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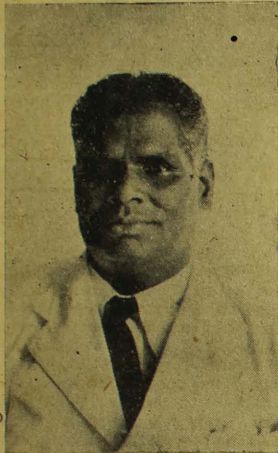
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## Mr. Suntheralingam TRIUMPHS



Mr. Suntheralingam

**MR. C. SUNTHERALINGAM**, Minister for Commerce and Trade, has returned from his talks in the United Kingdom with a copra agreement which means an increase of one and half times the present income of the coconut producer. The national income will reflect a proportionate increase.

According to the new agreement the Government of Ceylon will sell to the U.K., copra or coconut oil equivalent to 40,000 tons at the rate of £55 per ton of copra f.o.b. Ceylon ports.

With effect from July 1 last the United Kingdom will get no more copra or coconut other than what has already left Ceylon ports.

The Pakistan Government will get 2,000 tons in terms of oil and/or copra or coconut. For that she would have to pay at the rate of Rs. 25 extra per candy. In other words the price payable to the producer will be Rs. 150 per candy. Along with that there would be a duty of Rs. 25 per candy.

In regard to India she would get no more shipments of oil or copra other than what has already been exported or is being exported.

If at the end of the period Ceylon was unable to sell in the open market it was open to her to give to the United Kingdom whatever she had at a price not less than Rs. 133.33 per candy, in other words Rs. 8.33 more than the present price.

Thus so far as the United Kingdom Government was concerned Ceylon was free to sell in the open market and if the price was less Ceylon could go to the U.K. again.

### SUPPLY TO U.K.

This year Ceylon had to supply the U.K. Government 40,000 tons in terms of oil or copra at a price of Rs. 25 per candy in excess of the present price.

From now on, therefore, till the end of this year the price of one candy of copra to the producer would be Rs. 150.

The estimated annual exportable surplus is over 100,000 tons, said the Minister, in terms of oil, copra and coconut oil exclusive of desiccated coconut, fresh nuts and edible white copra.

The great advantage now is that instead of being bound to supply the whole of Ceylon's exportable produce to the U.K. and Pakistan we could sell in the open market.

(Continued on page 5)

## OPPOSITION TRIBUTE TO "MAN WHO GETS THINGS DONE" Salary Cut Withdrawn by Dr. N. M. Perera

THE fact that no sensible man can resist paying a tribute to one who get things done was proved by a unique event in Parliament during the Budget debate last week.

Dr. N. M. Perera, Unofficial Leader of the Opposition, moved a token cut of Rs. 10 in the salary of the Minister for Transport and Works, Col. The Hon. Sir John Kotelawala, and when he moved the resolution it was the signal for a frontal assault by several of the Opposition Front Bench critics.

Sir John proved by facts and figures that every point of criticism made was based on wrong information. He gave an account of the work entrusted to him in so masterly and striking a manner that Dr. Perera rose immediately after the Minister's reply and informed the Speaker that he did not wish to put his motion to the vote. The Minister sat down amidst general applause from both sides of the House.

The criticism had been made that the Public Works Department was responsible for a great many delays of the Government. The Minister stated that the criticism of the Public Works Department was a hardy annual and proceeded to show that of the nearly 300 items of expenditure voted for works last year only three had not been started and even that for no fault of the Department itself. These three works, he pointed out, were held up because the Department concerned had not completed negotiations to acquire the land on which buildings were to be put up.

"When money is given to me to get a job done I see that job through. It cannot be said of me that I have come back to Parliament with excuses as to why I could not do the job," was the basis of the Minister's reply.

HE continued to answer every other point of criticism and came to the Railway which again had provided a powerful hammer with which to beat the Government. The Minister provided some illuminating figures. He asked the House to compare the conditions of running the Railway in 1938 with present conditions.

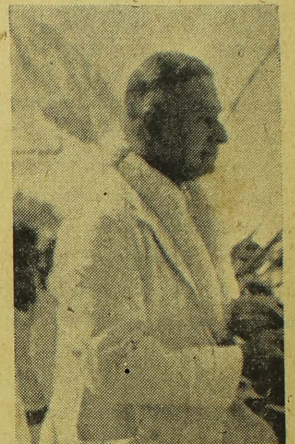
The estimated loss in this year was 14 million rupees but it had to be borne in mind that in 1938 the Government did not pay one cent as dearness allowance to its employees. The bill for dearness allowance payments for the Railway amounted to 14 million rupees this year.

In 1938 the cost of fuel (coal) was Rs. 13 per ton. The same coal cost Rs. 59 per ton this year and this represented an increased running cost of 11 million rupees, which no Government and no authority could overcome.


It was unfair, therefore, to accuse the Government of extravagance, for on the one hand it could not pay less than the seller's price for coal, and on the other hand it could not refuse to pay dearness allowances to Railway employees when the entire Public Service was paid a dearness allowance. The Government had also brought into force various regulations with regard to the terms and conditions of work and therefore items of overtime and Sunday pay had soared many lakhs of rupees over the figures for 1938.

Apart from this defence, Sir John went on to the positive aspect of his work and gave an account of the innumerable things that his Ministry had done under his direction during the last year. It was natural that the Opposi-

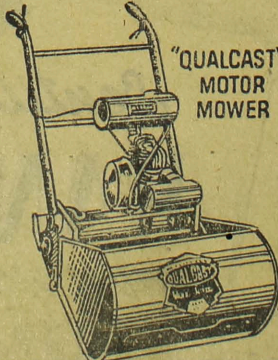
tion should acknowledge the work of the Minister for Transport and Works and when the news percolated to the lobby that Sir John was in fine form and was dealing with the criticism in a statesmanlike manner, there was a general filling up of Back Bench seats and when he concluded he was surprised to find that the House was nearly full—a rare tribute after many weary days of Budget discussions in the Committee stage.



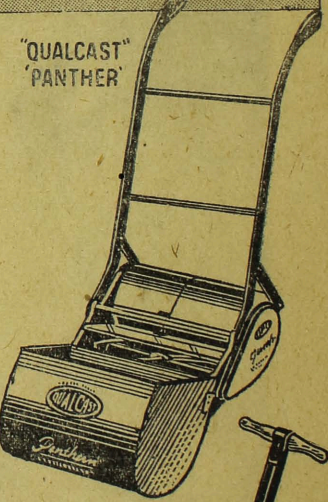
Sir John Kotelawala  
(Man Who Gets Things Done)



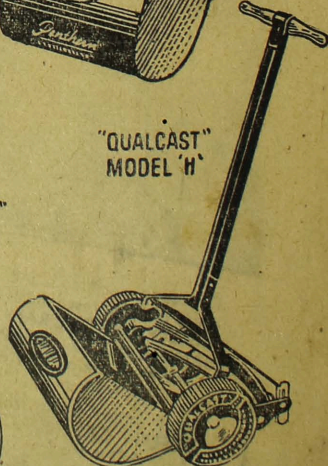
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# Ministry of Economic Affairs for India

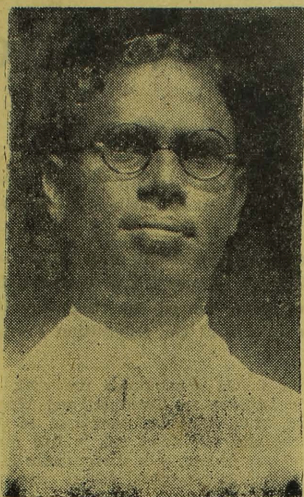
NEW DELHI, AUG. 19

A MINISTRY of Economic Affairs to tackle the serious economic problems facing the country was foreshadowed by India's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, intervening in the debate in the Central Legislature on a non-official resolution moved by Pandit Govind Malaviya, urging Government to appoint a Commission to go into the question and report within three months.

Pandit Nehru added that the Minister concerned would be completely freed from all administrative encumbrances and would also

have the benefit of a Board of expert and experienced advisers who would make recommendations to Government from an All-India economic viewpoint.

Remarking that this was no time for commissions and committees, the Prime Minister said that he had already been in touch with provincial Governments, and would convene within a week a meeting of economists, industrialists and labour leaders to discuss ways and means of meeting the situation and restoring economic equilibrium as early as possible. "We shall put before the House more precise proposals before the end of the present session," he added.



Mr. Shanmukan Chetty  
Finance Minister who resigned last week

# SOCIALIST FAILURE TO WIN OVER LABOUR

BOMBAY, AUG. 19

A ONE-DAY token stoppage of work in the textile industry in Bombay last week, sponsored by the Socialist labour organisations, proved a big failure, the mill operatives who responded to the call being hardly 8 per cent. of the total labour employed in the mills for the day.

Official estimates of the number of textile workers who stayed away from work contradicted the claim of the Mill Mazdoor Sabha, the Socialist Textile Labour Union, that between 12 to 15 mills had been closed and that 100,000 workers had participated in the strike.

Over 90 per cent. of textile labour trooped into the city's 61 textile mills for work last week.

Less than 10,000 of the 129,000 operatives employed in the day shift were absent.

The greatest number of the absentees in the textile industry on the day was among weavers. The weaving sheds of the Century, Edward, Jam No. 1, Khatau Makanji, Modern No. 2, Podar, Simplex, Standard, Tata Mills and New Union Mills were practically bare. These weavers and the workers in the India United Mills No. 1, which was closed, accounted for the greater number of the small body of absent workers.

Although the sponsors of the strike had decided in a last-minute change in their plan to limit the stoppage to the textile industry and free the engineering chemical and rubber factories to work, a number of industrial plants were closed. Fourteen out of 66 silk factories in the city and the suburbs were affected besides four rubber factories, a match works and three engineering concerns.

The closure of several of these production units was influenced by the Communists, who have a hold on several unions of the workers. Their influence conflicted in the issue with that of the Socialists, who advised against workers' participation in the day's strike.

## Luxury Coaches At Santa Cruz Air Port

A LEADING airline service has placed two luxury coaches in service for use of their passengers to and from Santa Cruz airport. Seating 28 passengers, the coach has some 160 cubic feet of completely enclosed locker space for passengers' luggage. A special device maintains constant air circulation throughout the coach, giving adequate passenger comfort.

It is powered by the manufacturers' 9.8 litre, 130 B.H.P. direct injection high speed Diesel engine incorporating dry-type shoulder located cylinders which can be removed and replaced by hand, without the use of tools. With the engine in position in the frame. This helps reduce the time for the normally major operation of relining and reborring of cylinders from over a week to a few hours.

Similar chassis, it is learnt, are to be supplied to the Delhi Transport Services which are being operated by the Central Government. Passenger bodies with seating accommodation for 43 passengers are being locally built for that purpose. The Bombay Government have also placed a large order with the manufacturers for chassis to be powered by a five-litre, 75 B.H.P. h.s. Diesel engine incorporating all the special features as in the 130 B.H.P. type. These will be fitted with 28-passenger all-metal British bodies, to be assembled in this country. Similar chassis fitted with refuse collection bodies of the latest design are to be soon put into service by the Bombay Municipality.

## INFORMATION OFFICER



Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle  
Government Publicity Expert

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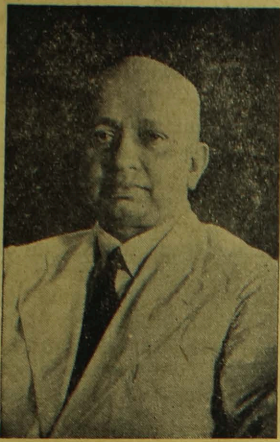
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Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

# "When I had to Choose Between Human Lives and the Financial Regulations I Decided to Look After the Human Lives" — Sir Oliver

## GOOD LUCK, SIR OLIVER

By Maha Amarasingha

IT has been well said that when we are too close to events and to people we cannot value them at their true worth. It is only when we lose a boss or a servant that we begin to appreciate how much he had meant in our lives. In the same way much as we admired the skill of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke we also took his presence and his voice for granted.

To the general mass of the people he was presented by Press critics and others as an extravagant Civil Defence Commissioner who had dispensed with even the minimum requirements of the financial regulations and played pitch and toss with the country's money. Now that he has left this country even his bitterest critics are beginning to admit that he was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of this epoch in the history of Lanka. In an article I wrote in this journal many months ago I described Sir Oliver as the mightiest brain in the Public Service. At that time my readers may have thought this was a phrase used for purposes of propaganda in order to build up an U.N.P. personality.

The Third Member for Colombo Central, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, was forced to admit to a friend two days before Sir Oliver left the Island "Oliver is a genius." The reason for this opinion centres round the main point of criticism that had been made against Sir Oliver during the last two years regarding the Audit queries Sir Oliver had not answered.

Thousands of words have been written in the Press, and Collette has often used this theme whenever he was hard put to it for an idea for a cartoon.

BEHIND the scenes a little drama was enacted on the eve of his departure to England. The Public Accounts Committee which is composed of half the Government and half the Opposition M.P.s, considered it good strategy to summon Sir Oliver to answer to it in the House of Representatives. There was the constitutional difficulty that Sir Oliver was then no longer a public servant but a Minister of the Crown and a member of the Upper House could not be summoned to the Lower House of Parliament except by a message delivered to the President of the Senate, and such a message had to follow a resolution passed in the House of Representatives. It was well known that Sir Oliver was to leave within a matter of days and the formality of sending a message could not therefore be followed.

A lesser man could easily have used his privilege as a Senator and left the Public Accounts Committee to twiddle their thumbs.

Sir Oliver did not do so. He of course did not wish to set a precedent by appearing before the Committee as a Senator. He therefore got over the difficulty by handing in his resignation to the Prime Minister two minutes before he went down to Parliament House to answer his critics.

The manner of his defence was so remarkable that the red-blooded Member for Galle, Mr. Dahanayake, and Mr. Keuneman himself were in the role of the celebrated men who went to scoff but remained to pray.

SIR OLIVER pointed out that when the Japanese over-ran Burma and Malaya and captured Singapore, the whole world expected that a little island like Ceylon could not resist

the invasion which seemed inevitable. General Inskip had already declared that the defences of the Island were so weak that it would not last six months against an invader. Sir Geoffrey Layton had only recently taken over and he wanted a man who could get things done. He wanted not an ordinary man but a miracle worker. At such a time when even very efficient officers were dismissed for inefficiency there were not many who were stout-hearted enough to accept the responsibility of being appointed Civil Defence Commissioner.

I happen to know that there were only three people who were even considered for a moment—Mr. E. M. Rodrigo, the late Mr. J. C. W. Rock and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke. Of these the Board of Ministers were unanimous in the view that only Sir Oliver could take command of the crisis. In fact Sir Oliver was persuaded to take the job in the interests of the country, and as a true patriot he accepted the offer.

I also remember that there were no plans whatsoever to organise the Civil Defence Services of this country. An year earlier, as a young newspaper reporter looking for news, I had called on an Engineer in the P.W.D., who had been asked by the then Chief Secretary to prepare plans for Civil Defence. Before I could get one word out of him, he had to consult the Superintendent of Police, Colombo, the Chief Secretary, the Inspector-General and a whole host of people—and all about whether or not Colombo's street lamps would be shaded or not! And this at a time when Japan had not yet entered the war and anything that was taking place was happening 7,000 miles away.

Such was the situation when Sir Oliver took charge and naturally he had to set up an organisation not in the leisurely manner of today but overnight.

SIR OLIVER was asked by the Public Accounts Committee why he did not follow the financial regulations in very many of the functions of the Civil Defence Department.

His reply was classic: "When I had the choice between human lives and the financial regulations I decided to look after the human lives."

The most bitter critics of Sir Oliver were silenced because they had not considered the human aspect of the problem up to that moment. Not content with the challenging answer he proceeded to explain every detail of expenditure. An example will show the nature of the criticism made against him and the simple answer he provided.

He was asked why he gave so large a sum as Rs. 20,000 to the proprietor of an estate to put up evacuation camps. His answer was that if he had requisitioned the estate to put up the camps, Government would have been presented with a bill for almost a million rupees at the end of the requisitioning period for damages done to property and the crops. Instead of which he had rent for the proprietor and appealed to his

patriotic sense, gave him the money and asked him to put up the camps himself.

"I have saved the Government at least a million rupees on that particular item. Naturally in order to do so I had to ignore the regulations!"

And so for nearly two hours the critics listened in silence to the masterly exposition of the master mind which had been in charge of the largest single enterprise by a Ceylonese in a grave national emergency.

SIR OLIVER was the brains of the Government during the many years in which he held high office. There was no problem of any importance that he did not solve. Over and over again he remained in the background and let other people take the credit for his work. Learned budget pronouncements during the last few years, important development schemes, delicate negotiations, and a whole host of problems affecting nearly every Minister of the Government were presented to him either at Board of Ministers or Cabinet meetings or privately at his house or in his office. He listened to people and advised them on all manner

of difficulties including love affairs and he always was patient, tolerant and understanding. It was quite impossible for him to please all those who came to him for help for a great number of them asked him to do impossible things. Never once did he lose his patience with them but endeavoured to do what he considered best at all times.

I saw him as a super-diplomat in London and was amazed at the skill with which he handled most difficult negotiations. It was he who put up a bill of Rs. 2,000,000,000 to the British Government for services rendered by the Island of Ceylon to Great Britain during the war. That was the first recognition that he forced out of Britain of a debt to this country.

In many influential circles in England Sir Oliver is regarded as the most accomplished diplomat of Asia, and in Downing Street, he is considered a friend and an equal of all Cabinet Ministers. In fact he raised negotiations to the level of diplomacy, and he will be Ceylon's finest advertisement in European capitals.

There is, however, an unwritten chapter in his life which only a future historian can record. With all his triumphs Sir Oliver is a sad man, and that chapter of sadness I shall leave unrecorded.

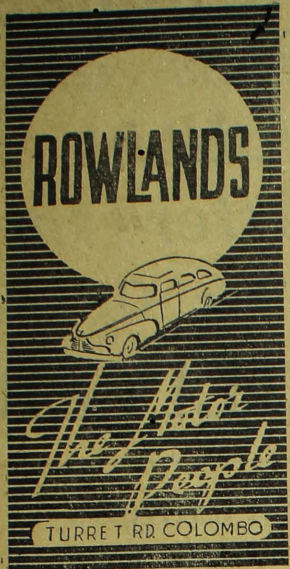


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FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1948

**HUMAN CONTENT OF THE BUDGET**

Another Budget debate has ended and the Government will now be free to implement the schemes that have been approved by Parliament. Every Head and Sub-head of the Budget Estimates represents a service that the Government has undertaken to render to the people, and we fervently hope that the many thousands of Government Servants who are paid from general revenue will consider it their duty to give the people the best possible value for the money spent. No Society can be run by regulations and although the Public Service Organisation provides for the supervision of the work of every member of it the individual is in the final analysis the person who really decides how much he will give of his brains and his sweat to the country.

It is necessary for us to abandon the old attitude to the Government that was fostered by the conditions that existed in the Island under the British Regime. At that time the public servant was a privileged individual for whose exclusive benefit, apparently, the rest of the people toiled. A Government clerk in a Kachcheri basked in the reflected glory of the Government Agent and the Government Agent lived and breathed in the manner of a God. And, indeed, he had the powers of a king over the people of his revenue district. It is true that often the Government Agents of those days were benevolent despots from whom the villager received impartial justice, but the Government moved so slowly that nothing very much happened in the 125 years of British rule except in the sphere of road and bridge building for the benefit of the plantation industry which required up to date communications for their greater prosperity.

With the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution the people, for once in the entire history of the Island, found themselves in a position to demand rights instead of beg-

ging for favours. It has taken a long time, however, for Government Servants to appreciate the difference between the old and the new systems of Government. There is still a great deal of the old world patronage in dealing with members of the public. It is essential therefore to achieve a more general appreciation of the fact that we are not dealing with files and figures but that every file and estimate has an effect on a large mass of human beings. It is difficult to get this idea into the minds of most people in authority. In dealing with administrative matters which affect discipline in the Public Service, or with items of expenditure many people in Government Service forget the important consideration that human beings and human happiness are more important than a regulation or a file. If we are to make anything of the Six-Year-Plan that Government announced at the beginning of the Budget debate that has just concluded we must work for a change in the hearts and minds of those who are entrusted with the duty of implementing that plan. We appeal to the Public Service, consisting as it does of the cream of Ceylon's English-educated people, to give thought to the human aspect of their work so that the large mass of less fortunate and less privileged men and women of this country may be able to look forward to a year of greater prosperity and less misery than is their lot at present.

**TWO TRENDS**

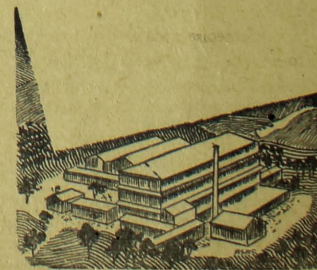
Two significant developments can be seen in Ceylon politics today. One of them is the slow disintegration of the forces of the Left. The other is the gathering strength of the middle-of-the-road political philosophy which is represented by the United National Party. The Marxist Parties attempted recently a coalition and common front of the trade unions they control. A conference was held which claimed to have achieved that objective. We were sceptical and prophesied that the conflicting ideologies of the Left and its uneasy ally, the Ceylon Indian Congress, would disintegrate the unity of the Marxist groups. Our forecast is being swiftly fulfilled. The echo of the resounding phrases of

workers' unity heard at that conference have not yet died down, but new squabbles have broken out. The Communist Party reprimands the Ceylon Indian Congress for joining in the "fake" celebrations of Indian independence. And the C.I.C retorts the CP censure and criticism is due to the defeat and discomfiture it suffered at the Baddegama by-election. Infuriated by those smarts the C.P is trying to tear its allies. The wolves will soon go for each other more vigorously.

While there is a steady collapse on the Left a new orientation is taking place in the attitude and outlook of the U.N.P. The process of adjustment among political parties from one set of circumstances to another is slow. In the first year of its existence the U.N.P was a loose assembly of parties united by the common purpose of achieving liberty by a peaceful process. In that context, social and economic programmes were of secondary importance and the U.N.P's policy was necessarily concentrated on the prime object of freedom. With freedom attained the party turned slowly to those ends and aims, for which freedom itself is only an opportunity. In the change to these new concerns and purposes there was the confusion usually associated and inevitable in a period of transition. Indeed the impression might have arisen that the U.N.P itself was breaking up into conflicting groups. But the very fact that the Party responds to and provides an appropriate philosophy for our times has held it closer together. The party now has acquired cohesion and a fresh vitality.



**FOR ALUMINIUM PAINT**



# Red Star Over All--2

## "... PROLETARIAT IS THE GRAVE-DIGGER OF CAPITALISM ..."

**CAPITALISM** is to the Marxists the dominating feature of contemporary Society. According to the analysis made by Marx, capitalism as an economic system depends on the exploitation of the working class and the system is worked for the private profit, not public or social welfare.

In his "Das Kapital", Marx laying bare the nature and limitations of capitalist production declares: "The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself. It is the fact that capital end is self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, as the motive and aim of production; that production is merely production for capital, and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever-expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the Society of producers. The barriers, within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperisation of the great mass of producers can alone move, these barriers come constantly in collision with the methods of production which capital must employ for its purposes, and which steer straight toward an unrestricted extension of production, toward production for its own self, toward an unconditional development of the productive forces of Society."

**T**HE contradictions of capitalism is force working in opposite directions—developed into the opposed interests between individuals and classes. The three chief contradictions are: (1) the clash between labour and capital; (2) the conflict between the various financial groups and imperialist Powers in a struggle for the control of sources of raw material, foreign territory; (3) the conflict between the imperialist Powers and the colonial countries.

As capitalism develops, so also develop Marx pointed out, its grave-digger, the proletariat.

"Modern bourgeoisie society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world when he has called up by his spells.... The conditions of bourgeoisie society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by that. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other by the conquest of new markets and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the

means whereby crises are prevented.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself, it has called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

"In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion as the proletariat, the modern working class, developed, a class of labourers who must sell themselves piecemeal as a commodity like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market." (Communist Manifesto).

**T**HIS conflict of interest between bourgeoisie and proletariat, the clash between capital and labour manifests itself in the class struggle—all history, i.e., the history of hitherto existing society, according to Marx, is the history of a class struggle. In earlier epochs there was the struggle between freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, Lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman; in a word, oppressor and oppressed.

The State is one of the consequences of this class struggle. The State, according to this theory of history, is an instrument of the ruling class for preserving the existing order.

"The State," says Engels, "is tantamount to an acknowledgment that the given society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has broken up into irreconcilable antagonisms of which it is powerless to rid itself. And in order that these antagonisms, these classes with their opposing economic interests may not devour one another and society itself in their sterile struggle, some force standing seemingly, above society, becomes necessary so as to moderate the force of their collisions and to keep them within the bounds of order. And this force arising from Society, but placing itself above it, which gradually separates itself from it—this force is the State."—(Engels).

Again, remember, "the State is nothing else other than a machine for the oppression of one class by another class and that no less in the democratic republic than under the monarchy.

"While the wasteful processes of capitalism make reform desirable, the conditions of capitalism are such that the owners of the means of production and distribution are incapable of understanding the need for reform. It is this which makes a violent revolution necessary. Capitalists would exploit the police and repress the powers of the State to prevent reforms on a scale adequate to be effective."

**M**ARXISTS point to the development of Fascism and the use of the State by the Nazis to crush movements of reform.

Marx at one time believed that a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism might be ushered in Britain and the United States but the study of later conditions in these countries convinced him that socialism by evolution was impossible.

"If the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution"—(Lenin State and Revolution)".

This contention was emphasised by Stalin, "as far as the imperialism countries are concerned, we must regard it as a universally applicable law of the revolutionary movement that the proletarian revolution will be effected by force, that the bourgeoisie state machine will have to be smashed as an indispensable preliminary to the revolution."

**T**HE Communists believe that capitalist society must ultimately give way to a Socialist State—in place of the old bourgeoisie society, with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the development of all" (Communist Manifesto) the Communists intend to be the vanguard of the proletariat in this movement which will usher in a new social order. According to Marx the Communists are on the one hand, practically the most advanced and resolution section of the working

class parties in every country, that seek and push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

"The immediate aim of the Communist parties; formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeoisie, supremacy, and conquest of political power by the proletariat." (Communist Manifesto).

The belief that they are the instruments of history, that they hold the key to history and they are agents who accelerate the process of history give strength to the Communists.

I have outlined here the main tenets of Communist political theory. There occurs in it also the belief that the Soviet Union is the main wing of the revolutionary movement. Every Communist policy, every shift and change is determined by the inspiration first of Marxist theory and second by the desire to strengthen the Soviet Union, the base of Socialism.

These views prevail among the Sama Samajists where hostility is to Stalin and the "other usurpers" but not to the people of the Soviet Union.

### Mr. Suntheralingam TRIUMPHS

(Continued from page 1)

At the end of 1949 we were compelled to negotiate with the U.K. Government for a long term contract which was to be probably five years.

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# WORLD CO-OPERATION FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

By  
**Pandit Nehru**

IN the past many years most problems have been considered in the world context and I had a feeling and I still have that feeling, that the continent of Asia is somewhat neglected, somewhat overlooked. It is not considered important enough for as much attention to be given to it as is given to certain other parts of the world. Possibly that was so because most of the people who were considering these problems were themselves intimately connected with other parts of the world and naturally they thought of them in the first instance. Naturally also, if I have to consider these problems I would attach more importance to Asia because it affects me more intimately. But that kind of reaction apart, it is quite obvious that you cannot consider the problem of Asia, or the problem of Europe, or the problem of America or the problem of Africa isolated from the problem of other countries.

Now Asia has been for many generations past in a somewhat static and backward condition. But during the last few years mighty forces have been at work in Asia. Those forces inevitably thought in terms of political change to begin with, because without political change it was not possible to have any far-reaching or enduring economic change. Large parts of Asia were colonial territory dominated over by other

countries. From that connection they have obtained some advantage sometimes. While it did undoubtedly in a sense shake up that static condition, at the same time it tended to preserve it too.

The political struggle of Asia is largely over—not entirely; there are parts of Asia still where some kind of struggle for political freedom is still going on; and it is obvious that so long as there is that type of struggle on the political plane other activities will be ignored or will be thwarted. The sooner therefore it is realised that politically every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the larger world policy that any world organization may lay down, the better, it will be. If one thing is certain, it is this, that there will be no peace in any part of Asia if there is a tendency for another country to dominate over an Asian country by force. I regret that some such attempts continue to be made in parts of Asia. They seem to me not only undesirable in themselves but singularly lacking in foresight because there can be but one end to their attempts and that is the complete elimination of any kind of foreign control.

Now, generally speaking, this political aspect of the Asian struggle is drawing to its natural and inevitable culmination. But at the same time, the economic aspect continues and is bound up with all manner of economic problems affecting the world. From

the Asian point of view, it has become essentially a matter of extreme urgency to deal with these problems. From the world point of view it is equally urgent really, because unless these problems are dealt with in Asia, they affect other parts of the world.

IN Asia, many historical forces have been at work during the last many years and many things have happened which are good and many things which are not so good as always happens when impersonal historic forces are in action. They are still in action. We try to mould them a little, to divert them here and there, but essentially they will carry on till they fulfil their purpose and their historical destiny. That historical destiny can only be one complete political and economic freedom within certainly some kind of world framework. In Asia and the rest of the world, there are various systems at work, political and economic in different countries. Obviously, it will not be possible to co-operate easily unless we proceed on the basis of not interfering with any system, political or economic, in any country, leaving it to that country to develop as it chooses within the larger sphere of world co-operation.

Now you can look upon the problems of Asia from the long-term point of view and the short-term. The short-term problems demand immediate attention because of the urgency of solving some great difficulties. There is the aspect of food. It is an extraordinary state of affairs that in a country like India or similarly predominantly agricultural countries, we should lack food or that we should not have a sufficiency of food. There is something obviously wrong if that kind of thing happens.

#### LIMITING FACTOR

I have no doubt in my mind that India can and will produce enough food for itself—not immediately but in the course of a few years. But at the present moment, we have to face this problem. Other similar urgent problems will also come up for deliberation before you. Looking at these problems from a long-term point of view, it seems to me that various deficiencies have to be made good. We have to increase our productive capacity, agricultural and industrial. It is admitted now that industrialisation should proceed in these countries of Asia. In the past, this has rather been held up by various peoples and various interests.

The real limiting factor in industrialisation is the lack of capital equipment. The difficulties are of getting the capital equipment and special experience from those countries which happen to possess it and who have a surplus of it. How far that can be obtained, it is for you to calculate and the producing countries to decide. If it is not obtained quickly, the process of industrialisation may be somewhat delayed but it will go on.

#### NO ECONOMIC DOMINATION

Now if it is considered right in the larger interest of the world, that a country like India and other countries in the East should get industrialised, should increase, modernise agricultural production, it is in the interests of those countries that can help in this process to help the Asian countries with capital equipment and their special experience. But in doing so, it is to be borne in mind that no Asian countries will welcome any such assistance if there are conditions attached to it which lead to any kind of economic domination. We would rather delay our development, industrial or otherwise, than submit to any kind of economic domination of any country.

That is an axiom which is accepted by everyone in India and I shall be surprised if any other country in Asia did not accept it. We want to co-operate in the fullest measure in any policy or programme laid down for the world's good even though it might involve the

surrender in common with other countries, of any particular attribute of sovereignty, provided that is a common surrender all round. But a long age of foreign domination has made the countries of Asia very sensitive about anything which might lead to some visible or invisible form of domination. Therefore, I would beg of you to remember this and to fashion your programmes and policies as to avoid anything savouring of the economic domination of one country by another. Political domination, it is admitted, leads to economic domination, but an invisible or semi-invisible economic domination creeps in unless you are careful; if that creeps in that will lead immediately to ill-will and not that atmosphere of co-operation which is so essential in this matter.

#### POWER RESOURCES

In a long-term view—I may speak of India—I suppose the most important thing is to develop our power resources. From that will flow the industrialisation of the country, and an addition to our food production. As it is, you know that India has probably more in the shape of irrigation than any other country in the world. We hope to increase that very greatly. We have in view at least a score of various river valley schemes—some very big, some bigger than the Tennessee Valley Scheme, some smaller, very smaller. We hope to push the schemes soon, constructing huge dams and reservoirs, and thereby adding to the irrigated parts of India large tracts which are not at present under cultivation.

#### POPULATION QUESTION

May I say a word here about the population of India. A great deal has been said and written about our tremendous population and how it overwhelms us and how we cannot solve any problem till this Indian population is checked or decimated. Well, I have no desire for the population of India to go on increasing. I am all in favour of the population being checked, but I think there is a great misapprehension when so much stress is laid on the aspect. I entirely disagree with that. I think India is an under-populated country and I say this not because I want it to be much more populated. It is under-populated because large tracts of India are still unpopulated. It is true that if you go to the Gangetic plain it is thickly populated; parts of India are thickly populated but many parts are not populated at all.

We are overpopulated, if you like, because our productive capacity is low. If we increase our production, agricultural and other, if this population is put to work for production then we are not over-populated. We have these big river valley schemes which in addition to irrigating land, preventing floods, soil erosion and malaria, will produce a very great deal of hydro-electric power and at the same time we will have industrial development. If you look at the map of India, you will see this noble range of the Himalayas from the North to the North-East. I do not think there is any part of the world similar in area which has so much concentrated power—latent potential power if only it can be tapped and used. Well, we intend tapping and using it. To some extent we have done it. The Himalayas are also full of a variety of mineral resources.

But my point is that not only India but the whole of this Asian region is full of vast resources, human and material and the question before us is how to somehow yoke them together and produce results. It is not that we are lacking in men or material. We have got both. In order to yoke them together the easiest way is to have certain assistance in capital equipment and experienced technical personnel from those countries which may have a surplus of it. From the world's point of view that will inevitably lead to the world's good. If that cannot be done, then naturally we have to function in a more limited way but we shall have to go in that direction anyhow.

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**T**HE C.T.C. August Meet proper ends tomorrow and only Loser's Day remains before the curtain is rung down on an August racing carnival that brought pleasure to many but profit to few.

The longest race in the C.T.C. calendar, the Turf Club Plate, is the feature of the programme but there are two Cup events which perpetuate the memory of the two Grand Old Men of Ceylon racing. The Bandaranaike Cup pays tribute to the great services rendered to racing by the late Maha Mudaliyar, while the E. L. F. de Soysa cup recalls the numerous triumphs of this very popular owner.

There is an entry of nine in the Turf Club Plate and the issue in my opinion lies between the Cup-winner, BREECH, and COSY CORNER, who won this race last year. Cosy Corner has been sent up to Nuwara Eliya and should benefit from the change. MOHAN TARA and DEVILMENT should join in to make the finish an interesting one.

The Bartlett Stakes, named after one of the leading owners of the past, is a sprint for Class II horses. My fancy for this race is PROFILE who is in great heart at the moment. SHAHMON and the recently promoted GOLDEN REIGN should give her a good run while OLIVER CROMWELL who was moving very well in the race which his stablemate KARA PASHA won at long odds on Cup Day, may upset the apple cart.

The senior section of the De Soysa Cup to which the trophy attaches, should provide a rousing finish before the winner emerges. On current form we need not look beyond YOUNG FEARLESS, TEHMINA, SILVER VALLEY and NAVAL ACTION for the winner with the odds in favour of the

first mentioned if the services of a strong jockey are available.

In the second division GOOD BLOOD, ALIBAN and GOLDEN BUDDY stand out as the pick of the bunch.

The manner in which SILVER RAY won his last two races suggests that he has a great chance of a "hat-trick" by making the Torrington Plate his own. HAMMERFEST, MY STYLE and PETEE may follow him home.

Senator Gardiner has a good sprinter in RANJIT, who looks to me to be the most difficult to toss in the Bandaranaike Cup. NOBLE DUKE will make him gallop all the way while NIBRAS is fast enough to touch a place. A mare of moods, SEVENTH WONDER is so very fit just now that she may give Trainer Marrs his first Cup victory.

Winner of the Oriental Cup, DAHMAN NAFEA has the beating of everything in the Carlyon Stakes in which AL SHANFARA and THUNDERBOLT must be regarded as his only dangers.

Class II Arabs never seem to run two races alike but if form means anything NEW STAR, BADIA NAJLA, SA'AD NAFEA and TAMIM AL KHAIR look to me to be the best quartette.



The Final Test match between England and Australia was lost by England on the first day.

Never has English cricket plumbed such depths as it is now doing and her sorry collapse for a paltry 52, with ten men each scoring 1.4 runs on an average, reveals the sad plight of England. The Australians are now at the end of their tour which will go down to history as their most successful ever. Verily, it is a team of all talents and even Bradman's absence from it in the next Test series will not weaken it overmuch!

## Strange Press Conference By Henry Wallace

**F**OR a painful hour last week, Candidate Henry Wallace met the Press—and seemed to do his best to discredit himself completely with it. Publicists for his "Progressive Party" had hopefully billed the session in Philadelphia's Bellevue-Stratford Hotel as a Press Conference, but it quickly degenerated into a battle between a pale, harried Wallace and red-faced angry newsmen.

Wallace started, but got the wrong foot in his mouth. He read a letter by George Polk, the C.B.S. correspondent whose murder in Greece (Time, May 24, July 5) is still unsolved. Next he attacked Newsweek (Polk's former employer), C.B.S., and the Press in general for not doing enough to clear up the crime. Perhaps he was trying to ingratiate himself with the newsmen by showing concern for their rights: more probably he was chiding them. In any case, he made the correspondents angry.

Wrote Britain's discerning Rebecca West, "Never have I seen... such a miracle of tactlessness...."

WALLACE ruled out questions on Communism and Communist party-lining before they could be thrown at him. No matter how hard the reporters tried, he said, "I am not going to engage in Red-baiting."

That still left one interesting question: Did Wallace write (in 1943) the fawning, fantastic Guru letters, full of schoolboy mysticism and "secret" pet names, to the late Nicholas Roerich, a fork-bearded Russian artist, explorer, and cultist? For months Columnist Westbrook Pegler had been trying to provoke a yes or no from Wallace.

WHAT'S A GURU? A reporter rose and put the question to Wallace. "I never discuss Westbrook Pegler in public," retorted Wallace.

Two more reporters popped the ques-

tion, and were brushed aside. Then a paunchy, scowling ex-sports-writer tried his hand. His own version of what happened next.

A tall, not handsome chap arose, a man of spiritual mien and prematurely gray, arose to declare: "My name is Westbrook Pegler. Mr. Wallace, You have reminded us journalists of the important duty of getting all the available facts. Therefore, I ask you to say whether you did or did not write certain letters."

"I never engage in any discussion whatsoever with Westbrook Pegler," Wallace replied.

PEGLER sat down. All the correspondents had agreed to ask only one question apiece. To three others who also put the Gurusome question Wallace snapped: "I never engage in a discussion with a stooge of Westbrook Pegler." Finally a watery-eyed olderster got up "My name is Mencken, H.L.," he announced. "Will you call me a stooge of Pegler?"

"H. L. Mencken," said Wallace ingratiatingly, "is nobody's stooge."

"Then, will you tell me—did you write them?"

"I will handle that in my own way and in my own time," said Wallace. At last the Communist "New York Daily Worker's" Rob F. Hall went to the rescue by asking Wallace to discuss "progressive capitalism." After that, wrote Pegler, "the incident dissolved in a cloud of Oriental incense and a faint distant tinkle of Chinese gongs."

Looking back on the performance, Paul Gallico fervently wished the eyes and ears of television and radio had been there to take it in. "You would have seen the man as he is, a charlatan, an ignoramus, a cold-blooded opportunist and a coward."

Miss West was less vitriolic, but equally damning. "If one is to supply the objective truth about the occasion, one must say that Mr. Wallace was like a candle in great heat, twisting, pliable, glistening."

## "EFFICIENT SOCIALIST" IDEA ADOPTED BY INDIA

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**A**MIDST cheers Mr. J. D. A. Perera was welcomed by Mr. K. D. C. Fernando, the President of the Special Reception Committee, at a reception accorded to him by his pupils of Ceylon Technical College on Saturday at the College Hall. Among those present were Prof. R. H. Paul, Director of the College, Mrs. Paul, Messrs. Karl Kassman and David Paynter.

The decoration of the hall was very artistic, most probably due to the function being held by budding artists, and setting up of the stage was also really noteworthy. The Social was followed by a grand variety entertainment in which most of the leading Ceylon artists participated. Mr. M. B. M. Ghouse, the Secretary of the Committee, who was in charge of the variety entertainment, ought to have been congratulated for forwarding a most striking programme rich in Oriental items.

The outstanding performances were: "The Slave Dance" by Wilfred Jayakody, Oriental song by Susil Premarane with the orchestral accompaniment by W. D. Albert Perera and party, Sinhalese songs by Kanthi Wakwella, Percy Wijewardena and "Seela," Albert Perera, Rohitha Jayasinghe (a pupil of Sunil Shanthi) and a Tagore song by Miss Mathurasinghe. Prem Kumar's demonstrations of the "nine moods" were very highly appreciated by the audience and Owen Brace was noted for his comic song "Out All Night."

**T**HE Efficient Socialist proposal of Col. Kotelawala that workers should have the right to a share in the profits of a company apart from the wages they earned has been taken up in India.

The Committee appointed to investigate profit sharing and a fair return for capital has recommended that profit sharing should be tried in key industries.

It will be remembered that in his proposals for the re-organisation of the bus transport services in Ceylon, Col. Kotelawala laid down that one of the features of the new public companies should be that its workers should have the right to a share of the profits.

The Indian Committee which met at Delhi is of the view that while production may cover up cost of a number of enterprises profits may not simultaneously increase cost of other factors among which may be inefficient management, low selling prices, bad distribution, or poor quality. Some employers in India are said to be willing to experiment with profit sharing in the industries entirely under their management but point out that this would mean differentiation between workers employed in similar industries but under different management.

Mr. J. D. A. Perera, replying to the speech made by the President, said that the reception was beyond his expectation and thanked the students and those present for making it a success.

M. A. C.

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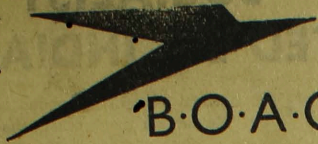
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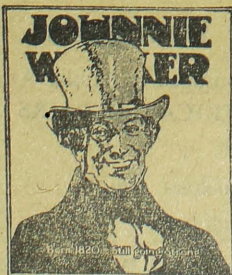
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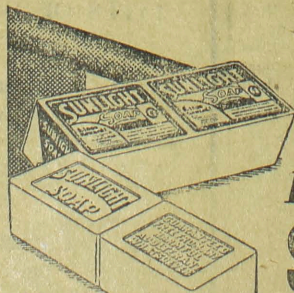
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