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# SOVIET SPIES OPERATE ALL OVER THE WORLD?

THE following article, written by a former Director of the Economic League, illustrated with a chart prepared by its Research Department, details the organisation. It is reproduced by kind permission of the "Chicago Sunday Tribune," which published it on April 4, 1948, under the title "Red Russia Spies On Everybody."

"The security, i.e., secret police and intelligence, i.e., espionage services of Russia have undergone five major changes since they were founded by Ivan the Terrible in the middle of the 16th century. Each change has had the effect of widening their scope and increasing their power. The original service, the OPRICHINA of Ivan the Terrible, became in the latter part of the 18th century the Tsarist OKH-RANA. During the period of the Civil War and the establishment of the Bolshevik regime the CHEKA acted as a "revolutionary tribunal," taking swift and merciless action against the opponents of the new regime. Out of it developed the G.P.U.—the Chief Political Directorate—usually known to the outside world as the OGPU. At the end of 1932 its powers and functions were extended greatly, and it became the N.K.V.D.—the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs. Consequent upon a great reorganisation and development, the initial stages of which took place in 1941 but which were only completed in 1947, the N.K.V.D. was divided into two sections, the M.G.B.—the Ministry of State Security—and its main executive machine, the M.V.D.—the Ministry of Home Affairs.

## M.G.B. AND M.V.D.

"The M.G.B. and M.V.D. constitute together the largest and most powerful security and espionage system in the world. It has its agents in every town and village in the Soviet Union. It has its agents or potential agents in every country in the world where there is a Soviet diplomatic or trading establishment or a Communist Party organisation. Its power is almost absolute. It is answerable only to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and it has a considerable measure of influence within that body.

"The activities of the M.G.B. beyond the borders of the Soviet Union are controlled through its foreign department known as I.N.O. There is a section of I.N.O. within every Soviet trading and diplomatic establishment abroad, with espionage—political, economic and military—as its main function. Each of these sections has its agents, many of whom are members of the Communist Parties in the various countries, but it also employs direct agents who may not be overt Communists. The agents of the Soviet spy system uncovered in 1946 in Canada included Service officers, scientists, a passport official, civil servants—and known members of the Communist Party. The I.N.O. sections in the Soviet Embassies and Consulates have

their own ciphers and often their own sealed suites of offices, which are barred to other officials.

"I.N.O. has its agents as well in the Soviet Repatriation Missions still operating in various parts of Europe,

of Germany, but also the whole of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, with the exception of Greece. A net of larger mesh, in which the knots are Soviet establishments and Communist Party offices, covers the greater part of the rest of the civilised world.

"The main concern of the M.V.D. is security and the carrying out of executive action for the M.G.B. It controls, of course, the internal police forces of the Soviet Union; it controls as well all military police formations with the Soviet armed forces at home and abroad. Its military police, better clothed, housed, paid and fed than the rest of the Red forces, equipped with every kind of up-to-date weapon, including ships and aircraft, constitute an army within an army. They have absolute power to deal mercilessly and immediately with all 'undesirable acts' from a drunken assault by a Red Army soldier to a full-scale mutiny.

"All frontier guards, port and airport control officers come under the M.V.D. So do all prisons, penal settlements and forced labour camps.

## THE D.M.I.

"In addition to the M.G.B. and the M.V.D., there is the espionage organisation under the direct control of the Director of Military Intelligence in Moscow and his counterparts in Naval and Air Intelligence. The Military, Naval and Air Attaches in Soviet diplomatic establishments abroad report direct to Moscow and have their own ciphers. Like the M.G.B., they employ secret agents within the Communist Parties of the various countries and other agents in the armed forces and in the political and economic life of other countries. This fact is made quite clear in the evidence of the Royal Commission on Soviet Espionage in Canada.

(Continued on page 3)

## THE VICTOR OF BADDEGAMA



H. W. AMARASURIYA M.P.

In December, 1947, one of these missions, with a large camp on the outskirts of Paris, was closed down by the French Government and its staff expelled. This 'mission' had been engaged not only upon espionage but upon giving advanced military training to members of the French Communist Party. Russians in France, of whom there are many, are not allowed to belong to the Communist Party of France, but are organised in the Russian Communist Party French Section. This is an important auxiliary organisation of the foreign department of the M.G.B.

## THE FINE MESH NET

"I.N.O. maintains direct contact with and has strong sections within all the espionage, secret police, and security forces of the European countries within the Soviet Zone of influence. I.N.O. officials, generally Russians, are to be found even in the local organisation of the U.B. in Poland, the Militia in Bulgaria, the Security Police in Hungary, the Siguranza Generale in Rumania, and the Ozna (U.D.B.A.) in Yugoslavia. In many instances these Russians are vested with executive powers. This arrangement means that the Russians have virtual control over the political police of five European States. A fine mesh net of espionage and counter-espionage covers not only the vast area of the Soviet Union, the former Baltic States, the Soviet Zone

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# E. K. P. PUTS OUT BOGUS EDUCATION SURVEYS

Says Nandalal

IT is almost certain that Mr. Philip Gunewardene's most substantial contribution to Ceylon politics will be a devastating description he coined. He referred to a certain type of academic critic whose outlook was invariably "r-revolutionary" as the "parlour Bolsheviks." At one time this type confined its activities to the cafes of Bambalapitiya, but it later evolved into the Bagatelle Bolsheviks. There is now a female of the species. This type does not soil its saris going down to the people and working among them though it might occasionally condescend to confer a patronising smile on the proletariat at a public meeting. The female "Socialist" usually expends her reformist energies and salves whatever social conscience she might pretend to possess in comfort in the columns provided by accommodating editors of newspapers.

Most of these "Socialist" socialites are associated with that eclectic organisation known as the Eksath Kantha Peramuna. Their minds are now turned to the pressing problem of education.

In an article which the Eksath Kantha Peramuna has contributed to an evening newspaper occurs a study of the Free Education Scheme in relation to the Cabinet's decision to defer the date by which all fee-levying schools should make up their minds whether or not to join the Scheme.

It is declared by the E.K.P.: "The Minister's pronouncement about extending the time-limit to denominational schools is in fact the beginning of the reversal of the Free Education policy."

Any contortion may be attempted, apparently, in order to discredit the Government. Has the E.K.P. forgotten so soon the assurance given in the Parliament by a member of the Cabinet that the Free Education Scheme will be implemented?

What is it that has happened? What are the circumstances that led to postponing the dead-line of entry to the scheme? The E.K.P. cannot surely be so removed from the environment within which its members live that they are unaware of the clamour and criticism that the better type of school would be ruined, would be compelled to impart a shoddy education if it had to exist on the inadequate equipment grant contemplated by the State Council.

Facts and figures have been advanced and the experience of schools which have been already working the free scheme has confirmed it that most secondary schools were unable to maintain the standards they had already established on the insufficient equipment grant they were receiving. It was shown by one institution that the amount it received would scarcely pay the salaries of its clerical staff.

There was ample evidence that grave dissatisfaction existed with the scheme in its existing shape. What the Minister for Education did was to defer to the practices of democracy. He sub-

mitted to the demand of informed opinion, which desired better conditions and a higher grant.

The Minister has emphasised that the scheme of free education has not been sabotaged and there is no intention on the part of the Government to act in an arbitrary fashion which runs counter to the considered views of the people.

There was a demand among the people for second thoughts about the grant and other essential items in the scheme of free education.

The Minister for Education has given time for these thoughts to clarify themselves. In the meantime Mr. Nugawela has given a tangible demonstration of his desire to improve education by increasing the grant to Sinhalese and Tamil schools.

The Minister also contemplates setting up a reformed Board of Education—a committee which will consist of representatives from all teachers' associations for a united front on all educational matters. The Chairman of this Committee is to be a judge of the Supreme Court.

The Minister's temporary decision, a decision which will give time for satisfactory terms to be formulated for the free education scheme—is given a sinister twist by the E.K.P. It is represented as "strengthening the security of fee-levying schools" and consolidating vested interests.

It is curious that when some of the pillars of the E.K.P. opened schools they did not establish free institutions. On the other hand, it is vividly recollected that they catered not merely for the "privileged" whom they scathingly denounce, but for an exclusive class of super-privileged. Their fees were, within the reach only of the super-capitalist class whom they now threaten violently to overthrow. The convenient excuse that even Socialists must live cannot be offered as an argument for the inordinate fees levied at the Socialist's private school. The organisers of this institution were the wives of men, who by Ceylon standards could have kept them women free from the pressure of earning their living. Perhaps it would be suggested that these wives did not wish to be like the idle wives of the other well-to-do.

In that case we counter they might have spread their advanced educational ideas among the infants of the "poor workers" who cannot afford schooling.

I bring this instance to indicate that not all who call themselves Socialists and Communists are to be taken at their word.

There is also the parallel of a revolutionary who runs a guest-house for the capitalist class and spurns the cents of homeless members of the lower middle-class. "I am running a business, not a philanthropic institution," is the rejoinder to any critic. These are the private capitalists who are public Communists.

These seemingly irrelevant instances have been presented with the purpose of showing how Socialist practice is deeply divorced from Socialist profession and precept.

On the opposite is the record of a Government which is steadily setting about the task of improving the Island's education; of providing wider educational opportunities to the people.

One of the State's most substantial contributions to that end is the establishment of Central Schools. There are many defects and deficiencies in these institutions. That the Government admits because it does not possess a magic wand. But these schools have brought English education to the masses—an education which has hitherto been reserved to a privileged few.

Moreover in these institutions the Government has passed over from

merely providing free tuition to providing free books, clothes, food and hostel accommodation to deserving children.

The neglect of centuries cannot be remedied in a year. The test of its sincerity is the Government's record of achievement and the measure of its progress from the paltry service provided by alien rulers to the facilities now available to the people.

The test of the Socialists—sincerity is the active interest they have taken in the Island's educational question. Look up the list of witnesses who gave evidence before the Special Committee on Education and you will find it difficult to discover the name of a single E.K.P. stalwart. One need not always wait till the revolution to contribute one's exquisite wisdom for the welfare of the people.

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## London Letter

By Sheila Clark

MARKOVA AND DOLIN AT  
COVENT GARDEN

**ESCAPISM.** That is a crushing word in a cruel world. These are fruitful times for the psychologists. Most of us have our private dream-worlds—technicolour paradises of soothing music and pleasing scenes, and the psychologists are only too eager to discover these Utopias within us and to crumble them up like scraps of waste paper. So that we turn gratefully to a legitimate source of sublimation, where we may escape from the harsh realities of everyday life, and glory in the movement, in the colour, in the music of a dream come true. That dream is the ballet.

Dancing once again in London are twin ethereal spirits. They are Markova and Dolin. For the last nine years they have been the unofficial ambassadors of English ballet, travelling extensively in America. Time was when the twinkling toes of Alice Marks were unimportant, but the magical addition of the "ova" to her name brought her into the category of prima ballerinas. That was in the late twenties, when Diaghileff ruled the English ballet world. His death in 1929, and then the loss of Pavlova soon after heralded the finale of the great ballet era.

The end of one era it was, but from that swan dance there sprang a new spirit. It was the spirit of English ballet. The Russian dancers faded temporarily from the scene and Ninette de Valois and Lillian Bayliss took advantage of a great opportunity to lay the foundations of a great national ballet in England.

Discovered by Diaghileff, trained by a Russian Princess, Alicia Markova was the first star of the Vic-Wells Ballet created by De Valois and Bayliss. Her partner was Anton Dolin, also a pupil of Princess Astafieva, who took time off between revues to dance in ballet. Dancing together then, as beautifully as they do now, Markova and Dolin marked the first stepping stone of the individual English ballet.

**TWENTY** years of ballet progress have slipped into the past. Today the scene at Covent Garden Opera House is unchanged but we see the Vic-Wells Ballet Company has emerged into the Sadler's Wells Company. The opera has disappeared to allow Markova and Dolin to pack the theatre with ballet enthusiasts night after night. For several years these dancers have been together, touring America and blazing their pioneer way for English National Ballet.

Each night the Opera House is packed with Londoners escaping from their thoughts, their consciences, their ration books and the general difficulties of

running a life successfully in England today. Each night the great horse-shoe shaped auditorium, with its tiers of boxes and circles, the pink candelabras, the black and red candy striped walls and the deep plush carpet of the Opera House opens its doors to the outside world and the ballet lovers are greeted by the warmth of a Fairyland. The marble angels, the gilt garlands, and the rosy light falling on the heavy curtains, lull the senses into a pleasant glow of anticipation.

Then the ear is delighted as the orchestra begins. Then the eyes feast on all the charm and co-ordinated grace of movement as the corps de ballet make their entrances. Then the emotions are stirred as the two dancers Markova and Dolin fill the stage with a strange tranquillity. Their movements are as one. Each is the perfect partner for the other. Dancing for so long together they have achieved a complete understanding.

**AS** soon as Markova floats upon the stage the audience is made aware of her exceptional powers. For it seems as if she floats, so lightly do her toes pass over the boards. Dainty, crisp and flowing in every movement, her dancing is indeed not of this world. Dolin dances too. He is not there merely to allow Markova to steal all attention whilst he supports her, lifts her and holds her at the right beat in the musical score. He dances too. He balances to a nicety the fairy-like spirit, the remote dignity and refinement that is Markova the ballerina. Graceful, yet powerful, almost acrobatic but still dancing complex technicalities, Dolin shines with his own unique aura. It is difficult for a male dancer to stir the imagination with grace, attention to detail, partnering and choreographic gymnastics, but Dolin can stir the emotion with but one leap or a fall.

As Markova is perfect in any role, an extraordinary achievement, so can Dolin assume the character of any part offered to him. In the beautiful classic ballet "Giselle" Markova dances with all the passion of a soul possessed, and yet she remains strangely detached, quite apart from ordinary human existence. Dolin achieves the same moving unfathomable effect as Satan in "Job." In the ballet "Les Sylphides" both Markova and Dolin assume this uncanny mystery of atmosphere. No story is unfolded to the audience. Chopin's haunting mazurkas, nocturne and valse inspire Fokine's choreography. Against a background of changing patterns of the corps de ballet, Markova dances with great deliberation, calm loveliness of movement as Dolin partners her with superb perfection. Dark trees form the still pastoral background and Markova in her filmy white dress catches the breath with her incomparable style. So that we Londoners do escape into that unreal world on the other side of the footlights. Yet the whole atmos-

phere of the ballet is entirely different from the film or the drama.

**THERE** is something of the stuff of dreams in ballet. It is not to escape into another world that we are hypnotised by Markova or Dolin. It is a beautiful dream. The substance may be nightmarish and a tragedy evolves before our eyes in ballets like "Giselle," but the quality of the dream is heavenly, with its music, dancing and colour. We escape into a paradise for the two short hours. We find that Markova and Dolin have affected our thoughts like a goddess with her god. We are completely under the spell whilst they dance before us, and afterwards it is impossible to analyse how they achieve such an effect.

From the colourful paradise we emerge from the Open House to the grey cool evening. Slowly the immediate calm disintegrates and nothing but a precious memory is left. Admiration for their dancing and gratitude for their work in foreign countries for the English ballet, that is all we can offer Markova and Dolin for an evening of complete delight.

SOVIET SPIES OPERATE  
ALL OVER THE WORLD?

(Continued from page 1)

"Finally, there is the espionage and counter-espionage system maintained by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, though it is primarily concerned with political as distinct from military and economic espionage. The Central Committee maintains its own representatives in Soviet diplomatic and trading establishments abroad, who report direct to Moscow—not through the Ambassador—and have their own ciphers. The main tasks of these representatives are to report on political happenings in the countries concerned, to watch over the political reliability of the members of the staff of the establishment, and to maintain a high level of secret contact with the Communist Party in each country. Thus it will be seen that in any Soviet diplomatic establishment there is likely to be—

- (1) the representative of the M.G.B.
- (2) on occasions the representative of the M.V.D.,
- (3) the Military, Naval and Air Attaches acting for their respective Directorates of Military Intelligence in Moscow, and
- (4) the often all-powerful representative of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

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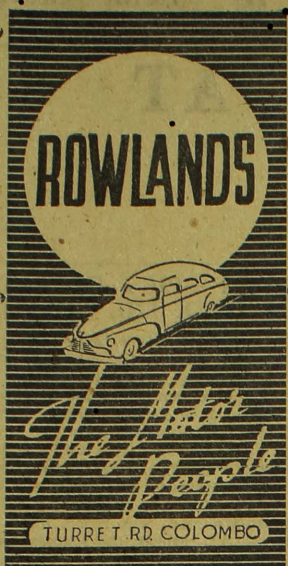
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### DEVELOPMENT

THE first Budget of a free Lanka, which the Minister for Finance introduced, concentrates chiefly on development, both industrial and agricultural. The Minister's intention is to redress the balance of our economy, now pathetically dependent on the fortunes of a few products—mainly tea, rubber and coconut. The six-year plan of development, one year of which has already passed, is determined to bring in 130,000 more acres under cultivation and reduce the import bill through industrialisation, by Rs. 120 million annually. A Land Development Department is to be established; dry zone colonisation is to be continued and gigantic agricultural schemes are to be launched. Industrially, the existing factories are to be re-organised, new factories will be opened and direct employment will be given by increased industrialisation, for another 18,500 persons. Basic industries will be State-owned. These vast schemes of national regeneration will be financed from current revenue and Loan Funds. This, in brief, is the six-year plan, which also makes ample provision for a network of social services. The plan is directed by the single purpose of doing the greatest good to the greatest number."

The success of this six-year plan depends principally on two factors. It needs expert knowledge and guidance. The Finance Minister's speech indicated that expert advice had been obtained in formulating many of these detailed schemes. It is fervently to be hoped that such expert opinion will always be consulted rather than allowing industrial enterprises to be directed by Civil Servants. These estimable gentlemen, of course, have an academic acquaintance with the problems of Pliny's prose or, to take a latter-day recruit, with the sprung rhythm of Gerard Manley Hopkins' poetry. These qualifications, unfortunately, do not fit Civil Servants to be competent directors of industrial ventures. It would be wise if the Government set up an Advisory Board on industrial development which would consist of industrial experts, eminent local businessmen and workers' representatives.

The second essential item for the success of the six-year plan is the people's enthusiastic co-operation in the tasks of national development. That is why it is suggested that the industrial Advisory Board should include workers' representatives. It is most necessary

### Books & Authors

## "Bolsheviks Came Into Power in an Ugly Way"

—BERDYAEV

IT must not be imagined that Russia was a land, under the Czars, in which the peasantry had no place. A very large part of the land was theirs. They lived on the land under very considerable hardships, no doubt, but still they were the masters on their own limited territory. Their conservatism was based on their ignorance, and their natural aversion to anything which could be regarded as an innovation. After the agrarian revolution, the nobility dwindled into a mere shadow and the peasantry became a new order in the State. But though the peasantry enjoyed a new sense of power, they could not in any real sense take the place of their former masters and leaders. They had not the intellectual capacity, the insight or the intelligent organization which could raise them to the requisite level of initiative and understanding. But some ideas they had which were very deeply rooted in their minds. They resented the large estates acquired by the nobility as unfair and improper and could not understand how the land could be claimed by any human being. In the light of this idea the communal collective ownership of land was easier to carry out in Russia than in any other European country. It is thus evident that the peculiar temperament of the Russian peasant was favourable to an experiment which in a definite measure accorded with a predisposition which could easily be exploited by the revolutionary leaders, but it cannot also be denied that once the system was in operation the peasant slowly but surely realised that this was not what he wanted, and hence the trouble which arose from time to time in the carrying out of the Soviet plan of collectivization of the farms. What the peasant really wanted was the plain redistribution of the land. This alone would have gratified his healthy sense of possession—an instinct which is too deep-rooted to permit of its being eradicated by any theory which could seek to obliterate its existence. But though the Russian peasant was disappointed in the particular form of distribution, yet the fact that a system of distribution, however incomplete, had actually taken place, removing the nobility from their pride of place, wrought an enormous change in the country. The Russian peasantry felt a new power surge within themselves, and they felt a new interest in their condition. The old standards of culture, however, ceased

that the people should stir themselves out of their present apathy and set themselves energetically to the tasks that fall to them. Any duty, however insignificant or irrelevant it might seem to be to the issue of national reconstruction must be enthusiastically attempted. It might even be necessary to create an organisation which would explain to the men and women of the country their precise tasks; which would unfold to them imaginatively the implications of Mr. Jayewardene's plan for plenty. Such an organisation is necessary to shake the people out of that indifference created by the habits fostered under alien domination. It must be remembered that in the ultimate analysis the people make or mar a plan.

to exist. It was inevitable in the circumstances, and it was also an inevitable loss. Russia took a step backwards into a provincialism which confined its thinking within narrow bounds. This loss will always remain under the present structure of Russian society. The spread of literacy is not the equivalent of a spread of culture. There was a tremendous lowering of standards. The destruction of the nobility left a gap which could not be filled by mere wishing. The peasantry continued to remain more or less on the same level of ignorance as before. The reason is not far to seek. "In the revolution," says Berdyaev, "the Bolsheviks came into power in an ugly way with an ugly expression of face, ugly gestures, and this is not only due to the fact that they did not belong to the stratum of society in which cultural forms and manners are produced, and which tallied with the understanding of beauty, but also to the fact that they had more hatred, revenge, resentment, which are always ugly; they had as yet no style of any sort; no cultivation. There is always an ugly side to revolution, in which those who are overkeen to be true to beauty cannot make too active a part. The Bolshevik masses, as a matter of fact, did introduce a definite style of life, that which is bred of war, and a disintegrating war. This is one of the principal factors in the Russian Communist revolution. Rhetoric and theatricality (of which there was so much in the French Revolution) do not come natural to Russians. For this reason the Russian revolution was cruder though this fact perhaps gave it an advantage." The crudeness of the Russian peasant has made his oppression easier than with the French peasant who understood the nature of liberty much better.

THE Russian revolution owed its existence very considerably to the war which prepared the ground for its establishment. Marx, Lenin and Engels gave war a definite place in their schemes of revolution. Russian communism would have come into existence, even if there had been no war, but at a later stage and under a different ideology. Under the conditions preceding the revolution the evil of war was transferred to the internal class war which presented to the world an unparalleled scene of cruelty and brutality. In the name of a perverted social justice all these evils were perpetrated. "But it is terrible thing says" Berdyaev, "that the attempt to realise social justice should be associated with violence, crime, cruelty and falsehood, horrible falsehood. The abominable staging in the Soviet law courts of stereotyped 'confessions' by the falsely accused alone is enough to inspire aversion for the whole system." And yet there are in democratic countries men who can have their complacent sympathies with communism and can hold out Russia as an example for the whole world to follow. These communists have drugged themselves into strange states of mind which bear no relation whatsoever to the democratic temper of balance and sanity which admits evils under democracy but is willing to defend it only on strictly valid and relevant grounds. The communist hopes to gain adherents only by creating a state of mass hysteria. He never can examine the grounds of democratic belief dispassionately. He demands belief however for any fantastic opinion he holds regarding his ideal—the Soviet State. This mental outlook is one of diseased blindnesses. Communism is condemned by its avowed creed, by its outrageous practice in the sphere of political action, and by its intense brutality to its own people who have been reduced to a state of unprotesting and debased slavery. This is the reward of the upholders of revolution in the country of its infamous origin. Communism is a ghastly travesty of everything that genuine democracy stands for. It is the opposite of the healing sanities of humane statecraft.

(Continued on page 5)



# FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from Previous Issue)

## ADMINISTRATION

Under the head of Administration, I have grouped the Ministry of Justice with other departments connected with the administration of justice, such as the Supreme Court and the Police. The Ministry of Home Affairs which controls the Provincial Administration, Prisons and Excise, and the various departments under the Ministry of Finance, dealing with the Public Services, have also been considered here together.

Justice has always been dispensed in Ceylon without fear or favour, and it is therefore but right that provision should be made for new buildings for the Supreme Court and for a number of minor and rural courts throughout the Island. It is also proposed to reprint the Legislative Enactments and Subsidiary Legislation. The Police have now come under the control of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. A complete plan for the future reorganisation of the Police Force was formulated by the recent Commission presided over by Sir Francis Soerits. In accordance with these proposals, and to meet the challenge of the increase of crime which characterises every post-war period, the Police Force is being

rapidly reorganised and modernised. New police stations are being opened and additional personnel is being recruited to man these new stations as well as to supply the deficiencies in the existing ones. Modern methods, such as mechanised transport and wireless, are being introduced to help the Police in detecting and preventing crime.

## POLICE BUILDING SCHEME

The Government has not been unmindful of the fact that under the leadership of Sir Richard Aluwihare the Police Force in recent times played its part fully and patriotically in preserving the democratic way of life which we are pledged to protect. It has, therefore decided to embark upon a building scheme which will begin immediately and will continue until the entire requirements of the Force, in the way of modern and adequate housing, will be completed. It is proposed to spend in the current year a sum of Rs. 1 million out of Loan Funds.

The people of this country pay a heavy price to those who help in the administration of it. In Personal Emoluments and in War Allowances during the year 1948-49 Rs. 203.2 million will be spent out of current revenue. This excludes

the personnel employed by the Railway, the Government Electrical Undertakings under Works estimates and Advance Accounts. The number that gets this sum is small in comparison to the total population. It is not more than 200,000. The public, therefore, whose servants these people are, expect loyal and devoted service. We, who are also the servants of the public, are pledged to see that that service is rendered and we shall endeavour to fulfil that pledge.

## PLAN IN BRIEF

I have placed before you the National Plan for the economic and social development of our country covering a period of six years. We have passed the stage of mere hopes and aspirations and the academic discussion of economic principles. We have made up our minds that future progress must be according to a well-defined plan devised to secure an equally well-defined object. The necessary facts and forecasts have been assembled and studied, and some of them are now placed before the House. The stage of considering alternative proposals and choosing that which matches our resources to our needs and offers the most fruitful results has also been completed. We have now reached, and in many places travelled some distance

along, the stage of carrying out our plans in practice. This is the most extensive and difficult portion of our work, of our common work. The final stage is that which brings to the people the fruits of the fulfilment of this plan in terms of increased wealth, comfort, health, security of employment, and the leisure to "tune the mind to the rhythm of the Universe."

Looking back again at what has been said, Hon. Members must agree that the very essence of the plan is the bringing into productive use as early as possible the wealth with which nature has so richly endowed us; the land that lies uncultivated and the raw material that is buried unmanufactured. The cultivation of three million acres of land, an area as large as is now in use, is not impossible today if it was possible in the past. We have set before ourselves the primary target of developing a new extent of 130,000 acres with the hope of accelerating the rate of yearly progress as modern machinery becomes increasingly available. Unlike in the wet zone where land was sold at nominal rates to foreigners and capitalists, this land has been secured for ever for the people. The new

(Continued on page 6)

## "Bolsheviks Came Into Power in an Ugly Way"—BERDYAEV

(Continued from page 4)

IN the adjustment of economic relations in the world, both internal and international, the experts have not made as much impression as they thought they did with their incantations and formulas and theories. It is a sign of the times that economics is being taken off the hands of the experts, and is becoming a matter of common knowledge. This is idle to the advantage of the common man who after all is more interested in the actual operation of economic laws that vitally affect his happiness than the economic experts who do not pay the price of their mistaken theories. That economics is a matter of common interest now is evident from the general interest it excites. Of course, large fortunes in business have been made by men who have had just a few rules of sound practice to guide them, and the absence of a knowledge of economics does not appear to have arrested their activities which have resulted in abundant prosperity. But it is the business of every intelligent citizen to know what are the main processes of the economic world under the influence of which he lives. He hears of budgets, exchange, trade balances and other kindred matters in isolation and has no connected picture of how each such activity is linked with another. Knowledge is never sound when it is picked up piecemeal, and remains through life untidy and fragmented. No wonder that large numbers of men and women have become exasperated over their ignorance, and wish to take such action as would place them within the growing ranks of those

who understand the meaning and significance of economics. "ECONOMICS FOR THE EXASPERATED" by Gordon Rattray Taylor (COLOMBO BOOK CENTRE) a Bodley Head publication, is in these circumstances a very satisfactory and useful guide. The author writes in a pleasant and easy style and keeps the reader interested. He does not employ terms that are habitual to the trade, as it were for he believes that even complex processes admit of a simple explanation, and that those who want weightier stuff can always get it elsewhere. He explains some of the problems that most trouble the public; why there are periodic booms and slumps, the causes for unemployment, and why food is destroyed when millions of people are starving. There is a valuable suggestion that unemployment must be studied in its world-aspect if a satisfactory and fundamental solution is to be found as it is a disgrace for a world which has so many wonderful achievements to its credit to confess itself baffled by a problem which surely must have a suitable solution. It is suggested that a possible solution would be shorter working hours. Many other problems are dealt with in this book, the predominating feature of which is the clearness with the whole subject in its many divisions and ramifications is developed. This is not a book for the learned in economics. It is a pleasant guide to those who knowing very little on the subject in an organized form wish to be taken in hand gently and led through the bewildering economic world landscape of today.

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# SPORTS

## Commentary

### COVER-POINT

**THE C.T.C. August Race Meet** begins next Thursday. Except for two-mile races which are, incidentally, the two major prizes on the card, the rest of the programme on the opening day caters mainly for sprinters. At the moment of writing the handicaps for the first day have not yet been published but, as I shall not have another opportunity of discussing the card, I propose to offer readers today some suggestions based on the entries.

The big race on Thursday is, of course, the Roberts' Cup which is the principal classic of the year for Arabs. An entry of 16 in this mile race shows a marked improvement on last year and there is bound to be a full field. The 1947 winner Scarlet is attempting a repeat and, as she will probably carry not much more than a stone than she did last year, she must be given a great chance. She has not had a race since last December but her track work suggests that all is well with her. As she is now in the Wales establishment, she will have the services of Jockey Rook in the saddle, and also the assistance of a stable-mate in Nibras, who ran a very promising race in his first outing early this month. The biggest danger to this bracket will come, I think, from Najaiman Sami, who broke the mile record at Nuwara Eliya last April, and Ta'an Walid, who is coming to hand over so nicely. I give the upsetting chance to Mr. Colman, who in nine races has been off the board only once.

The second Cup race on Thursday is the Lawyers' Cup and this, too, is to be run over a mile. Had Roberta been given a run since her victory at Nuwara

Eliya, I would have gone nap on her but I am afraid she has been kept on ice too long. Though she has now recovered from the slight mishap she met with a few weeks ago, I am inclined to think that she will not be equal to the task of beating either Acacia or her well-bred stable-mate Vijay Laxmi, both of whom are in great heart at the moment. The former, in particular, is moving very attractively in her preparation and may easily add to her lucky owner's rapidly increasing collection of trophies. One of the gamest horses running in Ceylon is Forever Yours and now that he has broken the ice with his first victory at his 13th start, Dame Fortune may smile on him more.

The Bachelor's Purse sprint for Class I horses looks as if it is all over bar the shouting with King Cosmo home on his own. Stable companion Jai Lanka and St. Just may follow him home while the debutant Western Monarch has such an impressive record in Australia that he may be the most likely upsetter if he can be got ready by then.

The Flying Stakes will probably be run in three divisions. As there are so many newcomers, the Handicapper alone will know how they will be paired off. Of the 55 entries I would suggest Barracuda, Lady Gaby, Portal Light, Suemick, Skylark, No No, Rancee of South, Start Bay and Prince Rufus are being worthy of attention in whatever division they run.

Horses in Class IV have a race over the Channer Straight and of the 17 entries Breeze, Shahzadi, Princess Mignon and Mangosteen may be followed.

In the Poona Handicap for Class II Arabs, Aban has only to run as he did

on the first day of the July Meet to pick up this race as well and earn promotion to the top class. Jodi, who has made a miraculous recovery after the accident which caused him to unship his jockey, should give Aban a good run as should both Shandy and Sahara.

The Kaduwela Plate will be run in two sections and if Sukab is fit for the fray he should canter home to complete his hat-trick. Walid Hayil and Wadal al Iraq should follow him home in the first division while Ocean, Shihan Aziz and Hadil Ra'ad may run best in the junior division.

**EVER** since the C.R. and F.C. beat the C.H. and F.C. at Longden Place, their return match on the Racecourse was looked forward to by supporters of both clubs. And when it did materialise last Saturday, the thousands who trekked to the Racecourse, must have gone away more than a trifle disappointed. It was not that they minded the fact that the C.R. and F.C., who had up till then kept their slate clean, smudged it with defeat. No one would deny that on the day's play the better team was the C.H. and F.C. and that their victory was richly deserved. But what must have made most of them disappointed was the lack of any constructive movement on either side. It was just barn-door storming all the while, with the threes remaining bottled up.

The next big match of the rugby season is the time-honoured "Test" between Low-Country and Up-Country ten days from now. Low-Country has such an embarrassment of riches that I, for one, would not like to be one of the Selectors to choose their team!

**THE** Olympic Games began yesterday and for the next fortnight the cream of the world's athletes will be battling for those laurel wreaths with which Olympic victors are crowned. With so many national champions taking part, it will not be easy to pick the winners but it is probably safe to predict that more Americans will mount the rostrum than competitors from any other country.

**MY** congratulations to Conrad Ephraums on his brilliant victory in the final of the Royal Colombo Golf Club championship. Following in the wake of Derrick de Saram and W. P. Fernando, Ephraums has struck a great blow for Ceylonese golf. Not many years ago it was the exception, rather than the rule for a Ceylonese golfer to do anything of note in any big matches but now the position has changed. Not only in Ceylon's reigning champion a Ceylonese—W. P. Fernando, but the Stanley Cup is also held by the Ceylonese and now Ephraums has completed a notable treble by making the R.C.G.C. title his own.

## FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 5)

wealth that is to be created will be widespread in its distribution. Consider again the development of our industries. The plan I have outlined will increase our national wealth by Rs. 100,000,000. Here too the fruits will belong to the people, for our resources will be utilised by the State, with State aid, or under State Control, thus avoiding the evils which followed the 19th century industrial revolution in the West.

As our national income continues to increase, greater portions of it will be utilised for the extension of our social services. Our plans envisage a higher standard of health and comfort, and an increasing measure of social security and employment.

### NOT ONLY MATERIAL NEEDS

We are not content with providing only the material needs of life. While our plans for economic development will change the material environment, the aims and ideals of our educational system seek to mould the citizen to play his part in the changed society that he will inherit.

### NATIONAL FINANCE

I have now dealt with those features in the Estimates which deal with the expenditure of money. I turn now to questions of public finance. There is no doubt that the strength and vitality of the financial system of the future will depend on the success of our plan of development. The fulfilment of each scheme will add to our national wealth and enable us to create an equivalent in money. The money we invest will bring in a many fold harvest. For the present the financial resources at our disposal are sufficient to meet the needs of the present day and of our six year

plan. I propose now to discuss more closely our system of Public Finance.

### CURRENCY AND BANKING

At present the Ceylon rupee is convertible at par into the Indian rupee, and its exchange value in terms of sterling and other world currencies must be the same as that of the Indian rupee. Government manages the currency system itself through a Currency Board appointed under the Currency Ordinance. The assets of the Currency Board are kept partly in India and partly in U.K., and a sum not exceeding Rs. 20 million in Ceylon Government War Loans. A portion of the assets, determined from time to time by the Currency Board itself, is kept in liquid form. The rest is invested in medium and long-term securities. The law does not require that any reserves of cash or bullion should be kept in Ceylon. The most important occurrence in the sphere of currency process that took place during the war, I explained in detail in my previous Budget Speech how the British war expenditure in Ceylon was financed by the printing of currency notes making use of the link between the Ceylon rupee, the Indian rupee and the pound sterling. I gave in that speech the percentage of the rise in the note circulation. The figure is coming down rapidly and attempts continue to be made by taxation and savings campaigns to reduce the evils of inflation. With regard to the future currency policy of the Government and its connected banking activities, the Government has invited an expert to advise it with regard to the What further action is necessary to control and co-ordinate the monetary and banking policy in keeping with our new national status must await his advice.

(Continued on page 7)

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# FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 6)

## EXTERNAL BALANCES

In my Budget Speech last year I outlined in detail the exact nature of our external balances and how they grew during the war. They consist of two main classes, viz., our sterling assets invested in sterling securities through the London banks and our rupee assets invested through the Reserve Bank of India. On the 31st April 1948, the sterling assets amounted to Rs. 624 million and the rupee assets to Rs. 209 million. I need not weary the House by giving a more detailed composition of these assets, for in my statement and during the debate on the Sterling Assets Agreement full details were given. We are members of the Sterling Area with all the privileges and obligations attaching to such membership because our trade, both imports as well as exports, is at present to a large extent, with countries within the Sterling Area, secondly because our surplus assets have been mainly invested in sterling, and thirdly because Government does not think that we will gain in any way by leaving the Sterling Area at present. We have agreed to restrict our drawings on current account up to the end of December, 1948, to a sum of £3½ million, and a sum of £4 million has also been released as a working balance. A further sum of £1 million will be made available in certain defined circumstances. Our sterling assets as at April 30, 1948, will be credited in the name of a No. 2 account. From this account we cannot draw without agreement with the U.K. Government. To the No. 1 account will be transferred the sums I have mentioned together with any sterling that will be currently earned by us, and will be known as the Current Account. Our current earnings in sterling can be convertible into any currency. We further agreed to make efforts to see that our gross dollar expenditure does not exceed Rs. 100 million during the year 1948. Before the end of the year a delegation from the U.K. Government will be arriving in Ceylon to discuss arrangements for the future when the present Agreement ceases to operate.

## EXCHANGE & IMPORT CONTROLS

With a view to preserving in the country the money earned here, so that we may not only fulfil our obligations under the Sterling Assets Agreement but also guard our own national interests, legislation was enacted on the 1st June, 1948, creating a complete system of exchange control covering both the sterling and the non-sterling areas. Today, money leaves Ceylon and comes into Ceylon under control regulations. In a statement to the House on 1st June, 1948, I explained in detail the functions of this new and extended control and also the manner in which those functions will be put into effect. I hope to introduce legislation in this House at an early date to take the place of the Defence Regulations under which these controls were made legal.

In addition to Export Control we have attempted to control imports by licences and tariffs. It is too early yet to assess the effect of the very wide range of import duties imposed by Parliament last year. We had to limit our imports and one weapon we used was the imposition of heavy duties on a wide range of luxuries, lighter duty on general consumer goods and the

lightest burden on necessities. Our adverse balance of payments made this necessary. During the year 1948 we are proceeding according to a definite plan. The total value of our exports for 1948 has been estimated at approximately Rs. 900 million made up as follows:—

	Rs. Million
Tea	550
Rubber	150
Coconut products	160
Others	43
Total	903 (Say 900)

Under the Sterling Assets Agreement the British Government has agreed to release an agreed sum of money which I have mentioned in my reference to that Agreement. This works out to Rs. 70 million for the full year on current account. Our net invisible payments, which includes the profits and dividends paid to non-Ceylonese who own investments in Ceylon amount to about Rs. 120 million. We must therefore endeavour to restrict our payments on visible imports to Rs. 900 million + Rs. 70 million—Rs. 120 million = Rs. 850 million. To achieve this end the Government has fixed ceiling values beyond which licences will not be granted for the import of goods. Essential commodities, such as food and clothing are given priority of place and the entirety of our necessities have been provided for. The imports have also been broken up into different groups according to the monetary area from which they come. Rs. 100 million are to be allocated to the Dollar Area, and the balance to the Sterling, Non-Dollar and Non-Sterling Areas. We hope by the adoption of this method and by the operation of the extended Exchange Control to adjust the adverse balance of payment. If this had not been done, the heavy flow of cheap manufactured goods of a non-essential nature into Ceylon may well have had disastrous financial consequences.

## FINANCIAL POSITION

In my Budget speech last year I outlined fairly fully the finances of the Island. I do not propose to cover the same ground today but to begin from where that survey stopped. According to the revised Estimates for the year 1947-48 the surplus would be Rs. 90 million and not Rs. 40 million as indicated by me in my previous speech. The food subsidies up to the end of September, 1948, amount to Rs. 212 million, and supplementary estimates are now before the House for the payment of that amount. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this year's food subsidies amounting to Rs. 50 million, which have been included in the current Estimates, have been considerably reduced by the decision to give up the subsidy on flour.

## LOSSES ON RAILWAY

The losses on the railway in 1946-47 and 1947-48 amount to Rs. 33 million, and on the other Advance Accounts for 1947-48 to Rs. 2 million. The figures I have mentioned total Rs. 247 million. When we deduct from this the expected surplus, the balance deficit for 1947-48 will be Rs. 157 million. The total reserves (excluding departmental reserves) and unappropriated surpluses at 30th September, 1947, were Rs. 261 million. When we deduct from this the deficit of Rs. 157 million we begin the year 1948-49 on 1st October, 1948, with a sum of Rs. 104 million. The esti-

mated revenue for the current year is Rs. 534.8 million, and the expenditure Rs. 530.3 million. We hope therefore to add a small surplus of Rs. 4½ million at the end of the year to the surplus already mentioned of Rs. 104 million. I gave a complete account of our debt position, detailing the loans, the amounts subscribed and to be subscribed in my previous speech. The total net National Debt of the Island is today less than one year's revenue. Since 1937 when the Government decided to raise local loans it is anticipated that a sum of Rs. 400 million would have been raised up to the end of 30th September, 1948. Of this sum, the State Council and Parliament have sanctioned an expenditure and repayment of Rs. 275 million up to the end of September, 1948.

## REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

During the war, Government expenditure rose because of the rise in prices increase in establishment charges and expenditure on economic development and social services. There was a corresponding rise in Government revenue and the following figures indicate the nature of that increase:—

Expenditure	1938-39	1948-49
	127.1	530.3
		(Estimate)
Revenue	1938-39	1948-49
	116.9	534.8
		(Estimate)

Of the total revenue, 88 per cent. comes from tax, and 12 per cent. from non-tax, revenue, such as Posts and Telecommunications, Ports and other miscellaneous receipts. Of the Tax Revenue, direct taxes contribute 21.3 per cent. and indirect taxes 66.7 per cent. of the total revenue. There is, therefore, no fundamental change in the make-up of the total revenue compared to last year.

On the expenditure side, it is proposed to spend Rs. 145 million from Loan Funds, making a total Government expenditure in 1948-49 of Rs. 675.3 million. This is approximately 35 per cent. of the gross national income in 1947.

## LOGICALLY DEFINED GOAL

I have outlined the program that this Government seeks to implement during the course of the next six years. Into the wider structure of the national plan I have sought to fit in our proposals for the current year. In this period future budgets too will. I have no doubt, indicate the Government's yearly contribution towards its fulfilment. We have decided to march realistically, democratically and philosophically towards a logically defined goal. What nobler goal can we have, can anyone else have, than that of raising the standard of living of our people, which, though ahead of many countries in Asia, is still deplorably behind the civilised standards reached by those who were free while we remained in bondage. We have not presented you with a plan which has no relation to the actual facts of the problems that face us. We do not promise as our economic objective a comfortable feather bed for all. This country together with many others, is in the grip of forces beyond its control. Our program of work may be delayed at any moment by events hostile to the peace of the world. We must also not forget that we are dealing primarily with production by human beings in whom are ingrained age-old human habits and customs which can impede our rate of progress.

## NOT DETERRED BY DIFFICULTIES

Yet, the difficulties and obstacles in the way will not deter us from a steady advance along the path we have chosen. Remember that at long last we have arisen again. The present and the future is ours, to shape, to mould to

our heart's desire; to make or to mar. With a simple faith the people who elected us to the seats of civic power thought that freedom would change the society that surrounded and oppressed them, into something more efficient, stable and equitable. They reposed in us a trust as solemn as is the responsibility that that trust engenders. We are ready and willing to honour that trust to the full. We have deliberately decided to alter the broad framework of our social and economic structure, and to do so only by the exercise of the legitimate powers that democracy has vested in us, without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.

And finally we do not seek a solution to our problems in the context of Western economic theories alone. Let us not forget that we, a nation which in the past contributed our share to the culture and civilisation of the East, had and still have a heritage of our own. Material wealth and comfort did not attract us completely. Our philosophy stressed the development of the human mind rather than the mere acquisition of worldly riches. Let us then, "Be lamps unto ourselves. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to anyone beside ourselves."

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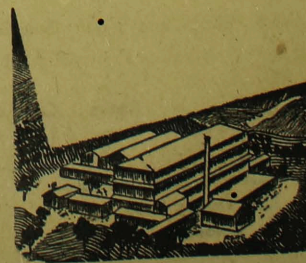
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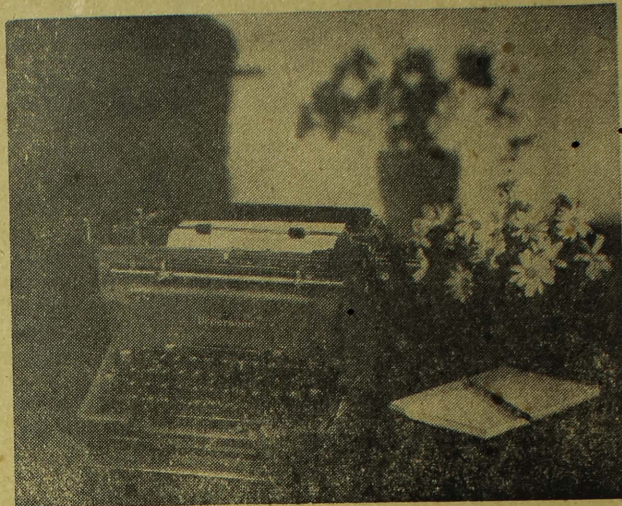
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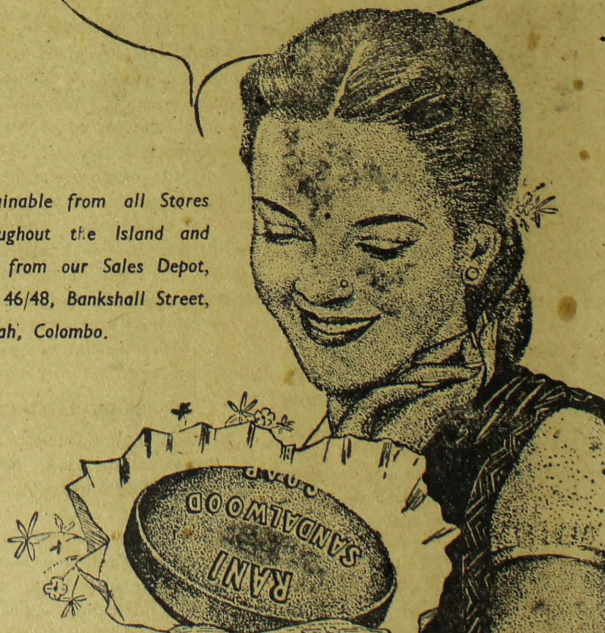
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