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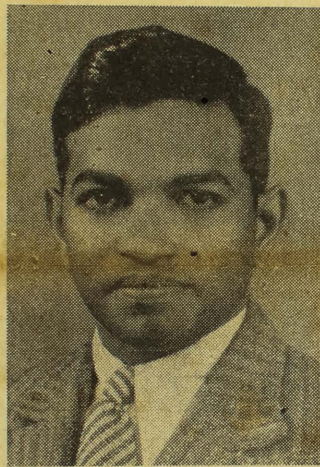
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GOVERNMENT WILL TACKLE PROBLEM OF JOBS

Why are there no Statistics? MINISTERS HANDICAPPED BY INEFFICIENT DEPARTMENTS

By A Special Correspondent

THE Minister for Labour, Mr. T. B. Jayah, has turned his attention to the top-priority problem of finding jobs for the unemployed. A top-level conference was held last week at the Prime Minister's Office to discuss the matter. It was found that the Labour Department had no authoritative statistics to offer. The "size" of the problem could not be gauged with any accuracy. The Prime Minister suggested the formation of an "action Committee" but this Committee cannot go ahead until there is a proper "survey" of the situation. Only now, I hear, is there to be a ward to ward check up in Colombo.



Mr. M. D. Banda

Why did the Department of Labour with a top-level Civil Servant as Permanent Secretary, wait all this time for Prime Ministerial direction? What was Mr. Lanktree doing? Is there no explanation due to the head of the public service from highly paid public servants as to why they have not done their job of work? Why should the Government take the blame that the public lays on it when the blame really belongs to these top men in the Civil Service? Why can't a few of them be sacked for their sins of omission?

These are questions the public can ask and do ask in trains, buses and in every market place. Each such question means a potential loss of a hundred votes at the next elections. The accumulation of thousands of such questions will mean the party's complete eclipse. Already one year has gone and the elections are not so far away.

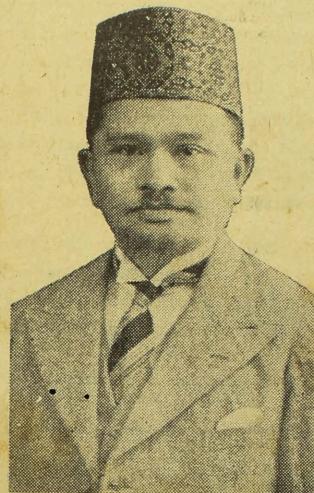
We know now that Ministers are severely handicapped by the inefficiency of many of the Departments. There is no initiative in most quarters. In fact there are some Civil Servants who honestly believe (and have said in

writing) that Ministry offices must not initiate anything but must only consider proposals put up by the Departments under them. A most comfortable arrangement I dare say. But let the Cabinet tell such comfort loving folk to get the hell out of Government. This country's revenue is in great measure spent on public service salaries and either full value must be obtained for that expenditure or that money should be kept for something more profitable.

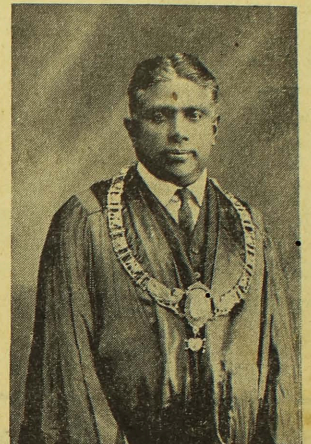
It is being strongly urged that the "action" Committee is not enough. What is required is a higher-level sub-Committee of the Cabinet with the Minister for Labour as Chairman.

Mr. M. D. Banda, the newly appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Labour, who was interviewed on this proposition agreed that the problem was big enough to warrant such a step.

Mr. A. E. Goonesinha, the former Parliamentary Secretary produced some action and work was found by the Minister for Transport, for nearly 2,000 people. After that the Department of Labour went to sleep until Mr. Jayah woke it up.



Mr. T. B. Jayah



Mr. A. E. Goonesinha

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BACKGROUND TO MALAYA

BRITAIN'S interest in Malaya goes back to 1786, when Penang was leased from Kedah to become, eventually, along with Malacca and Singapore, one of the three Straits Settlements. But it is only seventy-three years since the British, with extreme reluctance, entered the Malay States at the request of Chinese traders in those adjacent Settlements.

At that time, not only was there no co-operation between the nine States now federated, but anarchy and misrule were rampant. Slavery was an immemorial part of the established order. As in mediaeval Christendom, none but the followers of the State religion enjoyed civil rights. In most of the States, succession to the several thrones was invariably disputed, and such disputes led to civil war.

In Perak and Selangor, the Malay chiefs could not control the unruly Chinese mining factions. The population was sparse and revenue negligible; there were no roads, railways, schools, or preventive medicine. Under the

British, modern government quickly forged ahead. By 1896, the four Malay States then under British protection were federated.

But no more Malay territory came under Great Britain until 1909, when Siam transferred to us control over four of the five States now, for the first time, added to the original Federation. And in 1914 rubber had made the administration of the other one, Johore, so complex that the Sultan asked for British advice and British officials.

A Malaya, hardly bigger than England, without Wales, was before the World War, cut up into seven separate units; the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements, the old Federation of four States, and five separate unfederated States. This constitutional framework was clumsy, though roads and railways, postal and other services that ignored States boundaries, bore witness to its practicability. And figures talked.

In 1900, the revenue of the Colony and of the Federated Malay States were each under £1,000,000. In 1937, the revenue of the Colony was £4,000,000,

that of the old Federation £3,750,000, and that of the Unfederated States just over £5,000,000. By 1926, Malaya's trade soared to £264,000,000, or more than that of all the other British Colonies together. In 1938, a more normal year, Malaya's trade, of more than £121,000,000 amounted to more than the trade of New Zealand, more than that of the seventeen British Colonies in Africa, and more than half the trade of the Indian Empire.

THEN came the Japanese invasion. Whitehall was quick to realise that economy of administration should follow the extravagance of war, and, above all, that some form of unity for Malaya and its many races was imperative, if the country was ever to be able to enjoy self-government.

Unfortunately, action was precipitate, and at once led to a storm of protest, for before they could recover from the shock of Japanese invasion, the Sultans had a treaty of union thrust upon them, under which the Malaya of the immediate future would have been practically reduced to the status of a Colony. For the Malays, this error in diplomacy was a blessing in disguise, awakening in them an ardent political sense.

The Sultans and their Malay subjects refused to sit on councils and boards. But, still to the credit of several generations of British officials, the Malays even at this juncture hardly suspected any sinister intention, and recognised that someone had blundered. And to the eternal credit of His Majesty's Government, when it saw there had been a blunder, it took immediate steps to mend it. The abrogation of the detested union is evidence of its honesty and its moral courage.

NOW that the new Federation exists, the Malay States will not have a Governor acting under the King's jurisdiction but, as before the war, a High Commissioner who, as well as representing His Majesty, will act on the authority of the Rulers in Council, a change momentous in principle. Once more Malay Rulers will exercise their prerogative of mercy, and regain their right of ratifying laws. Every State will now have a Malay President for its State Council, and an Executive Council, composed of members of the leading nationalities.

The central governments of the new Federation is to be strong. The most important legislative body will be a Federal Legislative Council to pass laws common to all the States, and to preserve the uniformity that is essential to the convenience of the public and the smooth process of government.

The President of this Federal Council will be the British High Commis-

sioner. But there will be an unofficial majority—and Malay "unofficials" will have a bare majority over the total unofficial representatives of other races. This will be of incalculable importance to the Malays in any matter like alien immigration, if determination of policy is left to the vote of the unofficials.

A striking innovation is the creation of a type of citizenship hitherto unknown to jurisprudence. Briefly, there is to be Malayan citizenship without loss of nationality. A Chinese or Indian or Russian national, if he has lived in Malaya for a term of years and made it his home, can become a citizen, acquire electoral rights and sit on Malaya's Councils.

THIS is one of the several innovations that have excited and will continue to excite criticism. When Whitehall repented of the union, its fair-minded attempt to collect from inevitably led to inter-racial antagonisms unknown before the war.

There is strong feeling among locally-born Chinese that Singapore should not remain a colony separate from the Federation. For sentimental or economic reasons, some Malays also would favour its inclusion, but the majority fear the addition of a million Chinese inhabitants to the future electorate of the Malay States.

Now the figures of the recent census are available, it is found that the Malays are just under 44 per cent. of the total population and the Chinese just over 38 per cent. On account of their large numbers, the Chinese especially criticise the recognition by the British Government that Malays "certainly form an absolute majority among those in the country who regard Malaya as their permanent home and the object of their loyalty."

ACTUALLY, it is only at the eleventh hour the British have realised that to force immigrants on the Malays until foreigners become a majority is, as Lord Swinton said recently of Palestine, against all the laws of international morality, the test being whether we should like it to happen to ourselves. Whatever the future brings, the Chinese of Malaya have the abundant consolation that its commerce is pre-eminently theirs, without let or hindrance.

Anyhow, the new Federation is not unalterable. Time and experience are bound to lead to adjustments. Meanwhile, by the unprejudiced, it will be hailed as a genuine attempt to meet difficulties unavoidable in a community of mixed races and irreconcilable religions and ideals.

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RETURN TO REASON

Local Bodies and L. G. S. C.

By Nandalal

THERE are comforting signs that the dispute between the Municipal Councils, chiefly, and the Minister for Health and Local Administration on the constitution and composition of Local Government Services' Commission will not degenerate into a desperate deadlock. Second thoughts, generally considered to be superior to their impulsively procreated predecessors, seem to be prevailing over the modifications Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has offered the Action Committee. Some Councillors fear they are being stamped into action. Several have submitted motions which advocate a position less extreme than the total abolition of the L.G.S.C.

The controversy, once the dust of passion has subsided, should lead to reforms in the structure of our local government, especially because this conflict has drawn attention to grievous defects in the nature of local affairs.

The controversy, it should be noted, is chiefly concerned with the question of appointments to local bodies. When Mr. Bandaranaike as Minister for Local Administration moved, in the last State Council the Bill for establishing a Local Government Services Commission, he declared that he did so precisely because appointments in the hands of local bodies had led to much corruption and jobbery. These had also led to insecurity of tenure for the employees, promotion and increments depended on the caprice of Chairmen and members.

On this point Mr. Bandaranaike had the support of even Mr. W. Dahanayake.

It is an unfortunate feature of our local politics that most members are chiefly concerned over the question of appointments. It reflects the lack of policies and principles in local government politicians.



THE reason most members seek election is for the prestige attached to the status of say M.M.C. or member of an Urban Council. Possibly, this is a hangover from earlier ages when the elders, or the leading members of the village, were chosen to the Gansabhawa. There is perhaps the psychological satisfaction of feeling that one is a leader of one's community which drives men to contest seats.

The political manifestos candidates issue also indicate that personality rather than principle is the dominant factor in local affairs. There is no outline of their views on the problems that concern a local body.

On this immature level, in the absence of anything resembling Party politics in local affairs, most individual members have their eyes on the patronage their position affords them. A seat on the Markets and Sanitation Committee of Municipal Councils, on Committees which tackle tenders and assigns contracts is one heavily sought after. Such an unedifying spectacle as a member of a Municipal Council shedding tears because a particular applicant for a stall had not been successful is a condition peculiar to a country where politics and patronage are taken as interchangeable terms.

When the Local Government Services Commission was established and most appointments were taken out of the hands of local bodies many members regretted that a medium of consolidating their positions in their wards, of enlisting support at future contests had been deprived them. This is one

of the compelling motives behind the agitation for the abolition of the L.G.S.C. made by independent Councillors.

I have used the term independent because there is yet another party to this agitation, operating for reasons other than the sordid desire of distributing largesse from the local bodies' ack-pot, either in the form of posts or profitable stalls and concessions.



THIS other party is the Leftist group, especially powerful in the Colombo Municipal Council. Their opposition proceeds from the desire to limit the authority of the Central Government. Their objection largely is to the bureaucratic control of the Local Government Services by nominees of the Minister.

In this dispute the trade unions of Municipal employees have behaved somewhat contrarily, reflecting in turn the weakness of our trade union structure. It would have been noticed that the various Municipal Employees Unions took an attitude similar to that taken by the Councils. Especially was this so in Colombo when the Unions are dominated by the Leftist members. This indicates the tendency of submission to middle class leadership in our unions in political problems. It is almost a manifestation of "boss unionism"—a few leaders determining the views of the mass of members.

Where the unions were remote from Colombo and the direct leadership of the Leftists it would have been seen that they favoured the retention of the L.G.S.C. as guaranteeing them security of tenure, and better conditions of service. Indeed, a few weeks before the Action Committee had contacted the Minister certain employees of the Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia Urban Council who had been left out of the L.G.S.C. were agitating for inclusion in that service.

It is obvious that the conflict should not be for an abolition of the L.G.S.C. but rather for a reform of its composition. Certainly there is a markedly bureaucratic flavour in its structure today. What should be effected is a settlement more or less on the lines suggested by Mr. Bandaranaike. Nominees of the Municipal and Urban Councils and of Village Committees should also be appointed to the L.G.S.C. Democratic control should be extended to that body too. If such a reform is effected agitation to abolish the L.G.S.C. would subside.



THERE is another issue equally vital which demand attention. And that is a reform of the system of local government in Ceylon. The institutions which function at present arose in response to certain historical circumstances. These circumstances have yielded to new developments and conditions and institutions which were adequate for the needs of other times are now no longer sufficient for the problems of the present.

Urban Councils and Municipal Councils are transplantations of English institutions to Ceylon soil. Village Committees, as we know them today, are the revived development of institutions of ancient Ceylon. Both the foreign body and the native growth have this in common—they arose in times when communications were bad, when the central authority could not conveniently exercise its power. In such circumstances many of the functions of the central authority devolved on local agents—which in time evolved into Municipalities, Urban Councils and Village Committees. In the period of more or less self-contained communities such institutions and organisations had a very valuable part to play, parochial though it was, in the national life.

(Continued on page 6)

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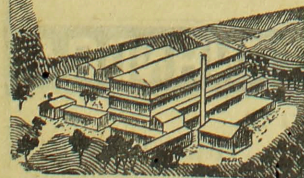
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UNEMPLOYMENT

THE most pressing and urgent problem of the day is that of the nearly fifty thousand able bodied men who are registered in the Unemployment Exchanges of the Island. It is heartening to observe that a top level meeting of Ministers and officials of the Government was held in the Prime Minister's Office last week to discuss this problem. A Committee consisting of a few Permanent Secretaries and other Civil Servants was formed to take action. We would observe, however, that this is the wrong way to handle the situation. It is the duty of all Permanent Secretaries to get on with a job of work given to each of them and it is regrettable that they had to be summoned and given special instruction to get a move on. At the same time it is difficult for a few selected Permanent Secretaries accused as they are to the old method of laissez-faire to work miracles merely because they find themselves as members of a Committee on Unemployment.

It is necessary to have greater driving power and we, therefore, urge that a sub-Committee of the Cabinet with a full-time Secretary should be appointed to take the entire problem of the unemployment survey and interim job finding within its purview. We are reminded of the sub-Committee of the Board of Ministers on Post-war Problems that functioned for one and a half years after the end of the war, with Mr. G. C. S. Corea as its first Chairman, succeeded by Mr. J. L. Kotelawala. The work of this Committee may have been forgotten by those who gathered to discuss the problem in the Cabinet office. That Committee, particularly under the driving power of Col. Kotelawala, achieved in one year what it would take a normal Committee to achieve in ten. It had two full-time Secretaries and a Propaganda Officer. It had Liaison Officers whose full-time job it was to contact various departments at all levels and to urge the commencement of employment finding schemes which had been laid up during the war years.

It is only such a Committee that can get things done. It is ironical that a Committee should have been appointed to "survey" the unemployment position. This is a dearly beloved dodge of official minds. Whenever they have to face a problem they take time to "survey," it and the surveying goes on until the problem assumes gigantic proportions or has ceased to exist.

"Surveys" are an invention of the old colonial Civil Service. They surveyed the possibilities of Hydro-Electricity, of industrialisation, of agricultural development, of full education, but no action was taken until the elected representatives of the country took matters into their hands in 1931.

It does not take intelligence at a Permanent Secretary's level to realise that there is unemployment in this country. Any secondary schoolboy will tell us that. What is necessary is to begin development schemes which will absorb unemployment, and for that our officials must give up their two-hour lunch intervals, they must give up the habit of walking out of their rooms at 4.15 p.m. and walking in next morning at 10 a.m. If they cannot, they must get out. The Party which has been entrusted with the responsibility of governing this country will do well to appreciate the fact, as it has been pointed out by us many times, that it has not been elected by the high officials of this country, but by the common people. Every officer we defend will lose us ten thousand votes. These officials must get on with the job or get sacked.

FREE EDUCATION

FEW decisions will make a greater demand for dispassionate discussion than that on Free Education. Mr. E. A. Nugawela, the Minister for Education, has announced that he will extend by two more years the time given to schools to make up their mind whether they will enter the free scheme or not. The Minister is anxious that if education is free it should not be shoddy. The grievance of the bigger schools has been that the equipment grant offered under free education is entirely inadequate to satisfy their needs. The experience of schools which have already entered the free scheme indicate how much they will have to depend on the generosity of private benefactors to provide a satisfactory standard of instruction. For example, the Report of the Administration of the Jaffna Hindu College and affiliated schools, which have accepted the "pearl of great price" shows that the Government grant last year came to only Rs. 6,000. On the other hand the science equipment for Jaffna Hindu College alone came to Rs. 12,000 and in emoluments to clerks, peons and other employees the school paid out Rs. 8,000. These figures show how much first-class schools will be obliged to impart that "carnival education" which Mr. Nugawela's predecessor in office so often deplored. Carnivals and fancy fairs will be needed to supplement a meagre equipment grant.

Sensible educationalists appreciate the wisdom of giving grant-in-aid schools more time for deciding about free education. This will be so especially because the Minister intends to

use the period in devising how he may increase the grant to schools. There is a certain amount of dissatisfaction in the minds of principals whose schools have already joined the scheme. These feel that the reprieve granted to those schools which have not yet decided to give free instruction has its aspect of injustice. Those who loyally co-operated with the Government, have now to carry on with an insufficient allowance, imparting 'shoddy education' while those

(Continued on page 6)

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By Quintus Deljil Khan

WHEN LENIN ABANDONED MARX

ONE can imagine the thrill which overwhelmed Lenin when he found it possible to bring about the first proletarian revolution in the history of the world. It became possible only owing to the weakening of authority through the collapse of the Russian military machine. It was a time of tragic intensity for the Russians when they found that they were expected to fight a strong enemy with their own ill-equipped and loosely-knit armies. The revolutionaries were working everywhere among the Russian troops and bringing before them their own forlorn condition, the indifference of the Government to their fate, the weakness and utility of the Tsarist regime, and the glorious opportunity of coming into power themselves by supporting the formation of a government which would place them in a position to determine their own future. It was a terrible time for the Russian Army. It was contemporaneously reported that sometimes two soldiers had one musket between them. The situation was approaching chaos. It is not difficult in the circumstances for men in this desperate position to turn their minds away from the disastrous present to some great future in which they would live under conditions which would be not only more tolerable but in which the power to create an economic earthly paradise entirely of their own devising. People would no longer be subjected to a cold and distant authority. The lands of the rich would be divided amongst themselves. There would be peace and plenty and the happy ordering of all things to minister to the happiness of the masses. It is not surprising that men who felt themselves terribly dissatisfied with the present should be willing to take some risks for a future which was painted to them in such desirable colours. I remember a story narrated in the "Contemporary Review" during the early period of the Russian Revolution showing the mind of a Russian soldier who was being drawn to the revolution by one of its agents and propagandists. He was told that land would be apportioned amongst all the soldiers but his mind must have been on the immediate present. "Of what use is the land to us," he said, "when we are dead." It was not difficult to revive hope by any kind of promise in men who had despair for their daily lot. Lenin realised that once the army was substantially won over he had nothing to fear from mere political groups. In this he was entirely right. It was the old bid for power the usefulness and indispensability of which history is so full. Lenin would have been a man of straw without the army. With the army, aiding not necessarily by interference, but even by refraining from interference, he was secure in the expectation of becoming a successful revolutionist. The stage was set for action, though this action was not to be immediate.

ONCE he had decided on an agrarian revolution, the older forms of mild socialism were rudely brushed aside. Lenin felt he could do more and do better without the support of these timid doctrinaires. In his "Revolution and the State," Lenin had indicated the process by which he would change the state from a capitalist to a purely communist order. Such a process was not present to the mind of Marx who did not trouble with practical processes but only with the creation of combative theories which were to be reduced to practice by others who would wield the necessary power and would be men of quick decision and prompt action. Lenin saw the anarchic tendency of the Marxian doctrine of hostility to the State and that without the State the dictatorship of the proletariat would represent only a fumbling and dispersed power. In this matter Lenin abandoned Marx and was willing to be guided by Engels who thought that the State was necessary until it was possible to realise the classless society which would bring about its automatic disappearance. The belief of Engels in this connection is itself interesting. "While the proletariat still needs the

State," wrote Engels to Bebel in 1875, "it needs it not in the interests of freedom, but in order to crush its opponents." Violence was always to be the road to power. The history of a movement demonstrates its own true character. The sentiments of its originators and inspirers is an index of its motives and methods. Everything which democracy stands for is openly flouted and indifferently ignored by the exponents of revolution. Lenin had made himself equally clear, and Engels found in him the man of action who was in many matters his disciple. "A bourgeois democratic government," says Berdyaev, in describing this aspect of Leninism, "must be destroyed for communism to be realized, and democracy is unnecessary and harmful after the triumph of the proletarian revolution because it is opposed to dictatorship. Democratic liberties only hinder the realization of communism, and indeed Lenin did not believe in the real existence of democratic liberties. They only mask the interests of the bourgeoisie and its dominance. In bourgeois democracies also dictatorships exist, dictatorship of capital, of money. In all this there is incontestably some truth. With socialism all democracy will die out. The preliminary phases of communism cannot give freedom and equality. Lenin says this frankly. The dictatorship of the proletariat will mean cruel violence and inequality." Nor did Lenin believe in the necessary primacy of economics over politics in accordance with the usual Marxian formula. He says that politics must claim precedence over every other consideration if Russia was to be won for communism. He perfected his own technique in strict accordance with Russian needs. The backwardness of Russia as an industrial country, the very helplessness of the masses and their inability to understand or resist what was to happen to them, was exploited by Lenin with cool and unflinching calculation to inaugurate communism. Lenin despised the masses. He used them as a means to an end. The end is power, as embodied in the State. Russia is as far away as possible from the emergence of a classless society. It is certain that the State will always remain. It will always want more power to ensure its existence. The classless society in which alone the State will be abolished is a figment of the communist imagination. It is a cruel mockery of the helplessness and State-assured servitude of the Russian masses, to whom the State will always be a dominant and unrelenting master.

BOOKS of literary criticism are the order of the day, and the critical appraisal of literature has become a considerable art. There are critics who act on theories which are labelled modern, and which aim at an analysis of the works of outstanding writers by an inflexible personal code which is not acknowledged as valid by other critics of different schools but of equal standing. Authors are bound to suffer under these differing estimates, the general reader is puzzled and distracted and is thrown back generally on his own judgment. But there are critics whose function is praise and appreciation rather than dissection which misses the heart-beat of literary work because it does not treat a book except as inert and dead material, for the critical scalpel to do its work upon. It is refreshing to come upon such a volume as "POETS AND PUNDITS" by Hugh L'anson Fausset (COLOMBO BOOK CENTRE), a Jonathan Cape publication which shows rich and varied scholarship, a desire of appreciating what is genuinely good, and an instinct for the right judgment on a basis of almost universally accepted values. The articles are culled from magazines and periodicals and represents genuine critical work done over a period of ten years. The original essays have been revised and enlarged in the light of the growing experience of the writer, and we have therefore his ripe judgment on Tolstoy, Hopkins, Donne, Rilke, Tagore and a handful of others who really count in the literature of modern times. "Reviewing is notoriously a thankless task," the author says in his preface, "and doubtless often deserves the opprobrium heaped on it by touchy authors. But it can be a spiritual ad-

venture, and one who began to review books while he was still at the university and has continued doing so week by week for twenty-seven years has perhaps earned the right to retrieve a little of his work from the waste of journalistic oblivion." He conceives it to be his duty to act as a mediator between the author and the public, and to do this work with delicacy. Mr. Fausset has set himself very conscientious standards by which to guide his course amidst the masterpieces of today, and he can be relied on to do his work with sympathy and insight and with a sureness of touch which can come only from long familiarity with the diversities of modern literature. To take an example of his treatment of an author with whose work most of us are familiar, he thinks that Rabindranath Tagore possessed a fluency which tended to become a prolonged sweetness and so had a cloying effect. He had grace but he lacked a certain depth because he does not reflect any deep inner conflict enable him to come to grips with reality in a high sense. We are in the same position as the English reader as the poems being written in Bengali and

being most paraphrased translations, we must alike necessarily miss peculiar flavour of the original, with their passionate freshness in the early phase of his creative art. "But if," Mr. Fausset says, "as his verse became more reflective, it lost some of its radiant clarity, its lyric pulse was never deadened by abstract philosophy. There is, significantly, little development in intensity throughout the fifteen hundred and more songs that he wrote, and there is much repetition of characteristic moods and themes. But in all the best of them, even when the theme is nostalgic or the sentiment most flowery, there is a certain spiritual ecstasy, a true divination of the beauty that is changeless within all change." It is undeniable that this is a fair, sympathetic and understanding estimate of the work of Tagore. It is a pleasure to read his other appraisals of the work of men of the most diverse talent, as he has been at pains to understand what they intended to convey in their writings. This is a volume of diverse delights. Mr. Fausset's knowledge of the modern literature of many countries seems copious and inexhaustible.

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

THERE has been an interval of two weeks between the end of the C.T.C. June Meet and the beginning, tomorrow, of the July Meet, which acts as a curtain-raiser for August Week. Judging from the entries for the July Meet, it is safe to predict that the forthcoming August Meet will set up new all-time records.

Taken by and large, the features of the July entries are the re-appearance of last year's thoroughbred and Arab champions, Kunj Lata and Scarlet, and the debut of the well-bred Contradiction in the Black Buck Stakes.

I understand that Kunj Lata is now fully recovered from the slight soreness in his hoof, which made him a bit off colour in Bombay, and that he will be given two races next month. He is due to run in the Mordennis Stakes over 5 furlongs tomorrow and in the Black Buck Stakes over 9 furlongs on the last day of the Meet. After his long rest it is considered inadvisable to put him over a distance of ground for a start and that is the reason why he will be seen out in a sprint next week. From all accounts I have had from scouts in Nuwara Eliya, Kunj Lata is going like a steam engine on the track and it will take a really good one to lower his colours in the August classic.

As for Scarlet, who won the Robert's Cup, dead-heated for first place in the Madras Cup and won the De Soysa Cup at Galle, she is, I hear, coming to hand very steadily and should make a strong bid for a repeat.

The debutant, Contradiction, can, on breeding, stay for ever. His sire is Epigram, who won the Goodwood Cup, the Doncaster Cup and the Queen Alexandra Stakes about 10 or 12 years ago, while his dam, Discord, is by the Derby and St. Leger winner, Trigo. I can still picture the Epsom scene of 1930 when Trigo brought off a big coup for Ireland when he won the Derby at 33 to 1 and later that year I saw him confirm the Epsom verdict by winning the St. Leger just as comfortably. If Contradiction has inherited the gameness of his sire, he should be a lively cup candidate. He is incidentally a 5-year old, whose form last year shows that he is quite a useful handicapper. In sixteen outings last season he won two races, one at Thirsk over 1½ miles, after which he was bought in for 500 guineas, and the other at Pontefract over 1¼ miles. He also ran second twice and third twice. He did not beat anything of note in his races, in which the timings were also rather poor. Still, his stamina is a proved factor and, if he can be got into racing trim by August, he will be thereabouts at the finish of the Governor's Cup.

I understand that a few of the bigger Indian owners like the Rajah of Ramnad and Mrs. Justice may send some of their horses over to Ceylon. Their challenge should help to improve the standard of racing here, particularly as most of their horses are of really good class. The Rajah of Ramnad has already got out from Australia a very promising youngster in New India while Mrs. Justice is sending out Haut Ton, who, I believe, won the Eclipse Stakes in Bombay some years ago, and Apsapi who also picked up some good races in

Bombay and Calcutta. Of course, neither of them are as young as they were when they hit the headlines in India but even in their old age they have enough class on their side to be a danger to the best in Ceylon. Five other wagers have arrived from Australia, one of them, Western Monarch, who has won two races of 6 furlongs, being placed in the top-class here.

Egypt before our title meet started. Bergelin's principal asset is amazing ball control, which he modestly attributes to the fact that he graduated from the "en tout cas" courts on the continent where it is not speed and pace that count but sheer ball control. Bergelin never gets flurried and seems possessed of infinite patience. He bides his time and lets the other fellow make the mistake.

AS I shall not have another opportunity of discussing the programme arranged for tomorrow I propose making some comments on the races based on the entries.

The feature of the day is the Mordennis Stakes over 5 furlongs—a misnomer, if there was one, considering that the immortal Mordennis was a stayer, and not a sprinter. If as is likely, Manchu gives this race a miss and is reserved for August, the issue lies between Jai Lanka and St. Just. Of the two, the former, who is as game as you make them appeals to me more than the waler.

The way in which Ingomar showed the way for three-parts of the mile race on the last day of the June Meet suggested that the Chatham mare will be the most difficult to down in the Hexham Plate over 6 furlongs. Like Ingomar, Profile, too, ran out of her distance last Saturday and should be seen to better advantage next week. She is in the pink of condition and, if ridden in check early, may even beat Ingomar. Both Erahj and Sir Cuckoo are unreliable at the gate but if they get off level are quite capable of upsetting the plans of those who follow the money.

The Orsova Plate has attracted no fewer than 45 entries and will probably be run in three divisions. The draw will no doubt play a big part in this race but on current form, I think the best half dozen in the race are Shahmon, Lady Gaby, Suemick, Young India, Colorette and No No. A youngster who will benefit a good deal from this race is Ashcroft, who is definitely on the up-grade.

In the Batticaloa Plate for Class IV horses Breeze and Prince Rufus should have the race to themselves with Shahzadi and Silver Valley as the dangers. The Bushire Plate has been very poorly supported and of the five entries Jutland seems to have a very good chance of completing his hat-trick at the expense of the consistent Jayawewa.

The Perim Stakes will see Itimad Jubayir making his debut in the intermediate class. Although he will appreciate his feather-weight, he will probably find it difficult to beat Kiwi, Sahara and Aban who, in the absence of Ranjit, are possibly, the best ponies in this lot.

The Dedigama Plate looks like a gift for Sukab, who should win her third race and make her way up to the next class. Hadir Ra'ad, Walid Hayil and Kabsun Baghdad may follow her home.

These comments are, of course, based only on the entries as the handicaps have not yet been published.

WIMBLEDON is the Mecca of Tennis and every year the best amateurs in the world make their pilgrimage in quest of the honour which a Wimbledon victory alone confers. Unfortunately, in recent years a Wimbledon success has invariably meant a further thinning of the ranks of amateurs as the lure of professional tennis has proved irresistible to the champion. Kramer, Budge, Riggs and Vines—they all made the Wimbledon headlines only to desert the ranks of amateurs.

The Wimbledon Championship this year is moving on its usually well ordered lines to its grand finale today and tomorrow. An odds-on favourite for the title was Frankie Parker, last year's semi-finalist, but yesterday he came up against Lennart Bergelin, who recently toured India, and found the Swede just a shade too good for him. It will be recalled that Bergelin beat Koo de Saram in the South India championships early this year and he might have played in our Nuwara Eliya championship, too, had not a prior engagement compelled him and his fellow-Swede, Johansson, to leave India, for

LIKE Gene Tunney, Joe Louis quits the ring an unbeaten champion with 26 victories to his credit from the time he first wrested the title from Jim Braddock way back in 1937.

In his fight last week against Joe Walcott, I felt that he had the measure of the challenger from the sixth round onwards.

With the retirement of the Brown Bomber the world title became vacant and Walcott will probably be called on to take on a challenger before he can lay claim to the crown. That challenger may be Gus Lesnevitch.

NOT even rain came to England's rescue in the second test which ended on Tuesday in a sweeping victory for Australia. Out-played in all departments of the game, the England team needs a drastic re-shuffle. The veterans of pre-war vintage must make room for younger men. Even Edrich and Hutton will have to show marked improvement by next Thursday if they are to be given another chance. Personally, I would like to see Jones of Glamorgan, Robertson of Middlesex, Pope of Derbyshire and Hilton of Lancashire taking the place of Edrich, Hutton, Coxon and Dollery.

FREE EDUCATION

(Continued from page 4)

who were recalcitrant are now at an advantage in that they can supplement the Government grant with the fees they levy and so provide a superior educational service. If Mr. Nugawela can devise a way of ending this discontent he will be acclaimed by all as the man who rescued Ceylon's education from the dire disasters which imperilled it.

RETURN TO REASON

(Continued from page 3)

In the modern state where communication between parts has developed and the size of the country has shrunk in point of time even parochial problems have to be solved on a national scale and even need the national resources for their solution. Thus water supplies, electricity, and housing are beyond the scope and financial strength of most local bodies as they are constructed at present.

This is a point realised by the recent Local Government Boundary Commission in England which went beyond the terms of its reference to urge changes in the structure of local bodies.

What is needed here is also a change which would make it possible for necessary works to be carried out. Perhaps a wider grouping of local bodies and areas is needed. Local bodies cannot be abolished because initiative and understanding of local affairs cannot be achieved entirely by a central bureaucracy. There must be instruments for associating the parochial politician with the national planner.

To achieve this a careful study must be made of bringing local bodies into a condition which would help them efficiently to discharge the functions they undertake now.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE NATIONAL FLAG

By C. M. Austin de Silva

We publish below a memorandum received by the Committee appointed to advise the Premier on the National Flag. The Chairman of this Committee is Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

THE Lion may be discerned even in the dim mists of antiquity as having been associated with the history of Ceylon and its peoples, and the following is a pointer in favour of the retention of the lion as a national emblem.

There is written evidence in the Pali and Sanskrit Literature of ancient India which shows that Lanka and Sinhaldvipa or Tambapanni were separate countries. In the Pali Commentaries or Athakatha. Ceylon is everywhere referred to as Sinhaldvipa or Tambapanni, and not by the name of Lanka.

In the Grahatsanhite, an ancient Sanskrit work written by Varamihira circa the 7th century A.D. it is recorded that Lanka and Sinhaldvipa are two different kingdoms situated to the South of India. In an enumeration of kingdoms given in the Bhagavata a Sanskrit text, Sinhaldvipa and Lanka are listed in the seventh and eighth places respectively.

The names Lanka and Sinhaldvipa appear to have first become synonymous with the writer of the Mahavamsa, who perhaps for reasons best known to himself has had a predilection for the name Lanka.

The geographers of ancient India reckoned the "Meridian of Greenwich" as running through Ujjain (i.e. 75° 43' E. Greenwich) and through Lanka or Lakdiva which according to modern maps corresponds to the Laccadives, the Maldivian Archipelago and the land now supposed to be submerged in the same area. Modern Ceylon or Sinhaldvipa is located by them as being situated on the 7th longitudinal line, and North of the Equator, and appears to have been about one-third the dimensions of Lanka.

It is interesting that the Ramayana by way of dimensions describes Lanka as 400 krosas (leagues?) in length and 120 krosas in breadth. The Ramayana also makes mention of two great mountains, Trikuta and Suvela found in the country of Lanka. It is significant that no mention is made therein, of what would have been so conspicuous a landmark, as the great river Mahavili Ganga. Even if it be contended that the story of Ramayana is not historical its writer would not, even as no modern writer of fiction would do, have placed his story in an incorrect geographical setting.

There is a place in North India (United Provinces) called Sinhapur, and a traditional narrative current in that country, records that Vijaya Sinha of Sinhapur annexed Sinhaldvipa and as he had no heir, he requested his brother to come over from Sinhapur to Sinhaldvipa and succeed to his throne. In response to this request, Vijaya Sinha's brother sent his own son, Pandumajumadeva (obviously Panduvasudeva of our Mahavamsa) to rule the Kingdom of Sinhaldvipa. There exists to this day in that part of India a small community of people named "Singara" which term etymologically has the same origin as 'Sinhala'.

Much has already been said, in the local press, recently as regards the emblematic usage of the lion on ensigns, seals, coins, architecture, etc. The extent to which the lion had acquired recognition as a national emblem one could have judged from the mass of historical, literary, and ethnological material brought out by research workers for and against the adoption of the Lion Flag. I embody here, the contents of a letter written by me to the "Ceylon Daily News" of 24.1.48 in reply to an erratic statement made by Dr. G. C. Mendis in the same journal, as regards the adoption of the lion emblem.

"That the National Lion Flag flew over the white ramparts of the citadel

of Jayavardhanapura, Kotte, is described in verse 95 of the Parakumbasiritha, a panegyric poem written to celebrate the coronation of Parakrama Bahu VI, at Kotte in 1415 A.D. The authorship of this poem is ascribed by some to the illustrious Totagamuve Sri Rahula and by others to the poets of the Kavi Kara Maduwa of the Royal Court of Jayavardhanapura. I quote here the stanza referred to above.

Daka hima sel andi siha dada uturu desa

Ehi sindagana vena vena gata me lesa

Parakum rajuta sari niridek tilokusa

Ohu ruva maya pili bimbupat dapanapasa.

Mr. E. W. Perera's English versification of this stanza is as follows:—

Behold the Himalayan height (i.e. white ramparts) bearing LION BANNER on the Northern side.

There heavenly maids sing to the lute in this wise

"The only peer of King Parakum among monarchs of the three worlds,

Is the reflection of his own image shown in the mirror."

With reference to the statement made by Dr. G. C. Mendis in today's issue (23.1.48) of the "Daily News" re the lion flag as stated in the Parakumbasiritha, I wish to point out that the stanza under reference appears in the Parakumbasiritha edited in 1922 by the late Mr. D. C. Abhayagunaratna of Matara, with a historical introduction by the late Sir D. B. Jayatilaka.

The accuracy of the translation of the above verse appearing in Mr. E. W. Perera's book on "Sinhalese Banners and Standards" was challenged by Dr. Mendis. I ventured to point out that the translation appearing in Mr. E. W. Perera's book was accurate etymologically, and supported by original manuscripts. My reply to Dr. Mendis in this connection, was however, not published by the Editor of the "Daily News," and the contents of that letter are embodied herein.

"In his letter to the "Daily News" of 26.1.48, Dr. G. C. Mendis makes confusion worse confounded by his misinterpretation of the opening line of verse 95 of the Parakumbasiritha.

"Deka hima sel andi sinha dada uturu desa

Ehi sinda gana vena vena gata me lesa

Parakum Rajuta sari niridek tilokusa

Ohu ruva maya pili bimbupat dapanapasa."

By his fruitless venture to explain this line, for the purpose of upholding his theory, Dr. Mendis has only revealed his ignorance of the science of rhetoric and poetic imagery in the field of Sinhalese literature. In Sinhala poetry a poet's ability is displayed by the art of using "Alankara" or rhetoric to the greatest advantage. There is the usage of "Utpreksha"—"Lankara" or hyperbole in the first line, which Dr. Mendis has failed to notice and understand. The massive lofty ramparts of Kotte were compared to the Himalayan Heights not only in the Parakumbasiritha but also in verse 49 of the Mayura Sandesa. To compare a very high object in terms of the Himalayas and a very large body in the light of Mount Meru is a common "Alankara" in Sinhala poetry. The Kaw Silumina, a poetical work of the 13th century is replete with "Alankaras" of a very wide and varied nature. The beauty and richness of many a poetic gem in the Kaw Silumina will be lost to us, if in their interpretation, we were to employ the art of interpreting adopted by Dr. Mendis. By adhering to the letter he has missed the very quintessence of the line under discussion.

The phrase "Andi Sinha Dada" occurring in his line conveys the idea of

hoisting the Lion Flag. It is obvious to the student of Sinhalese Philology that "Kodiya Andanava or Adinava" means to hoist a flag. Dr. Mendis interprets it as "The drawing of a lion emblem or flag on the Himalayas" which I consider is a most superficial and incorrect rendering.

A variation in the reading for the first line appears in the earliest known edition of the Parakumbasiritha, published by Epa Appahamy in 1866.

"Deka sima sel andi siha rada uturu desa"

When translated this line reads "Behold the Himalayan height (i.e. white ramparts) having the Royal lion emblem on the Northern side." I may mention here that it is recorded by a Portuguese Jesuit Priest that when he first entered the great city of Jayavardhanapura, Kotte, he was struck by the large Lion Emblem that appeared over the portals of the city.

Dr. Mendis, I believe, is a historian of repute, and had he made a correct approach to the study of the flag question, it would have been quite apparent to him, that both the Lion emblem and Lion flag were in vogue in the Kingdom of Kotte as early as the 14th century. Researches of Mr. H. W. Codrington and Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera have brought to light several coins of the Kotte period bearing the Lion emblem. Coins of this type are even to this day unearthed in the vicinity of Kotte and a large number of them are found in the Numismatic Section of the Colombo Museum.

Historical documents and letters of Buvaneka Bahu VII of Kotte (1521

A.D.) and Don Juan Dharmapala (1550 A.D.) seen by Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera and Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, Bishop of Chillaw, both in Lisbon and at the Vatican in Rome were found to be stamped with the Royal seals bearing the Lion emblem. Some of these documents were brought to Ceylon and are the possession of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission.

In the light of all this historical data and evidence the existence of the national Lion Flag at Kotte in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI in 1415 A.D. cannot be challenged."

There are many nations whose origins bear traditional associations with creatures of the animal kingdom; and such connections have been cherished with national pride and inspiration. The Romans paid homage to the Wolf as the foster mother of Romulus and Remus, the founders and ancestors of the great Roman race; and this tradition was commemorated by a worthy monument on the Capitol depicting the twins suckling from the Mother Wolf. In the hey-day of Roman splendour and glory, the Roman Eagle symbolised the dynamic power of militant Rome.

Then be it, as it may, that ancient Sinhaldvipa or the Isle of the Sinhalese, by some accident, has been rebaptised under the name of Sri Lanka. It will therefore be a most appropriate and lasting tribute to the early pioneers and progenitors, who founded the Ceylonese race, and a perpetuation of a historical tradition full of inspiration, that the last vestige of our association with "Sinhale" will find strong recognition in the National Flag of new born Lanka.

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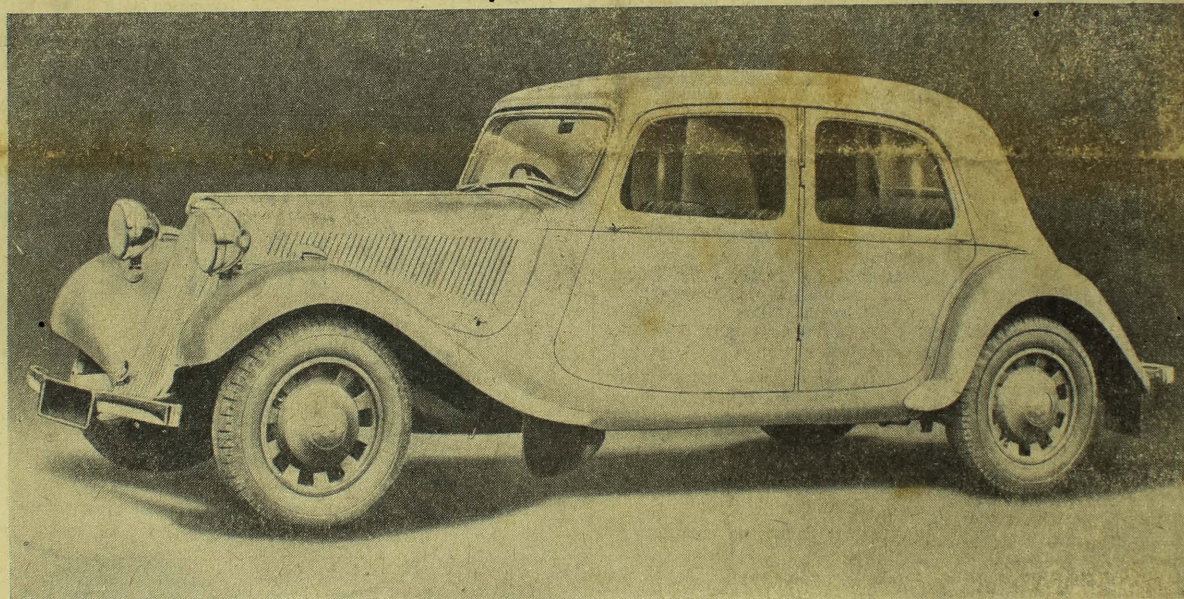
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