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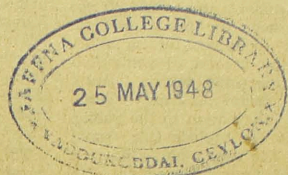
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U. N. P. TO DEFINE POLICY ON JUNE 18th

By A Special Correspondent



IT is understood that unofficial sections of the United National Party have followed up the circular of the Chairman, Propaganda Committee calling for clarification of the policy of the Party and are determined to take a definite step forward.

I understand that an informal meeting will be held to-day when 20 M.P.s and Senators who belong to the Party will discuss what recommendations should be made at a meeting of the Party Executive that has been fixed for the 18th of June. In the meantime the Prime Minister has set up a Sub-Committee of the Cabinet to prepare draft proposals for Cabinet consideration.

In this connection it will be recalled that the Chairman, Propaganda Committee issued a circular on the 2nd April 1948 to members of his Committee in which he declared that:

"A Planning Committee at the highest possible level must be set up immediately to formulate this policy of socialism so that the Cabinet may base its budget proposals with a view to implementing such a declared policy."

He also urged that the U.N.P. as a Party needed re-organisation. He argued that the Party had been formed for a particular purpose namely to enable the people to have a stable Government to work the Soulbury Constitution. That object had been achieved. But the political situation had radically altered.

"It is significant that we are no longer in the Soulbury Constitution stage. We have moved onward and become a Dominion, and in that context the Party must be completely re-organised."

I understand that a group of nearly fifty people interested in the Party and in the political future of this country met privately and quite informally at Kandawala where general difficulties and shortcomings were frankly discussed. It was not an official meeting at all but a purely informal one.



Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

It was stated by various back-bench M.P.s who were present that they wanted a move on. Others said that the policies of the various Ministries were known only to the Ministers concerned and that M.P.s found it extremely difficult to expound Party policy to their

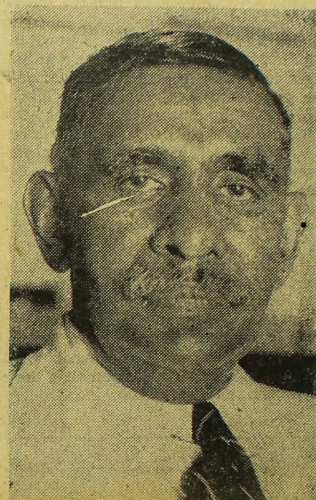
Constituencies. It was unanimously held that it was the business of the Government to run an efficient and well organised Information Department to give non Party information to the public and that Party propaganda should be carried out as intensively by a private Party organisation.

Various measures were discussed for raising funds for the Party, as everyone agreed that it was not much use talking of Party propaganda until there was enough money with which to carry out any scheme that was decided upon.

It is understood that Col. J. L. Kotelawala was the host to those present. He described what he had gathered in England about the way in which the British Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Parties were being run.

Great enthusiasm was shown for renewed activity and today's meeting of a group of unofficials is likely to carry the campaign for a plan a stage further.

The U.N.P. is definitely getting down to work and we may soon expect a bold outline of policy to be given to Parliament and the people.



Mr. D. S. Senanayake
Leader of the Party

COMRADE PHILIP PULLS DOWN COALITION BRIDGE

By Vernon Phelps

COMMERCIAL dry-cleaners and dyers, we know, proudly boast of their "same-day service". For the first time in the political annals of this country, perhaps, there occurred last Saturday what might be adequately described as a "sameday knock-out."

Last Saturday evening's Press, it will be recalled, announced a desperate last-minute bid by the Ceylon Communist Party who, Horatio-like were out to hold the bridge for crossing over by the Sama Samajists and the Bolshevik-Leninists to the Stalinist camp for the purpose of forming a Leftist united front.

Hardly had the ink on this Press announcement dried, when Comrade Philip Gunawardene, publicly declared at a meeting at Wellawatta (he said that he had a mandate from the Sama Samajist Party to do so) that the

L.S.S.P. would have no truck with any other Leftist party.

The knockout was most devastating. Comrade Philip could not have possibly timed it with greater precision. "The Communists and the Bolsheviks want an alliance with us. I want to say here and now quite categorically that the L.S.S.P. will not be a party to such an alliance," he declared. Continuing, he added: "I will also tell you why we cannot join such an alliance. It is because we cannot trust these stooges of the Imperialists and the local capitalists". Warming up to the climax, Comrade Philip declared that the Communists and the Bolsheviks specialized in facing both ways — "depathata kathadina nayakayo" he called them.

While that brings down the curtain on Saturday's revue, which, mark you, was significantly staged in Comrade Colvin's constituency, it also spells for all time the death-knell of unity among the Leftist parties. What was once "a mere split-away" (to quote the picturesque phraseology of Comrade Colvin) is now yawning chasm.



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MODERN PUBLICITY-I

By Ananda Tissa

NO Government today can survive without publicity. This publicity can be of such a character as to earn the bad name of "propaganda". On the other hand it can take the form of straight information which can be the basis on which public opinion can form its own judgment.

Many Governments are afraid to use publicity methods to put across its policy or give an account of its activities to the people because of a mistaken idea that a free press cannot tolerate a Government encroaching on its function of giving information to the public.

I would like to explode this smug theory which has really no foundation except that of press propaganda. No newspaper is omniscient, and the sooner a Government and the public come to realise this fact the better it would be for all concerned. During the war the press in Britain kicked up a dust over the establishment of the British Ministry of Information. What was the cause for the agitation? It really arose from the fact that in seeking for personnel the then British Minister of Information, like most Ministers of that time, very complacently depended on highly paid Civil Servants to advise on the choice.

No Civil Servant in the world is a competent publicist. In fact if one desired to choose the worst possible person to direct publicity he need only pick anyone of the men in the upper rungs of a Government Civil Service. This does not mean that these gentlemen do not possess the intellec-

tual capacity to undertake a job of this nature. For all practical purposes of administration they are supremely fitted. They have a general education, experience of administrative problems, judgment, and sometimes a little imagination. But the very nature of their training and the atmosphere of cold aloofness in which they dwell makes them lose touch with the human aspect of Government.

Their imaginative resources are limited by the narrow confines of their files and official documents. The British Ministry appointed all manner of fossils from its administrative machinery to run its wartime Department of Information. In order, however, to get things done they recruited journalists from some of the newspapers in Fleet Street.

This Organisation, incompetent as it naturally had to be, began to issue a series of "Hand Outs" to the press and expected the newspapers to be so good as to give fullest possible publicity to thoroughly bad official prose.

The newspapers refused to publish a line of this rubbish and began a campaign against the Department which ended in the Minister himself being removed from office and complete reorganisation being effected. Under Brendan Bracken, a new order was ushered in and experienced publicity men took control. Everyone today realises that the British Ministry of Information performed a service in no way inferior to the services rendered by any other war department. In maintaining the morale of the British people, in fighting back every word of the barrage that was let loose by Dr. Goebbels, in creating confidence in the British arms, in winning respect for

British words, the British Ministry of Information was singularly successful. It was one of the most potent weapons of the British War machine.

When the war ended even the old fashioned Tories realised the power of the printed word. Voltaire's renowned statement that "Thrones and Kingdoms totter on the tip of a writer's pen" came to life in the last three years of the war.

Today the British Government continues its Information services. There is a Central Bureau of Information with a staff of nearly 700 whose job it is to keep the British public continually informed of what the Government is doing and why. Millions of leaflets, brochures, booklets and posters are produced and distributed every year explaining general lines of Government policy giving information of a statistical nature, campaigning for specific national needs and directing the nation's attention to the tasks of peace.

In addition to this the larger Ministries have Information Officers of their own with a 50 to 100 men doing 'he same kind of work on a restricted scale dealing with the specific problems of the Ministries concerned. These Information Officers maintain a steady contact with the departmental heads and are aware of the activities of these Departments. This information is carefully collated and forms the basis of their publicity.

All this proceeds from the assumption that the public have a right to know how they are being governed and why Ministries and Departments take decisions on matters concerning the people. Just as the shareholders of any Company have a right to know why and how their money is being spent every citizen in a country has the unquestioned right to be kept informed of what is taking place. This is a service which cannot be rendered by Government Officials whose job it is to carry out the policies laid down for them and by the Ministers under whom they work.

This new conception has yet to be fully understood in our country because our officials are still not fully aware that this country is governed today by the people for the people.

We have a bad tradition in our Public Service which has come down to us from the old days of Colonel Government when the Governor and his Civil Servants owed no explanations to the people of Ceylon and were quite content with a monthly despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies informing that dignity of the wonderful way in which the administration was looking after the people. Revenue Officers and Government Agents as we used to call them sent their monthly diaries to the Governor and they imagined that it was only to His Excellency that they were answerable.

When the Donoughmore Constitution was promulgated most of those people in high offices found it rather difficult to accustom themselves to the new order under which they had to be answerable to elected Ministers and many of them took the opportunity of retiring. Now that we have a Dominion Constitution public control of the administration through their elected representatives is greater and this again is a fact that officialdom finds it difficult to understand. Therefore the public has a right to know why this Government takes decisions on various matters and why these decisions are being carried out.

For this reason the giving of information must be considered as a matter of the greatest importance.

It is true that members of Parliament are entitled to and can get such information during question time but it is not sufficient for M.P.s alone to be informed of how things are being done. Individual M.P.s cannot be expected to have the resources by which to disseminate such information to their constituents and they have a right to ask that the Government should undertake this responsibility on their behalf.

(To be continued)

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PARLIAMENTARY "PURPLE PATCHES"

Personalities and Parties

(By "Antiquarian")

SIR Oliver Goonetilleke's travels in foreign lands have been from time to time, the subject of comment, sometimes laudatory and at other times the reverse of complimentary. It was left to the erstwhile Parliamentary Member for Avissawella, Mr. D. P. R. Goonewardene, to liken Sir Oliver to that Prince of peripatetic sportsmen, the Aga Khan. Said Mr. Goonewardene in the House of Representatives in the course of a debate in that assembly:

"Sir Oliver is the nearest we have in this country to that Indian Prince who is perambulating his ungainly person from one Casino to another in the Riviera, in the laudable service of Islam. I refer, Sir, to His Highness the Aga Khan."

O. E. G. IN THREATENING MOOD

The only occasion on which the gentle and suave Sir Oliver was ever known to have lost his temper in debate and to have been driven to use the language of violence and threat was in that sedate assembly, the Senate, where, following upon some severe strictures and remarks derogatory of the Prime Minister made by Mr. Peri Sundaram, the Deputy President of the Senate, Sir Oliver rose up, with anger flaming in his eyes, and declared in ringing tones:

"I was particularly surprised by the way in which he (Mr. Peri Sundaram) thought it fit to refer to the Prime Minister of Ceylon. There is no country in the world worth living in if there were not in it at least one man whom all sections, whether they agree with his political views or not, will not res-

pect. The Deputy President's father came from a very great country, India. I always refused to think of the Deputy President as any one but a son of Ceylon. I submit that, if the greatest of the Indians speaks in the terms that he did of the worst of the Indian leaders today, that person would not be allowed to leave India with clothes on. I submit that those who want to share in whatever this country has to offer—it may be very little, it may be nothing—must at least agree not to disparage in such terms, not to condemn in such terms, the honesty and the sincerity of at least one man this country honours.... All that I want to tell the Hon. Deputy President is that we number 4,000,000 in this country, and that, however harmless we may be, it may be inconvenient either to trample or unnecessarily insult those four millions." (Hansard 1 No. 14, Cols. 886-7).

"PERSONALIA"

Apart from grave and gay witticisms, the ways in which Members of the House of Representatives have not infrequently in debate referred to some of their political opponents provide amusing and entertaining reading in the otherwise dull pages of Hansard.

We find the Minister for Transport, Mr. J. L. Kotelawala, referring to Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam as "the mild Madras-looking Member for Jaffna", and Mr. Kotelawala himself described by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva as "the Propaganda Chief, the big Red Indian of the Government Wigwag", and Dr. Colvin in turn described by Gate Mudaliyar Kariapper as "the greatest drawing-room farmer that Lanka ever produced," and by Mr. Dudley Senanayake as "the erstwhile Govindan." Gate Mudr. Kariapper described his Chief, Sir Oliver, as "the best Ceylonese brain during the British occupation of this Island."

(Continued on page 3)

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THE WHIP

By Maha Amerasingha

THE appointment of Mr. A. E. Goonesinha to the post of Minister without Portfolio and Chief Government Whip will be generally welcomed. Mr. R. S. S. Gunewardene, during the short time in which he functioned in this capacity showed himself to be thoroughly competent, affable, and accommodating and given a chance he would have helped to discover new talent from among back-benchers in the government ranks.

Mr. Goonesinha is no less competent. He is nothing if he is not efficient. He sets great store on getting things done—a quality most necessary in the present stage of our country. But he tempers this drive with patience and understanding. He shouts at neglect, but he also smiles at good work and is ready with a word of congratulation and appreciation when a job has been done well.

In Ceylon we do not have many men who can direct and organize large undertakings. Of talkers pure and simple we have dozens—the opposition benches overflow with them. Mr. Goonesinha is one of those rare men who can both talk and work. He has a powerful phrase ever ready to hurl itself at an opponent and he does not always hesitate to let these missiles ram into his rivals. And yet, no one can say "you can only talk"—because he

has proved a demon for work. Gifted with a powerful frame, vast resources of energy, a fertile brain and one of stoutest hearts that beats in Parliament or outside, he is now well on the way to being a factor in the shaping of national policy on socialist lines.

Mr. Goonesinha, incidentally, is the first journalist to attain cabinet rank. He has always been proud of his profession. In the early days of his political life, soon after he gave up the post of principal Anderson College, he founded and edited a political journal named "Comrade". This journal was several times called to order by the administration which considered the writings "seditious".

Later, he founded the "Viraya" which is still the only working class daily in Ceylon. Another English paper "The People" was set up just before the War and soon warmed up to the attack on the Government. It was a daily paper and Mr. Goonesinha was impatient of the delays of the Government machine which he attacked ceaselessly.

Above all Mr. Goonesinha's political stature rests on his achievements as a Trade Union Leader. No one wields so much influence with the workers as he. His name as the "Kamkaru jananayaka" became almost a battle-cry when he organized and led the famous Tramways strike when the "Times of Ceylon" shrieked at the Governor and asked him to either "Govern or get out."



Mr. A. E. Goonesinha

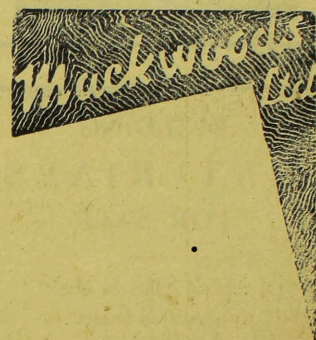
The Trade Union movement, as an organized weapon of the working class was created by Mr. Goonesinha. He gave the worker pride and self-respect. He made him walk the earth as a free man. He fought the Government and the private employer with unabating vigour. He was the father of the Workmen's Compensation Act and was largely responsible for the institution of Wages Boards in Ceylon.

I remember the days when the present L.S.S.P. leaders begged of him to allow them to have meetings. He graciously consented, but the L.S.S.P. were secretly plotting to use his organizations for their own purposes. They have succeeded in luring away a section of his followers. The Communist Party adopted the same dodge and under the guise of seeking "Trade Union Unity", wanted to enter the Labour Party. Mr. Goonesinha knew what moves were afoot and stood aloof.

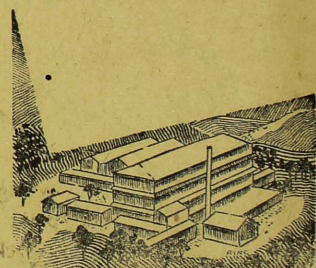
He was the first to organize clerical staffs of mercantile firms. He led the first strikes and the clerks swore by him. The Communists infiltrated and used some frustrated and disgruntled nonentities among the clerks who want-

ed a little notoriety to disrupt the movement.

In Parliament, the opposition pretended to ignore him and boldly proclaimed that Mr. Goonesinha did not count in the political world. This was a mere camouflage for their fears of him. They fear him as much as they fear the P.M. and the Colonel. They know that he does not hunt with the hounds and run with the hare. He is bold and intrepid. Once more the name of Goonesinha will reverberate throughout the land.



FOR
ESTATE
SUPPLIES



PARLIAMENTARY "PURPLE PATCHES"

(Continued from page 2)

Mr. Dudley Senanayake once twilted the Leader of the Opposition with "playing the role of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde—one role when he leads a deputation and another as Dr. N. M. Perera" and during the debate on the vote for sending five representatives abroad. When a Member said: "Send Keuneman to Russia", Minister Kotelawala promptly interjected: "Send Dahanyake to Hell." (Hansard, No. 17, Col. 1580).

SAMA SAMAJISTS

Of the Sama Samajists and their allies in opposition, Minister Sittampalam declared: "The Hon. the Prime Minister pays far too much attention to what the L.S.S.P. and the B.L.P. say. The fact is that they cannot command from the country a fraction of the regard which the P.M. can command. The Hon. the P.M. is afraid that the L.S.S.P. and the B.L.P. might be able to lead the masses of this country astray, whether to join Russia or some other International Organisation, and, eventually, cause us to lose our independence ... I do not share with the P.M. the fear that these Communists can govern this country or enslave us to Russia. Nor do I think that they will ever get a grip on the imagination of our people." (Hansard, No. 1, Col. 111).

THE TROTSKYITES

Mr. Bandaranaike, the Leader of the House, in his own inimitable style and in his best vein, had a nice little gibe at the little band of Trotskyites in the House: "How touching it is, Mr. Speaker (declared Mr. Bandaranaike),

to realise that the spirit of that great man, Comrade Trotsky, driven in disgrace out of his own country by his own colleagues whom he had helped to establish the stupendous experiment of Russia, pursued from land to land with no place where his head could rest in peace, and finally done to death, receiving no recognition even in Russia or elsewhere, might feel—in whatever Valhalla he may be at the moment—that there is still left one little corner of this world, this pleasant land of Lanka, alone, where some recognition and peace and rest may come to his troubled and harried soul." (Hansard, No. 7, Col. 373).

TAMIL CONGRESS

Not so fortunate was the Tamil Congress which was described as a "menace" to the country and subjected to a violent onslaught by the doughty Member for Mutur, Mr. Aboobucker, who declared:

"In Trincomalee the entire Kachcheri is staffed with narrow-minded Communists, all professing the Tamil Congress creed. There is not a Muslim, not a Sinhalese, in the entire Kachcheri. That is not the only Department that is being staffed entirely by the Tamil Congress people. Almost all the Government Departments in my constituency are filled by Tamil Congress people. In the interests of my community, in the interests of my constituency, in the interests of my Party and in the interests of Lanka, I earnestly appeal to the Hon. Prime Minister to deliver us from the Tamil Congress menace." (Hansard, No. 21, Col. 2117).

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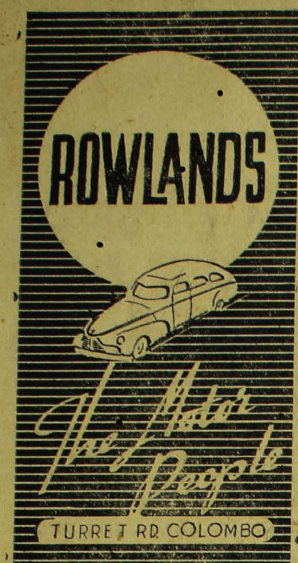
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Friday, May 21, 1948

PARLIAMENT RESUMES

AFTER a long recess Parliament reassembled on Tuesday and as was to be expected it was the beginning of an interesting session. Parliament resumes its work under somewhat different political circumstances to those that obtained six months ago. When the new Dominion Government began its work we had a fairly clear-cut difference of political philosophy on either side of the House. On the Government benches there was a feeling of active hostility to the Leftwing parties generated by the loathsome tactics adopted by the L.S.S.P. particularly and, to a much lesser degree the B.L.P.I., during the General Elections. It was well-known that lying was the chief weapon of propaganda with which the L.S.S.P. won ten seats in Parliament. The Leftwing opposition across the floor was divided and yet united in a somewhat strange manner. It appeared that there was a party truce which was based on the understanding that Leftwing Groups would agree to disagree and would unite on the single issue of opposition to the Government. That state of suspended animation ceased to be a factor when the L.S.S.P. betrayed its fellow Marxist Parties over the voting on Mr. SENANAYAKE'S resolution accepting the Dominion Constitution. The recess has widened the rift and today one finds that the month of May, which has come to be accepted throughout the world as a month of workingclass solidarity, has produced acute differences between the three Leftwing Parties in the House of Parliament. A claim is being made by the L.S.S.P. that it is stronger today than it was during the General Elections and that it is capable of knocking out its fellow travellers on the road to revolution. We understand that incursions are being made into the constituencies of Leftwing M.P.s who do not belong to the L.S.S.P. and the object apparently is to use Leftwing sympathies in order to capture those seats for candidates who will be sponsored by the L.S.S.P. at a future election.

What of the U.N.P. itself? We have made it clear that at the inception of the United National Party we realised the futility of rushing through a set programme over the Heads of the Party rank and file and the Executive Committee of nearly 300 people. Our manifesto was therefore of a sketchy character and this fact was admitted in the last para-

graph in which it was stated that a more detailed programme would be made available at the earliest possible moment.

We also had to take into account the important fact that a Party System of Government was being tried out for the first time in the long and chequered history of our Island people. Although we had the example before us of the United Kingdom from which we have long derived our tradition of democracy and democratic methods of Government, and although those in charge of the administration of the country had a fair knowledge of the manner in which the British system worked, the mass of our people had yet to know the spirit of Party Government and the need to loyally stand by any accepted programme of work.

To those who are impatient of delay at the lack of a complete plan we would wish to say that it is better to allow our thoughts to crystallise into reasonable and permanent form rather than to adopt the Scissors and Paste method of taking over ready made manifestoes either from the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom or the Labour Party which now forms the United Kingdom Government or from Leninist tracts and pamphlets.

The U.N.P. has come to a stage when the rank and file and the topmost

leaders accept socialism as a sensible and practical philosophy of Government. There is no one in the U.N.P. who does not accept the principle that its policy should be based on the assumption that in the end Ceylon must be a Socialist State and its economy re-organised on socialist lines. It only remains now to work out the details of policy with regard to the various Ministries into which the administration has been divided and to see that they conform to a single overall plan which will usher in that state of socialism which we are determined to achieve.

It is also noteworthy that details of day to day routine and problems of every day Government occupy a great deal of the time of our Ministers and it is necessary that those who are not so heavily burdened should prepare the draft of what they consider should be a reasonable line of policy so that there would be available for discussion some indication of objectives that are held in common by various sections of the Party. We are in a position to say that exactly this solution to our problem has been found and before long the Party and the country will have a detailed manifesto and a programme of political action that will place the U.N.P. before the people as the one Party in this country which can deliver the goods.

Books & Authors

By Quintus Delil Khan

BERDYAW ON COMMUNISM

IT is evident from the information appearing from all sources in the press that the cleavage between democracy on the one side and communism on the other is growing more sharp and distinctive. However much communism employs such terms as democracy, liberty and the will of the people, it is evident that theory and practice both join together to create an order of things which is wholly opposed to the principles and practice of democracy. The practice of communism, stripped of its usual disguises, was manifested in the treatment of Czechoslovakia which discovered that a handful of determined and unscrupulous men could seize the reins of power in the state, and mop up all centres of resistance leisurely after the overthrow of established authority has been powerfully but insidiously accomplished. Russia protests valiantly that she has had nothing to do with this result, and that it is a spontaneous manifestation of the will of the people. No one is however deceived, least of all the Russians, to whom we must credit at least a full knowledge of their own ample and devastating performance. Their bland denials are not meant to be believed. A powerful state, conscious of the strong position it occupies in the comity of nations, does not trouble to have itself believed in when protestations of this kind are made. Its only concern is that other countries should as little as possible be roused and alarmed, because the same process as in Czechoslovakia has to be repeated if possible elsewhere, and the victims of the future should be lulled into a false sense of security as far as possible. But now every country knows too much to be caught unawares. The tactics of communism cannot be so varied that it can constitute a new disguise. Russia has begun with a technique that

can be distinguished from democratic activities at the first glance. Her security lies in the fact that she is powerful enough to brazen it out whenever and howsoever it has done an injury to the cause of democratic freedom. Russia has never been an organic unity like most other powerful nations. Communism, though it has an undoubted international aspect, has a purely Russian complexion. Its hold on the Russian people makes it also a peculiar manifestation of the Russian character.

A penetrating study of this aspect of the question is made by Nicolas Berdyaw in "The Origin of Russian Communism" (Colombo Book Centre), one of the series of useful books published by Geoffrey Bles, and it is possible to realise from this source how the Russian people could assimilate a doctrine which people who have known the advantages of democratic living, in spite of its many disadvantages and difficulties, would flee from as utterly intolerable. It is undeniable that the Russian people throughout their history have been inured to suffering. There was always the threat of invasion from the peoples of the West and from the Tartars in the East. A complete organic life has been impossible in Russia owing to its vastness, and in this there is a contrast with the kingdoms of the West which were always compact bodies, comparatively speaking, in which unity of national cultural and spiritual aims was much more easily possible. The Western nations owing to this advantage could organise themselves into a state of civilized living. Everything in Russia is formless, boundless and staggeringly extensive, and it was only a despotic government which could keep this mass roughly fused together. One of the most important and distinguished Russian historians has said: "The State expands, the people grow sickly," and Berdyaw points that this statement also applies to the Soviet Communist government in the sense that "the interests of the people are sacrificed to the power and organisation of the Soviet State."

(Continued on page 6)

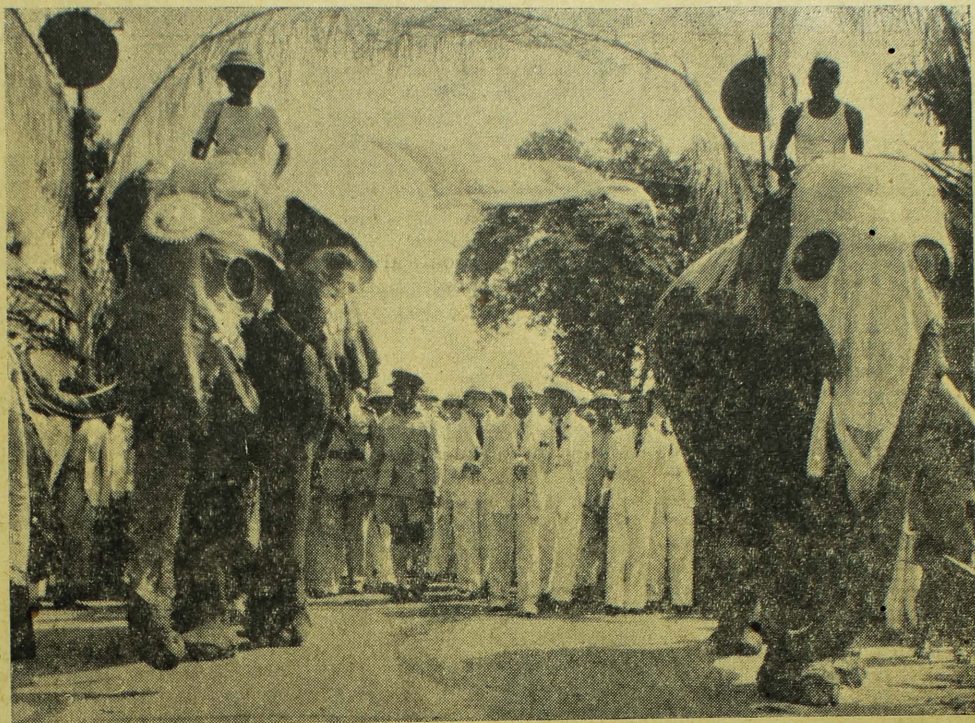
TIME FOR ACTION

By Nandalal

WITH the new sessions of Parliament which began on Tuesday we have entered into a period which must be given over to the tasks of rebuilding our country. In the last sessions we were pre-occupied with the achievement of independence and change in the status of our land. Now we must begin tackling those problems whose solution had to wait till power in its plenitude had passed to our people. That power is now our possession. Now we must address ourselves to eradicating those things which are most evil in our society. Two of the pressing problems concern the provision of adequate housing and the ending of unemployment.

It is generally recognized by economists that a vast building programme is one of the easiest ways of absorbing the unemployed. The building industry provides work for a variety of trades and craftsmen—for carpenters, for masons and for unskilled labour. Since most of our unemployed belong to some branch or other of the building industry a comprehensive programme of housing suggests itself as a swift remedy to the island's unemployment until other schemes of agricultural and industrial development can be applied.

There is also another sense in which housing is an urgent issue in local politics. The larger number of the houses in this country are unfit for human habitation and as long as our people live in these miserable shanties it will be almost impossible to raise the general level of their culture.

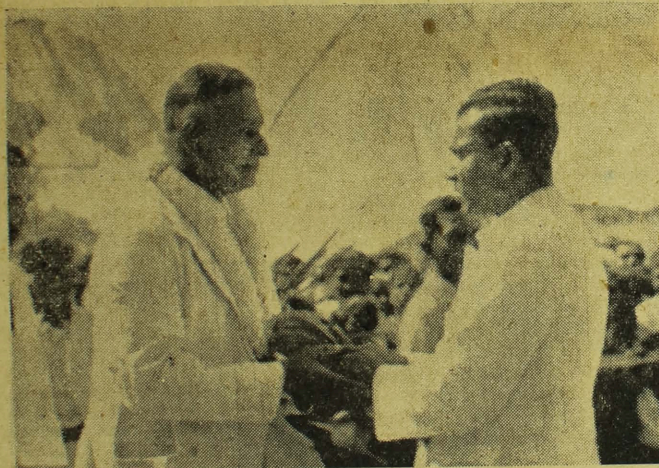


Workers conducted their Minister, Col. J. L. Kotelawala, in a procession from the Factory to the Housing site

aim at 200 houses in the first three years at a cost of Rs. 471,600 which the Government would bear. Urban Coun-

cils would also put up in the first three years 3,180 houses for the working

(Continued on page 7)



Kolonnawa Workers' Leader receives his Minister at the opening ceremony in connection with the Minister's Housing Scheme

It has been suggested by some propagandists, particularly by an energetic member of the Eksath Kahtha Peramuna, that it is the view of the U.N.P. that slums will exist till the end of time and nothing need therefore be done about them.

In the excessive zeal of their impropaganda these political amazons ignore the positive measures taken by that "efficient socialist" whom they so often delight to deride. These forget the new type of cottages provided for railway workers at Peradeniya, Ratmalana and Maligawatte, and for Government factory workers at Kolonnawa.

These achievements are recapitulated merely to indicate that within the U.N.P. are men who are as zealous in their devotion to the welfare of their fellow-men as those who lavishly proclaim their love for humanity. The intention of this article, however is not to provide points for self-congratulation. On the contrary, its aim is to suggest how the U.N.P.'s programme of social welfare may further be developed.

In tackling the question of housing, and with it, consequently, that of unemployment it is unnecessary any longer to proclaim pompously one's intention to plan. The nucleus of a plan already exists. It has been devised under the authority and inspiration of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike himself, the Minister who is now responsible for housing. What is needed therefore is

the immediate implementing of these plans. The time for action is upon us.

In the post-war proposals, devised by Mr. Bandaranaike's Ministry during the last State Council, there occurs a scheme for housing. It was based on suggestions submitted by the numerous local bodies so that with proper co-ordination and co-operation an island-wide building scheme can be immediately launched.

In his foreword to the post-war development proposals of the Departments under his Ministry Mr. Bandaranaike wrote that his programme envisaged "the erection of over 20,000 houses in Municipal, Urban and local areas."

According to Mr. Bandaranaike's plan the Colombo Municipal Council would undertake at first a three-year scheme of building 1000 houses for the working class. These were to be built by the Government to replace the existing insanitary houses. The cost of Rs. 3,079,500 would be met by the Central Government. After this initial three-year programme the Colombo Municipal Council was expected to erect 3,800 more houses for the working class at a cost of Rs. 7,797,000 which the Government was entirely to finance.

Then the Kandy Municipal Council was to construct again on an initial three-year scheme, 250 houses for the working class at a cost of Rs. 712,000. The Galle Municipal Council would

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BEWARE OF IMITATIONS

MOUNTBATTEN'S NEXT JOB?

LORD CURZON once said that the ambition of every respectable British gentleman ought to be first, to marry a beautiful, rich heiress, secondly to be Viceroy of India and thirdly, to become Prime Minister.

At the age of twenty-two Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten married a beautiful society girl, Edwina Cynthia Ashley, daughter of multi-millionaire Lord Mount Temple, who was Minister of Transport in several Conservative cabinets.

A little less than twenty-five years later he arrived in New Delhi as Viceroy of His Majesty the Emperor of India. And now, after completing one of the most difficult tasks any Viceroy ever had to perform, many Britons are wondering if Mountbatten will succeed where Curzon (who made an excellent marriage and also became Viceroy) had failed, **BY STEPPING INTO THE SHOES OF CLEMENT ATTLEE AS HEAD OF BRITAIN'S FIRST POST-WAR COALITION GOVERNMENT.**

HEAD OF TORY-LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The habitués of Parliament's famous Whispering Gallery who frequently discuss Mountbatten's premiership as an utterly plausible eventuality, willing-

ly admit that it would not lack piquancy if a full-blooded aristocrat, a second cousin of the King and a man-about-town, lionized by London's smart set, were to become head of a Labour-supported coalition government.

When discussing the possibility of Mountbatten's premiership, observers keep in mind that as far as Great Britain's most fateful problem is concerned, there is little or no difference of opinion between the Labour leaders and the great-grandson of Queen Victoria. They may hold conflicting views on questions of nationalization, wage policy or social services, but they are all in agreement regarding the complete and radical reorganization of the British Empire.

As far as the Empire is concerned, Mountbatten is a revolutionary. Convinced that henceforth no power on earth can arrest the progress of ideas which have set in motion the masses of Asia and Africa, he advocates the setting up of a federation of nations, as a successor to the Commonwealth.

This federation of independent units would serve as the nucleus of a broader agglomeration which might ultimately include nations having neither constitutional nor political ties with the present Commonwealth. Mountbatten believes that only a federation of this type could prevent economic and social upheavals on an unprecedented scale.

Mountbatten's ideas correspond more or less to those professed by the members of the Imperial General Staff. The latter make no secret of their changed conception of the Empire in accordance with their changed ideas of imperial defence.

NEW STRATEGY DEMANDS NEW OUTLOOK

After World War I the salient passing from Khyber Pass to Singapore was considered one of the backbones of the massive structure of imperial strategy. Today, far greater importance is attached to the defence line passing from Dakar to the Indian Ocean.

This perhaps explains to a certain

extent why it was Mountbatten, a sailor and a soldier who got the delicate assignment of liquidating the British conquest of India.

A strange mixture of idealism and realism, of mundane flippancy and of admirable self-discipline, Mountbatten is fully aware of the highly attractive contradictions in his character. He once jokingly remarked: "I am a zebra! One third soldier, one third sailor and one third airman."

During his stay in India he proved that he is also one of the world's great diplomats. With luck, he may go down in history as the man who rebuilt the British Empire.

BERDYAW ON COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 4)

The Russian people have always been capable of making immense sacrifices, whether for religion or purely as revolutionaries, nihilists or communists. The prospect of annihilation does not deter them from any course. It is an attribute of their peculiar temperament. The Russian people endured the despotism of Peter the Great who killed even his son who he thought, stood in his way, and the masses submitted to his stern yoke. The Russian Communists admire Peter the Great because in their dominance, complete and unrelieved, of Russia today, they have inherited his own system of absolute ruthlessness. Peter had plant material in his hands, and so have his modern successors.

tradition cannot submit to the despotic conditions of a police state which exists only because the Russians can stand much more despotism exercised over themselves than any other people in the world. This is truly the national tragedy of a perverse national temperament. Something of the nature of the movement, and its significance can be studied from Berdyaw's comment on its originator. "Lenin", he says, "was an imperialist and not an anarchist; his whole thought was imperialist despotism. Hence his straightforwardness, his nervousness of outlook, his concentration upon one thing, the poverty and asceticism of his thought, the elementary nature of the slogans addressed to the will. Lenin's type of culture was not very high; there was much which was inaccessible to him and unknown to him. Every refinement of thought and of the life of the spirit repelled him". There is more to the same effect. Enthusiasts for the Russian ideal might well note in their tirades against imperialism that their own favourite Lenin must be included in this class which calls out from them their highest powers of denunciation. And if they want confirmation of the true effects of the Russian methods of imperialism, the position of most countries of Eastern Europe should provide the answer.

"A COMPARISON" says Berdyaw, might be made between Peter Lenin, between the petrine and the bolshevik revolutions. They display the same barbarity, violence, forcible application of certain principles from above downwards, the same rupture of organic development, and repudiation of tradition, the same etatism hypertrophy of government, the same formulation of a privileged bureaucratic class, the same centralization, the same desire, sharply and radically to change the type of civilization. "There is however one difference. Peter the Great created a ruling class but he urged Russia along the way of Western enlightenment, and endeavoured to bridge the gulf between his people and those of other countries, widening however the distance between them and the people, whilst, says Berdyaw, "the bolshevik revolution, by terrible violence, liberated the forces that were latent in the masses and summoned them to take their share in making history; therein lies its significance." Under this impulse, Russia hopes to be able to draw into her train the other peoples of Europe and the world. But this one of the vast and formless dreams of the Russian minds. The peoples of Europe have been mainly formed by a tradition very different in character and purpose. They have wanted a progressive freedom, and the least degree of interference from the state in order that they may be free to develop their own individuality. Russia today is not capable of understanding this point of view, and hence the feeling in Moscow that its aid and its inspiration is wanted everywhere. The Russians have never been capable of understanding the true state of things beyond their frontiers. Their emissaries outside have kept Moscow in a state of permanent ferment by exaggerating the world's desire for establishing communist governments everywhere. But actually Moscow is being craftily deceived. Countries reared in a totally different

ALGERNON Charles Swinburne was acclaimed as a great poet and an incomparable metrist in his day by a band of admirers, though there were also others, the older and more conservative spirits, who blamed him for belonging to what they derisively described as the fleshly school of poetry. Today his influence has waned, though not deservedly. He is undoubtedly a poet of a high order, though not among the select band of the immortals. If he is neglected it is because the fashion of poetry has brought a new and experimental school into existence to suit the exigencies, alleged or real, of the contemporary world. It is good at this juncture to go over a pleasant and instructive volume—"Swinburne—An Estimate, by John Drinkwater (Colombo Book Centre) which is a very fair, balanced and constructive estimate of the work of this poet. Mr. Drinkwater is himself a poet, and has therefore been in a position to understand the merits and defects of the large body of poetry which Swinburne has left behind him. In that occasional magic of words which we get in the master-poets like Shakespeare, Milton, Keats or Coleridge, it is allowable that Swinburne was deficient. "But", adds Mr. Drinkwater, "to recognise this limitation is not to deny his manner excellence in other more generally important ways. Language was, in the volume of his good work, definitely a vehicle for crystallising his vision into poetry. The rarest graces are beyond his reach, but to the high expression which is poetry he attains with superb ease". Poetry of this quality is not so abundant that it can be ignored by those who are most enamoured of its contemporary forms.

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

THE effect of the succession of shocks, which punters received last Saturday when the May Monsoon Meet was wound up, will not wear off for a long time. Dazed and bewildered by the in-and-out form displayed there, racegoers will surely welcome the three-week break which intervenes before the June Meet opens on the first Saturday of next month.

What beat punters even more than the victory of outsiders was the fact that the favourites more often than not finished out of the money. The three most notable instances of this were provided by Suemick, Ingomar and Tair Dija who never flattered at any stage of their races. Suemick actually finished last while Ingomar, well away this time, never once hit the front. It is no use crying over spilt milk now but the stewards should, I think, examine each case very carefully and see that such incidents are not repeated.

Perhaps, the only noteworthy performance of the day was the ridiculously easy victory scored by Navarro in the principal event. I do not wish to detract from the merits of Navarro's victory but I do feel that the jockeys of the other three starters played right into the hands of Jockey Orme by allowing Navarro a break of the better part of a furlong till the race was practically over. They probably thought that Navarro would come back to them as he did at Nuwara Eliya in the Governor-General's Plate but what they apparently forgot was that on that occasion Navarro was challenged from the start by Baldowrie and that the hot pace set led to the downfall of both. Last Saturday Navarro bowled along in front without the semblance of a challenge and, for over a mile, the horses were travelling at not much more than three-quarter pace. Navarro may be a great stayer but I'd first like to see him win a true run race before passing judgement on him.

The statistics of the May Meet reveal that Senator Gardiner was the most successful owner with 4 winners and stakes to the value of about Rs. 19,000. Manchu's dual victories gave Mr. W. D. Fernando the role of runner-up.

Trainer Selvaratnam wasted the training honours from Wallis thanks to sending out two winners last Saturday when the Wallis establishment had to be satisfied with only a half of a dead-heat. Of the smaller trainers, Abeywardena did well to saddle three winners.

Among the Jockeys Sawyer, Orme, Rook and Mars rode with conspicuous success, each riding three winners.

The West Indian cricket tour of India and Ceylon this year is fast taking shape. Two dozen West Indians have been asked to hold themselves in readiness for the tour and these include George Headley, the Black Bradman as he was once called.

Owing to some misunderstanding the Indian Board of cricket control, at a meeting held last week in Bombay, made arrangements to cancel the Ceylon part of the West Indian tour on the ground that the C.C.A. had not given the required cash guarantee. I understand, however, from Mr. Ismail, the Hon. Secretary of the C.C.A. that the C.C.A. have agreed to the guarantee was sent to the President of the Indian Board at his New Delhi address and the cable may have been delayed in transit. Mr. Ismail has no qualms, however, as to the Ceylon visit materialising, even if the Indian Board has arranged substitute matches. The C.C.A. has already accepted, independently of the Indian Board, the West Indian offer to tour Ceylon and, consequently, there is no danger of Ceylon's case going by default. The tourists are expected in Colombo on the 10th of February next year and will remain in the Island about a fortnight. The arrangements regarding the matches to

be played by them during their stay here will be finalised at a meeting of the C.C.A. Committee which is to be held today. This meeting will also receive the report of the S.S.C. Committee on the boycott of the Holkar matches by the S.S.C. invitees. I am given to understand that much of the heat engendered by mischievous critics has now cooled off and it is hoped that an agreed settlement will be possible. As a press correspondent recently put it, Ceylon cricket without the S.S.C. is like Hamlet without the Prince and it will be suicidal to talk of ultimatums and the like.

The Australians continue to drive a coach and four through the teams they have so far met.

The matches that have ended have resulted in victories and revealed such an embarrassment of riches that the Australian selection committee will be hard put to it to decide whom they are to leave out when it comes to choosing their team for the first Test which begins on June 10th on the famous Trent Bridge grounds at Nottingham. Especially perplexing to the selectors will be the choice of their bowlers. In the five matches played so far Keith Miller, Lindwall, Bill Johnston, Ian Johnston, Ring, McCool and Toshack have got so much among the wickets that it will give anybody a headache when it comes to taking a decision as to whom they are to omit.

As for the Australian batsmen they have virtually selected themselves. Bradman, Morris, Barnes, Hassett, Miller and Brown, who hit up his first double century of the tour at Fenner's, have played themselves into the First Test team. With Tallon as keeper, this leaves room for four bowlers who might quite conceivably be Lindwall, Johnston, Ian Johnston and McCool. There is, however, still plenty of time before our thoughts need turn to team-building, but this problem gets top priority so far as the England side is concerned. The English stars have taken time to settle down, particularly the "Terrible Twins" of Middlesex, Compton and Edrich, on whom will devolve most of the responsibility for stemming the Australian tide. It looks very much as if England will have to rely on the old brigade of Hutton and Washbrook to open and it must have been heartening to the selectors to find that these two batsmen are running into form. With Edrich and Compton for No. 3 and No. 4, the search for a No. 5 has so far proved unsuccessful. Hardstaffs, Ikin and Arnold will probably have to be considered for this position. The question of capacity also seems undecided as yet. Yardley looked like being an automatic choice but he has not figured as yet in county matches. The Lancashire skipper, Cranston, is a good all-rounder whose whose claims may have to be examined.

England's greatest weakness is still in the matter of bowling. D. V. P. Wright of newcomer. Bill Laker's recent failure against the tourists on the Kennington Oval should not have blotted his copy book so badly as to put him completely out of the running while Bedser, too, is such a great-hearted bowler that, in the absence of a better medium place attacker, he too, will probably find a place in the team.

At the moment the scales seem weighted imponderably in favour of the Australians but one can never be too certain in the matter of cricket especially when it is played in the unpredictable weather of England.

★
READERS of these notes will remember how often I have pleaded for an island-wide coaching scheme for tennis, preferably including the schools, as the first step towards improving the standard of the game in Ceylon. A recent cable from London says that such a scheme which was launched by the Lawn Tennis Association early last year, is proving an unqualified success. So well has it progressed, their is now every promise that British tennis may, within the next few years, approach something like the high peak attained in the

middle thirties, when Britain was at the top of the tennis world.

Under the scheme, the country is divided into areas, with a professional coach for each region responsible for teaching uniform methods of instructions to teachers in his area, who in turn impart this knowledge to local youngsters.

The Lawn Tennis Association Council made a substantial grant, but financial assistance was also given by local authorities who are co-operating wholeheartedly in the scheme.

As an instance of what is being done is the decision of the London County

Council to hire the exclusive Queen's Club for the tuition of school children. The Council are to spend nearly £4,000 for tennis rackets and the hire of the courts.

It is the object of the Lawn Tennis Association and the education authorities to get the youngsters "tennis minded". A future step towards this end is the official request to all committees of open tournaments to arrange, if possible, for pupils at local schools to be admitted at reduced rates.

I command this to the earnest consideration of the C.L.T.A.

TIME FOR ACTION

(Continued from page 5)

class at a cost of Rs. 7,155,000 which the Government would pay.

According to some of the other schemes which were to be undertaken after the initial three-year plan the Urban Councils would erect 1,742 working class houses, Sanitary Boards 650 houses, Village Committees 1,775. The cost of all these schemes would be met by the Government.

Mr. Bandaranaike also planned an scheme of 10,000 houses. Houses were to be erected for villagers in their own lands with the aid of loans advanced by Village Committees against security and repayable by instalments. This scheme would cost Rs. 6,650,000. What Mr. Bandaranaike contemplated was a 15-year housing scheme which would cost Rs. 34 million altogether.

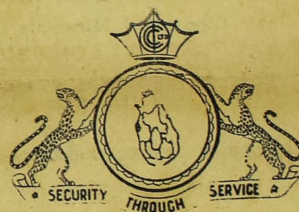
Such a gigantic scheme and precise definition of targets must surely have depended on something more substantial mere hopes and ambitions. It

must have been based on planning and a correlation of schemes submitted by individual local organisations. Out of such activity would have evolved blue-prints. These blue-prints must now be converted through bricks and mortar into habitable houses.

How best to pass from paper to building construction is the immediate issue.

A sub-committee of the Cabinet may be appointed to implement the housing scheme which Mr. Bandaranaike seems to have devised nearly three years ago. On this sub-committee should serve Mr. Bandaranaike, Col. Kotelawala as the Minister in charge of the P.W.D. which will have to do much of the construction, Mr. T. B. Jayah, as Minister of Labour and Mr. J. R. Jayewardene the Minister who will find the money for the scheme.

A sub-committee which will see to it that the houses are speedily erected is urgently needed.



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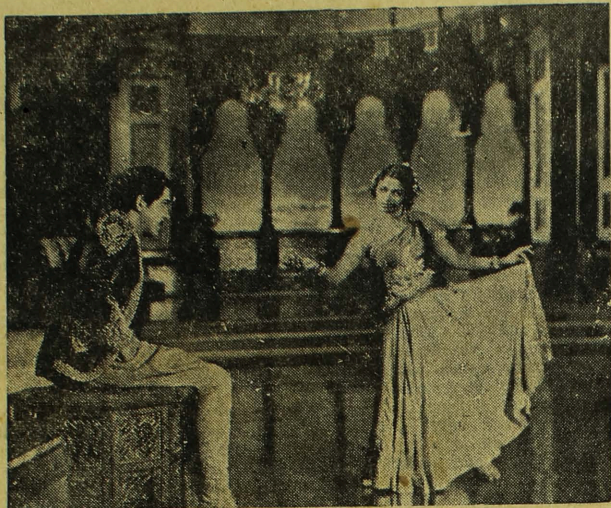
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