

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

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15 Cents.

COMMISSION MUST PROBE LONDON LOAN

The Government continues to be adamant about revealing the names of the original subscribers to the London Loan. The "Ceylon Daily News" in a recent editorial suggested that it would be wise to make public all information about the subscribers to the loan. However, a statement from an undisclosed source that it was against banking practice to reveal such names has apparently satisfied this premier organ of Lake House and the public has not heard any more about the matter.

But the public cannot be so easily satisfied. "Tribune" understands that there is a general banking practice not to reveal names of persons who have had financial transactions with banks. This is an understandable and a necessary practice. When, however, persistent queries arise and allegations are made about a public loan or public financial transaction, there have been occasions when this custom has been broken and particulars revealed.

Only last year, a demand was made in the Indian Parliament that certain transactions of the INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION be made public. The Finance Minister was at first reluctant to do so, but in the face of criticism in Parliament and allegations in the press, the Government appointed an independent commission (consisting of both Opposition and Government M.P.'s.) to go into the matter. To this commission was made available all particulars and the Commission later issued a report. On the basis of this report, the Head

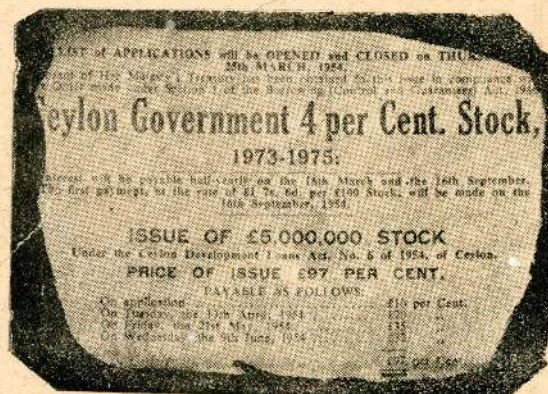
of the Finance Corporation was removed from office.

An Independent Commission.

The least the Ceylon Government can do is to appoint an independent Commission of opposition and Government M. P.'s to go into the matter. Our Financial Correspondent has pointed out certain matters that lead one to suspect that the manner in which the loan was floated gave an opportunity to unscrupulous speculators to make easy money.

What the Commission must investigate is whether any such easy money was made by manipulators and speculators? And whether the manner in which the loan was floated was utilised by some persons who had managed to obtain advance information to obtain unfair advantage and profit?

And, above all, what must be investigated is the extent the Ceylon taxpayer has suffered loss? Questions like the following must be gone into very thoroughly: Why was the loan issued at £97 and not at par? Why



Facsimile of advertisement in "Financial Times" announcing the Ceylon Government Loan. For further details and comment see pages 3 and 4.

Continued on page 15

About Ourselves

This is our tenth issue and we think it necessary to say a little about ourselves.

First, the response we have received from the public has exceeded our expectations and is an indication of the need for a journal that is willing to present facts and information to its readers. Second, whilst the sales of "TRIBUNE" at newsagents all over the city and the outstations has increased tremendously, particularly in the last three weeks, subscriptions have come rolling in steadily from persons in the highest rungs of our public life: politicians, bankers, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, teachers and planters. They come from all communities and creeds.

But the very success we have achieved in this short time seems to worry a number of people to whom truthful information seems unpalatable and candid comment distasteful. They have launched a whispering campaign to state that the persons or groups "behind the TRIBUNE" are some machiavellian individuals or bodies with ulterior motives.

We, therefore, wish to take this opportunity to declare once again that TRIBUNE is not the organ of any vested interest or a political group. It came into being as a result of a desire among a number of Ceylonese desiring to have a paper that will speak out fearlessly on the basis of a common programme. This programme around which the friends of TRIBUNE have gathered was published in our first number and repeated in the second. We are reproducing it alongside once again for the benefit of readers who have been introduced to the paper only recently.

The individuals who have banded themselves together to produce TRIBUNE belong to different communities, faiths and political convictions, but so far as this paper is concerned they are pledged to abide by the policy set out in the statement published alongside.

We invited the public to read

STATEMENT OF POLICY

To interpret events in the context of Asian and world politics, to reveal the facts behind the complex news of the tumultuous days in which we live, and to explain how they affect the interests of the ordinary people and tax payers in Ceylon, will be the primary function of this paper. Before us, will also be the constant objective of helping to build an economically independent and politically democratic Ceylon which will participate in the bigger task of creating a better world that will banish war and secure peace.

These aims, we believe, can be achieved by scrupulous adherence, in letter and in spirit, to the fundamental human rights embodied in the Charter on which the United Nations Organisation rests. We are convinced that it is practicable and necessary that negotiation should replace threat and aggression in international relations and that disputes should be solved through discussion at conferences and not by resort to war.

Countries in Asia, awakening to new freedom after decades of colonial subjugation, have an unenviable role to play in the increasing conflict between the so-called Western bloc and the Socialist group. We must emphasise that Asiatic countries should disassociate themselves from the cold war between the West and the East, and that they should strive through friendly neutrality to both blocs to reduce tension, to remove suspicion, and do everything possible to establish friendly relations between the contending groups to pave the way for stable international peace.

In national affairs, this paper will zealously guard the fundamental rights and democratic civil liberties of the individual, of whatever creed, caste or race, who has made this country his home and who is prepared to work for its betterment and prosperity. Only a contented community, free of racial rancour, unhampered by political or economic disabilities weighing down under privileged sections, can constitute a proper basis for genuine economic reconstruction.

A better and happier Ceylon can emerge only through the combined efforts of all sections and groups of people inhabiting this country. We will untiringly promote all efforts directed towards the building of a truly free democracy in this island. For this purpose, we will measure all action, political and social, with the yardstick of national interest. We will support Government in all its endeavours that tend to promote the common weal; and we will not hesitate to criticise it when its actions adversely affect the people. In like manner, we will examine the policies and practices of the Opposition and other political parties. Every question will be discussed on its own merits and tested in the crucible of public good.

Conscious of our responsibilities, we will do the utmost we can to discharge the obligations a newspaper owes to the reading public. From our readers, we expect guidance, correction and encouragement so that we might be the better able to analyse, discuss, comment, criticise or support, as objectively and impartially as is humanly possible, matters and events of importance and consequence.

and to buy the TRIBUNE on the basis of our declared policy which seems to meet the wishes and desires of a very large number of people in this country. Readers can judge for themselves whether or not we are endeavouring to

reflect our policy in every page of TRIBUNE.

Whispering campaigns cannot deter us. It will only spur us to greater efforts to fight for healthy politics and cleaner public life.



..... Why was the London Loan issued at £ 97

and not at par?

WHY BEARER BONDS ?

by
Our Financial Correspondent

Last week I mentioned that I was puzzled by the interest rates of the London Loan. Whilst the *Economist* had put it down as £4.4s per cent, a reader had worked it out as £4.2s.6d. I have gone into this matter with a certain mathematically inclined expert of stocks and shares and we arrived at the following results:

The loan is redeemable 1973.75, and the final redemption date is March 16, 1975. To that date the yields at £97 are: gross redemption yield £4. 4s. 4d. per cent and the gross current interest yield is £4. 2s. 6d.

The *Financial Times* commenting on the returns stated: "The £4. 4s. 4d compares with under £4. per cent on the New Zealand 4 per cent 1976 78, and around £4. 1s. 9d. on the East Africa 4 per cent 1968-71—the most comparable issues." It will be thus noted that Ceylon has offered more favourable interest rates than either New Zealand or East Africa.

Bearer Bonds

On page 4 of this issue is reproduced the terms and conditions of the issue of the London Loan, as found in an advertisement in the *Financial Times*.

The most significant thing about the Loan is that the original subscribers will be issued "Scrip Certificates to Bearer" in the first instance, and these Scrip Certificates have to be surrendered for registration only when the instalments have been finally paid before the due date, "unless payment in full has been made before the due date in which case the Scrip Certificates must be surrendered for registration not later than June 9th, 1954."

What this amounts to is that the original issue is in Bearer Bonds which are registered later. This may be banking practice in regard to "bearer bonds", but according to banking and stock

market experts government loans and other gilt edge securities are never issued as bearer bonds. They are usually issued as registered stock certificates with or without promissory notes in the first instance itself.

Why was the London Loan issued in Bearer Bonds? The usual reason for bearer bonds is to make the investment attractive to investors by having easily transferable and negotiable instruments of ownership. But bearer bonds, it must be stressed, is usually issued only in case of loans less gilt edged than a sound Government Loan.

However, in this instance, bearer bonds will facilitate horse-trading if the original issue has been cornered by manipulators and speculators. Such speculators would have had time between March 25th and June 9th for monkey business. This is all the more reason why the list of original subscribers must be revealed. Manipulation of bearer bonds is much easier than stock certificates if there has been any banky-panky. The Rs. 70 million raised in Ceylon was not in Bearer bonds, but the customary stock certificates.

Why at £97

The bigger question that arises from the London Loan is why the Loan was issued at £97. Usually a loan that is not likely to attract investors otherwise is offered below par. But a Government Loan is good security. The New Zealand and the East Africa loans were issued at par.

Who made this decision to issue the London Loan at £97? Why was it not issued at par? These are important questions that somebody must answer. Was this matter considered by the Cabinet? It must be remem-

bered that it is public and the tax-payer who ultimately pay this debt, and they have every right to know who is responsible for this issue at £97.

Anybody who has the slightest knowledge of the money market in Ceylon and in London would have known that a Ceylon Loan could have been issued at par. Further, if some speculators got wind of the fact that this loan was to be offered below par at £97 it was a direct invitation to corner the stock. It is this factor that has created all the suspicion. And, why the anxiety to hide behind a "banking practice" in not revealing names, when the practice in such loans in the matter of issuing stock certificates (not bearer bonds) and at par (and not at £97) were observed only in the breach?

Other Charges

Attention must also be drawn to the fact that "contributions calculated at the rate of not less than 1½ per cent per annua on the nominal amount of stock issued will be paid to the Trustees (the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England.)

This is an extra charge that need not have been incurred if the loan had been raised in Ceylon.

Further, a "commission of 5s. per £100 stock will be paid to bankers and stock-brokers on allotments made in respect of applications bearing their stamp". Who made this commission? The London Loan was oversubscribed in 4 minutes and it would be interesting to know which banker or stock-broker (or how many of them?) had his (or their) stamp on the applications? Was it only Richardson & Co? Or were there others?

We still do not know what the under writing charges were. And what are other charges and fees have been paid?

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The Ceylon Government have observed the conditions prescribed under the Colonial Stock Act, 1900 as notified in the London Gazette of the 14th December, 1900, and the Stock is, therefore, an investment authorised under the Trustee Act, 1925, and the Trusts (Scotland) Act, 1921.

The Governor and Company of the Bank of England are authorised to receive applications for the above issue of Stock.

The proceeds of this issue are to be used for financing development works in Ceylon. Details of the Ceylon Government's development plans and information regarding the finances of Ceylon are given in the appended statement by the Ceylon Government.

Under the provisions of the Ceylon Development Loans Act, No. 6 of 1954, which was recently passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate and received the assent of the Governor-General on the 22nd February, 1954, the principal of and interest on the Stock are charged upon the Consolidated Fund of Ceylon, and the Stock and interest thereon in the ownership of persons or corporations neither resident nor domiciled in Ceylon will be paid without deduction for and free from all taxes, levies or duties now or hereafter imposed by or under any law of Ceylon.

A Sinking Fund will be established in the United Kingdom for the redemption of the Stock. On the 16th March, 1955, and thereafter on each half-yearly interest date, contributions calculated at a rate of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum on the nominal amount of Stock issued will be paid to Trustees appointed by the Ceylon Government. These contributions may be discontinued only in the event of the Trustees being satisfied that the Sinking Fund will be sufficient, without further contributions, to repay the Stock on the due date. The Trustees of this Sinking Fund will be the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being of the Bank of England.

Trustees Fees & Brokers' Commission

The Stock if not previously redeemed, is to be repaid at par at the Bank of England on the 16th March, 1975, but the Ceylon Government reserve to themselves the right to redeem the Stock, in whole or in part, by drawings or otherwise, at par at the Bank of England on, or on any date after, the 16th March, 1973, on at least three months notice being given by public advertisement in *The Times* in which case the Stock to be redeemed will cease to bear interest on the date so fixed for redemption.

The Revenues of Ceylon alone are liable in respect of the Stock and the interest thereon, and the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom and the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury are not directly or indirectly liable or responsible for the payment of the Stock or of the interest thereon, or for any matter relating thereto.

The Stock will be transferable in multiples of one penny by instrument in writing in any usual or common form free of charge. Stamp duty will be paid by the Ceylon Government.

The Bank of England have been appointed Registrar of the Stock.

Interest will be payable half yearly on the 16th March and the 16th September: the first payment, at the rate of £1:7s. 6d. per £100 Stock, will be made on the 16th September, 1954. Interest warrants will be transmitted by post and Income Tax will be deducted from payments of more than £5 per annum.

Applications, which must be accompanied by a deposit of £10 per Cent., will be received at the Bank of England, Loans Office, 2, Bank Buildings, London, E.C. 2. In the case of partial allotment, the balance of the amount paid as deposit will be applied towards payment of the first instalment; any surplus remaining after making that payment will be refunded by cheque.

Applications must be for £100 Stock or a multiple thereof; no allotment will be made for a less amount than £100 Stock.

Payment in full may be made after allotment, under discount at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum. If full payment is made before the 13th April, 1954, discount will be allowed from that date only. Default in the payment of any instalment by its due date will render the deposit and any instalment previously paid liable to forfeiture and the allotment to cancellation.

Scrip certificates to bearer, in denominations of £100, £500, £1,000 and £5,000, will be issued in exchange for allotment letters and must be surrendered for registration when the final instalment is paid, unless payment in full has been made before the due date, in which case the Scrip Certificates must be surrendered for registration not later than the 9th June, 1954.

A commission of 5s. per £100 Stock will be paid to bankers or stockbrokers on allotments made in respect of applications bearing their stamp.

Prospectuses and Application Forms may be obtained at the Bank of England, Loans Office, 2, Bank Buildings, London, E. C. 2, or at any of the Branches of the Bank of England; at the Office of the High Commissioner for Ceylon, 13, Hyde Park Gardens, London, W-2; from Messrs. Mullens & Co., 13, Moorgate, London, E. C. 2; from Messrs. J. & A. Scrimgeour 16, George Street, London, E.C. 4; or at any Stock Exchange in the United Kingdom.

A copy of the authorising Act. Section 20 of which provides for the protection of Stockholders, may be inspected at the Bank of England, Loans Office, during business hours until the 23rd April 1954.

—Bank of England, London E.C. 2,
22nd March, 1954.

Why Hush-Hush & Secrecy ?

The following is an extract from the Presidential Address of Mr. S. Pathmanathan at the Annual General Meeting of the Low Country-Products Association in April this year. His remarks on this matter should receive the careful consideration of our readers, particularly as the L. C. P. A. is the premier organisation of Ceylonese Planters and Produce Merchants.

—Editor

The Finance Minister has introduced legislation authorising the Government to raise loans overseas to a maximum of Rs. 600 million. It was stated that the object of raising this loan, partly from the World Bank and partly from elsewhere, was to finance the schemes of development to which we are already committed namely, the Hydro-Electric Scheme and the Gal Oya Project. But the public have not been told the conditions on which the loans from the World Bank are to be obtained. We are not aware of the price the country would have to pay for the loan, the methods of repayment and the conditions that will be imposed. These are not matters for secrecy. The tax payer and the general public are entitled to know the burdens they are to bear; whether they are onerous and whether the country is in a position to repay the loans from current revenue.

London Loan

As regards the London loan, the mystery under which it is shrouded is even greater. The purpose for this loan, too, we are told, is to finance development. But are we certain that this loan is for development or for current expenditure? Can the rates of interest and the nature of the sinking fund be sustained by the already over-saturated and over-taxed economy of this island? We would like to know the cost of floating this loan and the charges, if any, for underwriting the loan.

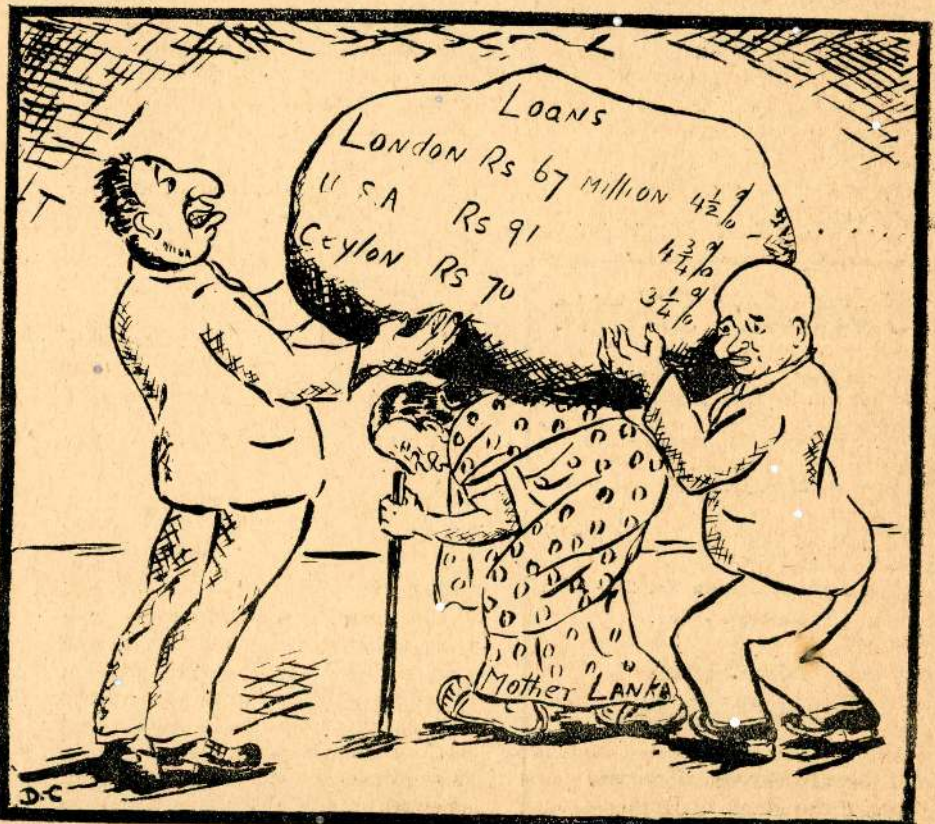
Not Bound to Honour

These are questions that have not been answered by the Finance Minister.

The entire question of these foreign loans is buried in an atmosphere of hush-hush and secrecy. All we know is that the Finance Minister and the Governor of the Central Bank are periodically flying round the world seeking financial aid. The Government must be warned that unless it lays all the cards in regard to these foreign loans on the table, a situation might arise in the future when the tax-payer and the public would not feel bound to honour unfavourable

and humiliating conditions attached to the obtaining of such loans.

Further, a large volume of local loans such as the National Development loan and National Loans were subscribed for the purpose of development and we have so far not been given an accurate survey of the development projects, their progress and their targets. In these circumstances, it is difficult for a tax-payer not to become obsessed with the idea that vast resources have been frittered away, and to wonder whether the new loans we are called upon to shoulder will not be similarly wasted without any planned schemes of development. It was stated by the Minister of Finance in the Senate that the Government has profited by lessons of past mistakes, and that it will not be repeated again. But surely the country is entitled to know how these valuable savings of the people were utilised before it is further committed.



Our credit is good but when will Lanka's back be broken.

HARRASSING PASSENGERS

It has come to our notice that railway officials have now resorted to a new method of harrassing passengers under the plea of "making the railway pay."

In the last month or so, several passengers getting off at the Fort Railway Station were suddenly called upon to weigh the luggage they were carrying. When it was found that there was an excess, the zealous railways officials proceeded to charge for the full amount of the luggage without giving any allowance for the fee quantity allowed.

When passengers concerned protested, the officials pulled out a Book of Rules and pointed to rule 33 (j) which authorised them to make such a levy on passengers who had not weighed and booked their luggage at the station they entrained.

Nobody Bothered

When it was pointed out to the officials by these victimised passengers that the nobody at the entraining station bothered to weigh, check or book the luggage, the officials at the Fort Station proceeded to give passengers a lecture on how people smuggled in goods "two by two" and how the public were not concerned with anything but how to cheat the railway. It did not matter to them that that officials at the

entraining end did not do their duty.

Several such compliants have reached the "Tribune" and when the matter was investigated we found that Rule 33 of this Book of Rules is a serious anomaly that can cause serious inconvenience to passengers when over-zealous officials are called upon to enforce these rules.

No Burden on Passenger

Rule 33 has 16 sub-sections, and our special investigator has endeavoured to study and understand these sub-sections and also other relevant sections in this Book, and nowhere is a burden cast upon the passenger to weigh and book his luggage. The ticket issued to the passenger does not have on the face of it any requirement calling upon passengers to weigh and check their luggage in default whereof they would have to pay for the whole amount of the luggage.

Our special investigator also visited a number of railway stations in and around Colombo, and in not one of the stations on the days he went was there any public notice warning passengers that they should weigh and book their luggage if they did not want to pay surcharge rates what they carried was in excess of the free allowance permitted them.

Our special investigator also attempted to purchase a copy of this Book of Rules. He was not able to buy one. In fact, it was not for sale. Our investigator was finally able to get a "peep" into a book in another department of the railway.

Two of the passengers victimised in this way have decided to travel by bus and other means of transport rather than go by train.

"Tribune" hopes that the railway authorities will look into this matter and instruct officials at stations to assist passengers who carry luggage to weigh and book same if necessary. The railway must also stop penalising passengers until they have made it public that any excess luggage

carried unbooked would lead to a penal surcharge.

And, above all, railway officials who lecture passengers about honesty should be given a book on etiquette and courtesy.

WHY OBSERVERS TO THAILAND ?

One of the conditions laid by Mr. Dulles for intervention in Indo-China, is that the United Nations should give it its moral support. A machinery has now been set in motion for getting this moral support. It is the general expectation that Thailand's appeal will die an unnatural death in the Security Council through Russian veto; Russia already has taken exception even to the Council considering it, on the ground that no threat to peace exists in that region.

If the Council thus is prevented from acting on the Siamese request, then Thailand, with American backing, and possibly British and French too, if by that time the Geneva talks have also gone the way of all peace talks with Communists, will take the question to the General Assembly. This veto-free body, where United States commands a majority, will proceed to grant Thailand's plaint and authorise the despatch of observers. Meanwhile, appeals from Laos and Cambodia are expected to be brought in and observers will go there too. Once the the observers report that there has been Communist aggression as happened in Korea, the way will be open for the General Assembly to sanction military intervention.—K. Balaraman in a despatch dated June 18, from Washington to the "Madras Hindu."

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“ to help other Asians achieve and maintain their freedom against Western exploitation ”

CHOU-EN-LAI

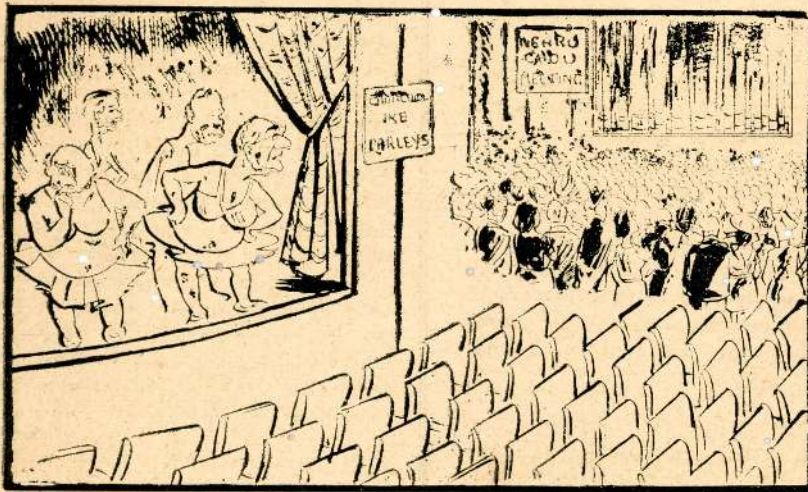
Never in India's chequered history a foreign visitor was so spontaneously welcomed on his arrival in New Delhi as China's Chou En-Lai on Friday morning

Nine hundred and sixty million people of China and India are not the only people to be watching this historic Sino-India meeting but there are others—

Triumph

Chou-Nehru meeting is not quite what is called in some quarters “a diplomatic triumph” on the part of India or China, for it was not likely to have been meant to be so. Against the school of thought that but for the unexpected Eisenhower-Churchill talks in Washington and an obvious American pressure, this meeting would not have taken place now, there are other political observers who who believe that Chou En-Lai found it convenient to be in New Delhi while returning to Peking from Geneva. Nehru's invitation to him was there and Chou simply availed himself of the opportunity when it was most suited to him. The latter think that if the meeting coincided with the Anglo-American parleys at Washington it simply helped to heighten world interest and it also telescoped a projection towards an appreciation of Western powers' attitude to the Eastern countries.

As to who is pining for a showdown—here, there, and everywhere—
Continued on page 10



The Chou-Nehru meeting is taking place at the same time as the talks between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eisenhower in Washington

By Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly

of June 25th. World's one third people felt the warmth of the smashing handshake given to this distinguished Chinese People's leader by Premier Jawharlal Nehru.

millions in Europe, in America, and elsewhere in suffering Asia, and Africa whose eyes are glued now to new Delhi, glued with a newer hope for enduring peace.

Cordial

It was a moment never to be forgotten and then came the series of receptions, conferences, and meetings. At the time of writing, the momentous meetings are on. The Premiers are not discussing anything very abruptly urgent, and their talks are vitally important, and most urgent, for they hold in balance the destiny of resurgent Asia. For the first time in Asia's history, New China's and new India's peoples two top beloved leaders, each in their capacity of Prime Minister, have met to confer in a friendliest atmosphere.



Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai was enthusiastically received at Palam airport
By Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly

Comment

LANGUAGE OF THE AREA

According to a recent report in the "Times of Ceylon," the Government Parliamentary Group has appointed a sub-committee with the Minister of Education, Mr. M. D. Banda, as chairman, to report on a resolution by Senator Justin Kotelawela that, all "citizens" should be taught the language of the province they live in as a compulsory language.

The report adds that this resolution has been adopted at a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group and that the sub-committee was to report on its political implications.

The official policy of the Government is that Sinhalese and Tamil should be the official languages of the country and this policy has the support of all democrats in this country. What is disquieting is that the policy of furthering the national languages as official languages has not been implemented with as much vigour and persistence as was possible under the circumstances nor have proper efforts been made to teach the English language in its correct perspective.

One would have expected that the most satisfactory way of implementing the language policy would have been to make Sinhalese and Tamil compulsory languages in all schools in the island with English as an optional third language for all those who wish to pursue higher education. Instead of this, our educational system is

now based on racial segregation wherever the national languages have become the medium of instruction. Tamil children, for instance, are not given an opportunity of studying Sinhalese in Colombo schools, however much they may desire it. A number of leading schools in Jaffna, however, for a number of years now have taught Sinhalese as well as Tamil to all pupils.

The principle of insisting on persons being compulsorily taught the "language of the area" has most vicious implications. Far from assisting in the development of the national languages and national unity, this policy will lead to national disintegration. The dictum about the "language of the area" is an illicit by-product of that unrealistic and unfortunate agreement known as the Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement where this "language of the area" theory was mooted as a justification for the totally reactionary and anti-democratic provision for communal separate electorates.

The sub-committee of the Government Parliamentary Group will be well-advised not to rush headlong into embracing the "language of the area" theory as a way of solving what appears to be a major problem. The correct approach would be to discover ways and means of making both Sinhalese and Tamil compulsory in all schools in the Island with English as a necessary third language for all students who have any use for it.

BIG FISH

The Prime Minister must be congratulated on his decision to take action against Mr. N. U. Jayawardena, the Governor of the Central Bank. This decision is particularly deserving of praise because of the tremendous pressure that was being brought upon him to sidetrack an investigation into allegations against Mr. Jayawardena. From the press reports available at the time of writing, it is difficult to know what action has really been taken. It is one thing to charge a man under the Bribery Act. But it is an altogether different matter to take appropriate action against an official under the Monetary Act. The Central Bank is under the Monetary Act, and under its provisions the Governor-General has the power to remove the Governor of the Bank. There is no provision for suspension or interdiction. An evening paper has suggested that Mr. Jayawardena will be "suspended" until the allegations have been investigated.

A person against whom a *prime facie* case has been made out by the Attorney-General does not deserve the high honour of being the Governor of the Central Bank. Mr. Jayawardena, we suggest, must be irrevocably removed from the post forthwith. He can thereafter be charged under the Bribery Act and in this connection we warned the Prime Minister in our last issue that he must not fall into the trap of one-man Commission. A one-man Commission consisting of an ex-legal luminary who is known to be a close associate of persons who are known to have made efforts to prevent a full-dress inquiry against Mr. Jayawardena, will defeat the very purpose of such an inquiry. We would, therefore, most earnestly beg of the Prime Minister to recommend the appointment of a three-man Commission.

SIR OLIVER'S ASSETS

So the cat is out of the bag.

Our BIG FISH has turned out to be Mr. N. U. Jayawardena. The daily papers which have for over three weeks maintained a funeral silence broke the news on Thursday afternoon. The announcement was not officially made through the Information Department, but the papers decided to come out with information that persons in the upper political circles knew on Wednesday evening. But why the daily papers were silent the last three weeks is a mystery that passeth understanding.

Sir Oliver

I understand that Sir Oliver has been greatly touched and moved by TRIBUNE's solicitude for him in last week's issue in requesting him to disclose his assets in order to scorch ugly rumours concerning his wealth. I am reliably told that he has taken TRIBUNE's request so much to heart that he has withdrawn himself from public life from July 1 and has taken refuge as an understudy of Lord Soulbury purely for the purpose of making up a complete list of his assets so that he can present the same to the nation on the day he assumes office as Governor-General. On July 17th Sir Oliver will, like Mr. Magsaysay when he assumed duties as President of the Philippines, disclose his assets to the nation.

As rumours of Sir Oliver's assets in Europe and other places are also circulating, it is not unlikely that he may pay a flying visit straightaway to London and other places to get the latest position of his assets in order to show the Ceylonese nation how badly he is being maligned.

During this flying visit, between now and the 17th, it is also rumoured that he may visit Buckingham

Palace to receive the G. C. M. G. in person from the Queen.

Nothing has heartened me more than the news (still secret and confidential) that Sir Oliver will be disclosing his assets on July 17th. This is a clear indication that TRIBUNE is being taken seriously in the right places.

Senator Gardiner

As I predicted in these columns a fortnight ago, Senator Gardiner left for England sometime last week. It would appear that he vigorously protested that he was not going to U. K. to help his kinsman Emile to clear up his little misunderstanding with the British and Belgian authorities.

Friends of Senator Gardiner declare that he has gone on more important business of a private nature. Has it anything to do, one wonders, with the London Loan floated by our Government? It would be a good thing if he can use his charm to persuade the Bank of England to reveal the names of the subscribers to the loan as on March 25, 1954. He will be doing the country a signal service for which the public will be ever grateful to him.

Misadventure in Goa

Thoughts of my friend Emile and the Belgian authorities made my eyes pop out when I saw a news item in the *Madras Hindu* of Sunday June 27. Great things seem to be happening in Belgium all the time and no wonder poor Emile had been made an innocent tool and victim by a bunch of international crooks.

According to the *Hindu* report "the Government of Goa have been defrauded to the tune of Rs 35 lakhs by some international crooks....."

The *modus operandi* is described vividly. One of the members of

the gang (call him X, says the report) and who gave his nationality as Australian descended on Goa with his wife and children and with some lavish spending set up as a big business man. He was soon able to become intimate with the Governor-General of Goa who told him of his difficulties of obtaining food for the people. Mr. X was willing to go his rescue.

He "arranged" for a whole shipload of rice and at a price cheaper than anywhere else and got the Goan Government to sign on the dotted line of a contract. This shipload was to cost Rs 35 lakhs, and a short time after the contract was signed, X presented the Banco Ultramarine, Panjim, a complete set of documents purporting to relate to the shipment of rice, and in accordance with the agreement he was paid the Rs 35 lakhs in full. He and his family thereupon made themselves scarce leaving behind a trail of unpaid bills amounting to Rs 7000.

"According to the documents, X had presented," the *Hindu* report continues, "the bogus shipment of rice was supposed to be effected from Antwerp in Belgium..... The Government soon started checking up the *bona fides* of X by cabling the port of lading of the alleged rice shipment. The reply was a rude shock. Nothing was known either about X or about the carrier which was supposed to bring the rice. Further checking and investigation showed that every shipping document submitted by the seller to the Bank was a forged one....."

One wonders whether it is this Belgian-Goa fraud that the bunch of international crooks are endeavouring to pin on poor Emile. I am certain that Emile will soon succeed in clearing his good name and return to Ceylon.

DELAYED



CHOU-EN-LAI

Continued from page 10

ACTION BOMB

The *Ceylon Daily News* did a bit of smart detection work last Tuesday. On Monday evening the Census and Statistics Department issued the "Final Report on the Economic Survey of Rural Ceylon 1950-51." On Tuesday morning a double column page one story said that half of this Sessional Paper "has been transcribed, without acknowledgement from two earlier Government publications and one school text-book."

"Of the report's forty pages, "said the *Daily News*," twenty are directly transcribed from the General Report of the 1946 Census, the Preliminary Report of the Rural Survey 1950 and S. F. de Silva's *A Regional Geography of Ceylon*. Occasionally, however, single words and phrases are changed in the act of transcription."

Not Satisfied

Not satisfied with this opening shot, the *Daily News* was out to kill. It added further:

"Inquiries showed that the report was in fact written by a junior officer of the Department of Census and Statistics, to whom the job had been passed down by the head of the department through the various rungs of the official ladder of the staff officers and other departmental employees. The report could not be passed any further down the official ladder....."

"When this report was ready he found it was not bulky enough by Government standards and asked his teenage daughter to add a chapter. This was done, and the *Daily News* understands, this accounts for the long section from S. F. de Silva's geography text-book figuring in a report which has nothing to do with the relief and such geographical features of the Island."

Delayed Action Bomb

There was also on the same day an Editorial Note on the subject of

"That Cribbed Report" which was a worthy effort to shake up the sleepy head of Mr. A. G. Rana-singhe, the Permanent Secretary to the Department, to an awareness that he is totally incapable of attaining.

To those who read this post-mortem on the report and verdict delivered from the Editorial pen came as surprising bits of quick detection and prompt action.

But those who pried deeper learnt that the paper was not so quick on the uptake as one supposed. It would appear that this Report in question had been available in proof form at the newspaper office concerned for over a week: that it had been subjected to minute examination and the whole-detection work had been done by industrious workers with an intense passion for research and an equally intense hatred for the Census Department.

They could hardly wait for the publication day which did arrive at last on Monday!

Virakesari

I learn that Iswara Iyer, the Managing Director of the *Virakesari* is shortly to go to the United Kingdom to purchase new Rotary for for the paper. The paper has also bought a new block of land in Baseline Road for the purpose of constructing a new building for its offices. The new rotary will be installed here.

The present offices of the paper are in a rented building owned by a relative of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene.

Talking of the new Rotary of the *Virakesair* reminds one of the fact that the present machine was the one on which the late C. R. Das published the *Swarajaya* in Calcutta. It is quite a venerable gentlemen as newspaper presses go!

where, the invasion of Guatemala is a stark example of US's shameless on thrust on a defenceless small nation to safeguard a few American businessmen's exploiting interest. None needs fresh proof of Washington's interference in other people's affairs—it is just already there, aplenty and galore.

Showmanship

Chou En-Lai and Jawharlal Nehru have many things in common between them besides their acknowledged power of showmanship. First, none of them have become famous because of their official posts. They are famous because of the freedom fight they waged against foreign rulers of their enslaved countries, because of their great sufferings, because of their acknowledged cultural and aesthetic background. As sheer men these two Asian leaders are great examples of ideal human beings who have sacrificed the best part of their lives in fighting to give their people the most cherished of the worldly things—freedom.

U. S.

In New Delhi these two leaders are meeting today not to protect merely the freedom they have acquired for their own peoples but also to help other Asians achieve and maintain their free-against wanton Western exploitation.

What a co-incidence again that US Ambassador George Allen should have of all times now chosen to leave for Kashmir! Most of the diplomatic representatives in New Delhi who do not recognise the New China government have been inclined to be prudent rather than show bad manners. Asked, one such diplomat said, "Why, of course, I am attending the reception. It is the President of India's invitation not China's." One wishes George Allen had similar commonsense.

SHIBDAS BANERJI

June 26, 1954.

THE INTELLECTUAL'S DILEMMA

Heroes of the Empty View by James Alridge (Bodley Head, 12/6)

The pilgrimage of the "Liberal Intellectuals" to the shrine of communism and their disillusioned return after a closer view of the promised land has been the theme of a disproportionately large number of post-war fiction and autobiographies. James Alridge's latest novel, "Heroes of the Empty View", offers a refreshing corrective to the influence of this type of literature on contemporary thought and it is indeed a worthy successor to "The Diplomat".

Revolt

Against the background of a tribal revolt in Arabia, Alridge analyses one of the most profound dilemmas confronting the middle-class intellectuals in our day. He contrasts sharply the abstract, individualistic freedom, so fondly cherished by these intellectuals, with the real freedom from poverty, starvation, wretchedness, misery and foreign exploitation—which is at once the inspiration and motive force for the violent upheavals of peasants and workers the world over.

Gordon, the hero of the novel, a contemporary Lawrence of Arabia, turns away in despair from England where he sees man, having sacrificed his freedom, his liberty and his individuality finally losing himself "in the confused millions". To Gordon, the nomadic Arab in his desert wastes is the last of the "free, uncorrupted, natural man"; and his one ambition is to restore this tribal life to its pristine splendour so that it may shine as a living example of liberty to the rest of the world.

Liberty

Prince Hamid, the leader of the Tribal Revolt, welcomes Gordon as a trusted ally in his long drawn out campaign to free the desert from the enemy's stranglehold. With the Revolt finally

crushed Gordon is banished to England where he finds himself acclaimed as a great hero. The leaders of all the political parties to whom he is introduced fail to provide an ideal to which Gordon can dedicate himself. Even the desperate attempts made by Tess, with whom he is deeply involved, to make him come to grips with reality are of no avail.

Workers

At a docker's protest meeting in the East End of London, where Tess had taken him, Gordon finds that:

"...He could easily join this working class world simply by sinking into it.....But to be of this world meant absolute submission to it: life with the raw hands, the bent back, the uncovered eye. You must break the mind and tire the intellect with twelve hours of labour each day. That much was easy if one was willing and able or courageous

enough. But first one must accept the promise of this world the hardship and simplicity of it; the determined future it defined for itself by its actions, by its history, and sooner or later by its own awareness of itself; for as yet this was a world ignorant of its own power....."

At that same meeting Gordon discovers with unmistakable clarity that the future belongs to the workers and "to make the plunge now would be the commitment he (Gordon) had sought." But he shrinks away in fear. "His premonitions of fright, of being eaten up, of being puny before this enormous and dynamic urge, had all come to be. The individual rarity? The privilege in intellect? The supremacy of one soul. He had never such a frightening view, such an invasion of his values in his life before."

Continued on page 12

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THE INTELLECTUAL'S DILEMMA

Continued from page 11

Arabia

A fresh Revolt brings Gordon once again to Arabia where he now finds Prince Hamid working in close alliance with Zein, the city revolutionary leader. Zein is confident of ultimate victory and has a clear vision which the future holds for the tribes and the city workers:

"They would have their city and peasant republic, and they would begin immediately to create a new socialist state, with an educated working class, an industrialised economy and a deadly elimination of exploitation by private productive ownership. In all things the ruling class would be overthrown, and the mechanics and the ditch-diggers given the

privileges of the society: even to sharing intellect and education....."

To Gordon, however, Zein's vision of the future is a monstrous distortion of his own ideals; it is "the vision of the Marxist dogma walking across the visage of the last pure man on earth." Gordon is determined to "save" the tribes losing their "freedom" and becoming "slaves" to the machines. He makes a desperate attempt to destroy the oil fields and when on the verge of success he is shot down by Zein himself.

In these days when from the press and the pulpit the public are warned that Socialism is the greatest threat to individual freedom, James Alridge's novel is indeed timely and should go a long way in helping intellectuals to clarify their views on "freedom."

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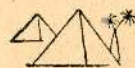
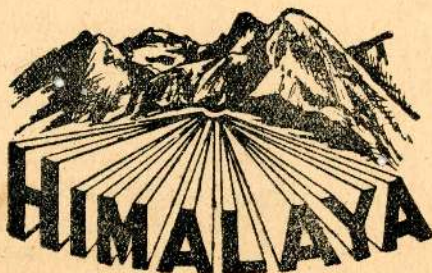
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STATELESS

What is the position of that very large number of people who will not be registered under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act as citizens of Ceylon? How are you going to deal with them? You are going to draw their attention to Article 8 of the Constitution of India under which they can, in certain circumstances, be registered as citizens of India; and certain inducements are to be held out to them to register as citizens of India—such as compensation when they go back, travel facilities, and so on. We have heard now from the mouths of Members of this Government—the Parliamentary Secretary, I always forget what he is Parliamentary Secretary for. MR. SUNTHARALENGAM: Labour.

Employment

MR. S. W. R. D. BANDARANA-IKE—the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour is one of them—that they do contemplate the step which I mentioned of introducing a Quota Bill here for the purpose of restricting employment in various fields, of defining how many citizens and how many non-citizens can be employed on estates, businesses, presumably in shops, and so on. The Parliamentary Secretary stated that that was the intention. That also is presumably one of the inducements for these people to register themselves in that way. I will deal with that point—the question of the Quota Bill—in a few moments.

What is going to happen to those who are neither registered as citizens of Ceylon nor choose to register themselves, in spite of all your inducements direct and indirect, as citizens of India? What is going to happen to those people? Take it from me, their number is by no means likely to be inconsiderable. Indeed it is my view that, apart from those who are registered as citizens of Ceylon, only a very small proportion will regis-

ter themselves as citizens of India. There will be many lakhs of people who will be neither citizens of Ceylon nor choose Indian citizenship. What, pray, is going to happen to them?

Illicit

MR. N. H. KEERTHIRATNE (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Posts and Broadcasting) They come under the "illicit" category.

MR. S. W. R. D. BANDARANA-IKE: Oh! Thank you so much for that interesting bit of information. That is another valuable contribution to this Debate by another Member of this Government, a Parliamentary Secretary. I welcome that statement. The rest are to be considered illicit immigrants to this country—illicit immigrants with all the consequences that flow from that presumption.

Let us examine that. What is the data we have on that issue and the various statements made by, presumably, responsible Members of this Government? First and foremost, let me take my hon. Friend the Prime Minister himself on that. I am dealing with Clause 7. On his landing here from

 This is the third instalment of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's statement in the House of Representatives on March 2nd. The concluding instalment will be published next week.

Delhi, at Ratmalana, a number of questions were asked of him by a reporter of the "Ceylon Daily News", the answers to which appear in the "Ceylon Daily News" of 22nd January, 1954. This is what he is reported to have said on that point:

"Sir John said those who now hold Indian passports on which T. R. P's were given are irrevocably Indian citizens". They are irrevocably Indian citizens!

"Clause 2 referred to those persons of Indian origin who did not have Indian passports and whom the Governments of India and Ceylon propose to encourage to obtain Indian passports."

Propose to encourage to obtain Indian passports! The section, having temporary residence permits, a situation arising out of Clause 7, are irrevocably Indian nationals. What, pray, is the meaning attached to the word

Continued on page 14

'Land Of Earthly Paradise!'



A feeling is growing in New Delhi that the January agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon with regard to the "Stateless Indians" in Ceylon has suffered a setback.

By Courtesy: Amrita Bazar Patrika.

STATELESS

Continued from page 13

"irrevocably"? These people are to be given the opportunity of registering themselves as Indian nationals, if they so wish.

The Hon. Sir J. KOTELAWALA: I can explain that in my reply.

Not Indian Nationals

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: They may be a large number of persons holding temporary residence permits who are not registered as Indian nationals today.

Mr. KEERTHIRATNE: They are registered. They will not get temporary residence permits if they are not registered.

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: They are getting temporary residence permits not because they are actually registered as Indian citizens but because their residence in this country is taken to be temporary. They do not appear on the register of Indian citizens.

Mr. KEERTHIRATNE: What do you want to register for?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please! I will allow the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to speak immediately after the motion is seconded. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: I hope that I am not mistaken. Many of the people with temporary residence permits today may not have been actually registered as Indian citizens. You can presume they are Indian nationals.

Mr. KEUNEMAN: They have passports.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please!

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: I am only asking for information.

Mr. SPEAKER: Wait till the reply is given.

Clarification

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: Let us hope that at least these points will be absolutely clarified. My opinion is that they are pre-

sumed to be Indian citizens because they have temporary residence permits. Quite apart from that presumption, they can be expected to take advantage of Article 8 of the Indian Constitution.

The Hon. Prime Minister gave further answers after his return, which are very interesting. On the 23rd January, 1954, in answer to further questions put to him by a "Daily News" reporter he said—

The Hon. Sir J. KOTELAWALA: I made a statement here.

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: I know. We are entitled to take all the statements made by you, otherwise, what statements are we to regard as having been made in your lucid moments and what statements as having been made in your not so lucid moments? We have to take all these statements together. It is true the Hon. Prime Minister has made a statement here, but in that he has not touched upon certain points which he has specifically touched upon earlier in the interviews given by him—given, within inverted commas. So that, he has deliberately studied the questions addressed to him earlier. This is what he said to further questions put to him, as appearing in the "Ceylon Daily News" of 23rd January, 1954:

"Indian nationals whose names appear on the adult register . . ."

Compulsory Repatriation

Those are people whose names are registered, apart from those who have acquired citizenship. There is the other register from which you are going to exclude illicit immigrants, those who have been resident here for some time—not the illicit immigrants whose names you put on another register in order to check up on possible illicit immigrants—and what does he say about that class of persons? These people will be "liable to be sent back to India in the event of their being jobless or otherwise without means of sustenance." He also indicated that an Indian national who changed his occupation would

also be liable to similar treatment. What is the treatment? To be sent back to India! What, pray, is that, but compulsory repatriation?

That is the one principle on which, according to the Hon. Prime Minister, the talks between the ex Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of India broke down earlier, were abandoned earlier and he claims to have secured this agreement, this extraordinary agreement. What does this mean? These people who appear on that register, who may have been resident here for a number of years but have not the necessary qualifications for citizenship under the Act, if they are jobless or otherwise without means of sustenance or if they change their occupation, will be sent back to India. Please clarify that point for us. What precisely, if anything, does that statement mean?

The Hon. Sir J. KOTELAWALA: We are not in Committee. We will reply.

Objectionable

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: I am asking you to clarify that point in advance. There are a lot of things about what we want clarification. What is this but compulsory repatriation?

Mr. R. E. JAYATHILAKA (Navalapatiya): Do you object to that?

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE: I shall tell you soon what I object to if you have not listened to me already. One of the things I object to is the hon. Member himself. The Hon. Prime Minister mentioned that if, for instance, a labourer lost his job and sought employment as a motor car driver, he would not be allowed to stay in the Island, but that there would be no objection to his seeking employment as a labourer. Under what provisions of the law, pray, are you going to prevent an estate labourer who leaves that job, and wants to become a motor car driver, from taking that job? What provisions of the existing law are there that will permit you to send him back to India and not allow him to stay in the Island if he seeks that job? If there are none, please tell us in clear terms what laws you propose to introduce to secure that object?

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MR. SUNTHARALINGAM: Coming to my next Question, I am going to make a categorical statement. This is part of the financial bankruptcy, the rake's progress, of the Government. I refer to the Answer to my Question number 95/54. I want hon. Members on both sides of the House to understand both my Question and the Answer I have received. I asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance:

"Will he submit a statement showing the names of those who subscribed, and the amounts subscribed by each, to the £5,000,000 Stock issued in London on 25th March, 1954?"

What is the Answer? It is:

"It is against public policy to divulge this information."

MR. WILMOT A. PERERA (Matugama): Richardson & Co.

MR. SUNTHARALINGAM: A Member has sub-consciously come out with the name. I hope it will go into Hansard. But I make a more general charge than that. Our money, the people's money is now being used to get loans at the highest rate of interest. The reason why I put this question was to find out whether it was true or not that Ceylon money belonging to Ceylon people is being pooled in London to subscribe to this loan.

* * * * *

MR. WILMOT A. PERERA: I want to endorse the remarks of the hon. Member for Vavuniya (Mr. Suntharalingam) in connection with the refusal of the Government to reply the question asked by him in connection with the list of subscribers to the loan that was recently floated in London. When the Ceylon Government Loans Act was debated in this House, from this side of the House we categorically stated that we thought it very likely that the funds of certain Ceylonese investors might come in through London as subscriptions to this loan. I would now like to ask the Government whether that is not borne out by the refusal of the Hon. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance to give a list of the subscribers and also to inquire whether a banking firm of the name of Richardson & Co. has had anything to do with this. *From Hansard June 7, 1954.*

COMMISSION MUST PROBE LONDON LOAN

Continued from page 1

was the original issue in bearer bonds? What were charges that were incurred besides those revealed in the announced terms?

The Commission should also investigate whether this same loan could not have been raised with less expense in London or in Colombo?

It is difficult to see what objection the Government can have to placing all the particulars before an independent commission of members of the House of Representatives. If the allegations about the London Loan are untrue, "Tribune" sincerely wishes that they are, the best way of clearing the atmosphere is by appointing an independent commission to go into the allegations and doubts that have been raised in the public mind by certain unusual circumstances that surround the floating of the loan.

To refuse to appoint an independent Commission to go into this matter is likely to lead to an increase in the distrust and suspicion about the way the London Loan was floated.

If the Government has any pretensions to democracy it will not hesitate to appoint such a Commission.

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