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PARLIAMENTARY VOTING SHOWS SOLID SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT

U. N. P. Journal Nettles Opposition

By *Vernon Phelps*

REFLECTING on the reception to the Government's programme for the first session of Parliament, as outlined in the Governor's Address at the opening of Parliament, as contracted with the reception accorded to the Opposition's Amendment to the Address, it was more than amply evident that the Government had scored in convincing fashion.

In the Senate the Opposition's Amendment was defeated without a division and in the House of Representatives the Government obtained the clear majority of 58 votes against 39 registered in favour of the Opposition.

Nor did the Government have to exert itself unduly to have secured this clear demonstration of confidence. The Government leaders in both Houses, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke in the Senate and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in the House of Representatives, deftly used the rapier in meeting the clumsy bludgeon-blow attacks of the Opposition. The well-timed shafts of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Health and Local Government and the Minister of Agriculture, also helped considerably to nettle the Opposition and weaken its attack.

It was, I think, the thrusts of the Government spokesmen and the Premier that made the fire-eating Member for Avissawella refer to the intention of his Party (L.S.S.P.) to leave a blood-stained trail "from Mirigama to Dodangaslande." This allusion was aptly described by Mr. Bandaranaike as yet another attempt on the part of the Opposition to perform a "Caesarian operation" that was calculated to kill the new-born babe of independence.

Rubbing it in good and hard, the Leader of the House added that the Opposition's ghoulish tactics reminded him of the allusion made to Aldous Huxley that was applicable in its terrible truth to the Opposition in that it was also true that the Opposition was still "between two worlds, the one dead and the other impossible of being born."

If the Government, on the other hand, added Mr. Bandaranaike, was (if he might alter the metaphor) alive to the fact it was also "between two worlds, the one dying and the other about to be born." That was why the Government knew that the new-born babe of Lanka's freedom had to be nurtured—not strangled.

THE Avissawella critics gave the Leader yet another opening when he (stung by the reference to "strange bedfellows" on the Opposition made by the Minister of Agriculture) declared that his Party would not only combine with the Tamil Congress but even with the Devil or his Grandmother in order to defeat the Government.

All Mr. Bandaranaike did was to sweetly inquire into which category the Leader of the Tamil Congress group fell into—the Devil or the Devil's Grandmother? The thrust went home judging from the scowls on the faces of the Tamil Congress group. Their leader,

however, managed to mask his chagrin with a disarming smile.

In the Senate, the "strange bedfellows" of the Opposition nettled by Senator Justin Kotalawala's reference to their common bond being "hate against the Government" rose one after another to point out the sins of the Government.

OUR freedom and its legality were questioned by the Senators from Hultisdop, whose legal interpretation of the validity of this freedom was on a par with his logic. Public servants demanded political rights, therefore, give it to them until they reached with a surfeit of it, he argued. Then they would never ask for it again, he beamed triumphant. Does that not mean, Mr. Senator Nadesan, that if one carries this argument to its logical conclusion that we must let the murderers murder and the robbers rob until they too have had a surfeit of it in order to cure both categories of criminals of their itch to murder and to rob?

Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Leader of the Senate, replying to the Debate and the Amendment, got well off the mark when he told his critics that although the Government had not "a new Jerusalem," to offer, they (and here the barb was aimed at Senator Peri Sunderam who made his homeland the model which he wanted Ceylon to emulate) had only to look across that narrow strip of water, the Palk Strait, and tell him whether it was not a privilege to live on this side of it rather than on the other side?

Another thrust that went home was when Sir Oliver blandly asked the Government's critics why they suffered from so lamentable an inferiority complex as was evidenced by the fears they expressed. They had not seen the Defence Agreements (they would come up later when the Independence Bill was moved) but they feared that British Imperial Forces would be employed by the Government to snuff out Opposition political parties and quell internal disorders—a fantastic and utterly baseless presumption.

The Government intended to implement the Police Commission's recommendations in regard to cadre, and here again the Opposition saw an imaginary bear in a bush and concluded (quite wrongly again) that the Police would be used to the detriment of the Government's opponents politically.

YET another instance. The Opposition cut capers and joined hands in a frenzied witches' war dance, to hurl invective at the Government for inadequate social services and then grew sullenly silent when reminded that the Government intended to implement the recommendations of the Social Services Commission—an accomplishment that would make it necessary for the Opposition to think up something new!

Rising to a delirious crescendo, the Opposition screamed: "Why don't you mechanise your agriculture?" If they were more informed they might have known that Ceylon needed 2,000 tractors



THE LEADER OF THE PARLIAMENT
(poised his rapier)

tors with which to make a worthwhile start and that our international quota was 25. Yes, the whole world is also clamouring for the very things we want.

And so on it went. Delightful rapier thrusts by the Leader, which despite their severity were always in perfect poise. And then the final flourish that reached so triumphant a climax that it even deadened the division! "As long as they (the Opposition) allow me to hit them as hard as they hit me, I am prepared to laugh with them," purred Sir Oliver beaming at the Opposition critics with his most arresting Front Bench smile.

NO review of the debate on the Governor's Address and the Opposition Amendment to it in both Houses of Parliament would be complete without reference to the frequent allusions made to this journal by Opposition speakers. The Member for Avissawella on several occasions referred to the U.N.P. journal by name and it was obvious that he was smarting under the severity of some of the exposures in this journal, but so far there has not been one contradiction based on facts!

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FREEDOM OR A POLITICAL SCOOP?

(By A Contributor)

WE dream of a nation, a purely Ceylonese nation, composed of all the races inhabiting our little Island. Many are of opinion that a Ceylonese nation means a Sinhalese nation. We are not so selfish and narrow-minded to think or say so. I emphasize that Ceylon is not for the Sinhalese only. No Sinhalese man denied it. Nor does he deprive any other Ceylonese of his rights of citizenship as a Ceylonese, even if he be a Tamil, Muslim or Burgher. We are even prepared to give citizenship rights to Indians who wish to make Ceylon their home.

We all have been under foreign rule for nearly one and a half centuries and we are now on the verge of being free, and is it not strange that we are at loggerheads among our own selves? Did we a decade ago dream that we would at least get a minute fraction of the freedom that we are to get in the near future? May be, we did not shed a drop of blood to get it but we fought for it. Call it a packet of surprise or "a bolt from the blue," but it is freedom and should we not be glad over the fact that we Ceylonese are blessed.

We are a nation. What is internationalism without nationalism is the fact that we are anxious to know? We are told about the third, fourth and fifth Internationals. But what about our own national? We have among us a large number of young men who knew

next to nothing of their own country or of their own selves but quote pages and pages of Russian history dealing with the Revolution and thereafter. They say that "nationalism" is the refuge of capitalists to exploit the oppressed classes.

When once political freedom is won the economic freedom can be won. We want first the house to set it in the order we like, to suit the convenience of us all. What do these saviours of the economically oppressed classes pose themselves to be? Are they Sinhalese? Tamil? Burgher? Muslim? Or as they speak so much of Russia, may I ask them finally, if they are themselves Russian? They may think so or call themselves merely "citizens of the world" but the world will call them Ceylonese, belonging to one or other of the races mentioned above. The World Revolution of which they speak so much and so often may or may not come. It is yet a long way off. Let us first think of our political freedom; make the best of it; and obtain more and more of it, whilst tackling with the economic problem too.

Samuel Johnson has said some of the wisest sayings which are quite applicable to Ceylon. Let us quote one of them. "Before becoming a great man try to become an honest man." We should first be honest before we become great.

There is something wrong with the economic system in the world. There is something wrong with the distribution of wealth also. A few months ago even His Holiness the Pope Pius XII

also had mentioned this. It is this that caused the French Revolution. It is this that created the Russian Revolution also. Socialism has taken root in the minds of many of the leading men in the world. It is gradually coming to Ceylon also. Russian Socialism has no place in Ceylon. Here were no Romanoffs and Czars to reduce the people to mere serfs with eternal sufferings. It is true, that British Imperialism placed wealth in the forefront, not only in Britain but in all parts of their Empire but this did not in any way make the people of Ceylon as miserable as the Russian serfs. Ceylon should have Socialism but it should be mistaken for Revolution.

★ ★ ★

THE Tamil Congress is purely a communal body. Its aim is to rule Ceylon by the Tamils. They hate the idea of the Sinhalese being the major race. This is no fault of the Sinhalese. Nor is it a crime to be a Sinhalese. But the Tamils seek the aid of the Sinhalese with Russian ideas and ideals to work against the U.N.P. and to set up a North Ceylon or to federate with South India. The "Russian idealists" in turn, work against their own people and help to betray the country to India or to Russia.

Who is the Tamil who entered Parliament with a Russian ticket? This alone is a proof of the fact that the Tamils are nationals and not internationalists. Most of them are Tamils first or Ceylonese first and the bearers of party labels after. They are not foolish to think in terms of internationalism, when they have their own nationalist of communalism to think of. Once when they (Tamils) get what they want from the Sinhalese with the aid of

the "Russian Sinhalese." They will not share it with the "Russian Sinhalese" at all. The Tamils want them only to crush the U.N.P., and to obtain power for themselves. However, we appreciate the Tamils as a race. They mean something. They mean to be Tamils. They mean to be Ceylonese with the help of South India.

What do the "Russian Sinhalese" hope to be? What do they want? Do they hope to be "Russians" in Ceylon? Do they want a Russia in Ceylon? Or do they want the Russians themselves to be in Ceylon? I leave the questions to be answered by them. They speak of capitalism. They call themselves anti-capitalists but are they not capitalists themselves, as now well known? They speak of equality at its extreme but are they so in their own homes? Their servants address them as "Mahathmaya" but in their own clubs they term themselves as "Comrades." What is this form of equality? Should they not be true to themselves first before preaching to the world? Should not the practice of their own precepts start from themselves? They were one in the beginning but are now three. This split means that they are not united. Why is there a split among them? This shows that they are not true to themselves or honest. They are mere jugglers in words.

★ ★ ★

IT seems that the cause of these troubles is nothing but jealousy. There is yet a few of the old heroes who fought "freedom's battle," and they are yet in the good books of the general public. These "Russian" bosses are in no way able to climb to

(Continued on page 3)

MAN OF DESTINY

Don Stephen Senanayake

(By Rex)

I AM a young man and in the many years of life that lie ahead of me I will always think of the 25th of November as Senanayake Day. Historians may call the day Ceylon Independence Day or Dominion Status Day, but to Don Stephen Senanayake sitting alone in his study, long after the last temple bell had pealed, long after the last microphone had blared forth, or long after the last frantic philatelist had posted his first day cover, the day must have seemed his very own, the climax to a long but steady climb up the normally unsteady ladder to political fame.

There are doubtless many who remember the early days in the 'twenties when Senanayake began to make his presence felt in the then existent political groups, steadfastly and unobtrusively laying the foundations of the great public career that was to follow. He never sat on the fence even in those early days when it might have been prudent to sit on the fence occasionally. While others indulged in spectacular political window dressing or somersaulted from time to time, Don Stephen maintained a rugged consistency. Complete freedom for Lanka was a mania with him. Freedom was his one goal, and the story of Ceylon's complete emancipation step by step, is the story of Senanayake's political life.

Today, at the peak of his fame, Don Stephen remains his simple self. All Lanka salutes her man of destiny, her pioneer emancipationist. His initials, incidentally, could stand for "Dominion Status" just as much as at present they stand for "Don Stephen." May he go down to history as "Dominion Status" Senanayake.

The country will not easily forget his selfless work. Richly he deserves the honour of photographic reproduction on the stamps of the Island. Thank God for Senanayake.

SNIPPETS SNIPPED BY 'REX'

Extract from "Forward" of 20.11.47:
"We have had an encouraging res-

ponse this week for our enrolment campaign.... Fifteen annual subscriptions have been received at our office this week."

My! My! So much as fifteen, what? • "Forward" continues:

"Every reader who enrolls ten annual subscribers will receive from us a copy of "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Come, come, C.P. Be more practical. What use is that book? Give those lucky readers free hair cuts and shaves for a period of six months. Throw in a free tooth brush too while you are about it.

WOOLING THE JAFFNESE

Extract from "Forward" of 20.11.47:

"After his defeat Mr. Mahadeva has entered even further into his aristocratic shell and has now left Ceylon for Havana. The U.N.P. has been left leaderless and is rapidly disintegrating. As a political force in the North, it is completely exhausted."

Which explains why handsome, good-looking Pieter Keuneman went a-wooing to Jaffna to integrate the disintegrating. How effective his spreading of the dynamic Communist doctrine has been will be proved when Jaffna next marches to the polls. Ceylon will then know which political force is completely exhausted in the North! Keep trying Pieter. Infiltration's a grand thing!

THE DOCTOR SPEAKS

"End the Immigration and Passport Regulations."—Dr. Colvin R. de Silva in a letter to the Press.

Brave words, Colvin, but just name one country in the whole wide world which has no immigration or passport regulations and we will then start listening. Just now, Ceylon for the Ceylonese and Utopia for the Utopians.

TAILPIECE

"Communism has one brilliant exponent in Mr. Keuneman; but the Communists do not appear formidable."—Leading article in London's "Sunday Observer."

Jaffna papers please copy! What price, brilliance?

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BEWARE OF IMITATIONS



I RECENTLY came across a tribute to the late Mr. H. A. P. Sandrasagara, the eminent lawyer of his day, to the late Mr. F. R. Senanayake. What is noteworthy is that most of the attributes credited to Mr. Senanayake have been upheld by his brother, Premier Senanayake. Let's examine the relevant part of the eulogy:

"His great love for Ceylon, the land of his birth, and all people who dwell in this country, is too well known. . . . It would have pained his heart to watch the rank communalism that is today foisted in our country's politics in order that some small men may come into the limelight. . . ."

(Our Premier loves his people, and earns the esteem of all communities despite the mischief of some rank communalists and "small men").

"His services to raise funds for the Ramanathan Statue ought to be considered a lesson and teaching to all races alike."

(The Ramanathan Statue is an accomplished fact now, and Premier Senanayake played a prominent part in the fruition of the project).

Enterprise

AN interesting story comes from a rural school. One of the competitors in its Oratorical Contest was a bright young lad. He was not much fancied, but he is still thought to be in the running. Four had already delivered their speeches, and our lad's turn was next.

His subject was "An Appeal for a Flood Protection Scheme." He painted a tale of woe about the recent devastating floods. The audience was moved. But suddenly he faltered. He was at a loss for words. There was a dead silence for a few minutes. The audience fidgeted uneasily. Sympathy was with the lad.

He recovered and regained his words. He cracked: "Chairman, Judges and Gentlemen, I was observing two minutes' silence for the flood victims." The Chairman, Judges and Gentlemen all burst into merry laughter. They all voted for him.

"Such enterprise deserved the prize," said one of the Judges after the contest. "He will one day be a brilliant M.P."

Fines For M.P.s?

OUR M.P.s need not get jittery. But there is a serious suggestion that M.P.s who are late, absent (without valid reason) or who walk out of meetings before the close should be fined—for, according to those of that line of thought, such M.P.s are wasting public money. I wonder whether this item will be considered when the question of salaries of the M.P.s are tabled for discussion in Parliament.

About two years ago a mass walk-out by the Congress Party members during the Budget Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly resulted in those members being fined—Rs. 6.10.8 was deducted from each offender's salary as they had absented themselves from the House for part of that day.

There is, thus, a precedent for us. But the Mysore Representative Assembly had no precedent set for it. The Congress members protested hard and the matter was referred to the Privileges Committee of the Assembly, which settled the matter amicably.

Now, who will set the ball rolling in our Parliament?

Slave Island

WHAT has happened to the move made last year to re-name Slave Island as "Rifle Town"—to commemorate the past and present military associations with it? There was much talk in the Press, but no official action was taken.

Slave Island has an ugly origin. It smells of the old Dutch days when Kaffir slaves were employed by Dutch householders at Pettah. Ill-treatment incensed a Kaffir slave to kill his master during the night. Ever since then all the Kaffir slaves were taken by boat and dumped in the "Slave Island" during the night, and brought back to Pettah to work from dawn to dusk at their employer's homes.

A prominent English visitor remarked on the supposed stigma attached to Slave Island: "Surely the whole world knows there are no slaves in Ceylon. Tell the inhabitants of Slave Island not

to be so foolish. We have so many old names in England with hoary traditions—some of them not very complimentary—but we don't go about changing the names and losing all historic associations. It would be a very foolish step to undertake."

There was once an idea to change the name to "Malay Island" or "Pearl Island." Surely there is no fort in "Fort" and no cinnamon in Cinnamon Gardens. So why not change these names too?

Press and Publicity

THE Director of Government Publicity in Bombay is having a tough time explaining away the telephone allocations mess of the new India administration. A forthright Press Blitz on the set up describes how "fishermen, dhobies, third-rate lawyers, gutta-wallas, black-marketeers," etc., have obtained telephones.

Meanwhile, Mr. Zakaria, Public Relations Officer to the Government of India, is busy cabling strongly worded protests to British newspapers on the recent play-up of atrocity stories by correspondents in India or British journals.

Special protest blamed the "Daily Mail" for "muck-raking." This paper served up the juicy headline "Women outraged, children sliced and torn up while Nehru Police looked on." Objection was taken to last four words—"Nehru Police looks on."

A Bombay newspaper, an unashamed imitation of Time Magazine reportage, shrieked: "It comes as no surprise to us that Fleet Street should dabble in sordid sensationalism of the worst type at a time when such antics are neither amusing nor useful."

Stranger still is spectacle of India trying to teach Fleet Street its job—India where there are newspapers whose staff from top to gate-keeper is drawn exclusively from Caste Hindus!

Divorce—Men and Women

A BOMBAY news-magazine has launched a Divorce Laws relaxation campaign. It attacks the opposition from "purblind, unbending orthodoxy."

"Chastity, which, so far, like a hot-house flower, had been super-imposed by social reproach and ostracism of discursive bodily love, will regain its natural place in the mind of man with the advent of divorce. The mind will be set free from all unspoken dread of what society would think and say."

Nowhere, in a long-winded article is there any reference to the fact that it is the economic dependence of the woman on the man that gives the latter a bloated idea of his own importance. A man can be as much a catty, scandal-wasting nosey-parker as a woman. The difference arises in the naturally submissive nature of woman caused by centuries of oppression.

Tail-Piece

TUESDAY: Beggar on road. Passes a flapper—a stenographer in a Fort firm. The beggar appeals: "You will have success in your work if you help me, a poor man." The flapper walks on. . . .

WEDNESDAY: Same scene, same beggar, same flapper. The beggar: "Nonamahatmaya, may your beauty flourish. . . ." The flapper stopped. The hand-bag opened. Rolled ten cents into the beggar's tin.

FREEDOM OR A POLITICAL SCOOP?

(Continued from page 2)

the top rung of the ladder or to take the reins of office into their own hands until these veteran leaders pass away. Therefore, it seems best and opportune for these new bosses to come out with all kinds of foreign creeds to oust them, and to take the power into their own hands. These bosses, if powerful, will be worse than the "veteran leaders" whom they accuse. If they say that "Mr. Senanayake & Co. sold Ceylon to Britain" we can boldly say that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva & Co. will sell Ceylon to India and Russia both, and none of them will be any better.

If a World Revolution is really to come, its tide cannot be stemmed in Ceylon only but let us better think of the "World State" or Wells or the "One World" of Wendell Wilkie. Better still if we for the time being think of "One Ceylon," which is most essential for the welfare of all. Let us also think of evolution and not of revolution which is yet a day dream.

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Friday, December 5th, 1947

KEUNEMAN MADE CAT'S PAW!

THE eloquent Third Member for Colombo Central, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, fell nicely into the trap set for him by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. N. M. Perera when he allowed himself to be persuaded to lead the attack on the Ceylon Independence Act. Speaker after speaker repeated the arguments that had been ably and unsurpassably adduced against the acceptance of the motion for "rejoicing" moved by the Prime Minister. But Dr. N. M. Perera remained silent and so did the Member for Aivissawella and all the members of the L.S.S.P.; so also did their new-found friend and ally the devil's grandmother from Jaffna. Poor Mr. Keuneman looked around for a common front with the L.S.S.P., but when the House adjourned at 10 in the night not one L.S.S.P. man had risen in his seat. In the meantime Dr. Perera appeared to make frantic efforts to persuade the Chief Government Whip and the Leader of the House to wind up the debate but was met by firm refusals on the ground perhaps that the Independence of this country was not a subject which should be summarily treated. As we see it, the L.S.S.P. were afraid to face the country after opposing the

Independence Bill. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva waited for a cue from the Sama Samajists and finding them silent he persuaded the young Member of Badulla to make a maiden speech on behalf of his party. This speech, however, was a poor attempt to repeat some of the arguments of Mr. Keuneman without a trace of the elegance with which Mr. Keuneman spoke. The Independent Members were divided, with the Member for Kurunegala coming in late at night in his Hultsdorp clothes to make another mild re-hash of the Keuneman oration. This, too, was a maiden speech without even the welcome blush of promise one may have expected to see. Apart from an accent which he affected in order to speak as much as possible like the Englishmen he so roundly condemned, there was neither substance nor point in his speech.

The Member for Welimade, Mr. Sugathadasa, an Independent who dissociated himself from the Swadhina Party, went for the Opposition Marxists with considerable gusto. He showed courage, defiance and an attitude that created great tribulations in the hearts of the front rank Marxists within the House.

The debate on the Bill showed the first cracks in the solid wall of Opposition which, it was boasted, the L.S.S.P. had built up. There was little conviction in the speeches of any but the leader of the Communist Party; and as for the maiden speech of the Communist Member for Hakmana, it was clever, in the style of the Cambridge Union, and showed the makings of a cap-

able parliamentary debater. Apart from this, however, Mr. Kumarasiri failed to make any valid objection to the acceptance of the motion moved by the Premier.

The entire tone of the debate supported the contention of the Members for Kegalle and Ratnapura that the Marxists could not accept the motion because they did not desire Ceylon to be free as yet. They (the Opposition) would like to be the people who could claim at a future date to have given this country its independence. If the present Government achieved independence without the help of the Opposition, as indeed it had, the old parrot cry of a fight for liberty could no longer be used for purposes of political propaganda. The Member for Ratnapura took the opportunity to give a stern warning to the Members of the Opposition that the people were beginning to realise the fact that the Marxists of this country were concerned more with the game of politics rather than the purpose for which politicians should dedicate their lives. He asked the pointed question whether the subject of independence should become a matter for the vindication of the honour of any particular Party or whether there should be unanimous opinion on a subject the importance of which could not be surpassed by any measure or bill the Prime Minister could place on the table in that House. It became clear as the debate proceeded that the Opposition would break up rapidly and that more and more members among the Independents would continue to vote with the Government although they at present sit behind the Marxist Parties in the House.

ART & LETTERS

BY QUINTUS DELILKHAN

FLAUBERT-2

(Continued from previous Issue)

THAT Flaubert was a curious specimen of the human race cannot be denied, but there was so close a relation between his life as an artist and his failings as a man one might reasonably doubt. What is evident is that these characters which have raised so much controversy were copied from life. Flaubert's father was a doctor and one of his students, representing that mediocrity which was such a detestation to Gustave throughout his life, was the original of the character of the husband in "Madame Bovary." He had been first married and his wife had died. His second wife was a woman who in a small provincial town wanted to run a salon because she had read of it in romantic books. No one however of any consequences visited her. The romances she had read had gone to her head. She found the company of her husband boring, dull and impossible. She took lovers. She contracted debts. Altogether she was a very simple, blundering and frothy-minded type of woman. It was inevitable that her troubles should multiply beyond her control. She had completely deceived her husband, but she could not deceive the world which was hard upon her. And finally it appeared that the only way out of her tangles was a self-inflicted death. Flaubert pitilessly analyses her motives, tracks her in every act that makes her approach the final tragedy, and shows scant sympathy with her as a woman. Flaubert did not think very kindly of women. He had learnt that behind the mask of his pretty mistress, Louise Colet, was a devastating shallowness, and nothing in the world of passion interested him so much as the genuine development of

his own art. One can feel his contempt for Emma Bovary, the heroine of the novel who, however, was no heroine in his eyes, but just a common vampire of a woman, with her head filled with empty romance, unstable of character, and greedy of emotions which were her final undoing. It is interesting to know what the critics of his day thought about this novel which is still popular by virtue of the great art which has gone to its making.

Flaubert wrote this novel as the last word in realism, but his imagination leaned towards the romantic and he could not wholly break away from this tendency which was inherent in the constitution of his mind. Though he did not much care for criticism once his work was done, he showed not a little inclination to know what Duranty, the Editor of the magazine "Realisme" had to say on a matter of which it had to be officially cognisant. "Madame Bovary, the novel by Gustave Flaubert", said Duranty, "represents the obstinacy of description. Details are counted one by one, all are given equal value; every street, every house, every room, every brook, every blade of grass, is described in full; each character as he enters the scene, makes preliminary remarks on extraneous and uninteresting subjects, which serve merely to make known his degree of intelligence. There is neither emotion nor feeling nor life in this novel. (I speak here for those who have been able to read it). The style is uneven, now imitative of other writers, now lyrical, never personal. I repeat, always physical des-

cription, never impression. No purpose would be served by a discussion of the point of view of a book in which, owing to the above mentioned defects, all interest is lacking. Excessive study is not a substitute for the spontaneity which comes from feeling." Strangely enough Flaubert was not hurt by this review. He had aimed at impersonality in writing. He detested emotion. He wanted to write of things just as they were, without any prepossessions of his own, and without taking sides. And to add to his satisfaction, Champfleury, the head of the realist school of writers in France, went about saying what was most flattering to Flaubert; "have you read Madame Bovary? It might be by me." Against this must be set what the greatest critic of France, Sainte-Beuve, had to say on this book. He condemns as its chief defect that it contains no good characters to offset its sordidness, evil and depressing figures. French provincial life, he thought, could produce some noble and innocent characters. He admitted however that the book had the qualities of observation, design, composition and style. He thought of "Madame Bovary" as belonging solely to the realm of art and not of realism, its impersonality being its strength. "One previous quality", he wrote, "distinguishes Gustave Flaubert from other more or less exact observers who in our time pride themselves on frankly reproducing the only reality and who occasionally: He has style." This is praise indeed. But Flaubert does not need it now. The world has long since agreed that it is his most distinguishing and inalienable quality, whatever the category to which his writings belong.

Indian Newsletter

By Our Own Correspondent

"BRUTAL FRENZY OF SAVAGE COMMUNAL MENTALITY"

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru made an arresting statement recently to which very little heed and attention has been paid amid the jockeyings for power and party advantage that is going on all over India today.

Said the Vice-President of India's Interim Government: "The most urgent task at present is to arrest the swift drift towards anarchy and chaos."

Pandit Nehru is fully conversant with the dangers in the Indian situation today. He realises that the cowardly orgy of loot, arson and murder, set in train in August last year when the Muslim League resorted to direct action, has gripped various parts of the country and that fearful things have happened and are still taking place—the result of the brutal frenzy of a savage communal mentality.

While the educated minority, confronted so suddenly with the fruit of freedom which, incidentally, contains the seeds of both good and evil, is preoccupied with the immediate implications of a doubtful gift of deceptive independence which has brought political gangsterism and goondaism to various parts of India, the problems affecting the scores of millions of helpless vil-

lagers, peasants and workers—the dumb and naked millions as Gandhi called them—are receiving only lip service. Lawless elements, aided by food shortages, inflationist trends and tragic disintegration, are in the saddle today in many parts of the land.

defections and dissipated tendencies. The same old political drama is being staged; even the actors have not been changed.

tical acumen and the Solomon-like decision to split up the country and to give to each of the two parts the status of a Dominion has been hailed as a great victory for statesmanship. No doubt it is—for a particular type of statesmanship which has led to further disintegration.

WITHOUT being unduly alarmist, the objective observer fears that things are boiling up for another fearful explosion, more violent perhaps than those already experienced—and even collapse. This is not a forecast; much less should it be regarded as a prophetic vision. It is merely a sincere apprehension based on prevalent tendencies. What India is confronted with today is not so much a physical problem as one of morale—a spiritual problem.

It is an unpleasant but obvious fact that unless the two major communities can be awakened out of their superstitious communal hatred into a basic brotherhood, India is headed for a very rude awakening.

The conflict between the Union of India and the secessionists (who have chosen to call themselves Pakistan) has lost nothing of its bitterness as the day draws night when the transfer of power from British to Indian hands will be completed. The gulf is growing wider as Jinnah and the Muslim League, with a sordid admixture of sardonic humour and cynicism, keep encouraging further

IDEOLOGIES that are diametrically opposed to one another are competing for mastery in India today. On the one hand, there is the Union of India which refuses to abandon its ultimate goal of Akhand Hindustan (United India), many of whose leaders believe, even if they do not say so openly, that in seeking to achieve this, the means—any means—justifies the end; then there is the fanatic theocracy of the Muslim League which Jinnah, who fancies himself as the Fuehrer of a pan-Islamic revival, is exploiting frantically to the full and whipping up to fever heat; the very idea of an independent Pakistan, from an economic point of view, is crazy—except (and it may be on this that Jinnah and the League are banking) on one assumption: that the new State become a formidable aggressor with the rest of India as its target for expansion.

Then, there are the States, some of whom seem to glory in declarations of independence and refuse to exercise co-ordinated authority. The tendency of such States to isolate themselves and maintain a glorified detachment adds further to the country's disintegration.

The scheme for the division of India may be a great triumph for British poli-

THERE is no definite social and economic all-India policy today. Even the Congress is in this respect in the wilderness. Its yearnings are vague and often hopelessly contradictory.

First of all, there is the sainted Mahatma on whom the spotlight of publicity plays so fiercely, who detests modernism and all its works, particularly the machine, and who wants to perpetuate the old, self-sufficing village community with its simple and primitive cottage industries.

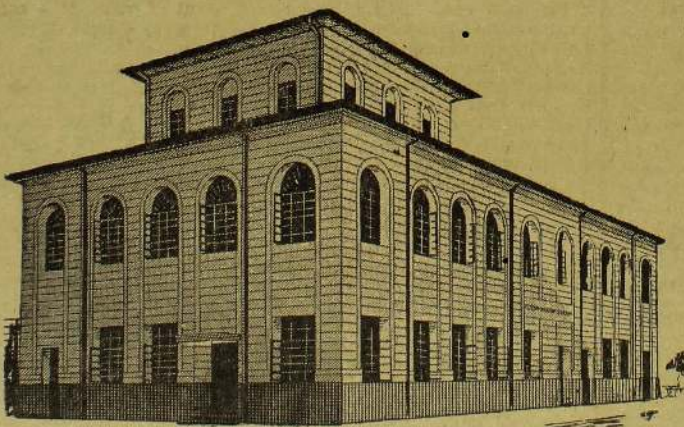
Then, as though in studied antithesis, there are the Hindu industrial magnates and Big Business folks who are sitting very pretty today and are expected to sit even prettier after August 15 when the British are completely out of the way. They do not share Mr. Gandhi's sentiments and beliefs and most of them regard him as a crazy crank and a dotard with no modern economic sense and who has not realised that Queen Anne—or for that matter Asoka—died long, long ago.

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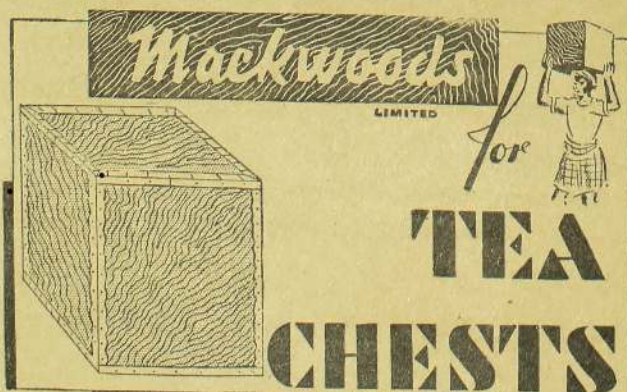
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COVER-POINT

THE C.T.C. November Meet, which ended last Saturday, brought the curtain down on the year's racing in Colombo and provides an excellent starting point for my review this week.

Far and away the most notable achievement in the afternoon was the manner in which Cosy Corner conceded weight and ground to his five opponents in the Epsom Plate, which was the principal race on the card. After St. Just had led the field a merry dance till the Distance, the handsome black Fairhaven gelding was given his head and in less time than it takes me to describe it, he swept past the leader and had plenty in hand when holding off a challenge by that very consistent waler Luzon, who has certainly earned a long rest. Cosy Corner's victory emphasised once again that an English thoroughbred, 8 times out of 10, has the beating of an Australian of the same class. It also showed that in Kunj Lata's absence, Senator Gardiner has an excellent substitute champion.

The superiority of the English thoroughbred was re-emphasised in the very next race when Manchu, a son of that "near"-classic stallion, His Grace, showed what a vast improvement one run in public could do when he spread-eagled a good class field in the Kelaniya Plate to win pulling up. I had noticed Manchu running a very forward type of race week before last when he died out in the straight in the race won by Prolle. He stripped a much fitter horse last Saturday and the favourite Breech, well as he did run, could never sight the winner. Tehmina came with a rattle at the end to finish third.

A racing man, wherever he is, is always ready to applaud a winner even when that victory means that his own fancy has come unstuck. And so it was when the neglected Mangosteen won with ridiculous ease at odds of 24 to 1. A weight-for-age race reserved for Australian horses imported into Ceylon, the Griffin Plate read, on the betting, as though it was a match between Bean Ameen and Supremacy. The dozen maidens who lined up at the barrier, did not give as much trouble as I expected them to do and got off fairly well. They were inclined to sprawl in the early stages of the race but three furlongs out it was obvious that Mangosteen had the race in safe-keeping. The old familiar colours of Mr. Meaden were there right in the centre of the course and the nearer the field came to home, the further Mangosteen went away from them. I did not see Bean Ameen but Supremacy ran a fair second and Mem Sahib just saved place money.

Backed as a good thing in the Wellawatte Plate, Vijay Laxmi never looked like winning at any stage. Tracking the early leader Clarendon all the way from flag-fall, Jovial Lady drew out in the straight to beat the top weight and Dual Enterprise, who will soon be picking up a race when sent over a distance of ground.

The big race for Arabs gave the favourite Qamar Adnan his second win after his Bandaranaika Cup triumphs in August. Settling into the lead from barrier rise, the grey easily shook off the early attention of Yisir al Arab and had even less difficulty in resisting a late challenge by Mahbub Khalid.

If Qamar Adnan gave Len Sawyer an armchair ride, this very capable jockey who looks like turning out into another Ben Rosen, had to ride his hardest to win on Ragheeb al Khair and Guljan al Iraq. The former appeared to be folding up when tackled in the straight by Najih al Hawa but Sawyer kept his nose to his wheel and got home by a short head.

As for Guljan al Iraq, he trailed the field till the turn for home and even at the distance seemed to be hopelessly boxed in. But Sawyer found an opening in the last 100 yards and, after

Mansur Abdullah had dropped out of the lead, came through under a wet sail to have the better part of a length to spare at the finish from Thunderbolt and Khalaf Janet.

The Riding Boys' race, which opened the day's proceedings, gave Tamim al Khair an opportunity of proving that all distances come alike to an Arab in form. The previous week the grey had won over 10 furlongs leading most of the way. Last Saturday he allowed Mandub al Sharq to dictate terms till the home stretch where he came right away from the field.

Ever since racing was re-started in Ceylon after the war, the Selvaratnam establishment has "farmed" the training honours. The four winners, which hailed from his stable last Saturday, took Selvaratnam's tally to 11—exactly half of the 22 winners of the meet. Wallis came second with 4, while Don Amaris sent out three winners. Jockey Sawyer easily headed the list of jockeys with nine winners. Among the owners Mr. Singham and the Maharajah of Gwalior each second a double.

★

I UNDERSTOOD that the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Turf Club, which was held last Saturday morning, was rather a stormy one. The draft prospectus for next year was referred back to the Stewards for reconsideration, particularly for an enhancement of stakes and certain alterations in the distances of some of the races. The club executive were also on the mat for the manner in which the Treble and Double Totes were run but in spite of it, I am sorry to say that very little improvement was visible last Saturday. For instance, even the total collections of the First Double were not put on the board till ten minutes after the second race while there was also undue delay in the declaration of the ordinary Tote dividends.

★

REUTER despatches from Brisbane indicate that all was not well in the relations between the Press and the tourists on the one hand, and the Queensland Club authorities on the other. When that most amiable of men, the Indian Manager, P. Gupta, has occasion to complain direct to the Australian Board of Control, it is obvious that there is something radically wrong. I recall the early days of my journalistic career when some of us newspaper men also came up against recalcitrant officials who had to be taken down a peg or two before they realised that they can't be autocrats all the time.

★

AS for cricket in Ceylon there was a full inter-club card Sunday before last. The pick of the bunch of matches was the one at the Colombo Oval where the Warblers very nearly created a big surprise against the redoubtable Tamil Union. To dismiss the strong Tamil batting side for 81 in the first innings was an achievement in itself. To get them out a second time for 69 not only proved that their earlier feat was no flash in the pan but also paid tribute to the sustained excellence of their attack and fielding. The Warblers were, however, unable to drive home their advantage as they found the Tamil captain, Selvadurai, bowling at the top of his form. The Oval wicket was not a sticky dog and the bowlers on both sides claimed their wickets on merit.

On the Reid Avenue grounds the University got the better of Young Moors but the cricket that went into the making of the match was of the stonewalling variety. At Darley Road, on the other hand, the N.C.C. made short work of Kurunegala, whom they dismissed for a paltry 38. The Nondescripts had the match won for the loss of only their first wicket.

A hat-trick by H. L. Spittel gave the Saracens an easy victory over Galle, the only member of the home team to get into double figures being the opening batsman.

This Is Russia—3**By William C. Bullitt**

APPROACH TO REVOLUTION

A wave of happiness rolled over Russia and for a moment it appeared that the country might gradually achieve a constitutional monarchy similar to England's. But the Czar resented the mere existence of the Duma, and the next 12 years were nothing more than an approach to revolution. They were, nevertheless, the only years from pre-historic times to this day in which the people of Russia enjoyed even a tiny measure of ordered freedom.

The outbreak of World War I united most Russians briefly in a "Sacred Union." Hatred of Germany became intense, but the terrible defeats inflicted by the Kaiser's army soon began to arouse patriotic fury against the criminal inefficiency and corruption of the Czarist bureaucracy. In the summer of 1916, General Brusilov's armies launched a superbly successful offensive against the Austrians and Germans, but the Russian service of supply broke down. The Russian soldiers often were without food for three or four days and always without proper medical care. Nevertheless, they continued to attack with magnificent heroism and stamina. When the offensive ended in September, 1916, Brusilov's armies had suffered a million casualties; and as the wounded filtered back to the rear a passionate resentment was aroused against the flaccid little Czar, his Rasputin-ridden wife and his corrupt bureaucracy.

Rasputin was murdered, and all who had access to the Czar warned him that revolution was at hand. Grand Dukes and even the ambassadors of his allies, urged him to remake his government and give wide powers to the Duma. Instead, on March 11, 1917, he discontinued meetings of the Duma, and had strikers demanding bread in the streets of Petrograd shot down.

★ ● ★

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE next day the revolution began. On the morning of March 12, 1917, Petrograd was overrun by great masses of hungry, angry demonstrators, and three days later the Czar abdicated. He and his family were exiled, and after the Soviet Government came into power, they were murdered. Thus the title of Czar was wiped from the pages of future Russian history. But under a different name Czarism was revived—a much more efficient and unscrupulous Czarism—the Czarism of Lenin and Stalin.

The abdication of the Czar was hailed throughout the world with joy as the beginning of an era of freedom for the Russian people. The Russians themselves embraced in the streets in ecstasy, and throughout the Western world, which knew little of Russia or Russian history, it was assumed that the Czar's vast empire would become a democratic republic with a free parliament, freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and all the other personal liberties guaranteed by the constitutions of Western democracies.

The Provisional Government which succeeded the Czar did its best to introduce a democratic regime. But it was a weak best. The Premier of the

Provisional Government, Prince Lvov, was a Tolstoyan who believed in "non-resistance to evil." Moreover, from the outset the Provisional Government was more or less at the mercy of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies.

The Petrograd Soviet was composed of workmen and soldiers chosen from the factories and battalions in the city, plus the leaders of the various socialist parties. All non-socialist parties were excluded from the Soviet, and at the outset the largest representation in it was held by the Socialist Revolutionaries who claimed to represent the peasants.

The Social Democratic Party, which was strong among the factory workers, was split between Mensheviks, who believed that socialism should be achieved by democratic methods and could not be established successfully until Russia had been more industrialized, and the Bolsheviks, who wanted to introduce socialism immediately by any methods whatsoever. It was only after the German General Staff, estimating correctly that Lenin would take Russia out of the war, had sent the Bolshevik leader back to Leningrad in April, 1917, that the Bolsheviks began to call themselves the Communist Party.

The Petrograd Soviet was too unwieldy a body to transact daily business in a revolution, and control of action was taken over by its Central Executive Committee. Speedily a still smaller group—the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee—seized the reins of authority. Lenin was incomparably superior to the other leaders in intelligence, will and political acumen, and gradually he and his followers began to dominate the Soviet. Thus little by little the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" began to be transformed into a dictatorship over the proletariat—and everyone else in the Russian Empire—by the leader of the Communist Party.

Without Lenin there might well have been no Bolshevism and no Communist Party. Born of middle-class parents, Lenin had a big head, short legs, a sense of humour and immense personal charm; and the lines of his life were staked out for him when his elder brother, Alexander Ulianov, was caught in a plot to assassinate Czar Alexander III. Lenin loved his elder brother deeply and admired him profoundly, and his brother was hanged. Thereafter, in hard moments, Lenin was always able to find within himself a flinty ruthlessness totally at variance with his usual personal kindness and broad human sympathies. "In principle we have never renounced and cannot renounce terrorism. It is an act of war . . . indispensable at a certain point of the struggle," he wrote in 1901.

Lenin's acts are more important for an understanding of the Soviet Union than his words; but some of his words became realities of the present day. In 1900 he left Russia and, with several associates, founded in Munich an organ of the Workers' Social Democratic Party, called Iskra—The Spark.

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