

u.n.p.



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Second Six-Year Plan From October, 1953

WORLD BANK MISSION'S REPORT ISSUED

THE report of the World Bank Mission is out. The second Six-Year Plan is to begin from October, 1953. The Mission estimates that the development programme needs a capital investment of Rs. 1,600 million, an amount which can be found. Ceylon's resources in land and money, although limited, are considered sufficient, if wisely managed, to meet the needs of the growing population, to improve the standards of living and to add permanent strength to the economy.

The team consisting of 12 persons representing eight nationalities came to Ceylon in September, 1951, and stayed ten weeks to study the economic potentialities of the country and to make recommendations for a development programme. The chief of the Mission was Sir Sydney Calne. The F.A.O. nominated the Mission's agricultural technician and shared the cost of his services; the W.H.O. nominated the public health specialist.

AGRICULTURAL SET-UP

The programme which begins after the completion of the present six-year plan, gives priority to the increase of agricultural production. Two methods of stepping up agriculture are as under:—

- (a) The first is the improvement of existing agricultural techniques. The mission recommends that Ceylon should exert every effort to improve yields of rice and other food crops through education, research publicity, demonstration and assistance to growers. Activities requiring special attention include methods of cultivation, transplanting of rice, use of fertilizer and more economical use of irrigation water.

- (b) The second method is the opening of new lands through irrigation, jungle clearance and colonization.

The report is the considered opinion of the team of experts on what has been done so far in the development of the country and it also contains suggestions on how further progress should be directed. Some of the conclusions arrived at are complimentary to the administration, while others are adversely critical of the endeavours made by Government.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY CRITICISED

The industrial policy has been criticised. The Report states that while diversified industrial growth, though not so urgent as increased agricultural production, is essential to Ceylon's development, for some time to come both the additional population and the major investment of capital can most profitably be applied to the development of new lands and the improvement of cultivation, but before many years as the empty lands fill up Ceylon will need other means of using new additions to population and available capital and especially uses in the manufacturing field.

The Report, continuing, states:—

Labour and capital are not enough for industrial development; there must be also raw materials, technical knowledge, skill and experi-

ence and enterprise. Especially complex is the growth necessary to make available the "external economies" of a diversified industry. Efforts must be started immediately to widen the base for industrial growth, even if the major developments are expected to arise much later.

The Mission's proposals for industry are inspired, therefore, by two principles. First, considering the narrow limits of Ceylon's available capital resources, the time is not yet ripe for really large investment in individual industrial projects unless they have unusually secure prospects of paying their way. Second, this is the time to lay the foundations of later development by close and systematic study of raw material possibilities, by promoting as wide a variety of small projects as possible, and by facilitating the acquisition of technical skills, managerial experience and a habit of industrial enterprise.

It should not be inferred from this that the country is entirely devoid of industry today. On the contrary, in a sense most of the big exports are industrial products made from agricultural crops. The total operating plant for these and lesser industries employs hundreds of thousands of workers and consumes annually an estimated 156,000,000 kilowatts—about two-thirds of all the electricity generated in the Island. There are 950 tea factories alone.

But until recently Ceylon's industries like her agriculture have been concentrated upon the three main export commodities, supplemented only by some minor production of consumer goods and handicrafts. Of these the three principal products are too specialised and the others too small to have built much in the way of broad industrial experience, general technical know-how or skilled labour for expansion into new fields. Meanwhile pre-occupied with tea, rubber and coconuts the country has done little or no research to disclose its possible industrial raw materials and not many important ones have been self-evident. Partly for these reasons and partly for others, private industrial capital has been shy.

GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS

Governmental efforts to fill this gap began with the creation of nearly a dozen small emergency factories to meet World War II shortages. Most of these later proved uneconomical and were closed perhaps belatedly in or about 1950-51. More recent attempts are on a larger scale and began with a Rs. 21,000,000 cement plant opened in August, 1950. Today in various stages of preparation are projected factories for textiles, coconut oil, sugar, steel, paper, fertilizer, caustic soda, D.D.T. concentrated ilmenite, ceramics and

some others at an investment which will aggregate at least Rs. 150,000,000. Unfortunately the Government has tried to do the whole job itself, building and operating factories under full public ownership and bureaucratic administrative procedure. The results have been so unsatisfactory as to call into being a special committee to investigate the huge financial losses of these and other governmental commercial undertakings. While the need for government assistance in industrial development remains, it has become clear that it should take the form of initiative and financial participation rather than actual operating control. A recent local proposal to set up publicly owned industrial corporations suggests, we fear, nothing more than continuation of the

present unsatisfactory system under a new name; for in its details this proposal fails to transfer effective control and operating authority to the corporations themselves and this is the real heart of the problem.

CENTRAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION*

We believe that the solution will be found in the creation of an autonomous Ceylon Development Corporation with capital participation of the government, the commercial banks and the investing public. This will call into play private as well as public resources and will permit joint financing of industrial projects under competent and profitable commercial management. Under

(Continued on page 2)

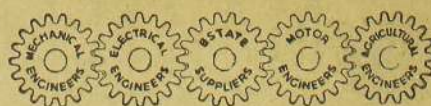
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THE BRANDY FOR A PERFECT INTRODUCTION
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Second Six-Year Plan from October, 1953

(Continued from page 1)

appropriate conditions it might also provide a suitable mechanism for industrial financing through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, should this become desirable later.

Typical of important industries which such an institution could help to establish is a flour mill. Although Ceylon is not a wheat growing area our studies show that considerable advantage would accrue from local milling and that private capital is prepared to participate in such an enterprise. The Mission recommends an initial flour mill to meet about a third of the island's flour requirements at a probable capital cost of Rs. 9,200,000.

Success of the projected fertiliser and paper factories is doubtful. Some of the others such as the caustic soda, D.D.T. and coconut oil projects call for relocation or revision in the light of more careful economic study.

STEEL MILL PREMATURE

We feel that the Government's Rs. 24,000,000 steel mill project is at least premature, for technical reasons quite apart from the Government's earlier unfortunate experience in this field. Not even the capital investment figure is firm as the technical preparation for the project has been superficial. In any event the sum can be better spent elsewhere at this time. We strongly recommend deferring this scheme, meanwhile calling for its review by an experienced commercial steel company.

Our conclusion is that for the present Ceylon's main industrial growth should be centred on the development of numerous small or medium-sized industries rather than a few large ones. These should be widely scattered and diversified to take advantage of labour and raw materials in various parts of the Island.

Government help in addition to participation in the Development Corporation should include technical

advice, tax incentives, marketing aids and similar measures to encourage the private sector to do its share. On the other hand the Industrial Products Act compelling purchase of local manufactures is harmful to sound development and should be repealed.

From its brief studies the Mission has been able to suggest a substantial number of potential new industries. Among them is the production of acetic acid, machine-made bottles, bottle caps, prepared animal feeds, fibre bags (other than coir), new types of furniture, meat by-products, rope-soled shoes, tanning, tooled leather goods, tobacco by-products, new vegetable oils, and various light manufactures in metal or wood including turned woodenware. Among existing industries we note especially canning, clay products, coir goods, cooking fats, tanned leather, rubber goods, salt, soft drinks and textiles which can be expanded. Mining improvements are indicated for graphite and new market studies should be made of thorium, monazite and flaked or ground mica. Other mineral developments may result from intensification of the geological survey for which we recommend an annual budget of at least Rs. 500,000 over its present funds. Expansion of the fishing industry would be desirable but can proceed slowly until there are more trained seamen and fishermen. Meanwhile ocean research and various marketing aids will be valuable.

Continued attention to cottage industries is recommended always keeping in mind their primary purpose of utilizing the part-time labour of under-employed agriculturists. Cottage industries cease to be cottage industries when their handwork methods are brought to centralised plants offering full-time employment; they then become nothing more than inefficient factories incurring industrial overhead, and in this form are uneconomical. Hence the Government is urged to resist such conversion if it hopes for success in this field.

"EAT LESS RICE" ADVISES FINANCE MINISTER

THAT people must get used to eating at least a quarter of a measure of rice less a week was advised by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance, in the course of an address inaugurating the Puttalam-Chilaw District Savings Week at Puttalam.

"The rice we got from Egypt cost us only 60 cents a measure last year. This year it costs us 93 cents a measure," he said, "and to subsidise foodstuffs as we have been doing in the past, it will cost us over Rs. 300 million. In other words the people are eating every day one million rupees of Government money."

IN ANCIENT CEYLON

The above recalls conditions in ancient Ceylon according to a contribution in the "Ceylon Economist," which bears reproduction. Says the writer: "We all believe that ancient Ceylon was the most powerful and the most prosperous, that it exported its surplus rice whereas the 'Twentieth Century Ceylon' imports two-thirds of its requirements. It is a good story to believe but the fact remains that the common man in ancient Ceylon did not have a full diet of rice. He ate more nutritious food, the produce of his highland cultivation. Whatever rice was cultivated was marketed because rice was the only money crop in ancient Ceylon. The army was paid in rice, the artisans who worked on the stupendous temples and gigantic irrigation works were paid in rice, taxes were collected in rice; in the market place goods changed hands with rice as the medium of exchange and imports were paid for in rice. Hence the legend that there was a surplus—there was a surplus not after feeding the common man on rice but after allowing for internal exchange."

(Continued on page 0)



Protest Over Proposal to Raise Rice Price

PITIGALA, Friday

THE talk today everywhere whether in the train, the bus, the tea room or anywhere is about the proposal to increase the price of rice issued under the rationing scheme. This proposal is vehemently opposed everywhere. With the economic conditions of the country deteriorating gradually as a result of the downward trend in the prices of rubber, coconut and other chief agricultural products of the country, the villagers are alarmed at the mere thought of the proposal.

Alutgamweediya Town Council is probably the first of its kind to join the countrywide protest over the proposal.

At its monthly meeting presided over by Mr. A. R. M. Mohamed, the Chairman, the following resolution moved by the Chairman himself and seconded by Mr. I. L. M. T. Mari-

kar, the Vice-Chairman was passed unanimously and it was further decided to forward a copy of the resolution to the Food Minister. "That this Council strongly protests over the proposal to increase the price of rice as this would bring untold hardship on all especially the poor classes." Moving the resolution Mr. Mohamed said that an increase in the price of rice would bring in untold hardship to the masses and the Government was not justified in putting the burden on the poor. Instead, the Government should endeavour to the last to refrain from increasing the price of rice. Mr. D. L. M. Jiffrey speaking in support of the resolution said that the present Government came into power recently through the vote of the poor, as such it was ungrateful on the part of the Government to betray the poor so soon after the elections.

HOUSING SCHEME FOR ALUTGAMWEEDIYA

PITIGALA, Friday

THE Central Government has made budgetary provision for a Housing Scheme costing about a lakh to Alutgamweediya. This Town Council, a rapidly improving town in the Kalutara District, is also to launch soon a Sium Clearance campaign.

As far as street lighting is concerned this Town Council has the distinction of being the first T.C. in the district to instal mercury lamps each costing about Rs. 250 on its streets while more senior local bodies in the neighbourhood such as the Alutgama T.C. and the Beruwala U.C. have installed ordinary cheap

quality lamps.

This Council anticipates the grant of a loan of Rs. 3½ lakhs by the Central Government to put up a Town Hall at Kurunduwatta where necessary land is to be acquired soon.

Among the other resolutions passed by this Council are the following requesting the Government to

(1) change the name of the present Hettitiwatta sub-Post Office situated in the heart of the town to "Sarandib;"

(2) provide the town with a drainage scheme;

(3) acquire barren lands in the area and allot them among the landless poor.

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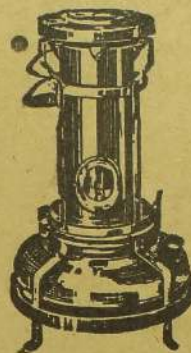
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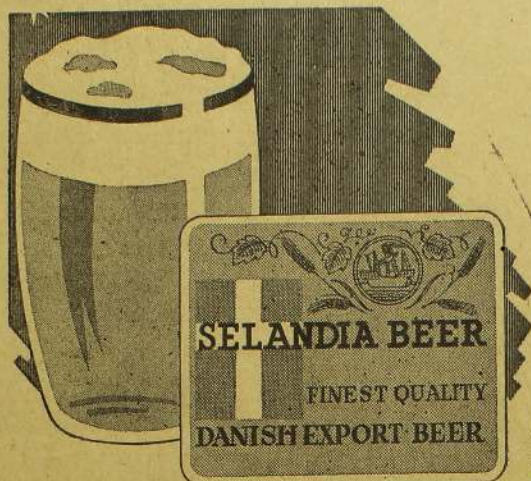
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MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETY, TALAWAKELLE

AT the inaugural meeting for the formation of the above society which was held in Talawakelle, presided over by Mr. Lionel Wickremasooriya, J.P. there was a large gathering present. The principal speaker was Mr. H. E. P. de Mel, M.P.

The following office-bearers were elected pro-tem:—

Chairman: Mr. Lionel Wickremasooriya, J.P.

Secretary: Mr. H. D. Soysa.

The following committee was elected to draft rules and regulations of the society:

Committee: Mr. H. E. P. de Mel, M.P., Mr. Lionel Wickremasooriya, J.P., Mr. H. D. Soysa, Mr. D. A. Ranasinghe, Mr. H. W. Perera, Mr. Q. Aponso, Mr. G. H. Mendis.

Mr. de Mel, M.P., addressing the gathering, said:—

In the development of a nation, nothing counts except an active spirit of self-help among the people. If the masses of a country wait till their regeneration is wrought entirely by the action of the Government, then even when help is given they will not get the full benefit of such assistance. A nation must prepare itself for its opportunities by the previous disposition of their character towards industriousness, severe labour and the habit of personal responsibility. We envy other nations their great industrial developments, but all this has not been achieved by extraordinary governmental assistance, but mainly by the active development of the principle of self-help. This is the most important lesson we have to learn in this country, and I beg of you not to forget it in all its implications. A nation which is not prepared to work to the utmost of its capacity will always be finding excuses for its failure in many directions, and will always look for more assistance rather than use the assistance which has already been given to it in the most useful manner. We must remember that any assistance given to a country by the Government is money given from the work of the people of the country who are producers of wealth. We have no right to use it unless it is made use of in the very best and the most advantageous manner. I hope you will build up a most honourable tradition of personal responsibility. This will work for your personal and national economic salvation, and there is no other way to success on a nation-wide scale.

Continuing, he said that when he spoke of the elements of personal responsibility, he had in mind some sayings which have been used by men of many ages and many climes. There is the English saying "God helps those who help themselves." Lord Buddha has said "Thamahata Pihita Themeya." He would also remind them of the colloquial saying "Atha Selev Kala Kata Selevy".

All these sayings indicate that men have shrewdly understood that the individual must act by the principle that his safest line of action was to bestir himself, and then let opportunity come his way and profit by it as he has already learnt how to look after himself. To the man unprepared to take his opportunity, it is of no use when it does come, and at this juncture of the country's affairs when freedom has been won.

If they looked closely into the matter they would realise that people depended far too much for help from our Government. The Government was composed of the people, for unless people did their duty the Government and the people would be separate units. It was only in the combination of interests, in a great common effort, in having the same objects in view, that the Government and the people can be regarded as one.

This can only be done by the true realisation of self-help, and by our thus laying the foundations well and truly of a great economic movement that will bring us all happiness, security and prosperity.

HYBRID MAIZE TO INCREASE FOOD OUTPUT

IN its worldwide effort to help nations increase their food output, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations undertakes many and varied programs. F.A.O.'s hybrid maize program, now in progress in countries of the Mediterranean area, shows promise of greatly increasing maize production in that area of the world.

Although maize has always been an important crop in Southern Europe, parts of North Africa and the Middle East, maize production in 1947 had not reached pre-war levels. In searching for ways to lift production, several European and American agricultural scientists working with F.A.O. decided to start large-scale testing of hybrid maize varieties as the key to enlarged production. They knew that hybrid varieties could vastly increase maize output. Hybrid lines in the United States, for example, have increased yields 20 per cent, since 1940 without expanding acreage.

The hybrid maize program has acquainted European and Middle East researchers with the range of hybrids available from North America and Europe, and has enabled participating governments to establish sound seed-purchasing policies. Now nations of Europe and the Middle East can look forward to increased maize output which will result in more food for their people. —(U.S.I.S.).



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A TESTING TIME FOR DEMOCRACY

By Quintus Delilkhan

THERE is no doubt that the situation in regard to rice is causing a considerable amount of speculation on the part of the public which will be affected by any action which is taken by the Government either to increase its price or to cut down the quantity which is now being issued. Ceylon is a country in which the need of rice has been fostered through the centuries, and people are no doubt very sensitive about this issue. But that is no reason why the Government should not take any line of action, which after the most careful and anxious consideration, it deems to be necessary. We do not know exactly what the Government proposes to do, but three or four lines of actions have been open to the Government, any one of which may be adopted, but some of which the Government will positively reject owing to their not being feasible. The public need not be alarmed at what is likely to take place. The Government which has given so much evidence that it is interested in the welfare of the public will not abandon a policy which has created its own popularity and strength. There need be no fear that the Government will wantonly throw away the popularity which it has earned by the merit and sense of its own valuable service to the public. We have a Government in which it is the duty of the people to have the most unshaken confidence. Every pledge has been given to the country through many years that the Government is deeply interested in the prosperity of the people of Ceylon.

It is inevitable that there should be crises in this country as well as in others. There is no reason why we should regard ourselves as completely immune from the effects of the variations in prosperity which other countries, with older and more dependable economies, have had to endure. We ought to be happy that during these many years the burdens which have fallen on the people of other countries most heavily have weighed very lightly on our own shoulders because the Government, with benevolence and foresight, has done all in its power to give the people of this country the maximum benefits which could have been conferred by those in power. In situations of this kind the Government has the right to ask the people to make some sacrifices. It

is necessary that the Government should act in such a manner that these sacrifices should not fall upon one particular section of the community but should be evenly distributed as far as possible.

This is not a situation which the Government could have prevented. It was possible for the people of this country to co-operate more satisfactorily than they have done in the matter of increasing food production. The people have, however, taken this matter rather lightly, as it is not unusual here for it to be expected that there is nothing which the Government could not do in spite of the people remaining unco-operative. The Government, it must be acknowledged, has made really gigantic efforts to stimulate production as far as possible. It has given every possible warning of the consequences of neglect of this important matter of food production, and it has also done its best to obtain supplies from abroad. It is not the fault of the Government that the world's food production situation has worsened, and that the prices demanded for food has gone up very considerably. There is no easy solution to this problem, and it is a duty, plain and clear, that the public should exercise some degree of patience whilst the Government is planning the best course of action that could be taken to meet the situation that has been developing internationally and which has made its repercussions felt here already. This is a situation in which the people should generously stand by the Government as the Government has generously stood by the people during the many years when it was buying dear and selling cheap to the public. Those who enjoy great benefits should not be unwilling to take things when any situation changes with some degree of sense and equanimity.

The suggestions made by the people who are in opposition to the Government and by revolutionary bodies cannot be regarded with anything but the utmost caution. There is a lot of fishing in troubled waters today. Those who are against the Government cannot but be thankful for world conditions which have made it necessary for the Government to warn the public that some line of action has to be taken which is necessary to meet a critical situation in which we have less to spend, and must therefore spend with the utmost care. Government must

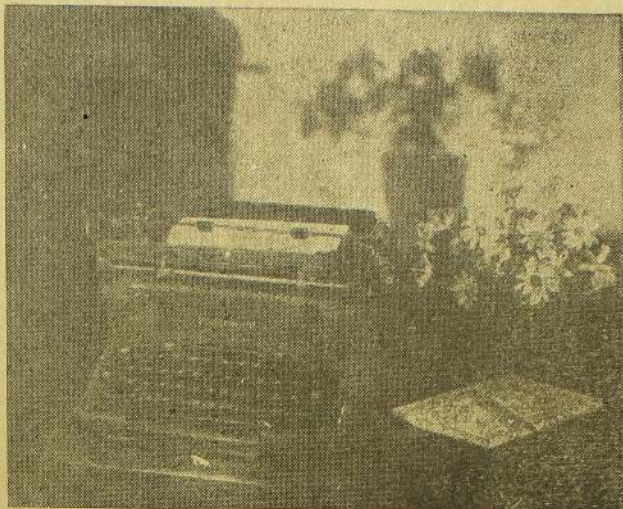
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Friday, September 12, 1952

WORLD BANK REPORT

The report of the World Bank Mission which has just been issued envisages the beginning of the second Six-Year Plan from October, 1953. Development of agriculture is placed first and the methods of stepping up production are given in detail. The Mission came to Ceylon on the invitation of the late Prime Minister who had requested the team of matured economists to give free and frank expression of their opinion on what has been attempted so far in the development of this country, and make suggestions without reservation on how further progress should be promoted.

The report is a most valuable document which embodies suggestions and criticisms for the consideration of the Government. Of course the Report will in due course be discussed in Parliament. The report has been carefully compiled after a ten weeks' study of the potentialities of the country; and recommendations have been made for a development programme, which demands careful scrutiny before final adoption and implementation.

The report which runs into two volumes of considerable size, indicates the comprehensive survey which has been made by the economists; some of the conclusions arrived at are complimentary to the administration while others are

adverse, which reveal the fact that they had faithfully carried out the wishes of the late Prime Minister and produced a document containing views both flattering and severe. As was stated by the Minister of Finance in presenting the Appropriation Bill (1952-53) the aid of this team of experts sent out by the World Bank was awaited eagerly before the second Six-Year Plan was taken in hand. "Fortified with their advice, it was hoped, Government could go forward in the not too distant future to secure life, liberty and happiness."

The Mission is of opinion that Ceylon's resources in land, materials and money, although limited, are sufficient, if wisely managed, to meet the needs of the growing population to improve the standard of living and to add permanent strength to the economy.

The Mission suggests that Ceylon's development cannot be accomplished by Government action alone and is of opinion that "every resource of private initiative and energy, both Ceylonese and foreign, is needed if the country is to mobilize its latent resources to discover new lines of production and to increase its total output position than its population. A real effort is needed to create an atmosphere conducive to genuine and fruitful between Government and private initiative in all its forms."

Therefore, the urgent need is certainly that all sections of the country should co-operate for the common welfare. The value of the recommendations contained on the Report depends on how far they would help in the development of the country.

Issue of Gold Permits

THE Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs tabled a statement showing the quantities of gold issued by the various branches of the Bank of Ceylon to individual craftsmen and manufacturing jewellers on permits issued by the Cottage Industries Department for the years 1950 to 1952.

THE STATEMENT

Banks	1950		1951		1952	
	Individual Craftsmen Oz.	Manufacturing Jewellers	Individual Craftsmen Oz.	Manufacturing Jewellers	Individual Craftsmen Oz.	Manufacturing Jewellers
Pettah (Colombo)	681		631	3,077	512	1,860
Kandy	446		335	1,249	270	955
Galle	1,042		605	783	620	1,002
Jaffna	1,642		2,677	1,503	2,390	1,389
Kurunegala	36		33	95	34	26
Panadura	325		176	120	192	88
Batticaloa	376		353	35	214	26
Trincomalee	—		234	76	38	68
Badulla	114		40½	158	34	234
Total quantity	4,632		5,084½	7,096	4,304	5,648
Total number of individual craftsmen	1,442		1,971	368	2,586	604

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THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN CEYLON

Lady Molamure Explains at Berne Conference

THE observations made by the Secretary-General in his report to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Berne with reference to the position of Indians in Ceylon evoked a clear, convincing and comprehensive statement from Lady Molamure, a delegate from Ceylon, which should help not only to dispel any idea of discriminatory treatment towards Indians in Ceylon but also show the sincerity of the Government of Ceylon to carry out its duty towards them completely as soon as it possibly can, in accordance with the laws that it has framed.

The quotation which prompted the immediate retort runs thus:—

"But an even more precious asset is the harmonious development of democratic institutions among the diverse peoples that inhabit the Island. All problems, it is true, have not yet been solved; 200,500 Indians had no part in the last General Election and the Government has undertaken to settle this delicate question."

"Whether he is trying to praise us for our progress in democracy or really to blame us for certain features in our political set-up I do not quite know," said Lady Molamure who added "whatever this may be the problem of the franchise for Indians in Ceylon is one in which all of us should take a dispassionate interest and any advice that we can give will certainly be valued by the Ceylon Government. Two hundred thousand Indians, he says, had no part in the last General Election. As is commonly accepted an "Indian is not a national of Ceylon. Yet it is not, therefore, to be inferred from the Secretary-General's statement that certain electoral rights given to all non-nationals in our country have been denied to 200,000 Indians. Our electoral principle is that the right of voting is given to Ceylon citizens only and no non-citizens, whether Indians or otherwise, have that right. To what then could the Secretary-General's remarks apply? Possibly he meant one of two things:—

- 200,000 Indians had no part in the last General Election while 200,000 Indians did have a part in the elections before that; or
- 200,000 Indians had no part in the last General Election, although they should have had the right.

"Both these statements can rightly find a place in a history of this issue; at the same time both of them, when taken out of the context of that history, can be very misleading.

"How the Indians came to Ceylon as indentured cheap labourers recruited by European planters during the time of British occupation, to serve as a foil to the local population was detailed. It was admitted that the hill country was opened up through Indian labour and the Island as a whole shared in that prosperity. But in return for this prosperity," declared Lady Molamure, "the country has had to make many sacrifices, the chief of which to my mind is the harm done to the well-being the expansion and improvement of the local population that had lived in the hill country for many centuries. The Indian problem, therefore, is not one problem, but two—how to be fair to the Indians on the one hand and on

the other now to be just to the Ceylonese who were dispossessed when under subjection and to re-settle them.

"These indentured Indian labourers had very little to do with the local population. Socially and economically contacts between Indians and Ceylonese were negligible. There was only one common bond between them, and that a political one. They were both subject to the sovereignty of the same foreign power, British, and this circumstance determined the changes that have taken place in the electoral rights of Indians in Ceylon. In 1923 the right to vote was given to Indians on the same basis as the Ceylonese on the ground that they were all British subjects.

By Omega

"It was under this same franchise that the General Election in September, 1947, was held. Two hundred thousand Indians figured in the voters' lists. Both Indians and Ceylonese were still British subjects. In February, 1948, however, Ceylon received her independence through an Order-in-Council.

"Naturally, along with independence," said Lady Molamure, "came the need to define Ceylon citizenship. A Ceylon Citizenship Act was passed in August, 1948. To provide for the special case of Indian and Pakistani residents a special Act was passed in August, 1949. The number of Indians amounted to no more than one-eighth of the entire population of the country, and experience has shown that their near political allegiance was not to the country in which they lived. In the Parliament that passed this Act there were six Indian members. Of these only one member spoke when the Bill was debated. He summarily rejected the offer of Ceylon citizenship and a boycott was thereafter organized and very few persons indeed applied for registration. The Act gave two years' time for applications."

When the closing date was at hand a strange phenomenon began to manifest itself. The faint trickle of applications that were observed in 1949 began suddenly to gather so much momentum that by the time the closing date was reached the aggregate number of applications shot up to over 200,000 enrolling about 500,000 persons. In the meantime, however the annual revision of Electoral Registers had taken their course and in the process, large numbers had to be deprived of the vote under the new electoral law which conferred voting rights on Ceylon citizens only. Gradually as a result of their own boycott, the number of Indians entitled to vote began to dwindle, until when the voting registers were revised in May 1951 the number of Indians enjoying the franchise reached the figure of only 8500.

The unexpected death of the Prime Minister early this year precipitated matters and a general election on the basis of the earlier register had to take place. The state of affairs referred to by the Secretary-General was due to circumstances beyond the control of the Ceylon Government—the sudden death of the Prime Minister and the resulting advance of the date of the General Election and of the neglect on the part of the Indians themselves to apply for citizenship with sufficient expedition. It was inaccurate, however, for the Secretary-General to say that the Ceylon Government has undertaken to settle the "delicate question." It is the legal responsibility of the Ceylon Government to see that the applications for citizenship are rapidly decided upon and at no time has it shirked this obligation.

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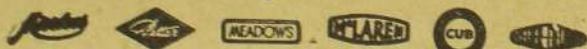
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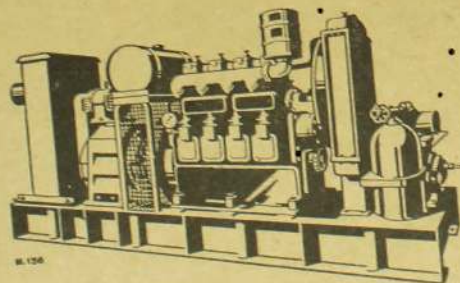
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The Government appointed some years ago a Special Committee to go into the question of the conditions of service of mercantile employees. In the State Council a number of motions on this subject were discussed and eventually the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce went into the matter and a Special Committee was appointed four years ago. The report was published but no action was taken on the recommendations contained in that report. Recently the subject was taken up by a Labour Member in Parliament who brought up the following motion:—

"That this House is of opinion that early steps should be taken to implement the decisions of the Government on the recommendations of the Special Committee which was appointed to inquire into and report on the conditions of the mercantile service."

SECURITY OF TENURE

These men have served for many years without security of tenure. A thorough investigation was made by the Special Committee who stated that there was no legislation in other parts of the world compelling

the employer to retain the services of a particular employee whom the employer wants to get rid of, that the man could be sent away on payment of three months' salary, that in certain cases a tribunal could award 6 months' or 3 months' salary. There must be security of tenure for the mercantile employee. If an employee is to be dismissed, or discontinued, he must be able to appeal to a tribunal which would judge whether the man has been victimized. There has been grave disappointment at the unexplainable delay in dealing with the matter of implementing in legislative form the recommendations of the report.

LEGISLATION READY

The Minister of Labour (Dr. Kaleel) explained that a deputation of mercantile employees who called on him, was assured that Government was taking action to implement some of the recommendations in the Report. All that has been urged by the mover on behalf of mercantile employees had already been urged not only by individuals but also by groups of individuals and associations representing various mercantile employees and a full report has been published as Sessional Paper 1 of 1951. That contains a full report of the investigations made and also the recommendations for legislation. These have been thoroughly discussed by Government and various other bodies concerned and legislation is now practically ready. Within a very short period the Bill will be presented to Parliament. Therefore, it was unfair to condemn the Government that no action was being taken in the matter.

"I do not want to go into every item in detail, for that will be an anticipation of the Bill that will be coming before this House except to say that it is a fair piece of legislation, taking into consideration both the point of view of the employee and the employer. One assurance I can give is that our recommendations are such that neither the employee nor the employer will have any grouse. They will both be satisfied."

"That will be the miracle of all miracles," remarked an Opposition Member.

"Yes," retorted Dr. Kaleel, "it will be a miracle because there will be co-operation between both parties. You will not have the employee looking greedily into the pockets of the employer, nor the employer trying to exploit the employee. Neither of these things will happen and they will get on very well."

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Attitude to the Rice Problem Must Change

PROBLEM No. 1 of the Nation. Rice, is also Problem No. 1 of 70 per cent. of the peoples of this world. Trouble spots directly involved in some way or other with rice are Malaya, Indo-China, Siam and Burma; and all the internal discontent in South-East Asia is related to rice. Indeed a solution to the rice problem could alter the complexion of the whole world situation and that for the better.

Root cause of political exploitation has been discontent over the obvious unfairness of the situation where the cultivator works his life away often for absentee landlords who eat his rice without sharing his labour or trials.

In 1865 when a rice shortage hit Ceylon temporarily there was no rationing, queues and black-market but high prices were followed by looting, violence on rice dealers and panic in Colombo. Ring-leaders of mobs were flogged publicly at the time the mobs looted.

The World Bank Mission was quite right about Ceylon when they placed high the need for priority in the increase of the production of rice. The Mission recommended that Ceylon should "exert every effort to improve yields of rice and other food crops through education, research, publicity, demonstration and assistance to growers." Adoption of such a recommendation would not only raise the standard of living but also prevent political exploitation.

Should the sole criterion of rice production always be an economically sound scheme? If that is so and rice production scheme not undertaken because they are economically unsound the attitude to the problem must certainly undergo a radical change. The problem should be placed on a world emergency footing very much like war was treated as a world emergency. What matters is that facilities for rice production should be made available at reasonable cost.

For practical purposes value of land in villages is not dependent so much on the assessment of land by officials but on the buying power of local inhabitants and others. This buying power cannot be increased unless poor people who in most cases are the only inhabitants of these areas are given profitable em-

ployment in their villages which can best be achieved by the encouragement of paddy cultivation. In other words the attitude towards rice production must pre-suppose that it should be undertaken before expecting the value of lands to enhance.

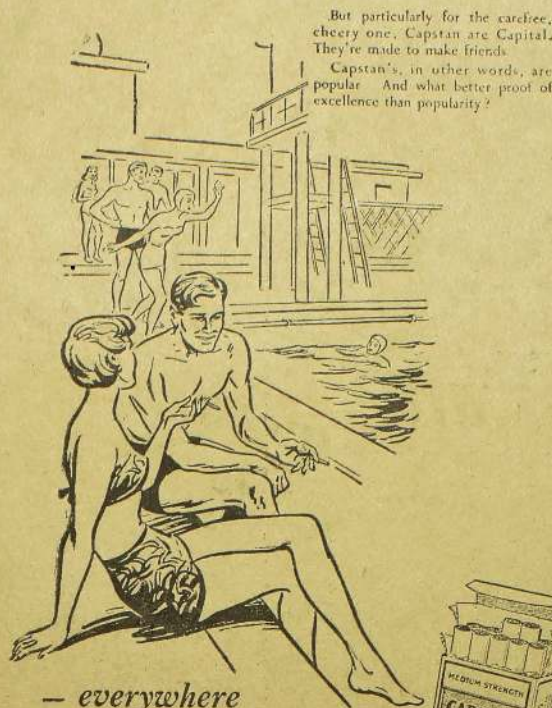
Supposing rice was not grown and fields allowed to run fallow because a rice production scheme was economically unsound. The villagers will either have to starve or migrate to some other villages. These poverty stricken and emaciated people will fall an easy prey to disease and in the end Government and Society will have to spend considerable sums of money on relief work to the distressed. Much older than Japan's festivals with which the first planting, harvest and cultivation of rice are celebrated are the social customs, religious observations and superstitions (like auspicious times) connected with the production of rice in Ceylon. Japanese cultivators use such fertilisers as potassium, nitrates, vegetable matter and even human waste.

Methods of production vary as do the varieties of rice dependent on the climatic conditions. In other words it should not mean that there is no merit in indigent technique when considering modern methods. In Bali the Japanese when they overran that country replaced the indigent methods with a more scientific one but the Japs were forced to admit the superiority of the Balinese methods and give up the experiment as a complete failure.

There is something essentially indigent in Ceylon methods and any drastic change in the technique might precipitate a complete failure. Much more attention could be paid to opening up new lands not with Gal Oya Schemes but irrigation schemes connected with jungle clearance and colonization supported by welfare movements, co-operative methods and organisations to cater for the medical needs of the villages on a more generous scale in centres of opening up new lands. In such eye-catching movements like ship-building and large industries for Ceylon is not something incongruous when there is so much to be done in the way of first things first by devoting attention to rice production, housing and health matters in Ceylon.

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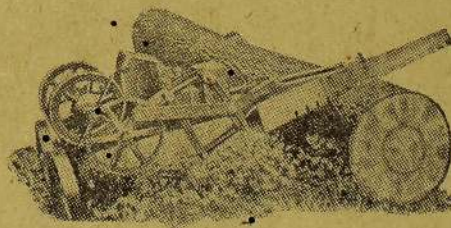


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Russia and World Government

By Eardley Gunasekere

THE present foreign policy of the United States is to consolidate her position and to maintain so great a preponderance of power that neither Russia nor any other nation would be in such a position as to attack it. By guarding this wide margin of military superiority the Americans believe that they could maintain an armed peace until their rivals either collapse through frustration or adopt the American way of life. To achieve this the United States are doing three things. Firstly they are spending very nearly 16 billion dollars on domestic rearmament and scientific perfection of indiscriminate destruction. Secondly, that country is on the search for reliable allies through treaties as the Atlantic Pact and moreover are spending six billion dollars a year on economic and military assistance for those prospective allies. Finally the Americans are adopting Fabian tactics by withholding all goods that tend to strengthen the military superiority of Russia or her satellites.

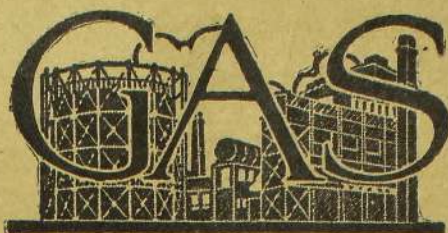
The belief that our national armed strength should be maintained is quite a different thing from telling the American people that the Army, Navy and Air Force are the only reliable guardians of liberty and their values of life. Such arguments when considered against the background of past history and present scientific developments show us both the absurdity and danger of the uncritical belief in national armed force. This belief must now be disregarded because it must be accepted that no nation could resist such powerful onslaughts as atomic and biological air attacks. The problem in this instance is not so much as to protect the American people in the event of war as to be able to retaliate with all the venom they could gather against merciless and unreasonable aggressors. This program of preparation for armed retaliation will require a national sacrifice of living standards and democratic liberties.

It must also be remembered that Russia too is proceeding on similar lines. The end result of such a power struggle, if it continues, will inevitably be war either by incident or design. We cannot, therefore, hope to find freedom and democracy among the starving, poverty-stricken and maimed survivors of a Third World War. After millions have been killed in the genocide of strategic bombing it is likely that new forms of society more corrupt than any in existence today, will inherit the ruins.

American rearmament is an unavoidable feature in a world where other nations are also arming. Nevertheless the official recognition that more atom bombs, bases and treaties will bring peace has no foundation because military preparedness is only the negative, defensive half of a sound foreign policy. The Americans still have a chance to build in a spirit of co-operation and compromise a structure of international security.

The United Nations Charter was a first step in the building of international security and instead of abandoning the United Nations as inefficient and inadequate the entire world can move to give it genuine authority and power thus making self-defence only a by-word. If, however, we are to rely on the United Nations as an institution that could promote peace and goodwill then it is obvious that far-reaching changes in the U.N. Charter will have to be made so that it will be transformed into a world federation. It will have to be given constitutional authority to administer international laws preventing the use of violence, arbitration of international disputes, controlling of national

(Continued on page 11)



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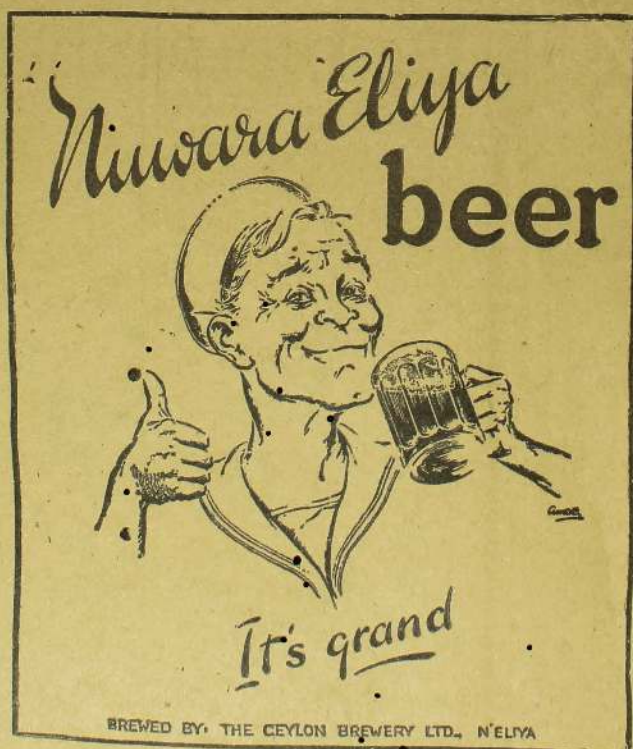
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Russia and World Government

(Continued from page 10)

armament and providing for dependable revenue. Furthermore legislative, executive and judiciary agencies will have to be created within it together with United Nations' inspection and police forces to prevent the secret production of illegal armament.

The introduction of world federal government will not remove the remarkable differences in forms of Government and economy among various nations, because in keeping with the federal principle every member State will be permitted to preserve its own domestic institutions. Will Russia then join such a scheme? If she does decide to do this it will be to the safety of the whole world because like all other nations she too will be subject to disarmament and inspection. It is very doubtful that Russia would accede to such a proposition but at the same time there is every possibility of Soviet participation in a world federation of limited powers. The most important fact is that Russian inclusion in such a system of government would not mean an abandonment of the propagation of the Communist doctrine nor will it mean that American participation will break the belief in the extension of political democracy. Both sides would merely be recognizing the reality that war is no longer a means of obtaining political objectives. Such a system of government will also enable the Russians to concentrate on consumer goods production and meet the promise of a better and improved life for the Russian people.

Russian agreement to world federal government would depend largely on how the offer is made and the conditions that prevail in the world at that time. The American offer of participation in a world government must be combined with a willingness to negotiate an amicable settlement on the question of a war and Russian acceptance of the necessary revisions in the structure of the United Nations. The American economic condition would also play a decisive role in determining Russian reaction to a world government proposal. If the Russians were inclined to believe that an American depression was imminent then they would in all probability postpone any decision and will not be too eager in the creation of a federation.

If the revision of the United Nations Charter does not pander to the taste of the Soviet Government, then what the Americans could best hope to do is to hold the United Nations Organization as a forum of discussion and proceed to form within that organization a partial federation of the nations that will consent to do it. If this partial federation proved economically prosperous and stable the Russians might ultimately decide to join an association they cannot compete with or dare to attack.

A TESTING. FOR DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page 5)

practice a rigid economy itself but those who oppose the Government mean no good to the country. They are only concerned with the opportunity of creating discontent on as colossal a scale as possible and making this a jumping-off ground to reach towards the power which they desired but which the people of this country very sensibly did not wish to give them as the people knew that at a time like the present it was most essential that they should have as the leaders of the country and as men in power only those who would place the interests of the country before their own. This is a testing time for the country as well as for the Government. It cannot be doubted that in these hard circumstances both the Government and the people would acquit themselves well, for the sake of the country's permanent wellbeing.

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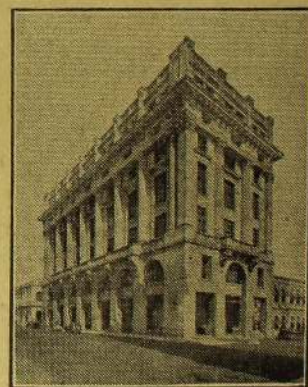
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