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CONSOLIDATION BUDGET—TIME TO STABILISE GAINS OF SIX-YEAR PLAN

"POLITICAL freedom gave us the power to achieve economic freedom too. Our goal had to be reached without destroying the freedom of the individual, and without turning political opponents into political prisoners. We never proclaimed that the people could get up one morning and find that the ideal of a community, where each had according to his needs and from each was taken according to his ability, had been attained. On the other hand we could not remain idle until experts had drawn up a comprehensive plan of development. It was thus that this period of learning the art of governing one's country had as one of its significant features the Six-Year Plan," declared Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in

the end of September, 1952; 5,544 colonists have already been settled under the schemes mentioned in the appendix and 19,847 have found employment in the execution of the scheme listed in the Six-Year Plan.

The hunger for land has been not only met by the opening up of new land but also by the acquisition of developed land in the populated areas. By the end of September, 1952, 14,800 acres of private land will be acquired for distribution and it is proposed to acquire about 5,000 acres in the new year. These figures give us but a faint idea of the many-sided activities of the various Government departments concerned with the development of agriculture.

90,000 tons of cement a year and supplies a large portion of the country's needs.

The Paper Factory is under construction in the Batticaloa District and it will produce 3,750 to 4,500 tons of printing and writing paper a year and two million kraft paper bags a year for the Cement Factory. Production will begin in 1953.

Work has also been commenced on the Vegetable Oil Factory at Seeduwa. It will produce 875 tons of glycerine, 4,900 tons of distilled fatty acids, 8,000 tons of refined oil, 1,050 tons of lauryl and 58,125 tons of cattle food. The factory will be ready in 1953.

Preliminary investigations are being carried out for the establishment of the Cotton Textile Factory. A site has been acquired at Katunayake and it is hoped to complete the factory in 1953 to produce nine million yards of cloth per year.

CEYLON'S INDUSTRIAL ERA

The Six-Year Plan also contained a scheme of industrial development. The Cement Factory was the first major scheme to be completed at a cost of Rs. 21½ million. It produces

(Continued on page 2)



MR. J. R. JAYEWARDENE

"NO ADDITIONAL TAXATION DIRECT OR INDIRECT"

one of the most sober and statesmanlike Budget speeches made in the House of Representatives or in its predecessor, the State Council. His speech which is closely and searching analysis of the monetary position of the country, is a document worthy of study by all those who want the facts on which to base their theories of government.

The following are some of the highlights of his speech. Of the late Prime Minister he said:

"He lived and laboured during a crucial period in our history, and during his later years he inspired and kindled with a restless flame the thoughts of his fellow-citizens towards the creation of a free and democratic Lanka. He never merely followed the majority or the crowd, but always worked for the benefit of his country, ready to meet odium and forfeit power for the public good."

AGRICULTURE

As power came gradually into the hands of the people of the country, the agricultural development of Cey-

lon, which was mainly the cultivation of tea, rubber and coconut products, was given a new emphasis, and the peasant and his cultivation of food crops became of paramount importance. The provision of irrigation, the utilization of uncultivated jungle, colonization and food production became the chief aim of Government agricultural policy. This new phase in the development of our resources will always be associated with the name of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake. In spite of all the handicaps that were placed in his way, he pursued his own course and handed over to us, when freedom was attained in 1948, an agricultural policy with its objectives well and clearly laid down, and also indicated the path to be followed in achieving these objectives. It was hoped during the six years to bring under cultivation an extent of 131,000 acres.

LAND HUNGER APPEASED

The extent actually developed is 47,272 acres. Another 14,620 acres will be provided with irrigation facilities. A total of 21,224 acres consisting of 13,726 acres of paddy land and 7,498 acres of garden land, will be made ready for colonization by



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COLOMBO — HATTON — NAWALAPITIYA.

Record Customs Collections In 1951.

(Continued from page 1)

Government has also sanctioned schemes and voted money for the construction of Steel Rolling, Acetic Acid, Sugar, Ilmenite Refining and Fertiliser Factories. It is hoped that these factories will be in production by 1955.

The re-organization of the Glass, Ceramic and Plywood Factories will be completed by 1953.

The industrial progress of Ceylon is so closely woven with the supply of cheap power that the completion of the first stage of the Laxapana Hydro-Electric Scheme can be taken to be almost the inauguration of Ceylon's industrial era. Stage I of this scheme completed in October, 1950, provides 25,000 kilowatts of electricity. Tenders will soon be called for the commencement of work on the Second Stage which will provide another 25,000 kilowatts."

RECORD CUSTOMS COLLECTIONS IN 1951

In introducing the Six-Year Plan I stated that the Ministry of Commerce "helps in the development of the national wealth by providing the channels for the distribution of the manufactured products. Trade, internal as well as external, is the pivot upon which the whole of our economic system swings." At that time the country was faced with an unfavourable balance of payments. As a remedial measure it was decided to restrict the import of non-essential goods by the imposition of heavy Customs duty. Other measures such as the restriction from dollar areas were also adopted. The position improved slightly the next year when there was a favourable balance of trade. As the trend of trade continued to be favourable the high duties imposed in 1947 were reduced in the 1948-50 budget. It was possible in the 1950-51 budget to make further reductions of import duties on a large number of consumer goods which were brought down to the pre-December, 1947, levels. In the year 1950-51 the

balance of trade was Rs. 394 million in our favour. The Customs collections were the highest on record amounting to Rs. 527½ million, out of which Rs. 245 million were from imports and Rs. 282½ million from exports which amount exceeded import duties for the first time.

UTILITY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The claim has been put forward not unjustifiably, that Ceylon could well be called a "Social Service State," 45 per cent. of the revenue is spent on these services. The Government has rightly assumed that the manpower of the country is the greatest asset. On this principle Government has put aside the maximum possible sum for the social services which include health and education. Utility services such as transport and power can be classed under these services when provided by the State and we will begin with a consideration of these services which include transport, civil aviation, ports, power and the postal services.

ROAD TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT

The number of motor vehicles which is an index has increased from 39,783 in 1947 to 64,864 in 1951. The number of omnibuses licensed today is 2,000 and the number of passengers carried has doubled since 1947 totalling 230 million a year. Many of the roads which fell into disrepair during the war have now been reconstructed and today 6,556 miles of roads which are under the control of the P.W.D. maintain the high standard of P.W.D. roads. To these have been added 2,052 miles of roads and 2,342 miles of bridle paths from the provincial and district road committees. A ten-year programme of development to bring these roads also to P.W.D. standard is now being implemented.

CHEAPEST RAILWAY FARES IN ASIA

The Railway which provides the cheapest fares to all classes as com-

pared with the Malayan and Indian passenger fares, carried 27½ million passengers in 1950-51. Today the Railway is manned by a staff which is 99 per cent. Ceylonese.

POSTAL SERVICES

In the Colonial era the Postal and Telecommunication services were primarily intended to serve the urban communities whilst the rural folks in the villages had no such facilities. The Posts and Telecommunications Department has contributed substantially towards the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan for providing additional sub-post offices and receiving offices and improved delivery services in remote parts. In 1947 there were only 491 sub-Post Offices functioning in the Island. Since then a number of additional offices have been opened and the total number at the end of the current financial year will be 1,000. The number of letter-boxes provided has increased from 42 to 814. Telegraph facilities were provided at 27 post offices, 5,058 additional telephones were provided, 288 sub-Post Offices were provided with telegram-telephone facilities.

BROADCASTING SERVICE

Although Broadcasting began in Ceylon in 1925, progress during the succeeding years was extremely slow. The post-war development under expert guidance commenced in January, 1950, when a system of dual transmission came into operation with separate transmitters for the western and oriental programmes. An important development was the building up of the Sinhalese service with particular reference to rural broadcasting which had hitherto been neglected. For educational, cultural and publicity purposes, 1,554 radio receiving sets will have been provided in various parts of the Island before the end of September 1952. Commercial broadcasting from Radio Ceylon was inaugurated on 30th September, 1950. Since then the Commercial Service has continued to make considerable progress.

PHENOMENAL DECREASE IN MORTALITY RATES

The preservation and improvement of the health of the citizens is one of the most important functions of a Government. The Six-Year Plan's policy is defined as follows. (1) Increase the number of medical institutions and provide adequate medical facilities. (2) Modernise the larger hospitals. (3) Improve the number and quality of trained personnel. (4) Develop preventive and medical services. Plague has been completely irradiated and malaria will soon meet with a similar fate.

The phenomenal decrease in the mortality rates has been described by the Division of International Health of the Federal Security Agency of the U.S.A. "as an event without precedent in the annals of world democracy. There are today 235 general institutions with a bed strength of 14,459 and 31 special institutions with a bed strength of 5,480, 240 Central dispensaries, 202 Branch dispensaries, 650 visiting stations, 99 maternity homes. There are 91 health units throughout the Island, and a public health nurse covers per 8,000, a sanitary inspector per 8,000 to 10,000 and a midwife per 4,000 of the population. Over 50 per cent of the total births of the Island are now cared for by public health midwives, maternity homes, rural and cottage hospitals or the General Hospital. Expert opinion has been obtained for carrying on an intensive campaign against tuberculosis, leprosy and filaria. The new year should see considerable advancement made in the Health Services with the implementation of the Cumpston recommendations.

SOCIAL SERVICES

The Six-Year Plan states that it is the intention of the Government to implement the recommendations of the Social Services Commission "within the limits of our current national income and to the extent it can bear distribution without causing a strain on the national economy."

The 1946 scale of assistance to the needy, namely, Rs. 5 per mensem for

an individual and Rs. 10 for a person with dependants, continued to operate till April 1948, when the scale was increased to maxima of Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 respectively. The public assistance vote has increased from year to year as shown by this table:—

Year	No of persons receiving assistance	Total sum Rs.
1947-48	42,700	3,200,000
1951-52	77,337	9,600,000

Allowances are also payable for the relief of acute distress resulting from accidents or "Acts of God." The relief grant is subject to a maximum of Rs. 300 in each case. There were 4,765 such cases during the last three years on which were expended a sum of Rs. 393,900.

EDUCATION

The history of education since the attainment of independence in 1948 has been one of a planned and determined effort to provide the people with a system of education suitable to their needs, and one that will enable the youth to equip themselves to play a useful part in the complex civilization of our age. That education should be through the mother tongue, and that it should be provided free, has been accepted and is now being implemented. The Minister of Education has ordered that the national languages should be the medium of instruction in Standards 6, 7 and 8 as from January, 1953, January, 1954 and January, 1955, respectively. It will thus be seen that by the end of 1955 the medium of instruction in all schools up to the end of Standard 8 will be through the medium of the mother tongue. English will continue to be taught as a second language in these classes.

In order to make free education a reality, it was necessary to provide school buildings on an unprecedented scale. During these five years, 323 primary schools and as many as 269 secondary schools have been opened. Not merely have new schools been built but they have been designed and built on the most modern lines. Old school buildings are being gradually replaced by new ones. In 1947 there were 5,873 schools and 1,022,280 scholars. Up to the end of May 31, 1951, there were 6,708 schools with 1,454,773 scholars. Seventy-five per cent, at least, of the children of school-going age (5-14) are attending school. It is hoped to remove illiteracy completely from Ceylon by 1957.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES

The movement to revive the Sinhalese and Tamil languages goes back to the period of the inauguration of the State Council under the Donoughmore Constitution in 1931. From that time the question of a more extensive use of the national languages began to engage public attention.

Attempts were made in the State Council to ensure that the business of the minor courts and of the Council were conducted in the national languages. This movement culminated in my motion passed by the State Council in 1944 to appoint a Select Committee to make proposals for the adoption of the National Languages as the media of administration and instruction. The Report of that Select Committee of the State Council on Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages was published as Sessional Paper XXII of 1946, and accepted by the Council.

From 1947 the Government took further steps to introduce the national languages into the administration of the country. A number of Government forms in daily use came to be printed in Sinhalese and Tamil; the departmental heads adopted the more regular habit of sending replies in Sinhalese or Tamil to all letters received in either of these languages. Clerks with a knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil were appointed to the Swabasha Clerical Grade. Every attempt was made to give further encouragement and instil life into the movement for the use of the national languages.

(Continued on page 3)

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Housing, Public Service, Monetary Policy

(Continued from page 2)

Meanwhile, the educational policy of the country was also fashioned in accordance with these new ideas. Thus, in all spheres of the life of the people, viz., Governmental, academic and social, the national languages began to play an important part.

HOUSING

The rapid expansion of towns in Ceylon during the last fifty years has brought many evils which affected the whole community. Slums, overcrowding, narrow and dusty roads, workshops, eating-houses and dwellings, built in close proximity to each other, and inadequate space for recreation, are some of the worst features of this rapid urban expansion. They have helped diseases like tuberculosis to spread. Under the old colonial form of Government no serious attempt was made to provide for the orderly development of towns or to deal with the problem of housing.

With the attainment of freedom the Central Government recognised that from the national point of view, the planned use of land and good housing were of fundamental importance to the health and welfare of the country. To achieve this end, the Town and Country Planning Department was set up in 1947 to deal with town planning and housing.

From 1947 to the end of the 1952-53 financial year, Rs. 37,805,000 will have been allocated in the form of grants to local authorities covering the building of 6,086 houses, of which 3,200 were completed or were under construction in December, 1951—see Appendix 'D'. Under the Housing Loans Board, 120 plans and estimates have been referred to the Department of Town and Country Planning for report.

The Government also made grants to local authorities for slum clearance schemes where the Government contributed two-thirds and the local authority one-third of the cost of demolishing and rebuilding better houses in place of the slums. Up to 1951, Rs. 7 million was provided under the Slum Clearance Scheme vote for 1,549 houses, many of which have already been built or are under construction.

Government has also provided accommodation for its employees, thus easing the housing shortage. One thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven labourers' quarters and 600 other quarters have been built at a cost of Rs. 35.3 million.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

The six-year period has seen considerable attention being paid to improve the conditions of service of public servants. Several new Services, which gave security of employment to many who did not enjoy it before, were inaugurated.

(1) **Accountants' Service:** This Service, which was a small one when the new Constitution was introduced, has gradually expanded and the sanctioned strength of the cadre today is 114. Two scholars are undergoing training in London, while three others will be sent out soon. The recommendations made by the Special Committee appointed to investigate the structure of the Accountants' Service and the proposals made for its re-organisation are under active consideration.

(2) **Shroffs' Service:** The Shroffs' Scheme was converted on 1st October, 1950, into a unified transferable service consisting of a Special Grade, Grades I, II and III. The main feature of the new service is the abolition of recruitment through the Chief Shroff and the introduction of a system of centralised re-

ruitment by the Treasury by means of a competitive examination.

(3) **General Clerical Service.** Up to 1949, recruitment to the General Clerical Class of the General Clerical Service was through a separate competitive examination. From and after 1950, recruitment to this service, as well as to the Railway, Postal and Customs Clerical Services and the Postmasters' and Signallers' Service has been through one Central Clerical Examination.

Association of Public Officers: Government has increasingly encouraged the formation of associations of public officers. Prior to 1947, under the Public Service Regulations then in force, it was necessary to obtain the approval of the Chief Secretary before an association of public officers could be formed. Under the present regulations in the Manual of Procedure it is not necessary to obtain approval for the formation of associations, except in the case of the Police, Agricultural Corps and Prisons Department, but recognition by the Secretary to the Treasury is required before an association can make representations to Government on behalf of the Service, class or category it claims to represent. At present, 154 associations of public officers of all ranks have been recognised by the Treasury.

MONETARY POLICY

The 1947-48 Budget increased direct taxation by the introduction of the profits tax, by the raising of the rates of estate duty, and the rates of income tax on companies. The company rates of income tax were increased from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. and in the case of non-resident companies, the duty in lieu of estate duty was increased from 3 per cent. to 6 per cent. With a view to giving relief to taxpayers of the lowest income group, the rate of tax payable by such persons was reduced in 1949-50 from 1½ per cent. to 1 per cent. of the assessable income.

In 1950-51 the unit rate of income tax was raised from 8½ per cent. to 9 per cent. and the slab rate applicable to companies was raised from 8 per cent. to 10 per cent. In 1951-52, while the unit rate of income tax remained unaltered, the slab rates on the higher ranges of income were raised so as to increase the incidence of taxation on the higher income groups of individuals. In Appendix 'H' the changes in income tax rates in respect of all classes of taxpayers during the six-year period are shown. The revenue collected from this source during the six-year period will be in the region of Rs. 555 million. The figures for 1951-52 and 1952-53 are still in estimate.

Reliefs: Various types of reliefs have been granted to individuals and institutions, some with a view to easing the burden of taxation, and others with a view to encouraging development on certain lines approved by the Government. Relief was provided to almost 30,000 taxpayers by raising the exemption limit from the payment of income tax from Rs. 2,400 to Rs. 4,800 in 1950-51. In 1950-51 an adopted child was made eligible for a child allowance which was denied before, and in 1951-52 all family allowances were considerably increased. The maximum allowance a person became entitled to was increased from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000, and such a person who was liable to pay tax at the highest rate gained a tax reduction of Rs. 1,520. In 1950 an agreement was arrived at with the U.K. Government with regard to double taxation relief. This eased the taxation which certain companies had to pay on the same income in

two different countries. It is hoped to arrive at a similar agreement with India.

NATIONAL FINANCES

Let us now turn for a moment to the problem of how these extensive services for the welfare of the people are to be financed. In Appendix 'J' I give the figures of revenue and expenditure for the full period of the Six-Year Plan. It is hoped that the revenue would be in the region of Rs. 4,487.4 million, the expenditure Rs. 4,407.4 million and the expenditure from Loan Funds Rs. 1,040.7 million. The figures for the last two years are still an estimate. I wish to invite your attention to my Budget speech for the year 1949-50 when I outlined how the Six-Year Plan would be financed. With regard to the revenue, I said that "though it is not possible to predict how world events will affect us, I do not think our revenue will fall below Rs. 525 million a year." Our revenue, on the contrary, has almost doubled. I further stated that "during the period of the Six-Year Plan, on revenue as well as loan account, our expenditure will be almost Rs. 4,000 million." I find that from current revenue alone our expenditure will be Rs. 4,407.4 million and that we will have a surplus of Rs. 80 million left over. After meeting all our expenditure from current revenue, we intend to spend Rs. 1,040.7 million from Loan Funds on capital development. For this purpose the Central Bank has already raised several loans under the National Development Loan Act of 1950 which authorised the raising of Rs. 400 million. Two loans of Rs. 90 million were floated in 1950 and fully subscribed in a few weeks' time. The public were again invited to subscribe to fresh loans in

1951 amounting to Rs. 60 million, which were also subscribed in a short period of time. The Central Bank further intends to invite subscriptions to two new loans: (a) A 4-6 year loan and (b) a 21-26 year loan.

NO NEW TAXATION

In conclusion Mr. Jayewardene said:

The Six-Year Plan limited in its scope by the short time available for formulating it, as well as the urgency of beginning to think and act with the idea of achieving defined objectives. For the first time we began to do so in this plan and during this period. I have explained what those objectives were, how far they have been attained, and what yet remains to be achieved. With the experience we have gained we can now step out with confidence and seek a quicker and more comprehensive development of our wealth. This development must be the guide to the improvement of our social services; it must be conditioned by the state of our monetary resources; such as income tax, import duties, etc. I am also providing in Appendix 'O' an analysis of expenditure for the new year services and the like. In Appendix 'P' the percentage distribution of expenditure under these heads from both current revenue and from loan funds is given.

An examination of these figures will show that the expenditure exceeds the revenue by Rs. 35 million. This deficit has to be met either by additional taxation or from unappropriated surpluses. I propose to find the money this year from our

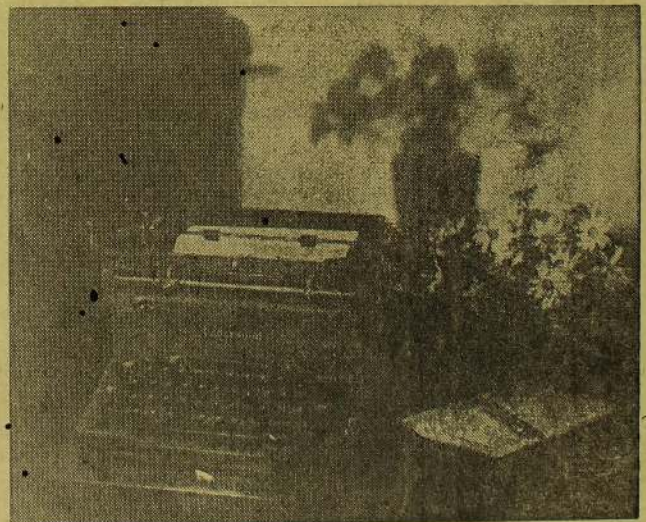
(Continued on page 4)

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NO ADDITIONAL TAXATION—BUDGET AT A GLANCE

(Continued from page 3)

unappropriated surpluses without having recourse to any taxation, direct or indirect.

THE BUDGET AT A GLANCE

THE Draft Budget estimates for the financial year 1952-53 presented in the House of Representatives on the 9th instant by the Finance Minister provides for an expenditure of Rs. 939,529,479, while the total revenue estimated is Rs. 904,238,865. There is, therefore, a gap of Rs. 35,290,614 to be bridged.

PREVIOUS BUDGETS

The following table shows the receipts and expenditure for the five previous financial years:—

Financial year	Receipts Rs. million	Expenditure Rs. million
1947-48	600.5	622.0
1948-49	639.9	547.9
1949-50	691.4	563.2
1950-51	890.1	655.1
1951-52	984.4	982.4

WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM

The revenue estimated for 1952-53 is derived from the Customs, Income Tax, Railway and Electrical Departments, Post and Telecommunications, Excise and Salt, Port and Harbour Dues, Land Revenue, Reimbursements and interest, Licences, and Internal revenue. The main heads of revenue are Customs esti-

mated to yield Rs. 427,875,000 and Income Tax Rs. 249,883,650. Revenue from Postal and Telecommunication Services is estimated at Rs. 26,250,000. The income from the Railway is estimated at Rs. 72,000,000 and the yield from the Electricity Services Rs. 14,000,000. Other fairly large items are Reimbursements and interest, Rs. 10,656,075 and Miscellaneous Services, Rs. 14,770,305.

WHERE THE MONEY WILL GO

The largest item of expenditure is on the Ministry of Agriculture and Food which amounts to Rs. 199,439,991, and next comes Transport and Works with estimates totalling Rs. 172,474,296. Next in the order of expenditure comes the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health with estimates of Rs. 119,180,862 and Rs. 89,733,040 respectively.

The other ten Ministries appropriate the following amounts:—

Ministry	Rs.
Defence and External Affairs	43,981,505
Finance	112,166,537
Justice	9,486,518
Home Affairs and Rural Development	36,611,000
Lands and Land Development	44,719,678
Local Government	34,474,175
Labour and Social Services	18,569,241
Commerce and Trade	1,584,997
Industries, Industrial Research and Fisheries	6,746,303

Posts and Information 44,752,507

The Estimates provide a sum of Rs. 5,608,820 for the Governor-General, Prime Minister, Supreme Court, Senate and House of Representatives.

Under Loan Fund Expenditure a sum of Rs. 368,954,808 has to be incurred for the various Ministries giving a total of Rs. 1,308,484,287.

BRIDGING THE GAP

"An examination of the figures," said the Minister of Finance in his

Budget Speech, "will show that the expenditure exceeds the revenue by Rs. 35 million. This deficit has to be met either by additional taxation or from unappropriated surpluses. I propose to find the money this year from the unappropriated surpluses without having recourse to any taxation direct or indirect. It appears that the country is starting this financial year with an unappropriated surplus balance.

The unappropriated balance in the Consolidated Fund on 30th September, 1951, was Rs. 168,151,581. The new financial year, therefore, begins with an unappropriated surplus of Rs. 171 million in the Consolidated Fund.

JURGEN

TENANTS' UNAWARE OF RENT INCREASES

The Editor,
U.N.P.
Sir,

From inquiries made with regard to Rent Increases over revised Assessment, I find that hundreds of Tenants had not been informed of any likely increases by their respective Land-owners. It was the then Mayor, Mr. Ratnam who first turned down the proposed increase of Rents.

In my deputation to the Mayor in this connection on July 31st, 1950—while expressing appreciation over the timely action taken by him, I pointed out that the Poor Tenants were unable to stand the strain of fresh increases. Cost of living had gone up to enormous proportions and the majority of the Tenants found it difficult to pay even the present Rents

In my communication (Vide "Daily News" April 19th, 1951) I made it clear that the Municipal Office could be strengthened by a small additional staff at minimum expense to cope with any extra work. Government is financially strong enough to incur the liability of additional expenses over the working of a Department which will put down corruption.

Therefore, the cost of the proposed "big staff" of the present Mayor could be reduced to a minimum.—Yours truly,

A. Reginald Karunartna Sr.,

The Administrative Honorary Secretary, Tenants' Association of Ceylon.

Wellawatta,
June 13, 1952.

VOX POPULI VOX DEI

IN these days of high election tension and the inevitable political delirium, the question is often asked in many quarters why one particular Party should hold power and why one particular individual should hold the reins of prime ministerial office. The simplest answer to this pertinent question is aptly expressed in the old Latin tag—"Vox populi vox Dei." "The voice of the people is the voice of God"

Just as flies breed in dirty places and mosquitoes thrive in stagnant water, so does genius hatch her offspring in strange places and humble, obscure homes have often been the birthplace of great emancipators.

There was once a small farm at St. Ives, England, and the farmer lived a secluded and unsensational life. But the affairs of the nation were becoming more and more confused and threatening. Monarchical power had despoiled people's liberties, and tyranny and oppression had become rampant throughout the country. And at that chaotic stage, from the small farm emerged Oliver Cromwell, the ordained of God, to emancipate his country. How did Cromwell emancipate England?

As a result of the autocracy of the Stuart Kings there was Civil War and Revolution in England from 1642-49. In the year 1649 Charles I of England was executed by the decree of the Parliament, and, for the first time England was proclaimed a Republic or Commonwealth. A military dictatorship is often the sequel to a revolution. From 1653-58 Cromwell held the title of "Lord Protector." As Emperor Charlemagne had done in Europe in the Middle Ages, Cromwell gave England a strong government, restored peace and order in the country and set the machinery

of the government in smooth working order.

There was a small, obscure rectory at Epworth. The activities therein were simple practices of the quiet homes in many parts of England. At this time the social life of England was at a low ebb and England was fast becoming brutalized because its religious life was demoralized. The Church was lethargic and the devil was wide awake, and out of the humble rectory emerged John Wesley, the appointed champion of God, to purify, to enthuse, to vitalize and to sweeten the life of the people.

The two foregoing instances are sufficient to convince us that, at different places and at different ages, God has raised up men of humble birth to positions of leadership in their respective countries. If we hold fast to this view which is both reasonable and rational, we can arrive at no other saner conclusion than that our late Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, who hailed from his humble home at Botale and who, in fulness of time, moved from his Log Cabin of obscurity into the White House of worldwide popularity, was raised up by God to be the Robert Walpole of Ceylon. Now that the mantle of the late father has fallen on the shoulders of the worthy son, and now that the ugly head of venomous Marxism has been crushed, we can be absolutely certain that the intellectually virile young Premier of dynamic energy, in collaboration with his loyal colleagues, will lead our country not to chaos into which it would have inevitably fallen under the pernicious Leftist regime, but into an oasis of religious amity, economic stability and national solidarity. Vox populi vox Dei.

Austin T. Coorey.

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An Indian Rebukes Ceylon Indians

By A. S. Morrison

WHEN I wrote a series of articles during the elections on the Indian problem in Ceylon, no doubt, many Indians must have been under the impression that I was biased against them and that I had put the case against them unfairly. But only last week there came to Ceylon, on a brief visit, an Indian newspaper proprietor, Sir Srinivasa Sarma, who saw eye to eye with me on at least one aspect of the conduct of the Ceylon Indian Congress members of the last Parliament. Would even the Indian ex-members of Parliament dare to say that this Liberal Indian visitor was also biased against them?

At any rate this is what Sir Srinivasa Sarma told a "Daily News" reporter last week, commenting on the Ceylon Indian Congress:—

"It is sad to recall that in the last Parliament the Ceylon Indian Congress members were invariably voting with the Opposition, even on matters which did not concern their interests or Tamil interests.

"A thing like this is not likely to inspire confidence regarding the bona fides of the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders in their claim that they are part and parcel of Ceylon and wedded to the Island's stable and orderly system of administration."

Compare this with what I stated in my article in the U.N.P. Journal of May 30: "But the Indian representatives in the last Parliament, both by their demeanour and their speeches, waged a 'cold war' against the Ceylonese ruling party even before the Indian Citizenship Bill was introduced and maintained a covert agreement with the Marxist members of Parliament."

Nothing is more conducive to a liberal settlement of the Indian problem in Ceylon than the extremely fair-minded attitude towards this problem displayed by this Indian Press magnate. It is the absolute reverse of the temper exhibited by the petty-minded Indian politicians in Ceylon, who have all along acted in a narrow communal spirit and with scant respect for the point of view of those who genuinely regard this country as their permanent home.

And now that the Prime Minister has begun to devote his efforts towards a final and definitive settlement of the Indian question, it is to be hoped that some machinery will be devised to see that the Indian labourer citizens of this country are represented in Parliament by men or women who are true representatives of the Indian working classes. No one can contend that the Azizs and Thondamans represent the Indian worker. For the Indian labourer to continue to be represented by this type of Member of Parliament would be a travesty of democracy, since the kind of representatives they have had in recent past has done grave injury to the interests of the Indian labourer by waging war against the true citizens of Ceylon. It is high time, therefore, that steps were taken to educate the Indian worker politically so that he may never again be misled and misrepresented by the Azizs and the Thondamans, who have proved that they have no genuine love for the Indian worker, who actually is merely a tool in their hands.

I would suggest, therefore, that the U.N.P. start an organisation for the political education of the estate labourers and that these labourers should be encouraged to send as their representatives to Parliament men or women who come into intimate contact with them in their daily lives. Indian schoolmasters and Catechists as well as estate dispensers should be given every facility to form U.N.P. branches on estates and to undertake the political education of the estate worker. Similarly other truly democratic parties should not be debarred from having their own political branches amongst estate workers. In this way the present deadly and poisonous grip which the C.I.C. has secured on the docile and misguided estate worker could be loosened to the benefit of the estate worker, whose

real interests have been sadly neglected in the past few years by virtue of their being misrepresented in Parliament.

Besides, another advantage will accrue from the fact of purely Ceylonese political organisations undertaking the political education of the future Indian citizens of Ceylon. That is to say, the future Indian citizen can thereby be made to feel that the Ceylonese people wish to treat them as one of themselves. Thus, a spirit of good fellowship would be engendered and the Indian citizen would find it much easier to identify himself with the national interest.

On the other hand, at present the Indian worker in Ceylon, even where he is entitled to citizenship, is being brought up by the C.I.C. to regard his Ceylonese brothers and sisters as enemies and a pestiferous communal spirit is being fostered amongst them, when as a matter of fact, the Sinhalese villagers around the estates have nothing but the friendliest feelings for the estate labourer.

Since there is now every prospect of a large number of Indian workers becoming citizens of this country it is the duty of the Government to see that these men and women become genuine citizens of Ceylon and that a dangerous communal spirit such as the C.I.C. is doing its best to foster is not allowed to develop. To this end efforts should also be made by cultural organisations to provide proper cultural outlets for the Indian worker. Perhaps, Village Committees can do a great deal in this respect by encouraging Indian labourers to attend village clubs and to patronise libraries specially provided for them. It will also be imperative to organise adult education centres for groups of estates. In every way, therefore, the Indian citizen of Ceylon should be made to feel that he or she is part and parcel of the national life of this country.

Meanwhile, Sir Srinivasa Sarma deserves the thanks of the country for the great understanding he has shown of the difficulties the Ceylonese people are faced with in arriving at a solution of the Indian problem which will be fair both to Indians and Ceylonese. By the wise and friendly words he has uttered he has done more to facilitate a fair solution than all the melodramatic threats of the tragical C.I.C. leaders. It is fortunate that he met the Prime Minister and discussed this question with him. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who has a wise head on young shoulders, can be trusted to be extremely fair to all Indians who genuinely regard Ceylon as their permanent home while, at the same time, not betraying the national interests of the various communities who have no other country but Ceylon to call their home.

In this onerous task he will have the goodwill not only of every patriotic Ceylonese, but also of all those in India who are mindful of their own prolonged fight for freedom and who respect the right of a small country to safeguard its own freedom.

In fact, a satisfactory solution of this thorny problem will cause more joy in Ceylon than in India, because every Ceylonese, irrespective of political party, looks forward to the inauguration of an era of perfect friendship between India and Cey-

(Continued on page 7)

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THE NEW BUDGET

The taxpayer will now heave a sigh of profound relief that there would be no fresh taxation either direct or indirect in the new financial year. The announcement made by the Finance Minister in presenting the new budget, will be warmly welcomed by planting and commercial circles. Business men must indeed be gratified and satisfied that the Minister has "defeated the anticipated deficit without resort to further taxation." Of course, profiteers, black marketeers and racketeers must be sorely disappointed, as indications during the past weeks had been in the direction of additional levies as export values have been falling so steeply in recent times. The Finance Minister is to be congratulated on his courageous decision to announce, in the face of the fact that the proposed expenditure exceeds the estimated revenue by Rs. 35 million—a deficit which has to be met either by additional taxation or from unappropriated surpluses—that he proposes to find the money this year from the surpluses "without having recourse to any taxation direct or indirect."

In a sober, closely reasoned and statesmanlike speech, the Minister gave an account of the stewardship of the U.N.P. Government since the inception of the Six-Year Plan in 1947, a record of achievements during a period of learning the art of governing one's country, one of the significant features of the Six-Year Plan. During this period began the endea-

vous to change "an economy which had grown haphazardly, whose resources were only partially developed and enjoyed by a few, into one whose wealth was fully utilized for the welfare of the many." Every right-thinking person will agree that the record of achievement is satisfactory and impressive, especially in view of the unsettled political conditions under which it has been accomplished. With the experience thus gained they could now step out with confidence and proceed to a more comprehensive development of the wealth of the country. Hereafter the aim of the budgetary policy which had been merely a "balancing of Government revenue and expenditure," will be "to control the entire shape and form of national economic activity."

According to the Six-Year Plan the overall development of the country and the achievement of the specified objects will see completion at the end of the new financial year in September, 1953. Arrangements have been made for continuing thereafter the planned development of the country. This aim was indicated by the Minister in his speech and gave a clue to his policy. The report of the Economic Mission sent out by the World Bank which visited Ceylon to study her resources and suggest plans is awaited for study and action.

The next plan in progressive development will be based on that report when financial provision for its implementation will be made, most probably in the Budget for the year 1953-54. The new development plans for Ceylon, as announced, will begin as the Six-Year Plan closes, so that the people of Ceylon may progress towards economic freedom without interruption. This is the ray of hope in the new budget, when Ceylon will "witness the close of an era—the era of freedom and its immediate aftermath."

**Second Successful Season
of "Vessantara"**

THE second season of "Vessantara" which concluded on Sunday attracted larger crowds to the Tower Hall than the opening season. The modern presentation of this religious theme has had such a powerful appeal to the people that they thirst for more and it is understood that a third season will be announced. The Nrtya Kala Mandalaya, the association responsible for the revival of Sinhalese drama, is to be congratulated on the production, while the producer, Mr. J. D. A. Perera, who has re-edited the original play in such manner as to grip the imagination of the audience, deserves the greatest credit. It is indeed the good fortune of all lovers of Sinhalese drama to have had the opportunity of being entertained and edified by witnessing the production, in the

grand manner of one of the outstanding plays of the entire repertoire left behind by Ceylon's greatest dramatist, Mr. John de Silva.

There is ample evidence of distinct improvement in the scenic arrangements, the acting and presentation. The main theme, serious as it is, has been maintained, undisturbed by modern innovations. However, there is an element of fun and mirth-provoking incident, which is necessary to relieve the tedium of a play based on a serious subject. For instance, the scene depicting the leave-taking of Vessantara after his Royal Sire's order of banishment from the kingdom, which is so moving and sad, is followed by a scene of village girls at a well in merry mood. Such diversions add piquancy to the production. It is hoped that the third season would soon follow to satisfy the insistent demand of the people.

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AMERICA AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

By Quintus Delilkhan

AMERICA'S Independence Day reminds us of the very pre-eminent part that this great democracy plays in the world's affairs today. In the promotion of a world-wide confederacy for the preservation of the true substance and ideals of democratic liberty, the most sustaining and stupendous part has been played by the American people. It is true that they have gigantic resources to draw upon as compared with other countries, but it must be remembered that if there had been a lack of vision or generosity of soul in the American people at some critical points in the world's recent history, the frontiers of the democratic world would have shrivelled, curled up and shrunk back like paper in a fiercely destroying flame.

This does not mean that other nations have not, according to the scope and measure of their opportunity, done their duty at time heroically and mostly well. But what must be justly taken into account, with a quickened generosity of worldwide acknowledgment, is that all the rich resources built up by an energetic and enterprising people, have been freely and unstintedly placed at the disposal of other nations when such large giving was necessary to preserve the liberties of all. A narrow conception of her obligation in any one of the crises through which we have passed in recent history would have changed the concept of world events for the worse, and made life intolerable for many nations which now enjoy freedom which makes life pleasant and worthwhile to millions who else would have lived under dread and paralysing tyrannies.

I have often thought during the dark days of the war, what would have been England's and the world's position, if America had continued to remain a colonial possession even under so mild and in many ways, so just an imperialism as Britain has represented in history. It is evident that even under the most benevolent of imperialisms, the energies of the American people would not have been released to build a formidable and endlessly resourceful economic system equal to the demands made upon it to sustain what was more or less the staggering amplitude of real global warfare.

Surely the Americans themselves, of all peoples in the world, are accordingly the one nation most fitted to realise the tremendous and far-reaching value of liberty in creating the stability and development of other nations. Their own history would constitute a powerful and convincing protest against any untoward imperialist impulse. When England has so obviously relinquished practically the last vestiges of imperialism and set so great an example to the world, it is sheer ill-will and malice to imagine that America, with her splendid record of service to democratic freedom,

would assume the role of an imperialist power.

Much of the artificial prejudice against America is due to skilful and unscrupulous propaganda on the part of those whose interest it is to see that democratic countries do not stand together through a program of mutual aid and mutual confidence. It is necessary for America to keep the democratic world together but it is even more necessary for the democratic nations to stand by America. The only threat to the democratic world comes not from America but from Russia which has become the most unashamed and implacable imperialism, as well as the most violent and repressive the world has ever known.

There can be no doubt that the vast majority of people in the democratic world cannot be misled by such fantastic propaganda which is meant to undermine our confidence in America and create an interest in Russia whose aim is to create an undivided communistic world of the ruins of democracy. Apple after apple of discord is thrown deliberately into the democratic camp by Russia and her supporters, until the orchards of discord must be sadly depleted for fresh stock of this unforbidden fruit even though it springs so plentifully on the spiteful and mischievous Russian soil.

There can be no doubt however that in America the whole democratic world finds its best friend. This does not mean that there would be no cause for some kind of occasional friction or brief misunderstandings or temporary protest. Such situations cannot be wholly avoided in the continued relations between any two peoples or groups of peoples. Sometimes the fault is on one side and sometimes on the other. But there is not the least ground for any democratic country to fear America. It is only in respect of Russia that the democratic nations have legitimate grounds for an anxious and unrelaxing vigilance towards her intentions and designs. The more powerful Russia grows as a military power, the greater is our danger. The more powerful America grows militarily the greater is our own democratic security. It is inevitable that revolutionary propaganda should seek to create cleavages between the countries of the democratic world and the American people. To weaken the American position anywhere would be a great gain to Russia.

It would be good for all to know how much Russia has contributed to any benevolent purpose in the democratic countries, and how much America has contributed for similar ends. Russia sends money and aids other countries only to undermine democratic governments and create revolutionary governments. She does not help any humanitarian cause. A famine in India would find Russia willing to exploit this situation by an indictment against capitalism. The food would be sent by America and Russia would endeavour, through her revolutionary

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An Indian Rebukes Ceylon Indians

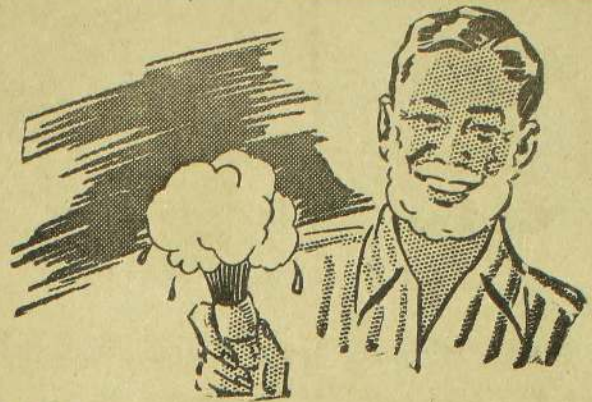
(Continued from page 5)

ion, since for better or for worse, the fortunes of these two countries are inextricably linked and for them to prolong an unnecessary quarrel must do harm to the interests of both peoples.

In this connection, I cannot help but repeat a proposal I made in an earlier article, namely, the need for the whole of South and South-East Asia led by India and Pakistan, to form a Commonwealth within the larger Commonwealth to which they all now belong. Such a family of nations in this part of Asia will act as a great stabilising force not only in Asia, but also in the whole world. It will then be easier for the West to assist such a group of nations than at present, when the economic policies of the various countries in

this region lack the kind of integration which can make the best use of the assistance the West can give. Besides, such an organisation of nations in this part of the world will be in a better position to stave off the predatory designs of the great Communist States to the north of them and to have a common policy for defence against aggression. By the creation of such a commonwealth the whole cause of peace will be immeasurably strengthened and the Western nations persuaded to reduce their vast armaments bill and to spend more on schemes for the development of the resources of South and South-East Asia.

To make such a commonwealth a success a great leader is wanted, and such a leader is already available in the person of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru of India.



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CAPITALISM TODAY

By Eardley Gunasekera

THE economic condition of a country very often controls its political destiny. If the economic condition is bad then the welfare of the country and its progress is impeded. It is only then that we are confronted with the fanciful ideas of armchair critics as our present-day Marxists in an attempt to better these conditions. The Marxist strategy is such that it makes use of social and economic defects to implement personal desires. Expounding liberal fallacies with the machinery of exploitation is a favourite pastime of the Marxist. If economic conditions are bettered and social injustice eradicated Marxism is sure to die. Capitalism to the Marxist is anathema for in his viewpoint it is the most vulnerable point in the present economic regime. Capitalism is that economic regime in which men co-operate in economic production. This is done in two ways. Some prefer to do it by the employment of capital while others resort to the use of labour.

Capitalism today has been subject to vehement criticism because on superficial analysis nothing but vice is noticeable. However, capitalism in itself is not deplorable but like all human institutions it is bound to deteriorate. It can give rise to many abuses specially when there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a clique. Capitalism can also give rise to another very unpardonable abuse in the oppression of labourers. The labourer by virtue of the humble and meek position he occupies in life has to curb his elemental longings. This curb becomes more imperative as a result of the colossal riches accumulated by unscrupulous capitalists. Money, these days seem to have a magical effect. In common parlance the word Capitalism frequently connotes the abuses that accompany a system of uncontrolled private ownership. Private ownership must always be controlled without which its growth would terminate in economic and social disaster.

The problem whether the Capitalist system is the only economic system consonant with the right of public ownership needs elucidation. This argument can be refuted for in bygone days the labourer owned for himself the means of production, that is the material he worked on and the tools used for this working. But in this modern era the peasant-farmer class when it owns land is independent of invested capital, with the dawn of the Industrial Revolution and the birth of a galaxy of mechanical inventions the industrial labourer generally depended on invested capital. The chief evil, therefore, fostered by modern capitalism is the inequitable distribution of wealth resulting in an economic dictatorship. In many cases the few in whose hands wealth is concentrated, are mere managers of funds that have been invested. In spite of this they dominate the allotment of credit thereby executing the coup-de-grace to efficient production.

The accumulation of economic power in the hands of a few is attributed to competition resulting ultimately in the survival of the fittest. In the greed for wealth a vicious circle is set up when we encounter not healthy rivalry but cut-throat competition when one tries to get rid of the other. The position of the small capitalist is therefore threatened by virtue of the speculative risk the big capitalist is willing to take and the financial resources at his disposal. The consequence of the excessive accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few is never ending hatred, suspicion, strife and jealousy among the various classes but also in the economic and international spheres. This is more because the powerful few, animated by an insatiable greed and ambition and consuming all the resources of free competition, struggle by fair means or foul to be done with all their competitors and thus appropriate for themselves all economic power.

This unjust accumulation of economic power gives rise to strife in the national sphere because the powerful few attempt to secure control of the State ultimately making the power and authority of the State a secondary matter, while their own passion and zeal are given priority. This makes them complete and indisputable masters within the State ending in capitalist dictatorship. Having once achieved this mastery within the State they extend it to the international sphere in order that their own interests may be furthered even to the detriment of other nations. International political controversies are not adjudicated on their merits but to satisfy the interests and desires of a small band of wealthy people. We cannot expect them to be more considerate in the international sphere because what they could have meted out ruthlessly to their own nation is an adequate indication as to what will happen to foreigners. The unscrupulous capitalist pays no heed to the welfare of others because his primary motive is to embellish his own pockets at all costs. Such a capitalist obviously cannot pay attention to welfare and service because it is through the impoverishment and deprivation of others that he benefits. If, however, he decides to recognise these matters then it is done at the expense of his own pocket which incidentally the unscrupulous capitalist would never consent to do.

Capitalism cannot be solely condemned if it simply stands for a system where capital and labour co-operate for it is only in such a condition that we could have cheap production meaning cheaper goods and hence less money. This type of system does not transgress on the natural law but all the defects and evils that have resulted from the modern capitalistic regime are deplorable. The right of private property is founded on the natural law but it does not necessarily mean that the capitalistic method is the only authentic method of production. But it must be remembered that in the present economic system where capital and labour are provided by different parties the one needs the help and co-operation of the other. The subjugation of the worker by the employer is a common thing today. The worker feels insecure in the grip of the capitalist who is at perfect liberty to dispense with his services at a moment's notice and without any compensation. This type of capitalism is then to be deplored because instead of eradicating social ills and bettering the economy of a country it tends to be an impediment to smooth progress.

Any intelligent person will detest with ardour the innumerable defects in our present economic regime so that capitalism, if mismanaged, will be a source of annoyance and grave concern to many. If then we are to avoid the dangers of a mismanaged capitalistic regime the most sensible thing would be to abolish free competition. Since in practice this is just impossible, the principle of free competition must be kept within certain limits and be kept under the effective control of public authority.

America and the Democratic Nations

(Continued from page 7)

followers, to discredit the gift as just another insidious move of a designing American imperialism.

America has given innumerable and substantial pledges of her great interest in helping the democratic nations to establish a better economic order, and to secure peace, contentment and security in practical ways in many countries. It would be surprising if such service is not held in grateful remembrance by all those who desire the development of the democratic way of life, in a state of increasing fullness and vigour, throughout every country in the world in which freedom is valued as the best means of securing happiness and prosperity for the people.

National Importance of Fish Farming

By Bernard Isaacksz

IN India the people of Bengal, Madras and Bombay areas live mainly on rice and so do the people of Ceylon. Rice is rich in carbohydrates which is required for the building up of the working parts of the human body—namely, muscles—but when rice is analysed it is found to be poor in Protein, Fat, Mineral Salts, etc., which are highly essential for the healthy growth of man. Protein plays an important part in the human body. It is the energy giving substance which is the basis of body conditions. For the development of the bones mineral salts are found to be highly essential. Though all these factors are found in the body in order to function the various organs harmoniously a lubricant, namely Fat, is also essential. A balanced diet is, therefore, necessary for the healthy growth of man.

So, unless we, whose staple food is rice, supplement our food with some substance which add Protein, Fat and Salt, we would grow into a degenerate race.

There are so many things which are rich in Protein Fat and Salt—namely Cheese, Mustard-Seed, Soya Beans, Cadjunuts, Almond, Groundnut, Fish, Meat, etc. Therefore we being a rice-eating people we should take along with our rice some other things to make it a balanced diet. Among these Fish is found to be the cheapest and hence it can be chosen as the best supplement to the main food, namely, Rice.

It is this necessity to build up human life that in certain parts of India, Agriculture is made to marry Pisciculture. Thus pisciculture shows a direct influence on the national health.

Further it is accepted by scientific and medical circles that fish plays a

very important part in regulating and diminishing the degree of malarial infection. It is well known that mosquitoes are active carriers of the germs of such infectious diseases as malaria, filaria, yellow fever, etc. There is no better agent to destroy these mosquitoes than fish. Though the adult mosquito is winged and flies about in the air the eggs are always laid in water and fish eat up both the eggs and larvae as well as the adult female mosquito while resting on the surface of the water for depositing their eggs.

Here too fish help the man to fight against one of the most dangerous enemies of human health and this helps the healthy growth of the nation. In considering why pisciculture should be brought under Rural Reconstruction, let us remember that this industry has direct bearing on the national health and it goes without saying that it touches the life of the villages. With regard to malarial infection we find that it is the villages that suffer more. Moreover "an acre of water when properly farmed, is found to give a better return than an acre of land." A regular fish farm may be extensive and include separate nurseries with a few inches of water for eggs and hatchlings and baby fish under one inch, rearing ponds with a couple of feet of water for young fish above fry stage, adult growth tanks with deep water, suitable spawning chambers, hatcheries, fishermen-cum-watcher's quarters, craft and tackle store, etc. But, with a little care and still less outlay the domestic tank or village pond would easily yield a good crop of fish, while paddy-cum-fish culture would help to double the cultivator's income. Even the unsightly swamp and the waste low land can be utilised for profitable fish farming.

As in Malaya this fresh water fish industry should intimately be bound up with paddy cultivation as it provides a valuable source of revenue for the cultivator.

Why Mislead the Innocent Labourer?

ONE of the Leading Politicians as the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru's attitude on Ceylon Government's action and his sensible statement is most appreciable and it shows how India could lead in politics. Further the Premier does realise that the position of Indians would be still worse if the Government of India interferes with another's Government, though Ceylon is very closely connected to Mother India. But the attitude of the leaders of the Ceylon Indian Congress has brought dishonour to a great country as India. Pandit Nehru does realise what would be the position if seeds of distrust and anger are sown between Ceylon and India. If the distrust and anger are urged, most of the business men amongst the Indians would have to quit Ceylon, and this would happen if the leaders of the Ceylon Indian Congress still continue to dishonour the advice of the World's greatest Leader Pandit Nehru.

Unless the leaders of the Ceylon Indian Congress stop their satyagraha movement, Ceylon Government would not be able to observe peace and harmony in this lovable Island which had preserved her honour and dignity in the past. Let not Ceylon be acting in the similar manner as Burma and South Africa.

The public should not forget the action of the Ceylon Indian Congress by advising the unfortunate labourers in the estates not to apply for citizenship rights, and at last a few

months prior to the election these Indians submitted their applications. How is it possible for any lakhs within a few months?

When the question of the national flag came to the Parliament for discussion, the Members of the Indian Congress stood neutral, as they are not interested in the welfare of Ceylon, but why should they go to Jaffna to support the Federalists Party. Do they now realise that the people of Jaffna are not the type similar to Estate coolies? The leaders of the Indian Congress in Ceylon who are mostly estate owners should first distribute their estates to the poor according to their Marxist friends and then join the Marxist leaders.

I am quite certain that our Government under the leadership of the Hon'ble Mr. Dudley Senanayake our Premier would not hesitate to grant the Indians who applied for citizenship rights no sooner they have proved that they are eligible for such liberty. As far as I could understand our Government will soon grant citizenship rights to every Indian who applied if he or she had complied with the requirements according to the needs.

It is therefore I appeal to the Ceylon Indian Congress leader to obey their Premier's advice and to wait until our Government does grant every man the liberty of voting. Let them not mislead the Indian in the estates.

S. VAITILINGHAM,

Ceylon Tamil.

Colombo,

8th June, 1952.

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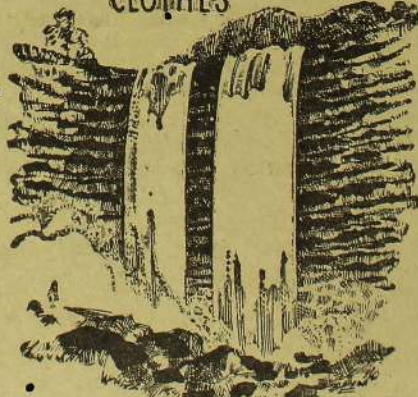
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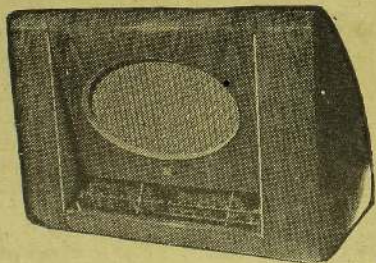
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AMERICAN FOREIGN
POLICY LINE
IN EISENHOWER SPEECH

DENVER (Colorado), JUNE 25
ON three occasions in the past two days, Dwight D. Eisenhower was forcefully declared as a presidential candidate that he believes United States foreign policy must be based on dynamic co-operation with other free nations in building mutual security.

In a letter to John Foster Dulles, Republican party foreign policy adviser, and in a Press conference here, Eisenhower restated on Tuesday the points he made in a nation-wide television and radio broadcast the day before, outlining his views on U.S. foreign policy.

In the Dulles letter, Eisenhower wrote:—

"We must face facts—which means that any thoughts of retiring within our own borders will certainly lead to disaster for the U.S.A.", and in the news conference, he declared that the foreign policy platform of the Republican party, whose presidential nomination he seeks, must contain the "simple truths" outlined in his speech or he "just cannot accept it."

In his speech, Eisenhower outlined the following four major points he believes must be foundation of U.S. policy:

(1) The United States must make sure that every nation understands "The sincerity of our devotion to peace" and there must be no proposals for preventive war, for "there is no such thing."

SUPPORT FOR ASIA AND PACIFIC

(2) There must be no wavering in U.S. support for the United Nations, an instrument of peace which must

be made "continually more vital and effective." There also must be firm support for the North Atlantic alliance, and for security agreements with other American countries. The peoples of Asia and the Pacific must be similarly supported.

(3) The United States must state its purposes in positive terms, rather than "terms of negative containment." "This means the launching of a concerted political program that will establish our peaceful intent; encourage our allies; and assure all the world that as long as any nation is enslaved we shall never be indebted to its people's lot."

(4) The United States must be strong, both spiritually and physically, looking forward to the day when, together with other free nations, the masters of the Kremlin can be presented with a "just and practical plan" for freeing the world from the burden of armaments.

Eisenhower gave his views on some practical applications of his basic contentions, including:

RETALIATION NOT ENOUGH

The U.S. must be able to trade freely, despite anything Russia may do, with the areas from which it draws raw materials vital to its existence.

Foreign policy programs must protect both the United States and the areas with which it is concerned from both kinds of Soviet aggression—military and political.

Exclusive reliance on mere power of retaliation against aggressors is not enough. The United States must be successful in its share of the program to develop collective security measures which will encourage other free nations to develop their own political, military and economic strength.—(U.S.I.S.).

THE WORLD TODAY

By Paul L. Ford

THE chief export of the Soviet Union to its satellite States is the forced labour system. This fact is being made clear to the entire world by the documented evidence and testimony given to the special United Nations Committee on Forced Labour despite the objection of the Soviet Union, which turned thumbs down on an impartial probe of slave labour conditions throughout the world.

The Committee which has secured the co-operation of thirty-five non-Communist countries, has repeatedly heard the cries of warning to the free world that the Kremlin already has placed twelve million men, women and children in slave camps.

But these twelve million are not enough to keep the wheels of the Soviet economy rolling, the committee has been told, so that millions more slave labourers must be found.

The blood to oil the Kremlin machinery will come from Eastern European satellites and the Communist regime in China, the United Nations learned.

MUST ABSORB 650,000 MORE WORKERS

Documents presented by the International League for the Rights of Man show that under the present Hungarian five-year plan, the Communist regime "will have to absorb 650,000 new workers by the end of 1954."

The League then points out that "since the official Communist Press has indicated that the constant manpower shortage has not been solved," one must assume that "employment of forced labour will be required....."

But Hungary is one of the five Eastern European puppet States

into which the Kremlin has introduced the forced labour system so essential to its industrialization drive.

The U.N. Committee was told that the Communist regimes in these puppet states already have sentenced a million persons to work in their "hell camps," and have sent another million men, women and children to work as slave labourers in the Soviet Union.

Viewing the forced labour needs for Hungary as typical of the Communist regimes in Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, it is apparent that added hundreds of thousands of persons in each country must be placed at hard labour for the benefit of the Soviet Union.

SLAVE LABOUR GROWS IN CHINA

Matthew Woll, American labour leader who testified on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), reported that slave labour is not only growing in all the Eastern European Soviet puppet states, but also in China, where another million persons have been placed under the Kremlin's forced labour system.

Woll told the Committee that if China remains under Communist domination, the Kremlin ultimately will create "a slave labour army surpassing even the millions of Soviet concentration camp inmates."

He pointed out that the Communist combination of "totalitarianism and large-scale exploitation of slave labour" constitutes a threat to world peace.

Whereas it took some time for the Soviet Union to build up the forced labour system, he said, once set up it proved to be a very exportable commodity and the satellite puppets have shown themselves eager to copy the "accomplishments of the Russian dictatorship."—(U.S.I.S.).

CAN A BUDDHIST BE A COMMUNIST?

THE world today is divided into two categories of political thought. Democracy is the goal of those whose aim is the free way of life, where freedom of worship becomes an inevitable feature. The other category supports the Communist method of living, where religion as well as the State are expected to wither away in the final stages. It is therefore a relevant question to ask whether those who believe in a religion can while belonging to that faith, support the theory of Marxism which considers religion as an opium to the people.

I shall take the case of the Buddhist. The primary factors of the Buddhist faith are:—

- (a) The doctrine of rebirth;
- (b) Nirvana as the final goal of happiness;
- (c) Maithree or everlasting kindness to all beings.

A Communist is primarily a materialist, while a Buddhist is not. To a Buddhist material happiness is of little significance while the Communist aims at nothing but full material happiness. A Buddhist, therefore, cannot support the theory of Marxism unless he divests himself of his belief in the doctrine of rebirth and Karma.

Communism analyses the growth of man's civilization as a class struggle where one class from time immemorial has striven to exploit another to his advantage. Be it monarchy, feudalism, oligarchy or democracy, it is merely the process of exploitation of one class by another. This is the basic structure on which the theory of Communism is built.

A Buddhist on the contrary, believes in non-violence, or Maithree. According to Buddha himself "hatred cannot be overcome by hatred, violence cannot be overcome by violence." "Dhanapathiya bangawewa" used to be a very popular slogan of the Marxists. In fact it is a slogan they cannot ignore or hide from the public. It is a slogan very much in keeping with their theory. Destruction of the exploiting class by force is hostile to the doctrine of Buddhism which believes in nothing but Maithree or universal love. If a Buddhist supports the Communist method of achieving what he considers a Utopian State by open revolt, by the shedding of blood, he ceases to be a Buddhist. Com-

munism and Buddhism are poles apart in this respect. Hatred and destruction are a Communist's slogans, while Maithree is the keynote of Buddhism.

Materialism, on the other hand, is the pivot round which the theory of Communism turns. The Communist does not care about a life after death. He expects to achieve supreme bliss of a worldly life in this birth. His goal, therefore, is extremely superficial in contrast to the very deep conception of Nirvana which is the end of all suffering. To overcome suffering, a Buddhist must necessarily strive after Nirvana. It cannot be achieved by destruction, by war, by hatred. It can only be achieved by conquering self, your desire, your lust and your foolish notions.

It may be argued that the talk of a life after death is to avoid the issue at stake. But what the Buddhist believes in is that no one can achieve real happiness unless by the annihilation of lust, craving and foolishness. A man may acquire worldly riches, a life of luxury, supreme worldly bliss, but that is only the beginning of misery. The true Buddhist therefore cannot throw in his lot with that of a Communist. Their aims are different from each other, as Heaven is from Hell.

Marxism labours under the misconception that the establishment of a one-class society by the destruction of the existing capitalist class can guarantee the continuance of this one-class set-up. A Buddhist will argue that the continuation of such a society cannot be guaranteed unless such human instincts as hate, envy and lust are destroyed. A Communist society based on a one-class structure cannot last for ever. It will once again break up into classes, as these human failings are bound to get the better of a working class dictatorship. This is really the fallacy under which a Communist has to labour. A Buddhist cannot therefore remain loyal to his religion if he accepts the theory of Marxism.

It has to be conceded that a Buddhist and a Communist are both atheists. That does not make one theory compatible with the other. It can even be said that just as Marxism denounces the exploitation of one class by another, so does Buddhism decry the infliction of pain or suffering on one by another. In these respects there may be certain similarities, but Buddhism and Marxism are totally different ideologies.

Compulsory Voting at Elections

By Stephen de Silva

IN most countries of the world, many citizens who are entitled to vote do not take the trouble to exercise their votes at general elections. Thus the apathy of electors is often deplored and compulsory voting is sometimes advocated. Some countries have tried it.

The last general election held in Ceylon indicates that there is no necessity for voting to be made compulsory in Ceylon. When we compare the polling at the general election held in 1947 with that of 1952, we at once notice that the voters have been more enthusiastic and have taken a greater interest at the general election held in 1952 than at the election held in 1947. In 1947 the total number of votes polled amounted to 1,881,372 and the total number of voters was 3,052,814. In other words 61.6 per cent. of the voters came to the polls. The best polling was at Matugama where 77.5 per cent. cast their votes, and the worst at Bingiriya where it was 35.3 per cent. But the figures available for 1952, show that about 83 per cent. of the voters came to the polls during the last general election. In 1947 the worst polling was at Bingiriya where it was 35.3 per cent. but in 1952, polling was more than 40

per cent. at every constituency and at Bingiriya itself it was about 78 per cent.

If voting is compulsory many people will vote simply under compulsion to avoid punishment, and thus they would take no interest in the way they vote and their choice of candidate would be valueless. Then the truly representative character of the legislature would be affected. Besides there is another argument against compulsion in general. Compulsion should not be used to enforce an act which does not effect others. It may be morally right that every elector should vote, but to convert a moral obligation into a legal one is to make a grave mistake of confusing two spheres which must be kept apart if human freedom is not to be endangered.

As it is, when there is no compulsion the truly representative character of the legislature is not at all weakened, and the choice of candidates made by the voters is of high esteem. If the people are conscious of their moral obligations they will fully understand the value of being a citizen in a democratic state and they will never vote for the Marxist political parties which do not believe in constitutional and democratic methods, but aim at capturing the governing power to substitute totalitarianism for democracy.

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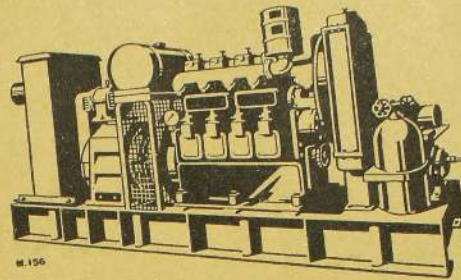
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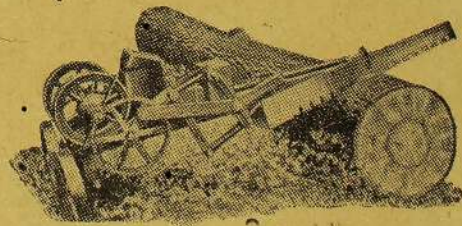
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