inaugural function, which turned out to be a fiasco in view of the absence of any Malay representative. To use a trite expression it was like staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Black flags were prominently displayed all over Malaya. These were many demonstrations by the Malays shouting the slogan, "Long live the Sultans."

★ * ★

ALARMED by the remarkable unanimity of the Malays in boycotting the Malaya Union, the Socialist Government at last paid heed to the voice of reason. The Malaya Union was strangled at its birth. They sought the co-operation of the Malay leaders to hammer out a constitution in which the rights of the Malays as members of the only indigenous community in Malaya, would be preserved. A Committee, consisting of the Sultans, British officials and Malay leaders, was formed. After prolonged consultations the Joint Committee submitted the constitutional proposals for a Federation of Malaya.

A careful analysis of the constitution will reveal that the Malays had scored a signal triumph. The sovereignty of the Sultans is unimpaired. They, however, will be constitutional rulers of their States. Provision is made for the establishment of an Executive Council and a Council of State with legislative power to assist the Sultan in each State. The official language will be Malaya in the States.

In view of the large floating population of Chinese and Indians, which had already converted the Malays into a minority, the problem of citizenship bristled with difficulties. The Joint Committee solved it by laying down certain conditions by which members of the non-indigenous population can acquire Malayan citizenship. They are more severe than those laid down by Mr. Senanayake in his discussions with the representatives of the Indian Government to give right of citizenship to Indians.

The members of the non-indigenous population can acquire right of citizenship if (a) they were born in Malaya and been resident in Malaya for not less than 10 out of 15 years preceding their applications, or (b) if they were resident in Malaya for not less than 15 out of 20 years immediately preceding their application. They must have an adequate knowledge of English or Malay. They must sign sworn declarations that they are true and faithful Malayan citizens.

★ * ★

THE Malays are prepared to welcome those who consider Malaya as their homeland. Vested

commercial interests are busy trying to jettison the Federation of Malaya on the ground that the prosperity of Malaya was due to the non-indigenous communities. The Interim Indian Government had already enunciated the principle that only Indians would be allowed to frame the Constitution of India, despite the protests of the British that they should be consulted in view of the fact that the prosperity of India was dependent on the capital, they have sunk in India. The Malay leaders are in full accordance with the principle enunciated by the Indian leaders. They are prepared to welcome as Malayan citizens the Chinese and Indians who look upon Malaya as their homeland.

Mr. Senanayake's blunt but statesmanlike utterance to the Ceylonese in Malaya that they should choose either Ceylon or Malaya as their homeland evoked deep admiration in Malay circles. Unlike Chinese and Indian politicians, who deny citizenship to foreigners in their own countries and demand it for their nationals in foreign lands, Mr. Senanayake has put into practice what he had advocated in Ceylon as far as Ceylonese in foreign countries are concerned. Today Ceylon is facing the same problem of dual citizenship. It is ironical to reflect that the Leftist parties of Ceylon are advocating the policy of dual citizenship,

which, if allowed, will seal the doom of Ceylon. Malaya, politically backward, and educationally already neglected, had clearly declared that she would not tolerate dual citizenship.

THE COMING CEYLON

(Continued from page 4)

among the people. Many new methods are being devised to fight against our chief enemies, malaria and the "Reds of Russia." Already there are many schemes in operation. Even other measures have been taken in the sphere of health work. There is a bright future for the youth of Ceylon in these fields. The Government will do its best to make the future citizens of Ceylon healthy-minded devoid of the "Red menace."

Due to the political advancement step by step, Ceylon was backward in other spheres. Now that our ambition has been realised we can rely on our leaders to improve the vital conditions necessary for the well-being of the people. No doubt they will champion the cause of the peasantry very bravely and achieve complete success. Already many schemes are afloat and the future Ceylon promises to be much brighter than it has been in the preceding years.

S. M. HANIFFA.

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Art & Letters

By Quintus Delilkhan

JOHN DONNE

THE study of the poetry of John Donne is carried on intensively in the higher forms of Ceylon schools and in the Ceylon University, and this writer is certainly most stimulating. Our modern prose is fundamentally different from the prose of the 17th century, and any one who dips into the prose writings of Donne is sure to find it most exhilarating. Modern prose, subtle as it sometimes is the hands of a great master, usually lacks an element of magnificence, and is meant to be more or less utilitarian. Our language has settled. It has become precise. It has been to some extent petrified by grammatical exactness. It does not flow according to some tremendous inner rhythm of the mind. It looks as if most writers, and some of them are major writers, are not deeply concerned with form but are merely content to make themselves understood. There is no fine exuberance. Donne can be as scientifically precise as any modern writer, but this function leaves room always for leisurely flights of the imagination which faculty unfortunately is cribbed, cabined and confined amongst contemporary writers. One catches the saviour of the old love of language in Santayana even in the most scholarly and acute of his philosophical writings. But writers like Sir James Jeans invariably keep their style within the smallest possible compass of words. One reason for this might possibly be that a writer is influenced by his readers. We have no time for leisureliness which the men of an earlier day seemed to possess in abundance. It must not also be forgotten that the

seventeenth century was a period of formation in which the English language was still in its early stages of fluidity and a great writer had more opportunity than there is at the present day, when the process of hardening has slowly taken place, to mould it according to his genius and his specific and individual demands for expression. Donne is one of those writers of an earlier age who will completely repay study. He has written abundantly, and the available works fills six volumes, the whole of which is a fairly formidable field to wander in, but dipping into which brings ample rewards. This is evident from the extracts which have been made in a really fascinating volume published by the Nonesuch Press which gives the best selections from his copious works.

★ ● ★

BUT Donne is one of those learned writers who is best studied through some guide. "A Study of the Prose Works of Donne" by Evelyn M. Simpson (COLOMBO BOOK CENTRE) provides a scholarly introduction to this writer. We discern in it the sources from which Donne derived his learning. He was a great reader of the ancient Fathers, and from them he learnt death and subtlety in the handling of the deepest problems affecting human life and the mysteries that surround man. He was a great Latinist but was not so very conversant with Greek, the great writers of which language he read mostly in Latin translations of their works. If there is any element of mystery in Donne, it must be traced to the fact of his transcendent genius which whilst it communicates much of himself yet retains

much in an impenetrable shadowland. Genius is always possessed of an indefinable element, and Donne possessed it in a pre-eminent degree. No biography or criticism can extract this ultimate content of a man's diverse mind. When allowances are made for his lack of artistry and other deficiencies, we have still the impression that all he has positively achieved entitles him to be considered one of the very greatest sources of power in 17th century literature, and that he must be accorded a place besides such mighty names as Ben Johnson and Francis Bacon. Donne's ancestors were people who took a hand in moulding the course of English history, and there were scholars of eminence amongst his forbears. It is not surprising, therefore, that from his very earliest years, Donne had that "sacred hunger for science" or "the hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning" which characterised him throughout his life. His learning had not that humanistic bent which solely occupied the minds of men like Thomas Moore, Colet or Ascham, but were mainly theological, metaphysical and legal. He was also very deeply versed in controversial literature which gave his mind a keen and cutting edge. Augustine and Aynias had great influence upon the development of his own mind. There is therefore in Donne's mind a tremendous intellectual background, and his prose in its allusiveness, richness and novelty of phrase and expression can be understood from the forces which combined to give it its special and fascinating character. In spite, however, of this specifically medieval equipment, Miss Simpson says that "he brought to these studies a mind which, though trained in medieval methods, was in some ways strikingly modern. He was by nature," she continues, summing up his main features as a writer and thinker, "bold, restless and rebellious, impatient of convention, and he had also that ardent love of truth which is the property of no particular age, but which always distinguishes its owner from the mass of writers who are content to repeat parrot-like the fashionable catchwords of the day. Originality and audacity are two of the marks of his poetry, and in a less degree they distinguish his prose, though here he founded no new school and exerted much less influence on the literary development of his successors. Alike in poetry and prose he took the medieval philosophy which was the groundwork of his thought and let the

searchlight of his genius play on it till it assumed new and fantastic forms." Obviously, a prose style so very curious and composed of such strange compounds and allied with a genius in many ways unique could not become very popular though it has the power of always rousing interest and sustaining it in any reader who appreciates the sound and sense of great, rhythmic prose. The founding of a school of imitative writers was apparently not for John Donne. Such a result was easier of achievement for Dryden.

★ ● ★

DONNE'S mind saw analogies everywhere. In this he had a tremendous fertility. Even his most fanciful illustrations if carefully looked into will be discovered to be most subtly appropriate to illustrate aptly the peculiar bias of his thought. In his world of comparison, there are no trivialities. Even the most slightly imagery can take on a tremendous meaning in the context which he has created for it. His range of choice in this matter appears to be wider than any of his contemporaries dreamed of, and they had the sense of novelty by his deliberate choice. Flowers, fruits and other aspects of nature he avoided as having been made commonplace by the usage of those who preceded him. In this prose, his comparisons are with circles, maps, engravings, elephants, whales, the discoveries of strange lands in his day, scholastic theories and other strange terms which he incorporated with the appropriateness of a master who knows the value of the new material and uses them with the very best results. We can always go back to Donne with delight, the delight that comes from the assurance of many and repeated surprises. It is great refreshment from the level tones of modern pros. One little extract might give a taste of his peculiar flavour. "Methusalem," Donne says, speaking of the endless day that follows the night of death, "with all his hundreds of years, was but a mushroom of a night's growth, to this day, and all the four monarchies, with all their thousands of years, and all the powerful kings and all the beautiful queens of the world, were but as a bed of flowers, some gathered at six, some at seven, some at eight, all in one morning in respect of this day." Surely here is ample stimulus for our minds, habituated to the spick and regular prose of the contemporary world.

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I HOPE the "Rising Lanka" crusade is not one of those products of temporary passion and enthusiasm which die off soon. It is an excellent idea anyhow to open a campaign to patronise local industries by wearing clothes made of locally produced textiles, consuming food preparations made in the island, and using locally manufactured articles in preference to imported ones.

The only snag in our locally manufactured articles is that they cannot maintain their standards. It is not the shortage of materials but the shortsightedness of the manufacturer, who thinks that once he has established his business he could palm off anything on the customers.

Some years ago locally made socks were durable and attractive.

But when everyone started buying locally made socks, the quality was reduced until the customers abandoned them in despair and swore never to buy such socks.

It was the same story with a local brand of matches.

Until the local manufacturers change their outlook local industries may not catch on as the organisers of "Rising Lanka" hope.

WHAT THEY SAID

MORE gems have fallen from the lips of our public men.

Here is a culling:—

"There will no more be an Indo-Ceylon problem. Each understands the other's position. When we understand each other it will not be difficult to put it all into legal form."—Premier Senanayake (in Madras).

"Some educationists in the Island maintain that education without religion is no education. Why cannot the same principle be applied to Buddhist schools? Why cannot Buddhism be taught in Christian schools?—Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara.

"Do not concentrate on a few cents that others get, or on a pair of boots, or on anything else as the case may be, because it might overshadow and dominate the main purpose of the service. Try to serve the public adequately and effectively."—Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (to Sanitary Inspectors).

"I feel very happy to see the unity between the two sister communities, the Sinhalese and the Moors, which I have been fostering since my entry into the political arena of this country."—Senator A. R. A. Razek.

TAIL-PIECE

OVERHEARD at a Colombo shop:

"Don't buy me anything big, darling, just something small and expensive."

SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

THE massacre of the innocents at Melbourne. That, I think, sums up the Third Test which ended early this week with two days to spare, in the rout of India. It is true that rain once again did take a hand in the game but, even if it did not do so, I doubt whether India would have made a match of it. Admittedly, the loss of the toss went against the tourists but this disadvantage was neutralised by the dismissal of the powerful Australian team for under 400. Mankad and Sarwate then raised hopes of a glorious Indian victory when they rattled up over 120 runs in as many minutes for the first wicket. But with Sarwate's dismissal there followed what must now be regarded as the usual Indian collapse and it was, left to Mankad, to whom fell the honour of being the first Indian to score a century in Test cricket in Australia, and Phadkar to help their side

to even the fairly respectable total of just under 300, which they eventually reached. Going out for a kill, Amarnath declared and then it was that Bradman showed his skill as a skipper. On a wicket full of terror after overnight rain, he decided to sacrifice his tail-enders till the liveliness had dried out of the pitch. Thus it was that India claimed 4 for 32, when Morris and Bradman came together in a fifth wicket stand which was destined to change the whole complexion of the game.

While Bradman raced into his second century for the match and thus scored, for the first time in his all-conquering career, a twin century in Test cricket, Morris gave a display of relentless concentration, which spelt disaster for the Indians. A lead of 358 runs was regarded by Bradman as being sufficient to declare his innings closed on the fourth day of the match and so it proved to be as the tourists cut no ice at all in the fourth innings and went down tamely to Bill Johnston and Ian Johnson for a paltry 125.

Australia now go to Sydney in the impregnable position of being 2 up with 2 to play and it is almost certain that, weather permitting, they will clean up India in the remaining two Tests as well. Taken by and large, I think that the showing of the Indians in Test cricket has confirmed my earlier statement (for which, incidentally, a fellow scribe took me to task) that the Indians, without Merchant, Modi and Mushtaq Ali, are such an emasculated side that it might have been better if the tour was called off. Mankad, Amarnath, Hazare and Phadkar have all done their bit but there are far too many passengers in the team to give it any chance at all in serious Test cricket. My only hope is that the Indians will have learnt some useful lessons from this tour which will stand them in good stead when they next enter the area of Test cricket, by which time national unity may have returned to India.

Singles final in the Galle Tournament and I must say that I was rather disappointed at the standard reached. Neither Ernest nor Abeyratne ever showed anything like championship class and I am afraid Ceylon's tennis future is rather bleak. Those in the top flight now are all in their thirties and no youngster has come to light with the remotest chance of making the grade. What is urgently needed is a fully qualified tennis coach and the establishment of some "nurseries" where the young idea could be trained on the proper lines.

From the tennis doldrums in Ceylon to the dizzy heights of professional tennis is a very far cry but the time factor brings them together. Jack Kramer, who is the latest recruit to the ranks of the professionals, has begun his series of matches with Bobby Riggs and, after losing the first two matches, has won the third. An American sports magazine which came into my hands the other day, contained an article on Kramer in which it was stated that Kramer had expressed confidence that his type of play, which is offensive rather than defensive, would always give him the whip-hand over Riggs. In an earlier issue of the same magazine Riggs had asserted that he had figured out Kramer's play and that he had no doubt of his ability to beat Kramer at any time.

Some of the leading amateurs in America were inclined to scoff at this statement by Riggs but the fact that Riggs has won two of the three matches played so far suggests that Riggs was not talking out of turn.

TENNIS also comes into this review in a fairly big way. The Indian Tennis Championships are now in progress in Madras, and Ceylon is very strongly represented by Koo de Saram and Sheila Roberts, who are the Singles champions of Ceylon. In addition to these two, there is F. C. de Saram and Doris Fonseka to bolster up Ceylon's challenge and it is quite on the cards that more than one title will cross the Palk Strait and be brought to Ceylon.

I watched a little of the tennis that went into the making of the Men's

AN ASTROLOGER LOOKS AT 1948

(By Prof. S. S. Laksadipathy)

THE bells of 1948 will certainly ring in a merrier tone than 1947, in spite of the evil aspects of planets and also notwithstanding the appearance of the comet of which we already commented in the public Press.

We are glad to mention in spite of these world clouds of adversity Ceylon will make great history and make appreciable headway and attract much attention and will fill a worthy place in the map of the world, under the able and practical leadership of the veteran statesman, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, and his powerful Government and his able Ministers.

There will be marked commercial prosperity in Ceylon in various and varied directions. Rubber and other liquid substances will have a slow but sure market.

Therefore, judging from mundane Astrology the citizens who are directly responsible in making Ceylon cut a niche in the "Temple of Fame" are undoubtedly Mr. G. C. S. Corea, the representative of Ceylon in London, who is certainly a born diplomat who, if not superior is indeed equal to any of the diplomats the West has produced within living memory.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake who is absolutely a practical man, the like of which Ceylon will not see for many generations to come. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Minister of Home Affairs, who has one of the best brains of the world's living personalities today, will not be easily eclipsed in an hour of difficulty, and the galaxy of Parliamentarians and Senators who are certainly men of outstanding ability. The Independent Members of Parliament are the vital pivot on which the greatness of this Island hangs today.

THE world will make vast progress in air transport and Ceylon will add its worthy quota to the same and much credit will be reflected on the galvanic Minister, Mr. J. L. Kotelawala.

The power of the Press the world over will come to the forefront in creating a healthy public opinion, and the Ceylon journals will wield much influence in this direction.

There will be a reconstruction of the British Government or an entire change thereof based on Fascist principles. New Zealand and the Eastern States of America will experience a violent storm causing much damage.

Jupiter's and Saturn's evil aspects will delay the reforms of the West Indies, while Saturn's evil influence indicates the passing away of a great world

leader. Hence we forewarn that Stalin should be careful and cautious of his health and life. The same could be said of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland.

The position of Saturn is inimical both for Brazil and Japan. The President of the former country will experience evil days, and the latter country will be rocked with a terrible earthquake with disastrous consequences. The world will also for the same reason witness the passing away of a great Labour leader.

THE evil aspects of malifics on the appearance of the Comet indicates riots, bloodshed or a small civil war in Eastern Bengal and in most parts of Pakistan on an unprecedented scale.

The development of the Atomic Bomb will make rapid and marvellous progress and great attempts will be made to control the same.

France will be confronted with great crises with General de Gaulle as the central figure.

The 1948 Derby winner at Epsom will be a woman owner. Women will play a prominent part in politics throughout, and hence they will come to the limelight of publicity.

The Postal Department will make great headway reflecting high credit on the Postmaster-General whose planetary positions are at its zenith.

Cinema, Drama and Dancing will make vast progress throughout the world, and Ceylon in particular, and proprietors of the above concerns will make vast profits.

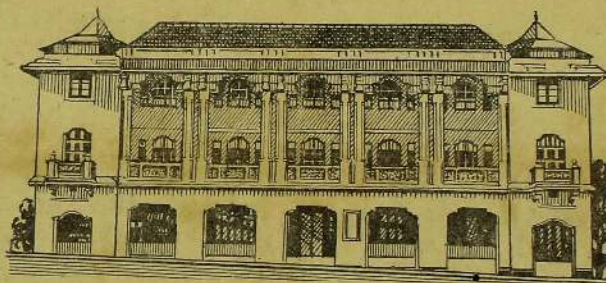
Belgium and Calcutta will be involved in a political crisis. The Anglo-American finance and trade relations will appreciably improve and both countries will score very much materially, particularly the latter country. Delhi will also be a scene of trouble and unrest.

Acute differences will arise between U.S.A. and Russia, and though the mighty nations will stare daggers at each other we definitely rule out the possibility of a world war.

We take this special opportunity to mention that His Excellency the Governor and Lady Moore will leave the shores of our Island home with laurels and distinctions thick on them.

We are conscious that the stars only indicate and never dictate, "impel, but not compel." We are also well aware that the stars rule the fools and wise men guide them. Therefore it is the duty of all mortals to be benefited by the occult sciences and become creators of circumstances and not creatures thereof.

There is every possibility of Mr. Truman being made President of the United States again.



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