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VOL. II. No. 11

Organ of the United National Party
Rg. Office: 32/3 Flower Road, Colombo

FRIDAY, 25th JUNE, 1948

Registered at the
G. P. O. as a Newspaper

PRICE 5 CENTS

Leader Reviews Party Position FIRST TASK ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED

'We are the Party of Ordered Progress'

OUR first task was to bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations for our freedom. We have done so, and on February 4, the whole of our people became free of foreign domination for the first time for nearly 450 years.

It is an achievement which will make the first Parliament of Ceylon notable in our history.

Naturally our independence was described as a "fake," but the allegation was half-hearted and did not convince even those who made it. The academic theories, which our learned doctors obtained by studying a few books in a foreign country, said that freedom could be obtained only by bloody revolution; and, when their theories were proved false, all they could do was to deny the facts. It must be obvious to everybody that we can now do as we please and it will become even more obvious before this Parliament comes to an end.

I do not propose to say much about these Leftist theories. It is obvious to everybody that the only Party capable of forming a Government is the United National Party. We must improve our organisation so as to make certain of a majority next time; but meanwhile our task is to begin the process of developing the prosperity of the country so that everybody can live a happier and more useful life.

It is not an easy task, for the war has left many problems to be solved and we have to overcome the inertia produced by 450 years of foreign domination. Fortunately we are in a happier position than many of the countries of the world. Our economy was distorted by the war, but it was not thrown completely out of gear and we had no serious devastation. We are not much worse off than we were in 1930. We have refused to fight communal battles, in spite of provocations, and so we have not the serious problems of our friends in India.

Our association with the British Commonwealth of Nations makes the problem of defence less difficult; and, though we must begin to provide our own defence forces, it is at this stage unnecessary for us to waste much of our national income on implements of destruction. Our long standing friendship with our neighbours, India, Burma and Pakistan, coupled with our association with the British Commonwealth will enable us to devote our finances to national development and spend the minimum possible on our defences. But we cannot on this account entirely neglect our defences. A start has to be made with the formation of our National Army, Navy and Air Force.

Nor do external relations cause much concern. We have to take over responsibility for our external policy, to establish embassies in the countries with whom we have the closest relations, and, if we are elected—as I hope we soon shall be—to take our share in the deliberations of the United Nations. But the manner in which we attained

our independence has left us without enemies.

WE have no quarrel with anybody and nobody has any quarrel with us. Already we have had friendly discussions with the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan and Burma. I have personally paid visits to India and Pakistan and called on the Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and also undertaken discussions with them on some of our outstanding problems. These discussions were conducted in a most cordial and friendly manner and I have no doubt that full agreement will be reached in the very near future on the matters that came within our discussions. The Leader of the House was the Ceylon Government Representative at the Independence Celebrations of Burma early this year. He has brought back with him very happy memories of his visit and the very friendly relations that exist in that country towards ours.

The Minister for Transport and Works was the head of the Goodwill Mission that took the Sacred Relics of Sariputta and Moggallana in March this year to Burma. This Goodwill Mission to Burma has brought the two countries closer together and there can be no doubt whatever in regard to the future relations between free Burma and Ceylon.

Some of our Ministers have also undertaken missions to the United Kingdom and in due course we will no doubt have to send missions to other parts of the world. The conduct of external affairs is an expensive business on which most countries spend large sums. We shall be able to keep the cost to a minimum, though we must maintain our prestige in the eyes of the world. We can no longer allow the United Kingdom to speak for us in the councils of the nations because we are a nation with views of our own.

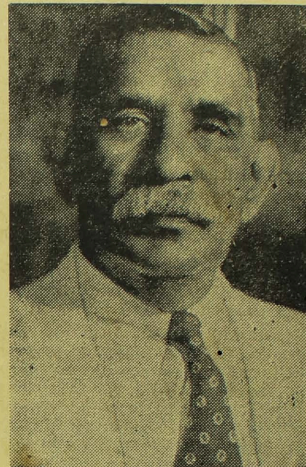
What all this means is that though we must give some thought to the problems of defence and external affairs, we can concentrate mainly on our internal problems. Here I must point out to you very emphatically that our national income is low and that we cannot spend all that we would like to spend. We know what sort of educational system we would like to provide; we know how to raise the standard of health of our people; we know what social services are required. We cannot do all these things until we have the money. We cannot copy wealthier countries until we become wealthy. We can impose new taxes as we have done, but we have to be careful not to tax so heavily as to reduce the wealth of the country. Whenever we impose new taxes we put up the cost of living, and if the cost of living rises so much that we cannot sell our exports we shall not have more money to spend but less.

THESE exports of ours are absolutely fundamental to our economy. We have to import about 67 per cent. of our food, most of our clothing and all our fuel. Until we have altered the situation and are able to provide the whole for ourselves we must produce exports at prices which

other people are prepared to pay. In fact, in order to make ourselves self-sufficient, or as near to it as we can hope to attain, we must import steel, cement, machinery and a host of other articles. I know that we ought to produce our own cement, but in order to do so we have to import the materials for the cement factory. Every proposal that I have heard of for increasing our production requires more imports, and we cannot pay for imports unless we continue to get high prices for exports.

Our country being mainly an agricultural one, it is necessary for us to improve the standard of agriculture here so that the earning capacity of the people could be greater. This can be done by the introduction of modern

(Continued on page 2)



Mr. D. S. Senanayake



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Leader Reviews Party Position

"If Socialism means that the State should take over enterprises where it is economic to do so, I am a Socialist"

machinery and modern methods of cultivation. Our aim should be to increase the extent of the holding of a peasant and also to increase the yields.

In more agriculturally advanced countries like Australia and America, a normal holding worked by a single farmer would be about 100 acres. Our holdings are not more than two or three acres, in some areas very much less. It is therefore necessary to extend our agricultural activities and bring more land now in jungle under cultivation. Our holdings should be of such an extent that it would keep the colonist occupied right through the year and provide him with work. We will thus be able to make full use of the man power available.

Any agricultural delay means loss; it means waste. The land has to be ready when the sowing season comes. Our past experience has taught that it is essential that when a colonist is placed on the land, he should be provided with a complete farm.

He should be started on his career with an adequate supply of seed and plants and the necessary implements and livestock. Although the initial expenditure will be high, it will really prove a saving to Government in the long run as a result of the elimination of wastage and reduction of failures.

THE Leftists produce all sorts of wild theories for two reasons. The first is that they know that

they will never be called upon to put them into practice. The second is that they are not interested in the welfare of the common people. They do not mind if the cost of living rises and people become impoverished, because that will create widespread distress which will enable them to seize power as their friends have done elsewhere. But since there may be a few who find their scheme attractive on the surface I had better say something about them.

One idea they put forward is to confiscate the estates and convert them into peasant holdings. There are no peasant holdings in Russia, and so they do not seriously mean this proposal. It is, of course, utterly stupid. It means that tea, rubber and coconuts which enable us to pay for food, clothes, machinery, oil, kerosene and what not will be destroyed and our people will have to do without imported articles.

Nor will they get anything in exchange for most of these estates cannot be used for cultivation.

Surely a doctor of philosophy ought to know the difference between cultivable and uncultivable land. The Government policy is to acquire estates in areas where there is an acute shortage of land and, wherever possible, to convert them into peasant holdings where it is economic to do so, that is, where the gain to the country is greater than the loss. I think it is agreed that this is the only sensible policy.

It is not at all practicable to suggest that this could be done on a large scale. Till we are able to achieve this object of settling peasants on economic holdings, where there is a concentration of population, there is always bound to be scarcity of employment. In such places new industries should be started and, as a palliative, even land may have to be purchased from absentee landlords and various other methods devised to find employment to such people.

Another of these strange theories is that we ought to nationalise the estates; that means that we ought to oust the planters, who know their job, and put in a lot of Government servants, who also know their job, but it happens not to be planting. We have to take a lot of Government clerks, who have had the very odd education that the English provided for us, and tell them to run estates under the control of Civil Servants who know something about Sanskrit or Greek but nothing about tea, rubber or coconuts. You may reply that we ought to change their education. That is true, and we are doing it; but it takes a generation and meanwhile we have to produce tea, rubber and coconuts to pay for the education.

If Socialism means that the State should take over enterprises where it is economic to do so I am a Socialist; but if it means that we have to cut our throats in order to stop a headache, I am not a Socialist. What we have to do is to raise the standard of living for the sake of our people, not to starve them to death for the sake of a theory.

when you raise the standard of living of the people. Give them the means to buy and they will buy. That creates a market which it becomes worthwhile for local industries to supply. The result is a rapid growth of secondary industries which create employment and a wider demand for goods, which in turn requires the establishment of more and larger industries.

WE intend to spend all the money we can on education because that also is necessary for development. The Special Committee made a very comprehensive report on educational development and it was for the most part approved by the State Council. The line of policy is therefore clear and I am happy to find that the conciliatory tactics of my honourable friend, the Minister of Education, has resulted in such a friendly atmosphere that we can rely on the full collaboration of those engaged in education. What we ought to do is clear. What we can do depends on what proportion of our limited resources can be devoted to educational development. We are especially anxious to diversify our education so as to get rid of our excessive concentration on book learning. Those who need academic learnings of a high order are comparatively few. We want to maintain the high standards that we have already achieved and even to raise them; but we need also to provide a more practical education from the primary school through to the new Faculties that the University is establishing.

The Special Committee's Report emphasises the fact that about 80 per cent. should be engaged in industrial and agricultural pursuits.

This aspect of education had been neglected in the past and it is urgently necessary to provide this education without further delay.

We would not be making full use of our man power if we only keep on producing graduates, doctors, lawyers and schoolmasters in our educational institutions.

Here too the policy is clear enough, but we must decide from year to year, according to economic conditions, how much we can afford to spend.

Expenditure on health is another item which is necessary for national development and, in this item should not only be included expenditure on hospitals, housing and planning, but also on medical services particularly those pertaining to preventive measures. Mass treatment of the population for malaria, tuberculosis and venereal diseases are of the greatest importance. The benefits of such treatment already started in the case of certain diseases has proved a great success and we must pursue with this mass treatment.

Maternity and child welfare work has been started on a large scale all over the Island and we must continue and expand these services till our death rate is brought down to as low a level as possible. We must give top priority to this mass treatment, preventive measures and housing because it is better and cheaper to keep people in health than to cure them when they fall sick. You will know from published statements that the Minister of Health has these matters in hand.

WHAT I can assure you is that we are pushing on with all possible speed with a plan which is feasible. Like the little groups that call themselves parties we could produce all kinds of airy and attractive but impracticable plans.

But we are the Party charged with the responsibility of Government and therefore we have to put our plans into practice. We have to find the money, the men and the materials. The Opposition groups can be completely irresponsible because they know that there is no chance of their forming the Government.

(Continued on page 3)

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BEWARE OF IMITATIONS

Leader Reviews Party

Position

(Continued from page 2)

This is in fact a defect in our present system. In most countries, there is a responsible Opposition capable of assuming the reins of Government when public opinion changes. Instead of an Opposition, we have a collection of petty groups, all of them fighting each other as well as us, and except when an independent member butts in we never have a sensible debate in which we can get down to brass tacks.

You will appreciate that this imposes a great responsibility upon us. If we are unable to get and keep a majority we shall have chaos in the country because there will be no stable government. We must therefore get down to the task of organisation so as to be certain of winning the next election. In due course we shall find a genuine Opposition arising which can appeal to the country with a sensible programme different from ours. For the present we must make it plain to the country that the choice lies between the United National Party and chaos, a chaos which will depress the standard of living of every person in the country and produce widespread unemployment and distress.

Our task has to be performed not only in Parliament but also in the towns and villages. We have an electorate which cannot be led like sheep but which requires to be persuaded. We must, therefore, form an organisation in every town and every village, run by the most patriotic and responsible citizens. We are the party of ordered progress, the only party capable of leading the country through the difficulties that lie before us into a happier world.

Local Industrial Enterprise Progress of "Swadeshi"

BY S. M. NAYAGAM

(Managing Director, Swadeshi Industrial Works)

THE profits earned during the year must be considered satisfactory in view of unrestricted imports of consumer goods which were dumped into the market from all sources. Most of our Departments which were profit-earning during the war period have had to slow down production due to imports. This has specially affected our manufacture of torch batteries and toilet goods. The demand for our soaps still continues on the upward trend and with a view to meeting this increased demand we are going ahead with our programme of extension to the Soap Factory.

During the early part of the year the Match Industry was not able to make any profit as we had to pay higher wages in accordance with the Minimum Wages Ordinance fixed for the industry. After representation to the Government we were able to get a remission on Excise Duty and towards the end of the year this Department has earned a small profit.

GLASS FACTORY

The Company has sustained a loss in the working of this Department due to intermittent stoppage of work caused by shortage of refractories and crucibles which had to be imported from India and which was not available in quantity due to the scarcity prevailing in that country. This has now been remedied and the Company has completely re-organized this Department and is now installing a Tank Furnace with a capacity sufficient to meet the Island's requirements in utility ware such as tumblers, chimneys, bottles, etc. We expect to make some profit during the current year as soon as the Tank starts work in a month or so.

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Our subsidiary concern is in production from about February this year, and some of the machinery and moulds have

just arrived and these will also start working in a few weeks, and it is expected that before the current year is over, this Company will pay its way through.

TAXATION

The Company's taxation liability to the end of the year under review is Rs. 617,829 of which we have paid in the current year one and a half lakhs and satisfactory arrangements have been made to pay the balance. The present policy of the Government to tax indiscriminately industrial undertakings is deplorable. An industrial concern like ours with a paid up capital of Rs. 500,000 till recently, and since increased to seven lakhs, has paid in taxation during the last six years over eleven lakhs of rupees. Therefore it will be seen that a good part of the profits earned by us has gone to the Government, in taxation without being made available to the industry for further development. If the policy of the present Government is to protect industry they should devise ways and means to see that there is sufficient relief by way of taxation to attract capital into industrial undertakings which will eventually solve the unemployment problem in the country.

Before we could have recovered from the burden of E.P.D. another tax was imposed without due notice and with retrospective effect, known as the "Business Profits Tax" which has also taken away a good part of the profits earned during the year.

CUSTOMS TARIFF

The revised Tariff which came into force recently has come as an additional hardship on industrial undertakings, as the Customs Duty on raw materials and machinery required for industries has been taxed heavily, and thereby making it still harder for industrial undertakings to manufacture at an economic price to compete with imported goods. We would invite the attention of the Minister of Finance to take early steps to see that the Tariff is revised in such manner, as is done in progressive countries with a view to protecting

INCREASE PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Says Nandalal

IF there is any issue which should be of pressing concern to our people it is that of increasing the national wealth. Without such an increase any talk of an equitable distribution of wealth would only signify a sharing of the present poverty and a lowering of already distressing standards of living.

In India statesmanship has addressed itself to the question of stepping up production of the priority in the list of national aims and objectives. Much the same task awaits us and a co-ordinated effort of management and workers must be made to increase the national wealth. To achieve that end industrial peace must first prevail.

The present wastage, the appalling slowing down of a deplorably low production machine as a result of strikes, has to be eliminated. The latest Administration Report of the Commissioner of Labour indicates what a worful wastage of man-hours occurs through strikes.

An analysis of the number of man-days lost as a result of strikes provides the following figures for the period 1943-1947:—

Year	Estate	Others	Total
1943	5,234	4,359	9,593
1944	4,048	25,937	29,985
1945	4,285	153,388	157,673
1946	31,880	250,866	282,746
1947	199,657	428,493	628,150

These odd statistics do not signify what actually is lost in these strikes. A strike on an estate implies a reduction in the output of tea and rubber, especially. This, in turn means, that we are losing valuable quantities of

commodities that provide the foreign exchange which helps us to buy food, clothing and machinery for the development of our resources.

Strikes in Ceylon generally involve the tea and rubber packing industries too. Here again we hold up and impede the flow of goods that bring us food and the other necessities.

Increased production is vital for the industrial development of our country; so that the elimination of strikes is an urgent problem. Of course the reactionary politician would suggest immediately that a legislative ban should be imposed making all strikes illegal. Unfortunately, such a summary solution never works and strikes have a habit of breaking out in spite of legislative fiat.

The sensible solution would be the investigation of the causes of strikes. Obviously, strikes occur because workers have grievances and not merely because as it is too frequently alleged, they allow themselves to be tools of designing politicians. What is needed therefore is the creation of machinery which should make it possible for grievances to be discussed between workers and their employers so that a compromise satisfactory to both sides might be achieved.

In the present circumstances it is often the case that when workers submit grievances these are rejected off-hand. The workers then resort to a strike. At that stage the Labour Department intervenes and where a settlement is not immediately possible the dispute is referred to a District Court tribunal in certain cases or else left to the protracted arbitration of a strike.

THE defect of the present situation is that arbitration or negotiation occurs often only after a strike has been declared. Machinery for conciliation before that extreme step can be taken is lacking. Hence the wastage which even a few hours' stopping of work inflicts has to be experienced by our economy.

It is pointless blaming the workers for precipitating strikes—that is too frequently the only course of action available to redress their grievances. And let us recall it that to men who live on the border-line of penury, as many of our workers do, a wage dispute is a matter of very grave moment.

It is imperative therefore that agencies which should make negotiation and discussion possible between worker and employer be set up immediately.

The Labour Department has attempted to provide machinery for permanent negotiation but it seems to be the case that its endeavours have been

frustrated by the recalcitrance of certain employers. It is not the workers alone who are stubborn.

In the Labour Commissioner's report it is stated that attempts were made to induce the Employers' Federation of Ceylon and the Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation to accept the principle of permanent joint negotiating machinery. It appeared to find favour with the Estate Federation, but not with the Employers' Federation of Ceylon.

The Report says: "The Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation was the only organisation to translate its appreciation of the ideas into action at high level."

AFTER general discussion of the scheme among all branches of its organisation it agreed to the creation of a Joint Industrial Council with the Ceylon Estate Staffs Union. An agreement was negotiated in which the C.E.E.F. and the C.E.S.U. agreed on certain principles of procedure in their dealings with one another.

The agreement provided for the immediate establishment of a Joint Council of Estate Employers and Estate Staffs. The purpose of this Council is to deal with all questions relating to the salaries, conditions of service and disputes of estate staffs.

The main object of the Council is to secure the largest possible measure of joint action between estate employers and estate staffs for the development of the planting industries and the improvement of the conditions of service of estate staffs.

THE Labour Commissioner's Report remarks that the Council has made a good start for in the first few months of its existence it set up an agreed salary scheme for all subordinate staff employees.

It should be mentioned that the Joint Industrial Council idea had the active support of many trade unions. The powerful All-Ceylon Trade Union Federation which with its 22,844 members (1947 estimate) is the largest federation of Trade Unions in the Island, worked for it. In the "Forward" Mr. A. Vaidialingam wrote an article supporting the Joint Industrial Council idea.

Here then is an idea which commands the support of labour, at least of a large section, and should appeal to employers too as it has already done to one group. It offers an opportunity for the collaboration of worker and employer and for a peaceful settlement of their differences. The establishment of Joint Industrial Councils for all industries is urgently needed.

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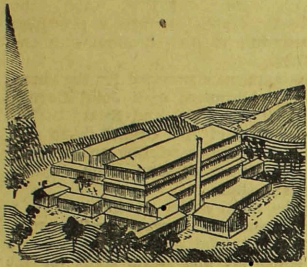
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Friday, June 25, 1948

EFFICIENT SOCIALISM

THERE are some people, who appear to be somewhat envious of Col. Kotelawala's slogan of Efficient Socialism. They will have none of the word "efficient," and, one would suspect, have none of the word socialism either. It is necessary therefore to make it clear that by efficient socialism what is meant is not merely lip service to a phrase but something practical that can be achieved. We appreciate the fact that the mere idea of socialism is not enough. That is to say it is useless to accept socialism as a political creed and to give effect to it by a series of enactments in Parliament. That can be done by most anybody, for today socialism is no longer a mystic theory understood only by a few intellectuals. It is quite a different matter to understand its implications in actual administrative routine and to carry out a programme to its logical end.

In an article published in the "Times of Ceylon" on this subject Sir John emphasised that there must be people with administrative skill and ability to carry out a plan of socialism. It is obviously not given to everyone to get down to work with the same dexterity as they may show when they get up to speak. We refer to the Left-Wing politicians who are authorities on socialism and are gifted orators who can capture the attention of an audience whenever they declaim either in Parliament or at public meetings. No one however will seriously imagine that they are capable of putting into effect the plans they propose. No Left-Wing Party in this country has got the men with the capacity to bring that great ability that is necessary to handle the routine administration of large Government Departments. In the past we have had the experience of very gifted and eminent Ministers in the State Council who were remarkable in debating skill but extremely poor at their desks. Rhetoricians apparently were hopeless at getting a job done. And "Socialism" will be worse than the most corrupt capitalism in such hands. Well may socialists then exclaim: "Oh God, save us from our friends."

POLITICAL INTRUDERS

THE Americans have a picturesque political term. They call "carpet-baggers" politicians who rush into areas where they have no abiding interest merely in order to contest a seat. A "carpet-bagger," however, has a place in Parlia-

OPEN AIR SCULPTURE IN LONDON

By Sheila Clark

LONDON is rich in a greenery of pleasant parks. London is a maze of fashionable streets. There are gracious avenues and haunted back-alleys. There are towering modern blocks and nestling city churches. London is bursting with history, life, mellowed tradition and great occasions. We remember it like that. The skies are often cloudy and the streets are grey. The ragged silhouette of the motley buildings against an insignificant skyline make a negligible impression on the mind's eye. Is this, then, the reason for London's shortage of outdoor sculpture?

London, the greatest city in Europe, in the whole world, is sadly lacking in beautiful statuary. In Paris, Rome, Florence, and Athens, and many other European cities there is an abundance of what English people might call ostentatious decoration of streets and squares, and of the very buildings themselves. Against the colourful background of ever-changing skies, where the climate is as dependable as the change from night to day, these cities display generous collections of open-air sculpture.

mentary politics, for in the national sphere a candidate's knowledge of the area he represents is not quite as important as the party and policy he stands for. His electoral association will keep him posted on his area's needs. Much talent would be lost if each constituency were to return only a man of the place. What really matters in national politics is the settlement of broad principles not the adjustment of parochial details. In local politics, on the other hand, the man of the place should be the obvious choice not because parochial patriotism is in dispute both because the nature of local government politics demands such a selection. Here, the local representative has to keep alive his localities' own needs and press for their amelioration. The representative must therefore have an intimate knowledge of the area he stands for. The parochial politician has his place in local government affairs.

The tendency for "carpet-baggers" to appear in local government is developing in our country. One example was the Galkissa Ward of the Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia Urban Council. Here Mr. Robert Gunawardena, of the L.S.S.P., and the M.P. for Kotte, who does not live in the ward, was a contestant. His defence would be that he planned to expose the "false colours" under which his successful rival, Mr. Edmund Samarakody, was sailing. But that is hardly an issue of local politics. The question for the voters should have been which candidate could most satisfactorily help to provide the demands of the ward in such respects as housing, adequate sanitation and water supply. To introduce extraneous and exotic issues such as the L.S.S.P. posed is to misunderstand the nature of Local Government. Local Government politics is an affair of filling up the details of the general principles enunciated in Parliamentary politics. For this reason "carpet-baggers" should not be encouraged.

Of course London has its share of portraits, commemorating the great men in the history of Britain and the Empire. Nelson broods with the pigeons over Trafalgar Square. Queen Victoria sits resplendent before Buckingham Palace at the end of the Mall. Byron and Scott, Florence Nightingale and President Roosevelt hold honoured and decorative places amongst London's statues. But there are few parks and buildings glorified with sculpture because the sculpture has its own intrinsic beauty and enriches the site. The usual event of an exhibition of open-air sculpture in London is therefore all the more remarkable.

The London County Council has presented ballet, music and the theatre in the parks of London. It is not surprising that an art exhibition should be sponsored by the Council which has several famous schools of art within its educational scheme. Situated amongst summer trees, with a bank of the Thames on one side and the quiet dignity of an English lake on the other, Battersea Park has proved to be an ideal location for this unusual exhibition.

AN art exhibition always attracts those who come to be seen rather than to see. The ultra-fashionable atmosphere which permeates many of London's galleries is

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By Quintus Delil Khan

LENIN WOULD BE "MASTER"

LENIN had no time to waste in persuading the proletariat to voluntarily join in a campaign for establishing itself in power. He left that to the doctrinaires of orthodox Marxism. He had no idea whatsoever of making a master of the proletariat. His realism was of an iron inflexibility. If there was to be a new master in Russia, it was to be himself. He would govern according to his conception of what the new state should be, and he knew that the proletariat could always be governed if there was strong and relentless exercise of power at the top by a small coterie of men absolutely bound to himself as the source of their own authority. His scheme was a large one, and the men who worked with him would not be allowed to deviate one hair's breadth from his completely integrated Marxist revolutionary formula. He intended to dominate every aspect of the life of Russia. The business of the masses was to implicitly obey. What he thought good for them was to be their only good. No power on earth in modern times has done with less consultation of the will of the people than the creator of the modern Russian state. It is only under the communist-derided system of democracy that the will of the people has any real significance. Not only was a dictatorship to be established over the people, but it had to be exercised with equal ruthlessness over the small minority called into being as the associates of Lenin in his herculean task of bringing into existence this monstrosity amongst modern states. "The whole of Russia," says Berdyaev, "the whole Russian people, was subjected not only to the dictatorship of the communist party but also to the dictatorship of the communist dictator, in thought and in conscience. Lenin denied freedom within the party, and this denial of freedom was transferred to the whole of Russia." This is the kind of state which its enthusiasts old out as a desirable end for every democratic country of the world. Actually it is nothing more than a dreary and depressing state of serfdom. The only privilege left is the opportunity to work for the state in accordance with its needs as determined by the judgment of the dictator. Such a state cannot exist except as a powerful military unit. Only Russians trained to submit throughout centuries of their history to a powerful militarist rule could sustain such a state without the desire to revolt. The Russians had never known the benefits of democracy. It is not surprising that they should not acutely feel its loss, as other countries of the world would if they came to the same pass. Russians are a people apart. They are weighed down by their own historical past.

* • *

THE Russian intelligentsia had for decades demanded freedom from Tsarist domination. They appeared in their own eyes in the shape and guise of saviours of their country, plotting and planning and killing because they were oppressed. But strangely when the power which they

regarded as oppressive was removed, they did not appear to realise what is so very plain that they had introduced a tyranny which was more wide and comprehensive than that from which they had escaped. No country today so worships force as Russia. It is the one instrument of government which is a solution of all the problems of government. When free opinion has been abolished, there is the danger always of its cropping up in multifarious forms and on the widest possible field. The Russian government has no time to deal with the justice or propriety of any of these opinions. The Marxist revolutionary will has been expressed. It is perfect for all time. Difference of opinion is an affront to this mythical perfection. Coercion must therefore be immediately used. Men must be reduced to a dead level of servitude if the integrity and force of the Marxian ideal is to be preserved. Individuals are nothing. It is only the system that matters. The new revolutionaries drawn from the workmen and peasants became inured very soon to all forms of cruelty and harshness necessary to the change effected in the state. They endured party and military discipline. Their philosophy was one of unrelieved materialism. They had no roots in the cultural past of Russia. They had accepted their hard fate in the past. Now that a change had come, it was violent, and altered as it were the whole structure of life. "This," says Berdyaev, "was a typical process. Meekness and peacefulness may turn into fierceness and ferocity. Lenin could not realise his plan of revolution and seizure of power without a change in the soul of a people. The change was so great that people who had lived by irrational beliefs and been submissive to an irrational fate suddenly went almost mad about the rationalisation of the whole of life without exception. They believed in a machine instead of in God. The Russian people having emerged from the period of being rooted in the soil, and living under its mystic domination, entered upon a technical period in which it believed in the almighty power of the machine, and by the force of ancient instinct began to treat the machine like a totem. Such switchings over are possible in the soul of a people." Lenin had very plain material in the human beings he controlled to serve his purpose. He could act as he chose because he was an anti-humanist and an anti-democrat. He set an example which was bound to create followers. He paved the way of Fascism and Nazism. Mussolini and Hitler were evil portents of his creation, and of course Stalinism. All this is a strange legacy to the world in the name of freedom. The new tyranny has been far worse than the old bondage.

* • *

IT is sometimes forgotten that the old Hebrew literature provides us with the best models of eloquence. The psalms have been the study of great orators and the poetry of the Bible has been their inspiration. The whole of English literature is saturated with this influence. It was laid to the charge of Ruskin that his high emotional prose upon even such subjects as political economy took its origin from the ideas and rhythms of the sacred books. Carlyle thought that the greatest drama in the whole world was the book of Job, and that there was nothing approaching its grandeur of conception and magnificent utterance in Shakespeare or the Greek dramatists, other drama of course being left far behind. The Bible, however, is very

badly arranged generally. It is one mass of reading matter, closely printed and tiring to the eye though always refreshing to the mind by its variety, beauty and deep appeal to the moral nature of man. It is hard to imagine what a new wealth of meaning and appeal is possible in a volume which resembles in its arrangement any book of modern verse. It looks as if one is reading a new and unfamiliar book. It is a thrill to read its immortal lyrics again in this form which awakens a new interest. "The Songs, Hymns and Prayers of the Old Testament" arranged by CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Colombo Book Centre), a Hodder & Stoughton publication, is a rare delight to handle and old favourite passages appear in an entirely new light as lyrics which are among the most precious heritages of the human spirit. In Greek poetry it is surprising how little space is given to the study of nature. Homer is interested in the development of incidents in the life of a small group of men, and the life of nature is scarcely glanced at, but it is very different with the Hebrew writers. Every change in the face of nature is depicted by them, and their land lives before us in all its multi-form aspects. Every great poet has been moved by a religious consciousness and in this matter the Hebrew poets have been specially gifted. This combination has given us a marvellous body of poetry upon which has been set for all to see the seal of immortality.

Local Industrial Enterprise

(Continued from page 3)

and fostering local industries. We may point out that the Indian Government recently went into this question and appointed a Tariff Board which went into the question thoroughly and called upon industrialists to place before them facts and figures in regard to their claim for protection of indigenous industries and the reports of the various Tariff Board Committees are available. Moreover, the Indian Customs Tariff has classified the duties as "Protective" and "Revenue" which is well worth studying.

IMPORT CONTROL

We welcome the present idea of the Government to restrict imports of all consumer goods that are being manufactured locally with a view to conserving the country's resources, but the restrictions have not yet taken effect and consumer goods are still coming in large quantities from overseas to compete with local products. We would suggest that the matter should receive closer attention of the Department concerned.

In conclusion I would urge upon the present Government to let us have early their policy in regard to industrialization of the country, specially what they propose to adopt in regard to private industrial enterprise.

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

AFTER the Lord Mayor's show, comes the dust cart! So it is that after a full week in which the First Test, Royal Ascot and our own races provided plenty of thought for reflection, we have this week only the Second Test at Lord's to wax enthusiastic over—and even that is only a day old.

I propose therefore to take advantage of the present lull and try to indicate to you what pointers, if any, the C.T.C. June Meet provided to the various classics of August Week.

Naturally it is the Governor-General's Cup that calls for analysis first. And I might as well admit, here and now, that, in my opinion, no winner emerged at the June races which has the remotest chance of beating Kunj Lata if last year's Cup winner is fit and well. From all accounts I have had of her progress since she returned from Bombay last April, Kunj Lata is steadily picking up her old form which made her the unbeaten champion of Ceylon. I take Aerial to be her most serious rival. This mare, whose sire is the Two Thousand Guineas winner Orwell, is coming to hand very nicely. She put up a very good run in the Stanley Cup last week when she went under only by a short head to Mohan Tara. As a matter of fact I thought that if Jockey Smith had waited just a trifle longer before he hit the front on Aerial, he might have just about got there. At level weights Cosy Corner can always beat either Mohan Tara or Breech provided the going is not affected by rain. Senator Gardiner, therefore, has a very strong hand in the race with Kunj Lata and Cosy Corner who might quite conceivably finish first and second. The connections of Seasprite must be convinced by now that the gelding cannot see the

Cup horse out and I, therefore, hope they will not make the mistake of trying to convert him into a stayer. Up to a mile he will give the best a run for their money. If there is going to be an upset in the Blue Ribbon of the Ceylon turf, Baldowrie may be responsible for it. This gelding is a rogue who never runs two races alike but if he has the assistance of Jockey Marrs, keep him on the right side.

The only other Cup race for Class I horses is the Clements' Commemoration Plate and this race should go to a horse who is at present in Class II. This is Roberta who ought to make his way to the top class after winning the Lawyers' Cup on the opening day of the Meet.

The two sprint classics, the Bachelors' Purse and the Channer Stakes, read like gifts for King Cosmo with the gallant Manchu as his greatest danger. Breech is such a game waler that he must be given the best chance in the Turf Club Plate, which is the longest race in Ceylon.

Class II horses have two Cup events. The Lawyers' Cup, as I have suggested earlier, is a good thing if Roberta while the ill-fated Galle Cup, the winners of which for the past 15 or 20 years have gone amiss within six months of victory, lies between Tanstar and Acacia.

Horses in the two lowest classes also have a couple of trophies to run for but, till the entries are out, it is not possible to suggest the likely winners.

Top class Arabs are well catered for in the matter of Cups. The chief prize is, of course, the Roberts' Cup. I understand that some good Arabs have been purchased from South India as well as from Baghdad but one can never tell how they will turn out, of the ponies now in Class I, Najaiman Sami, Mr. Colman, Jutland and Jayawewa will certainly beat more than will beat them.

If Mrs. Andree's Sukab goes up to this company before the Cup race, I

doubt whether any of the older Arabs will even sight him. If there is no time for him to get up to the top class by the first day of the August Meet, he should be there before the end and the Bandaranaike Cup is his for the asking.

These are some early jottings on the August classics, which I shall discuss in greater detail once the entries are published.

THE rugger season in Ceylon is now nearing the half way stage. The most notable feature of it has been the unbeaten record of the C.R. and F.C. This Ceylonese metropolitan club has gone from strength to strength and today they have welded themselves into such a powerful and well-knit side that I doubt whether they will taste defeat or even be held to a sharing of spoils by any club.

The first of the major Colombo "Derbys" is to be played next week on the C.R. and F.C. grounds and current form points to an easy Ceylonese victory over the C.H. and F.C. Ceylonese rugger has certainly travelled a long way from the days when it used to be the whipping boy of the local rugger world.

WHATEVER may be the result of the Test match which is now in progress, I confess that I cannot appreciate the reasons which have prompted the English Selectors in once again overlooking the claims of Malcolm Hilton of Lancashire. They surely must at some stage begin building for the future and what better material is at their disposal than this youngster who is regarded as the best left-arm spinner since the days of "Farmer" Jack White. The inclusion of Coxon of Yorkshire seems to indicate that the Selectors prefer pace to spin and it remains to be seen whether they are right in their choice. Barnett's omission was only to be expected and I also expected Young to be dropped. There is no better setting for a Test match than the headquarters of cricket—the famous Lord's ground off St. John's

Wood. On such a wicket, hallowed by tradition, only the quintessence of cricket can be expected.

HISTORY was made on the Royal Heath at Ascot last week when the Royal Hunt Cup was won by the second year in succession by Master Vote.

This 5-year-old gelding carrying a stone and 4 lbs. more than he did last year, won this Ascot "plum" much more convincingly than he had done last year. His success, unique as it was, also gave the Australian jockey, Togo Johnstone, the rare distinction of having ridden the winners of the Derby and the Hunt Cup in the same year.

France did not quite scoop the pool at this year's Ascot as was the case twelve months back. Of course nothing could have prevented the Gold Cup from crossing the Channel as the winner, Arba, was always far too good for any English competitor.

BOTH sides of the recent dispute between the S.S.C. invitees and the C.C.A. over the Holkar matches have been given the widest publicity and the public can now judge for themselves the merits of each case. A careful study of charge and counter charge reveals that much of the acrimony engendered by this unfortunate dispute could have been avoided had the breach not been wilfully widened by carping critics, who could not possibly have had the good of the game at heart. Even now, when the matter has been left to the judgment of the public, attempts are being made to influence their decision by sarcastic reference to certain correspondence, which has not yet been published. All I can say at the moment is that these moves only tend to keep the wound open and as long as this is the case, cricket in the island will languish in the doldrums, as it is universally recognised that the S.S.C. provides the back-bone of Ceylon cricket.

OPEN AIR SCULPTURE IN LONDON

(Continued from page 4)

totally missing. Regular visitors to the park go to the sculpture exhibition through curiosity and stay to admire and praise. But from all over London each day there is drawn a satisfying crowd of interested visitors who seek out the beauty of these man-made masterpieces amongst the glories of rhododendrons in the full flush of May. Surrounded by gardens and peaceful lawns, this exhibition which teaches and delights, must surely be an optimistic sign of a new approach to outdoor sculpture in London today.

The work shown is mainly by British sculptors, but there is some from the hands of foreign artists. An exhibition of this type is limited in scope, limited to those pieces which will stand the erratic changes of the London weather and those which can be transported to the site.

The transportation of such massive groups as Henry Moore's "Three standing figures" is indeed a feat in itself. The effort is amply repaid. Here in the park, amongst lofty trees, the great figures assume their proper proportions. Three suggestions of the magnificent bearing of the human form become suddenly apparent. With an almost overpowering air of grandeur, these figures remind us that they are hewn from the rocks that God set amongst the trees and bushes, and there they belong.

In contrast, but just as comfortable in this environment, are the more delicate bronze figures. There is Wheeler's "Spring." The lithe embodiment of the dainty young maiden who brings the green to winter-darkened trees is, like

Peter Pan in the Kensington Gardens, at ease only amongst the lawns and gardens. Epstein's "Girl with the Gardenias," another bronze, strides her fragile way eagerly. She drops a string of blossoms as she goes. Surely her most fitting home is in a garden!

HOW is it possible to estimate the tremendous dignity of Maillol's figures in an ordinary exhibition, where the surroundings are gallery or studio walls? The round heavy women that he moulded so well can only show their true beauty in the open air. They need the space and light of a sunny park to give them right perspective. Maillol must surely have pictured these figures gracing some spacious lawn. There are three works by this sculptor in the exhibition. The most impressive is his "Woman with a necklace." One hand caught through a long necklace, she contemplates with utmost serenity the worrying world of petty triviality.

Maillol's "Striding torso," a hefty voluptuous Amazon seems to embody all the grace and movement of an Olympic athlete. Another exquisite torso is a male figure by Maestrovic. Such an impression of strength is communicated by this torso that only the twisted trunks of the tough old trees dare to challenge it. It does not seem strange that an artist should wish to produce his desired effect by depicting the torso alone, and yet one of the strangest and most moving pieces in this grand exhibition is that of a "Kneeling Figure" by McWilliam.

(Continued on next page)

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VIEWS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

By Vernon Phelps

GOVERNMENT backbenchers are very rightly probing Governmental measures to test their efficacy on the one hand and the extent of their approval by the country on the other. The lesson of the butter tax has had beneficial effects on the Government backbenchers. In this instance many Government backbenchers felt that the butter tax by the Government was ill-timed, but their hesitation to press the Government to repeal the tax was made use of by the Opposition in Parliament, who did so and to that extent won the plaudits of the public. The Parliamentary Advisory Committees now afford ample opportunities for Government backbenchers to play an important role in pressing the Government to shape its policy with an intimate appreciation of the needs of the country and in tune with its changing tempo.

The Government's policy of providing relief for unemployment by offering the unemployed work on earth-cutting and earth-filling schemes, I submit, is a matter that should be taken up by the Government backbenchers immediately.

It is no use arguing that this is only a temporary measure by the Government to relieve unemployment. It is equally no use pretending that this measure has failed to win popular approval.

A SURVEY of the unemployed who are asking the Government to give them jobs will reveal that a substantial proportion of them are skilled workers—carpenters, masons, fitters, motormen and other skilled personnel, who have been rendered unemployed owing to the closure of the war departments in which they were employed.

To ask this vast proportion of the unemployed to accept work on earth-filling and earth-cutting schemes in a casual "take it or leave it" manner won't do. It is still worse to take up the position (as has been done in certain quarters) that the unemployed cannot be choosers and that they must be thankful for any kind of work offered to them. Such an attitude towards the solution of this vital problem takes nobody anywhere and only breeds resentment and makes liabilities of honest-to-goodness citizens who can be used as assets to the national welfare.

There is much to be said in favour of looking at this problem from the point of view of the unemployed person who wants a job in which he can give of his best and for which he has both the training and the aptitude. This seems an eminently reasonable demand that warrants the consideration of the Government who can and should utilize such offers of service with benefit to the workers and the State. It seems almost redundant to emphasize that here is an offer of useful manpower, with an appreciably high degree of specialisation in a diversity of occupations, which can and must be used for the benefit of the

unemployed workers and the State. The Government must appreciate that these unemployed persons are potential assets to the State whose loyalty and industry can help very considerably to develop the resources of the country, provide the men with profitable and productive employment and enhance the Government's popularity and prestige in the country.

If, therefore, it is agreed that earth-cutting and earth-filling schemes (except for that class of labour accustomed to such work) merely frustrates the worker, it is imperative that schemes providing a diversity of occupations must be started by the Government to solve the unemployment problem.

The Government, very rightly, has decided against the granting of a dole to the unemployed, which is infinitely worse, in that it will demoralise workers almost beyond redemption.

The remedy then, is to expedite the launching of the many major schemes that the Government has in view, which will not only offer a variety of occupa-

tions to the unemployed but will also rapidly advance the development of the national resources of the country.

To sum up: The Government must endeavour to provide productive employment to the unemployed which must be regarded as an imperative priority obligation. The provision of such employment must be tied up with the Government's plans for national development. To achieve both objects, the development plans must emerge out of their blueprint stage in which they are stagnant primarily due to reams of "red tape." The Government backbenchers can render useful service in expediting such delays and in doing so promote the progress of the country, the unemployed and the Government.

pressed close against the ears support a head and neck of amazing strength and beauty. The neck ends in the shoulders. One crooked elbow balances upon a knee. Two bits of a body are joined to give the full impression of a kneeling man. Weird and new, yet possessing a dignity peculiar to it, this figure is most impressive against the ever-changing mosaic of light and dark furnished by the summer foliage.

There are many lovely statues of mother and child. Especially arresting, full of hidden meaning and virility, is the group by Sir William Ried Dick. A mother kneels to hug her son close to her bosom. It is called the "Manchild." Simple, graceful and quite natural, all the emotions of sympathy are stirred by this perfect work.

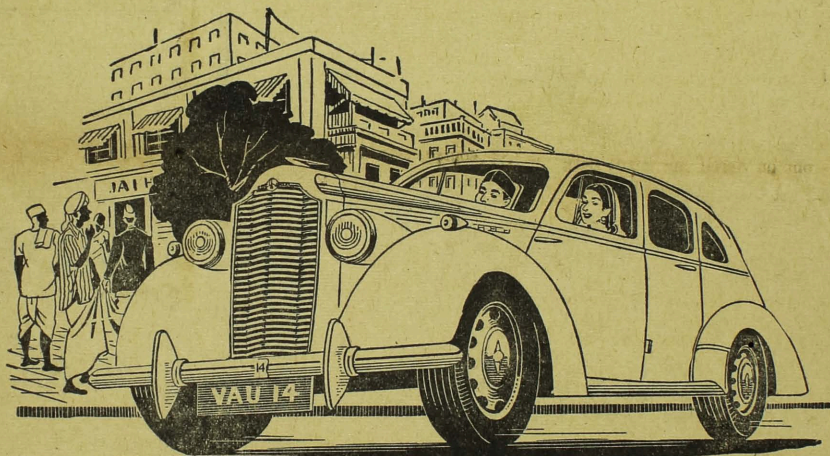
Two figures designed for fountains remind us that sculpture can be functional. Perhaps this exhibition may become the starting point for a drive by Londoners for more beautiful sculpture to enrich the greatest city in the world, and it is to be hoped that more open-air exhibitions will be planned for their delight.

OPEN AIR SCULPTURE IN LONDON

(Continued from previous page)

WEIRD AND NEW

THIS figure by McWilliam has no torso, and yet no beauty is lost. The kneeling legs finish at the hips, and the bent elbows, hands



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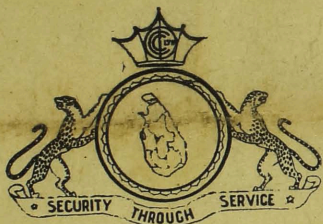
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