

FOR COURTESY AND  
KEEN PRICES  
GET IT  
AT  
BROUGHAMS  
YORK ARCADE, FORT

# u.n.p.

EVERYTHING FOR  
THE HOME  
—AT PRE-BUDGET  
PRICES  
BROUGHAMS  
YORK ARCADE, COLOMBO

VOL. II. No. 21

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

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1948

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

PRICE 5 CENTS

## ON EVE OF PARTY RALLY Three Stages of the U. N. P.

(By S. R. C.)

NEXT week the United National Party delegates will assemble in Colombo for the first major rally to be held after the inaugural meeting one year ago. The public reaction to the U.N.P. can be divided into three stages.

The first stage was at the inception of the Party when there was general jubilation in political circles and mass acceptance of the leadership of Mr. D. S. Senanayake. This at a time when people were rather concerned that the U.N.P. was too powerful and Ceylon might degenerate to the level of Russia and have a One Party State.

So much so that the "Daily News" gave a great deal of its space to the activities and propaganda of the Lanka Swaraj Party mainly on the ground that some sort of Parliamentary opposition was necessary for the might and strength of the U.N.P.

This newspaper felt somewhat alarmed that democracy was in danger and that however reliable and worthy Mr. Senanayake was, the ideal of Democratic Government needed somebody on the opposite benches to him to oppose in the style of His Majesty's Parliamentary Opposition in the House of Commons.

### LANDSLIDE

The stage passed on to the stage of disillusionment at the general elections when there was a landslide against the U.N.P. caused not so much because the country rejected the U.N.P. programme but because a great many of its candidates were ex-members of the old State Council good and honourable men no doubt, but who had had a long innings and had felt over-confident about their ability to return to Parliament.

It is well known that many of them started their election campaigns only after nomination day. They had allowed themselves to be lulled into a sense of security by the fact that they had come to know most of the leading residents of the villages of their constituencies. They also discounted the appeal of Leftwing candidates who were mostly men of straw.

The Leftwing candidates however were hard working men, new to politics, and ardent workers of their Constitu-



Mr. Dudley Senanayake

encies. They were like young bloods in love, and the very violence of their protestations won them the delightful prizes of seats in Parliament.

### OVERRATED STRENGTH

Just as the U.N.P. had overestimated their strength before the elections, the Leftwing overrated their strength after the elections, and it is amusing now to recall that very learned Doctors of Philosophy went so far as to think that they could overthrow the Senanayake Government and become leaders of the State.

They did not realise however that they had sown dragons teeth in their electorates and that they had to reap the harvest of their own promises, rashly and thoughtlessly made during the heat of the election campaign.

The Leftists for example had promised that on their return to power they would distribute all the land to the poor including, we presume, their own, for a great many of them are to be counted amongst the biggest landowners of this Island.

They had promised not three acres and a cow but a whole dairy and an estate. And when these things were not forthcoming they were not skilful enough to meet the change of atmosphere in the country. They also quarrelled among themselves and the nature of their quarrels was so petty that the public began to realise that personal ambition counted for more with them than the progress of the country. The second stage therefore ended with the spectacle of the masses veering round the Leadership of Mr. Senanayake.

### THIRD STAGE

We are now in the third stage of development when the Leftwing Parties are gradually eliminating each other and leaving the field to the U.N.P. The U.N.P. also has learned several lessons from the history of the last year and is not leaving anything to chance.

Active steps have been taken and are being taken to organise a Party on sound Party lines. Electoral Associations, Local Associations, Village Associations, Peasant and Workers' Committees are in the course of formation and a well knit Party will take the place of the old free-for-all scramble for seats that was witnessed in 1947.



Senator U. A. Jayasundera  
[(Organizing Secretary of the Party)]

BRITISH MADE

## "REXINE"

LEATHER CLOTH

for

● CAR SEATS

● UPHOLSTERY

● CINEMA SEATS

● DESK TOPS

Etc. Etc., Etc.

is once again available from

**BROWN & CO. LTD**  
ENGINEERS & MERCHANTS  
COLOMBO AND BRANCHES



# RED STAR OVER ALL — 4

## The Tactics of World Communism

By  
Nandalal

IN a speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 18, 1947, the Soviet delegate, M. Vishinsky summed up the Russian view of the present international situation. In his opinion there was a ganging-up of the capitalist states against the Soviet Union and this "unholy alliance" was led by the United States. The Marshall Plan is a vital element in the anti-Soviet strategy. "The plan", said Vishinsky "is an attempt to break Europe into two camps and complete with the assistance of Great Britain and France the formation of a bloc of a number of European countries hostile to the interest of the democratic States of Eastern Europe, and, first of all, to those of the Soviet Union."

A "war psychosis", Vishinsky also said, "instigated by the efforts of the militarist and expansionist circles of certain countries, the United States of America occupying the foremost place among them, is continually spreading

and assuming all the more menacing a character." The propaganda of a new war is being carried on under "various flags and pretexts" in order to justify the furious armament race in the U.S.A., atomic weapons included; to justify the limitless desire of the influential circles in the U.S.A. to fulfil the expansionist plans, the keystone of which is the idea of world domination.

The fundamental principles of Communist tactics for the present period were outlined when the nine-nation Cominform was established in October, 1947, as well as in a speech delivered by Andreshdanov.

The establishment of the Cominform was recognition by the Communists that the world was divided into two conflicting camps—capitalistic and anti-imperialism.

There is on the one hand the imperialist camp, whose directing force is the U.S.A.; on the other the forces of democracy led by the Soviet Union.

The Manifesto issued by the Cominform declared that the "anti-imperialistic democratic camp has to close its ranks and draw up and agree in a common platform to work out its tactics

against the chief forces of the imperialist camp."

In defining their attitude to the Socialists—that is parties like the Labour Party in Britain the French Socialists under Ramadier and Blum—the Communists declare that these groups are the servile agents of American capitalistic aims, pushing their own countries on the road to dependence on the U.S.A.

In order to fight the hegemony of the U.S.A. the Communists realise that the idea of national sovereignty would be an effective and potent instrument of policy. So the Cominform Manifesto urges that the Communist Parties should make national independence one of their fundamental aims.

"Who must grasp in their hands the banner of national independence and sovereignty in their own countries." The Communist Parties are expected to guard the "democracy, national sovereignty, independence, and self-determination of their countries; fight against attempts at the economic and political subjugation of their countries and place themselves at the head of all the forces ready to defend the cause of national honour and independence."

The second principle and line of action the Cominform recommended is vigorous opposition to the aims and desires of the U.S.A. There was a danger that the working class would underestimate its own strength and overestimate the force of the imperialist camp. There should be no concessions to the United States. Just as the appeasement policy of Munich led to Hitler's aggression, today concessions to the United States of America and the imperialist camp may cause its instigators to grow more aggressive.

Hence the Soviet toughness over Berlin.

The Cominform declares "the Communist Parties should place themselves in the vanguard of the Opposition against the imperialistic plans of aggression in all its manifestations whether in the sphere of State administration, politics, economics or ideology."

The intention is that the Communist Parties should gather around them all the democratic and patriotic forces in their respective nations.

Much of Communist confidence depends on their belief that while the imperialists may want to unleash a new war the peoples of the world do not want war. They rely on their belief that the forces that stand for peace are big and influential and if these should be staunch and determined in defence of peace the plans for aggression will be frustrated. Much of the hullabaloo, they argue about the danger of war is intended to frighten the weak-nerved and unstable and to extort concessions to the U.S. and their fellow-imperialists by means of intimidation.

This is a point which is emphasised by Zhdanov who also repeats the Cominform argument that the working class must not underestimate its strength and that appeasement of the United States would be fatal.

The theme of confidence in their own strength runs through the speeches made by Soviet leaders. In his address on the thirtieth anniversary of the revolution, Molotov recalled that the stubborn resistance and the final victory of the Soviet Union had confirmed the correctness of Lenin's words on the invincibility of the people which took power into their hands: Lenin had said: "One can never conquer a people where the majority of workers and peasants have realised, sensed and seen that they are upholding their own sovereign power."

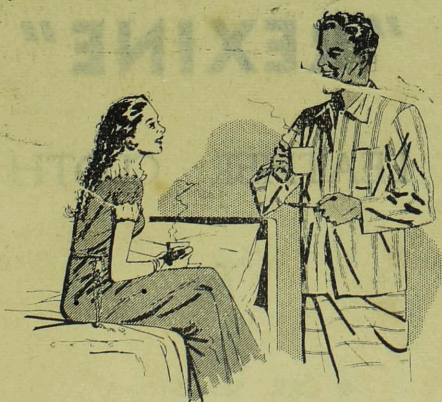
The confidence in Russian invincibility is also based on the change in the character of the Soviet peoples. "The successes of the Soviet State are great", Molotov proudly remarked: "Socialism has deeply entered into our whole life. Under the conditions of Soviet power a new generation has already grown up which is beginning to spread its eagle wings." The most important gain of the Russian revolution, Molotov claims, is the new moral character and ideological growth of the people as Soviet patriots. The Soviet people now are no longer the same as they were thirty years ago. The new character of the Soviet peoples is to be seen in their attitude to labour. They regard their work as a matter of social importance and a sacred obligation to the Soviet State.

Molotov confesses that vestiges of capitalism are extremely persistent in people's consciousness but he is again certain that the Soviet State has immense possibilities for waging a successful struggle for the elimination of these vestiges.

Another reason which gives the Communist a feeling of cockiness is the belief that their economic system is superior to those elsewhere. In Russia, Molotov announces, they are not threatened by economic crises—so ruinous for industry—without which not a single capitalist country can live.

Much of these proud boasts might really be meant to stimulate morale among the Soviet peoples themselves and it need not be assumed that the Soviet leaders swallow their own stories. There is, however, the experience of events to suggest that the Soviets are acting as though they believed them. Their daring defiance of the western Powers and the success which seems to be attending that defiance argue that the Russians are working according to their plans and prophecies. Previous history at any rate, has vindicated those whose analysis and forecasts of Soviet policy were based on Soviet statements.

SLEEP  
THROUGH THE NIGHT  
DRINK MILO



Fortified with the vitamins A, B, & D., also organic Phosphates and important minerals including Calcium, Magnesium, Iron and Sodium, Milo Tonic Food is concentrated energy made from milk and malted cereals.

And how good it tastes!



'mix a  
Milo'

A NESTLE'S PRODUCT

Descriptive literature will be sent on receipt of a post card addressed to NESTLÉ'S (R), P.O. Box 189, Colombo.



# INDIA AND THE WORLD

## One Year of Foreign Policy

**A**PART from the economic troubles of the year, there is no aspect of the nation's life which has met the full impact of independence more than our relations with foreign powers. This has in every way been an uneasy year and, if anything, the uneasiness in our minds is greater at its close. We may, indeed, claim in the mechanical manner in which this is done in the King's speech in Britain, that our relations with foreign powers continue to be friendly. But there are breakers ahead, and we view with very genuine concern the failure in the country as a whole correctly to assess and adequately to prepare against their coming force. We have said before, and it is necessary to say again, that we have no coherent foreign policy. And, if anything, the hesitancy and uncertainty has increased and not diminished within the year.

It is not that we view the change in our tone with any regret. In the period just before Independence, the Prime Minister expressed himself with a vehemence which was unwise as well as unrelated to hard facts of the international scene. He spoke in April, 1947, of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia; he asserted that India would be a guardian of Asian soil and would not tolerate any interference on the Asian continent. As high sounding pieces of rhetoric these declarations were superb, and they certainly pleased a very large wise. Our national vanity was greatly flattered that we could again speak in those terms. The year that has passed has shown a much finer sense of responsibility. It was not merely that we were incapable of implementing these declarations by force of arms; against different enemies we have been hard pressed in Kashmir to implement them at home. The abandonment of all forms of political bravado has done us nothing but good. It is a mistake for nations, as it is for individuals, to live above their station. It is better to recognise that we must still for many years take a lowly place in the bigger decisions of the world. But at least it is wisdom to accept what cannot be escaped. And the diplomatic manner in which we have effected, in a narrow sense, a change of front deserves warm praise. Hesitation and a live sense of realities have replaced noisy declarations of power. This has reduced the chance of conflict everywhere and at least it is now clear that our foreign policy seeks peace if little else.

How is this peace to be secured. It is not likely to be secured by any policy of drift and, of course, it may not be possible to secure it by any policy at all. We must face frankly the fact that India has no voice today in the peace of the world and it can only escape being involved in a foreign war if its relations with the major combatants are designed as to make aggression in India militarily a losing proposition. In practical terms, this means that neither the United States nor the U.S.S.R. should have a vital interest in an attack on India. There are people in India who seriously contend that the position of India in relation to these powers has not altered in the year and the continuation of our present policy of "independent" neutrality—whatever that may mean—will keep us safe.

Naively to accept this view is blindly to ignore the tremendous events of the last year. While we have been battling with partition and with Kashmir and Hyderabad, a major revolution has taken place in other parts of the world. The rift between the U.S.S.R. and her war allies has steadily widened and more than once within the year, and even now at this very critical time in Berlin, to many minds it looks, as though the world stands again on the brink of war. The U.S.S.R. has unleashed in the year a tremendous drive in countries beyond its own, carrying to them its own message of regimented hope, but destroying in every country where it conquers the life of the indi-

vidual spirit and all the liberties of men. In the year under review the tide swept forward into Europe until the European democracies, rallying under the inspiring lead of George S. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States, formed the Western Union to keep it at bay. In France and Italy democratic elections were won by non-Communist parties and, in a sense, the tide of Communist conquest was turned back upon itself. But foiled thus in the West, it has burst forth with renewed vigour in the East. In North China, in Malaya and in Burma battles are being fought to keep it back by armed force. How far these military operations, Communist creed goes on to do its corroding work.

This is in fact the supreme development of the year. Unknown and unseen by Indian eyes, we are already at war with Communism and—since its inspiration as well as its power lies within the U.S.S.R.—we are already at grips with a Russian attempt to sweep the world. Does our foreign policy show any recognition of this tremendous fact—in the larger context of foreign policy, the only fact which dominates the democratic world?

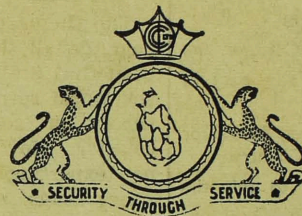
Hesitation and uncertainty on August 15, 1947, may, perhaps, have been justified to the extent that the new current in world affairs had not made itself visible in India. Mr. Marshall's epoch-making speech at Harvard was, indeed, made on June 5, 1947, but in ignorance of its full background our External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Ministry may be forgiven for having failed a year ago correctly to assess the factors which prompted its appearance. But there is no excuse today. What has happened in the last twelve months needs neither description nor interpretation. If we cannot see plain and simple facts, we are not likely to find new faith merely from their interpretation. Within our own land in a hundred ways this menace is afoot seeking everywhere fertile soil where it may take root and grow. At our gates in Burma and Malaya it has advanced into widespread violence, a warning to us what dangers lie ahead. In more than one district in the province of Madras we have discovered that for many years systematic propaganda in favour of Communism has been preached from Government schools. The All-India Trade Union Congress is primarily inspired from Communist sources and who will deny that even in other Trade Unions in the country, Communist influences are at work? Does the Government of India contend that Communism is not waging war on India at the present time?

What is the logical end of this analysis? So far as our foreign policy is concerned, its meaning is, to our minds, plain. An "Independent" foreign policy—which we can mean only that we shall not lean in any direction—can lead only to a Communist victory and in effect decree no neutrality but a leaning towards the U.S.S.R. What would happen if we leant the other way? Clearly this would mean coming within the Anglo-American range of influence in the power politics tangle in the world. Is this a disaster? Economically we are already dependent on the United States and the United Kingdom for our capital equipment and, so long as we stay in the Commonwealth and the sterling area, we are already tied, however loosely, to British strings. To make that bond politically closer in an attempt to destroy the new enemy that confronts us is merely to recognise an economic fact already there. It is now not a choice of principle but of expediency. Our choice of principles has already been made. To the extent that we are against Communism—and if the Prime Minister's denunciation is representative we dislike it much—we have already decided against the U.S.S.R. in principle. To the extent that we have need of British and American equipment and of foreign capital and are seeking them, to the extent we have their way of life against the Russian way, we are already in principle at one with them. In other words our declared foreign policy is not representative either of our interests or our acts. How

then can it be justified in the context of our world divided as at present in two with no lasting middle ground?

There are people in India who still put their faith in the United Nations and in the principles of the Charter. The treatment of our appeal against Pakistan during this year came as a rude shock and the conclusion was drawn, not that the United Nations was unable to discharge its paper functions, but that it had become the creature of Power groups. To those who have attended sessions of the United Nations and the Security Council this judgment rings untrue but there can be no doubt that no nation of the world can, as a corner-stone of its foreign policy, place all its trust in this infant institution. So far as the major conflict which now threatens to disrupt our world, it matters not at all. We may continue to hope for better things and meanwhile we cannot withdraw support, but it is elementary wisdom to prepare for a world in which, as at present, the United Nations is powerless to hold the scales.

No formal declaration of a change of policy is required. It is by our deeds and not by our declarations that we shall be known. There are constructive deeds which need now to be performed. The first of these must be the formulation of an approach to the democracies on an economic front, proposing collaboration with the political purpose of defeating Communism not by military means but with an economic program for a period of five to ten years designed rapidly to promote Indian industrialisation. This program must cover the recognition that we will need foreign capital, foreign equipment, foreign technical skill for many years. We must pay reasonable terms to secure them. But it is long-run political security and not mere economic inducements which will be required. That long-run political security means that we must so set our course that it will not be disturbed by the great guests that are blown in to us from Burma and Malaya. Unless our foreign policy shows clearly to foreign minds that we are no longer uncertain of ourselves it can reap no fruit in any field.



<p><b>IF</b> you need</p> <p>Complete Security</p> <p>Generous Consideration.</p> <p>Absolute Efficiency.</p>	<p><b>THEN</b> we offer</p> <p>Wide Comprehensive Policies</p> <p>Progressive Outlook</p> <p>Immediate Attention to all enquiries.</p>
---	--

**LIFE, MOTOR, FIRE, FIDELITY**  
and  
**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.**



**GUARANTEE BONDS GIVEN**  
for  
**POSITIONS OF TRUST**  
in  
**THE GOVERNMENT AND MERCANTILE SERVICES.**

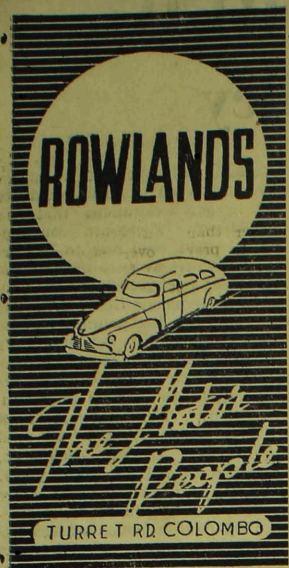
**THE**  
**CEYLON INSURANCE CO., LTD.**

69, QUEEN ST.,  
COLOMBO



## WOMEN IN

By Kamaladevi



## THE CEYLON WHARFAGE COMPANY, LIMITED COLOMBO

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND.  
THE LIABILITY OF MEMBERS IS LIMITED

Clearing, Forwarding, Bonding,  
Shipping and Motor Transport  
Departments

Goods cleared through Customs, and

- I. Forwarded to any part of Colombo
- II. Delivered at Railway Station for transmission Up-Country
- III. Stored in bond to suit the convenience of owners, or
- IV. Placed in a transhipment warehouse for re-shipment.

Telephone 2291

Post Box 169  
COLOMBO

# FERTILISERS

*of Best Quality  
for all Crops*

## A. BAUR & CO. LTD.

COLOMBO

# u.n.p.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1948

### CRACKING UP

FURTHER evidence of the chronic inability of the Marxists to agree among themselves was given last week when the Communists summoned a meeting in sympathy with the Malaya insurgents. To this assembly the Lanka Sama Samaj Party was invited, but Comrade PHILIP GUNewardena's spirited rejoinder to PIETER KEUNEMAN's crowd only made more bitter the existing unpleasant relations. The reply was interesting as an instance of the hair-splitting differences that keep these groups apart. It also showed how irreconcilable are their antagonisms. Anything is a good enough excuse to attack a dissident Marxist. Logic is of no consequence with the political pundits.

The theme of L.S.S.P. propaganda all these years has been that Stalin had betrayed the world revolution, with his theory of socialism in one country. Now Stalin seems to be exporting revolution to other lands, a commodity he once fancied was not to be included in international merchandise.

In the peculiar context of the new situation that has emerged, as Dr. COLVIN R. DE SILVA would delight to phrase it, it would be expected that Mr. PHILIP GUNewardena and the Sama Samajist brotherhood would welcome most enthusiastically that Stalin is repenting of his evil attitudes and is seeing the wisdom that Trotsky had long ago taught Mr. PHILIP GUNewardena. But, alas! forgiveness is not an idea in the Sama Samajist theory. Mr. PHILIP GUNewardena now execrates Stalin for starting the revolution which the local Leftist Leader had so earnestly desired. And Mr. PHILIP GUNewardena's vocabulary of opprobrious epithets is severely strained to find apt descriptions for Stalin: Stalin, it seems, is now exploiting the Malayan Communists to wring concessions from the "Anglo-American imperialists." These contortions, confusing to the average man, have their explanation in the simple circumstances that there is something in the Sama Samaj mentality which compels them to be in a permanent state of opposition.

These quarrels and conflicts have emerged within a few days of that famous unity conference, when it was proudly declared that the foundations of working class unity had been laid. The trouble

THE feminine basically stands for the future. It has been said that nature has put a stronger sex-urge in woman—sex-urge not in the sense of blind passion but the creative force—for woman is the vessel through which the human race is carried on to perpetuity to complete the cycle of life.

Thus the future of the women of a country is infinitely more than just their economic and social rights, important and impressive as they are.

It is the very basis and structure of society, it determines whether it makes for the fruition of life or negation of life, for the woman has a surer instinct of life. When this is on a par with the disintegrating and destructive—the renovating element of life—then a balance is struck. This balance is of the utmost importance, for otherwise the destructive forces will continue to outweigh the creative and will ultimately lead to the sort of crazy conditions which obtain today in our world.

The urge of tomorrow, of the future, has, therefore, to be one of balance, of interdependence, the replacing of the prevailing erroneous notions and associations of the masculine and feminine by correct ones. To associate the feminine with weakness and the masculine with virility would be like defining water as weak and wind as strong. What we have to really aim at is a correct evaluation of women as human beings, not how much like men they are or can be made to become. This should set the key to the picture of our future society.

Woman has been the traditional maker of the home so, logically, she ought to be the maker of the state too. In shaping its destiny her hand is indispensable. This has been amply proved by the heroic role played by the Indian women in our freedom's struggle. Rich and poor, the lettered and the unlettered, the delicately nurtured and sheltered, and the tough and rough ones from the factories and fields, one and all have fought, suffered, sacrificed in freedom's cause, shoulder to shoulder with men. As they have marched and won the ground inch by inch, yard by yard, their labours, their sweat, their groans, their triumphs, their achievements, have all formed the rubble that goes to build the new state.

Rights cannot be established across bargain-counters, they are built up by service-records won and established. Thus have the Indian women acquired their claim to shaping the future destiny of the nation and a hand in its future affairs.

### STATE, EXTENSION OF HOME

THE State is, after all, but an extension of the home. State affairs are as much in need of her sturdy commonsense and sense of balance, as that of home. How often we overlook the fact that a home is a very delicately wrought instrument, made up of the most brittle and sensitive of elements: the human moods. No international setting calls for the all-embracing qualities of tact and patience as does a home where unvarying tediousness is only balanced by relentless interlocking of close human contacts. Woman has to be a past-master in the art of human-relationship. In fact, woman alone has made an art of so

seems to be that no sooner they lay foundation stones the Leftists remove them for laying somewhere else. Those who still credulously expect that Leftist unity is emerging must profit from these constant quarrels and decide that their loyalty and energy might be given to parties more firm in their purpose.

explosive a thing as human relationship, tuned it to gentle modulations to draw sweet harmony out of what would otherwise be a jarring, discordant rumble.

Thus what the women claim for today and for tomorrow is what they have established by their record, proved by their mettle and their wisdom, through infinite acts of love and labour. It was therefore in the fitness of things that the Indian Constitution should declare in the Fundamental Rights.

"All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power of honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling."

But a precept is usually far off from practice. India has fallen a long way behind her carved truths. Political slavery and loss of economic power has resulted in utter social decay. And though the ancient truths were never lost, they were dammed by diocese. Today, however, under the fresh breath of a national renaissance, they are being re-burnished, with a new lustre added to them by new influences. To a large extent, the establishment of democratic usages will help solve many a problem. Today, although the right of political franchise is granted to women in principle, it is more in sentiment than in fact.

### VOTE AS A WIFE!

FOR while other requisites form the qualifications for the exercising of this supreme political right, it remains only in name and does not become a reality. Today only an infinitesimal section of the Indian people is enfranchised and, of that, women form only a fraction and even that under humiliating concessions. For very few women can claim the right of vote either by property or literary qualification. So they have only to fall back on their right of wifehood. For in the 1935 Government of India Act, marriage is, by implication, made a

### QUALITY BREAD

"KLEENLOFE"

Don Alexander  
& Sons

ALSTON PLACE, COLOMBO

'Phone: 3774 'Grams: "ALEXSONS"

### ELECTRICAL INSTALLATIONS

The arrival of stocks of

"B. I." HELSBY

C. M. A.

CABLES

&

TUCKERS

ACCESSORIES

enables us to quote for  
NEW INSTALLATIONS &  
REWIRING

Note: Estimates will be given  
free of charge for work in  
any part of the Island.

FENTONS LTD.

350, UNION PLACE,  
COLOMBO.

Phone 5182 — P. O. Box 310

IF IT IS ANYTHING  
ELECTRICAL

PHONE

FENTONS



# THE SCHEME OF THINGS

## Chattopadhyaya

basis for franchise by laying down that the wife of a voter may be entitled to vote—not as a citizen, not as an adult of maturity, not as a human being of reason and commonsense, possessing the inherent right of franchise, oh no! but only as a wife. Women's organisations in India have protested strongly against this perversion. But only a national constitution framed by Indians for a Free India can set this right.

Equally imperative is it to abolish the "nurgery" treatment meted out to women in the political field by allotting to them special reserved seats. Neither the principle of equality is established by this preferential treatment, nor that of proper representation. It is as unhealthy as unfair, for it only serves to deepen the complex of inferiority that is bred at the moment amongst women, and that of sickly superiority amongst men. As we shall presently see, equality takes on reality only when given freedom of movement, and like freely flowing water is able to find its level.

Equally basic is the right to education. All compulsory and free education must cover women and their essential needs. Till now, education in India is not planned nor evolved out of the basic needs of the country and its people. It is imposed only on a section of the people, such as are necessary to run the administrative machinery. For the rest, the State is just not interested, and these include women, for they are normally not amongst the essential cogs in the Governmental wheel. Women are simply not in the picture. Where they come in, they are just accepted. Therefore, the traditional feminine occupations are not of account. Even the fact that so many of these traditional feminine avocations have ceased to be domestic and moved to a wider public arena, is entirely overlooked.

### OLD IDEOLOGIES COLLAPSE

**H**OME-MAKING as a subject of study does not figure. The fact that the traditional home of old is no more, that the very complex modern life calls for a completely new orientation and that this makes the study and cultivation of home-science an absolute necessity, is entirely overlooked. A complete change in our national economy has meant a collapse of the old social way of life. The modern life is very complex. Private as well as public sanitation and rules of health have to be freshly evolved and effected. New civic duties and responsibilities have to be faced and shouldered. Even so domestic and private a thing as food has become a public concern. More and more the old domestic functions are being transformed into public ones with increasing dependence of the nation on them. Large households are fast contracting to smaller dimensions. Young housewives and young mothers are thrown very much more on their resources with little mature or experienced guidance.

It, therefore, stands to reason that the function of educating these young men and women and training them for their new duties and responsibilities should be naturally and rightfully taken over by educational institutions as the realities of this situation have already made many of the countries of the West and of the East, such as Japan. Nor is education divided any more into watertight compartments, for it is being increasingly recognised that home-making is as much of a man's job as State administration that of a woman's. For the barriers between the two are rapidly breaking down. If women are to function in the extra-domestic world, then unless the men recognise their responsibility towards the domestic side, it becomes a one-sided game and women have to bear a double burden as they do now. They have to toil at home as much as outside the home, which accounts for part of the lack of balance in our present society.

Men and women have, therefore, to be educated and trained for both. It is not for nothing that men attend classes run by the Maternity Association in America and learn how to feed and bathe a baby, as nurse the sick, although there is no doubt that once

the economic compulsion is removed, many of the women would gladly prefer to confine themselves to their homes and the traditional domestic duties, and leave the men to handle the extra domestic jobs. At the same time, the fullest possible opportunities and facilities should be made available to women as to men, for specialised training in any field the women may choose to enter, without any discouragement or impediment, and let the woman have the fullest possible choice for the selection of her avocation.

### THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

The economic aspect has, however, an important bearing on this. For the woman in India is considerably handicapped today by being denied her legitimate economic rights. Basically this disability mainly arises from the fact that domestic functions have not been given economic recognition by society, as public functions have. Thus cooking, cleaning, washing, etc., done in a household do not entitle the woman to economic freedom, as these functions are not evaluated in terms of economic assets as they are, when brought into the competitive market.

The tragic anomaly is that, while an extra-domestic worker is protected and safeguarded by State laws, even the elementary economic rights of a housewife are not. Law and society look upon the man as the breadwinner, the one who earns the household income and, there, has the right over it. The equal contribution made to the making and running of the home by the housewife through her manifold labours, remains unrecognised.

### CONCESSIONS ONLY TO MOTHERS

**T**HIS disability needs to be definitely removed and these natural and normal household labours raised to the status of national recognition and the woman's role in it accepted as public service. For so far as the large masses of women are concerned, this is the essential and real change to be wrought, for this will give recognition to woman as an absolute economic factor, on her own, and not as an auxiliary to man. If this basis is established, logically other economic rights must accrue to women, whether in the matter of inheritance or succession, as a natural corollary.

At the same time, increasing technological development must be utilised by State and society to save the long labours and tedious drudgery of the household tasks which necessarily fall to the lot of every woman. Labour-saving devices should be made widely and cheaply available to women of all income-classes. The public-health system must devise ways and means to help housewives keep their homes clean and trim, by affording proper education and facilities.

An equally important problem is to save mothers from having to compulsorily go out on extra-domestic jobs to the detriment of the family, especially growing children. Mothers must be given the choice and option to stay at home and tend the children, which many a time may be an absolute necessity. Family allowances for children by the State is one recognised means of achieving this, as also allotment of houses according to the size of the family instead of that of the purse. Where a mother can conveniently take on an outside job, then the State and society must provide creches and nursery schools and see that the children are well cared for. In future the society and State must both realise and fulfil these essential obligations.

### DIVORCE LAWS SHOULD BE RELAXED

**W**E may now finally turn to the social field. Here the several existing anomalies must be done away with, such as for instance, the double moral standard. Monogamy instead of being enforced only against women, must be enforced against men as well.

At the same time, this rigidity must be modified by provision for the dissolution of marriage under certain circumstances which render the marriage a farce or a source of pain and degradation. Provision must also be made to secure this in a straight, decent and

clean manner, without having to resort to all manner of subterfuges and tricks. The State and society must be enlightened enough to enable two intelligent and responsible married people if they feel it necessary to part, to do so without undue fuss, expenditure, and above all, trumping up false cases, as happens so often these days.

The strength, stability and perpetuity as an institution lies in its being a willing and voluntary one. The introduction of any coercive element in it can only detract from its dignity. Therefore, neither divorce nor a difficult divorce, can automatically make for a strong or happy marriage. The implication of a single moral code is equal discipline on the part of both sexes, not the laxity of one and the tyrannical subjugation of the other, as obtains in our society at present. This single standard must, therefore, replace the present double moral code.

### FUTURE STATUS OF MOTHERHOOD

**L**AST but not the least is the future status of motherhood the highest attribute of woman. This has always been accepted more as a physical asset—the function of race-

perpetuation rather than as a moral and creative force. It is necessary to understand and appreciate this attribute as a moral quality, if life is to revolve round the hub of creative force rather than destructive, if principles are to prevail over experiences, moral force over brutal force. It is no accident and not for nothing that people who attain a high civilization, usually evolve a mother-goddess.

In the society of tomorrow, motherhood has to be rescued from its present dross and restored to its pristine significance. Only then can we view the physical function of motherhood in its correct perspective. Today the two are confused, and although it is natural for this elemental urge to seek fulfilment in the physical act, the over-emphasis on the one or the other, on virginity or on bearing of children, makes the whole question lop-sided.

Although begetting families is a natural and happy personal, social and national process, still national perpetuation is served equally by upholding the quality of motherhood or creativeness as by bearing children. Children

(Continued on page 6)

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD. PAINTS DIV.

## DUCO

Duco is acknowledged to be the standout quality spray paint by re-finishers and car owners alike. Stocks are now in the hands of garages all over the Island.

Agents :—

**BOSANQUET & SKRINE LTD.**  
P. O. Box 14 COLOMBO

## FERNANDOPULLE BROS.

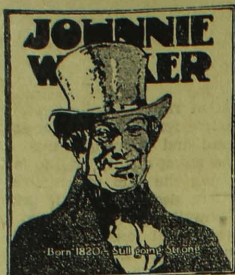
FOR

## GROCERIES

186-188, FIRST CROSS ST.  
(NEXT TO THE FIRE STATION)

COLOMBO





AGENTS :-

LEE, HEDGES &amp; CO., LTD.

*MacKwoods Ltd.*

★  
FOR  
BRITISH  
ALUMINIUM  
CORRUGATED  
ROOFING SHEETS  
&  
FLAT RIDGE  
PLATES  
★

Immediate Delivery  
PRICES ON  
APPLICATION



# SPORTS

## Commentary

### COVER-POINT

ANOTHER month of August has come and gone and a hectic spell of racing has ended. There will now be an interval of two weeks before the two-day September meeting begins tomorrow fortnight.

The racing that went into the making of the August Meeting and its "Extra" will long be remembered. Practically every big race was claimed by an outsider; there were so many reversals of form that there couldn't have been more than a handful of people in the know who could have come out right in their exchanges either with the Tote or the numerous "professional operators", who were very much in evidence till the last day of the Meeting. Even the August "extra" last Saturday did not serve as a "get-out" day for punters, who saw seven first favourites being beaten in a card of 10 races.

The Stewards "sat up" on the penultimate day of the Meet and took notice of these strange reversals of form and the suspension of one trainer's licence led to less in-and-out running on the last day. Surprise saliva tests were subsequently taken and these must surely have a very salutary effect on racing. I, for one, cannot understand why some owners are said to be rather peeved at these tests. The choice of a race for such tests lies entirely within the discretion of the Stewards and it is no business of owners or trainers to protest against the exercise of this discretion. The dope menace must be eradicated once and for all and every right-thinking race-

goer will give the Stewards all the support they need.

That the Stewards were not stamped into the action which they recently took is proved by the fact that they gave Trainer Medhi Hussein every opportunity of explaining away the drug that was found in the saliva of Silver Valley. At an exhaustive inquiry held last Saturday, the case was reviewed in all its aspects and the Stewards must have been satisfied that the drug was not administered personally by the trainer or with his connivance, because he has not been warned off. His suspension till the end of the November Meeting is probably due to the fact that the Stewards held that he should have taken more adequate safeguards against the doping of the horse.

All racegoers will welcome the news that the Stewards have also inquired into the betting on the two biggest outsiders that won during August, namely Golden Buddy and Kara Pasha. In the case of the latter it has been proved that one punter had 20 win tickets on the waler. The operations of this punter will, I am sure, be kept under the strictest surveillance in future.

Before leaving the subject of the August races, I might mention that several race-goers were amazed at the fact that Golden Sapphire was installed a raging hot favourite in the senior division of the Ratnapura Plate last Saturday. In her last two outings Golden Sapphire was not even nibbed at. How then was it that she was a street corner tip last week? And in the race, she ran like a mule finishing nearer last than first! I suggest that the Stewards make this a subject of inquiry before the September Meeting

opens.

The fortnight's hiatus in racing is bridged to some extent by the enterprise of the Tamil Union in staging a Dog Gymkhana Meet tomorrow. This is the 50th Gymkhana to be held on the Colombo Oval and bids fair to being the most successful up-to-date. It is hoped to reserve two of the seven races for greyhounds, of which breed there are now about a round dozen in Colombo. Practices are being held daily on the Oval and those who like a week-end flutter cannot do better than "go to the dogs" tomorrow! The new Gymkhana Secretary is my good friend George Veeravagu, who is determined to make this Meet the best ever. His enthusiasm is really infectious and I think he will have his best hopes fulfilled tomorrow.

The Australian tour of England is drawing to its close. The last County match has been played and the Aussies will leave England with a record, which will probably never be equalled. That they were immeasurably superior to England admitted of no doubt even before the tour began but there were some—I was one of them—who did think that on home grounds England would make a match of it on occasion. But the visitors always had the measure of the homesters and, whenever they turned on the heat, had England at their mercy. The tour has been a glorious swan-song for Don Bradman who as batsman and Captain has no compeer. He is ruthless in both his roles—but even he was overpowered by that memorable reception he received when he made his final bow at the Oval in the last Test match.

A fairly strong M.C.C. side will tour South Africa this winter and the selection of F. T. Mann as Captain probably foreshadows his appointment as England's captain in place of Norman Yardley when the next tour of Australia comes round. I do hope some of the youngsters who are to make the trip to South Africa, will make good and thus give the England selectors some material on which to get to work.

## WOMEN IN THE SCHEME OF THINGS

(Continued from page 5)

should be the result of voluntary dedication and not a blind physical helplessness as very often is, causing considerable frustration to the parents, especially the mother, if the task is performed under physical or economic strain. It is befitting that families should be planned and spaced. Nor should childlessness become a source of despair, for the flowering of this quality in the home and the society is an equal dedication to humanity.

### RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE

MEANWHILE, the State must recognise its responsibility towards the mother and the child, provide physical care through pre-and-post-natal clinics, health visiting at the house, creches, nursery schools and the like, as also family allowances for children and proper housing—in short stabilization and integrating of the home and family through State aid when and where necessary. The aim is not to reduce men and women to one image, but rather to put the emphasis on the basic qualities of each as complementary to each other and make for the completest personality in each.

## LUBRICATION SERVICE

BY THE  
VERY LATEST HIGH PRESSURE  
EQUIPMENT

Bring your car or lorry to us and  
let us prove how quickly and well  
we can carry out your servicing.

GENERAL TRADING CORPORATION  
116, STEUART PLACE  
COLPETTY

Phone: 4251  
4252

Grams:

"Diesel" Colombo.



## Books & Authors

# FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION: A SYMPOSIUM

MILTON'S historic plea for freedom of expression, an outstanding classic of its kind, is commemorated in the symposium assembled in papers given at a Conference organised some time ago by the London Centre of the International P.E.N. to commemorate the tercentenary of this monumental work, "Aeropagitica." The theme discussed is "The Place of Spiritual and Economic Values in the Future of Mankind." Every point of view, however divergent, was admitted in the hope, as the editor says in his introduction, "that from the clash of conflicting opinions some sparks would be struck that would help to illuminate our darkness." This collection of opinions is in a great measure a protest against the attitude of the younger generation, an attitude characterized by a cynical disbelief in life itself. This symptom of the age is combated by men who are deeply interested in the progress of civilization, though they are by no means agreed as to the main lines which such development should take. "Freedom of Expression" (Colombo Book Centre) a Hutchinson International Authors Ltd., publication is in the main devoted to give expression, in its modern environmental background, to Milton's ringing expression as it has come down to us across the centuries: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties." The writers who expound this proposition include E. M. Foster, Prof. Joad, "Salvador de Madriaga, Richard Church, John R. Baker, Herbert Read, Mulk Ray Anand, Harold J. Laski, Rev. Fr. Martin D'Arcy and others, and one can judge from this collection of names that even opposing points of view have not by any means been shut out. Such a book cannot show consistency but it reflects the trends of intellectual thinking in the contemporary world. They form a plea for intellectual freedom which is more than ever needed today because knowledge has spread so far and wide that liberty has acquired an immense significance in preserving individual rights. The impulse to civilization has always been this freedom of expression and as in all tyrannies of the ancient or modern world the lack of it has led to intellectual torpor and stagnation in the long run, we can well realise that this unimpeded function of the mind is one of the most valuable gifts of democracy. It is of course impossible that the world will reach such a stage mining the very bases of an accepted order. There is a way of life that has taken ages to create, and which must be preserved as it is of fundamental value. Tolerance cannot be extended to those kings. He stood for a hard form of forms of expression which aim at under way of life. There is such a thing as objective truth, and the individual cannot be permitted to corrupt the community. There are limits to the freedom of expression, as otherwise it would change its essential character and degenerate into licence. Milton himself did not preach universal tolerance, and he was against allowing it to those whom he thought would use it to undermine the settled order of his own day. This was his personal attitude to his contemporary world. He supported Cromwell against the usurpation of kings. He stood for a hard form of Presbyterianism. But he was also a genius and a man passionately addicted to liberty and to intellectual freedom. The arguments he used to defend his cause are as valid today as when he first used them. We can afford to forget their incidental blemishes. Milton's plea is necessary to that emancipation of the spirit of man which can never be happy except when its rights are respected. It is an indictment, terrible in its intensity of the bondage of the intellect into which whole nations have been plunged in the modern world, and we cannot but thrill to the knowledge that there are parts of the world in which democratic ideals prevail in which the freedom of expression still flourishes. The censorship is an object of very vehement protest, but this does not mean that an intelligent and liberal censorship should not exist. Such a check is necessary to prevent licence, but it must be most

judiciously applied. After all liberty means responsibility, and where there is no responsibility liberty loses gradually all its merit and becomes a danger. It is evident to us that the gifts of civilization are gifts which must always be well used and not allowed to change their character by their abuse to ignoble and selfish ends. No way of life exists but must be maintained at its level by the anxious consciences of those who are members of such a state in a spout of genuine and understanding service. Milton has provided the groundwork of a defence of freedom of speech and writing, and we in the modern world cannot but remember that it is our duty as well to uphold these valid principles if we are to make secure the foundations of our civilization.

The classical tradition is more or less dying out in the modern world, and is being replaced by what are regarded as necessary utilitarian studies. It is undeniable that we are found to lose much by this process of attrition. The purpose of a liberal education is to create a quality and outlook of mind which makes us accept certain high values in civilization, and maintain intellectual standards which endow a man with vision, sense and the power of gradation and discrimination. The collection of a vast mass of facts, scientific or otherwise, does not create a man of culture. This must come from other sources and by other means. It is accepted that culture is connected with an attitude of understanding, towards life, a knowledge of its supreme functions, a due subordination of one function to another, and a broad and kindly tolerance. These the classical tradition seems to generate and nothing else can take its place. How much has been done to preserve and extend this culture can be seen in "A Short History of Classical Scholarship" by Sir John Edwin Sandys (Colombo Book Centre), a Cambridge University Press publication, which tells an amazing story of concentrated devotion to the classics, and the eagerness which the greatest minds in the history of civilization have absorbed its message. It is evident that the classics have formed the mind of civilization, and given it a peculiar and a noble impress. All the great poets have been deeply influenced by the classics, and when they wrote in their own languages it was the classics that they were trying to imitate. Later the forms of poetry changed but the influence always remained. The romantic movement itself could not escape so deep-rooted a tradition, though it travelled far from this source in quest of freedom. Men appear to have been fascinated by this great and immortal achievement of the ancient world. Dante, Milton, Camoens and many others could not have given us such great poetry of their own in their various languages if their minds had not been steeped in the great works of Greece and Rome. It is surprising how men have toiled a lifetime to elucidate the classics, and the world cannot but prove itself ungrateful if this magnificent influence is suffered to go under an eclipse. But the classics, one feels, will never be forgotten. There will always be a classical revival, as has happened so often before when men are tired of worshipping at the shrines of mere utility!

There is no end of the indictment of capitalism today, and it is assumed frequently that it is a system which has failed of its purpose and is bound to fall into decay. Many scientific studies have been made of this subject, some from a sympathetic and others from a highly critical point of view, which is not divested of sharp disparagement, whilst others have been totally destructive. In "Studies in the Development of Capitalism" by Maurice Dobb publication, this famous Cambridge economist, the author of a former work "Political Economy and Capitalism" analyses most competently the main factors in the epoch of modern capitalism. The bourgeois elements of capitalism are studied, and also the method of formation of the proletariat. We get a fair idea of the operations of monopoly under the system of capitalism, and he deprecates the large ad-

vantages to the modern world which capitalism is believed to have bestowed. The place of the labour market in determining economic policies is also given careful attention and also its influence

on the political life of countries. In this book we find a very strong attack on some of the accepted economic theories, and needless to say the stand point of the author is Marxian.

## UNITED NATIONAL PARTY

All members, supporters and well-wishers of the Party are cordially invited to the

### MASS RALLY

at 4-30 p.m. on Sunday, Sept. 12th 1948

AT THE

GALLE FACE GREEN

COLOMBO

The Prime Minister, The Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake

will preside

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE PARTY

will take place at

ZAHIRA COLLEGE, COLOMBO

on Saturday, September 11th, at 9-30 a.m.

(At the Conference office-bearers and executive Committee members of the Party, delegates from Branch Associations and members of the Party in Parliament are expected to wear badges. Those who have not obtained badges already can do so at the door, on payment of Rs. 2/- each.)

U. A. Jayasundera,

Organising Secretary

U. N. P.

## SIDEROSTHEN •

### BLACK PAINT •

### ANTI - CORROSIVE •

Where black paint is desired SIDEROSTHEN black is the finest for protecting all kinds of construction work exposed to the weather.

### DELIVERY FROM STOCK •

### HARRISONS & CROSFIELD LTD.

(Incorporated in England. Liability of Members Limited.)

Sole Agents for D. Anderson & Son Ltd., Manchester.



## SELF CONFIDENCE

Your Self Confidence depends upon one vital factor. Are you stable financially?

However stable your income may be, remember, income fluctuates. It can never be an absolute asset.

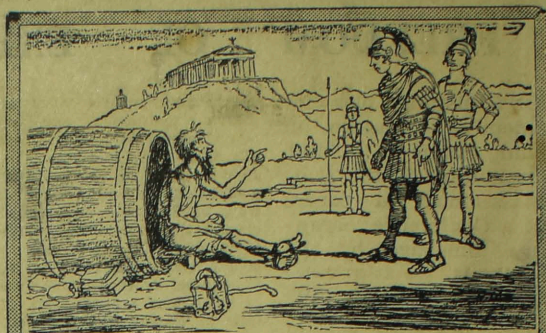
Insurance is an asset altogether absolute.

Absolute security is what we offer you.

### The Trust Company Limited

No. 15, First Floor, Gaffoor Buildings, Fort, Colombo

'Phone 3600



Diogenes lived in a barrel (otherwise empty, alas!) and went about with a lantern, seeking an honest man who could supply him with the perfect long drink. If Diogenes lived to-day, he might still have to live in a barrel, but he would have the inestimable advantage of Pimm's No. 1 to cheer up his housing problem.

**Pimm's No. 1**

*The Original Gin Sling*

SUPPLIES BY DELMEGE, FORSYTH & CO., LTD.

AT PRE-BUDGET PRICES

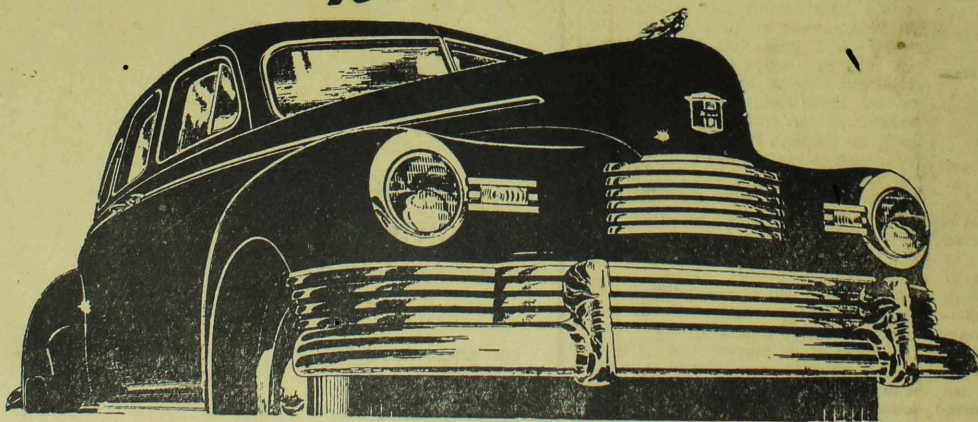
WE  
HAVE  
THEM!

## THE SENSATIONAL NEW NASH "600s" AND "AMBASSADORS"

—THE BIG CARS THAT DELIVER  
25 to 30 M.P.G. AT MODERATE  
HIGHWAY SPEED—

JUST ARRIVED

YOU'LL BE AHEAD WITH *Nash*



## COLONIAL MOTORS LTD.

UNION PLACE — COLOMBO 2

PLEASE CALL, OR  
'PHONE 3342/3/4