
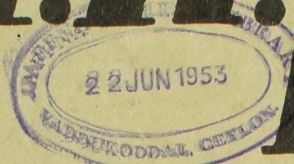


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Operation of Exchange Control

REVERSAL OF RELAXATIONS POLICY

"EVERY law can be broken if only you know how" appears to be the slogan of the law-breaker today, especially in his attempt to circumvent the regulations under the Exchange Control Bill which is operated by the Exchange Control Department, which guards Ceylon's currency outflow. The latest attempt is said to be mailing out money illegally in letters. It is reported that since the rates of remittances to India and other countries were cut down, those affected by the new regulations have resorted to sending money in currency notes across in letters by post. The withdrawal of the rice ration book as an instrument for effecting remittances and its replacement by Special Exchange Control Cards, available only to non-citizens of Ceylon, has had a chastening effect. Although the rice ration book had been a convenient basis for the large number of small remittances to India, it had, in the course of time, led to considerable abuse. It was, therefore, decided to replace that practice by a system of Exchange Control cards the use of which was limited to non-citizens of Ceylon producing in person a valid Passport at a main Post Office. At the request of Government action was taken by the Exchange Control Department to tighten control in 1952, thus reversing the policy of relaxations introduced a year earlier. The new regulations were directed towards cutting down payments from Ceylon to other countries.

According to the Administration

Report of the Controller of Exchange for the year 1952, the total amount remitted to India, Pakistan, Burma and Malaya, in that year on account of maintenance, education, charity and miscellaneous purposes was Rs. 87,082,800 and on account of travel Rs. 30,988,900 of which the great bulk represented remittances to India. In the working of the Estates (Group) Scheme, the reduction in the basic return from Rs. 250 per month to Rs. 100 per month was made applicable to remittances under this scheme. The amount thus remitted in 1952 totalled Rs. 5,434,474.

As regards control of business operating in Ceylon but domiciled abroad, there was no change in the policy of the Control, but certain changes in procedure were introduced during the year 1952, consequent on the intensification of restrictions on personal remittances. The Control received the closest co-operation from such companies throughout the year in working the special arrangements provided for them. Five Sterling Companies ceased business in Ceylon and repatriated the sale proceeds of their local assets. The procedure for remittances having been well established no difficulties were experienced by the Control in the supervision of these businesses or by the Companies in falling into line with the procedure laid down by the Control. Throughout the year the Central Bank continued to administer exchange control as the Agent of the Government.

Moratuwa Public Spurns U. C. Boycott

CORONATION CELEBRATED

THE public of Moratuwa celebrated the Coronation of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II in a fitting manner despite the decision of the U.C. to boycott same. Those celebrations were organised by a hundred-strong committee drawn from the leading residents of the Town elected at a meeting of all associations and societies convened by the Moratuwa Maha Jana Sabha. The vast gathering present on the occasion and the support received from the public by way of contributions or otherwise is ample evidence of the fact that the great majority of the area was not in favour of the decision of the U.C. It has become a habit for the Moratuwa local authorities to boycott all national events but on all such occasions the public had acted in a manner in keeping with the respect and glory of the Town.

The day's programme commenced with the distribution of alms to 500 needy residents of the Town at the Health Unit premises. One thousand rupees worth of provisions were distributed. Mr. Herbert Wijesekera and Mr. Felix Fernando, Joint Treasurers of the Celebrations

Committee were responsible for the smooth working of this part of the programme. The rest of the programme was carried out at the Town Hall premises which also happens to be the U.C. premises.

At 9 o'clock Mr. Alfred V. Fernando, J.P., U.M., hoisted the Union Jack and the National Flag to the music of God Save the Queen and Namō Namō Matha, which was followed by a presentation of arms by the Cadets of Prince of Wales College and Moratu Vidyalaya.

This was followed by the March Past of Cadets, Girls Guides, Boy Scouts and over 2,000 school children. The G.A. (W.P.), Mr. Alfred V. Fernando (Chairman of the Celebrations Committee), the District Judge and the Magistrate of Panadura, Mr. Thomas Amarasuriya, O.B.E., and the D.R.O., were on the saluting base. A procession of over 75 cyclists of the Rawatawatte Cycle Corps marched past the Flags after the school children. Light refreshments were served to those that took part in the March Past.

A large gathering was present at the public meeting held at the Town Hall presided over by Mr. Alfred V. Fernando, J.P., U.M., Chairman of

(Continued on page 5)

All-Ceylon Health Week 1953

Emphasis on Environmental Sanitation

THE fifteenth all-Ceylon Health Week will be held this year from 12th to 18th July. The programs suggested being general propaganda, clean-up campaign (special emphasis on environmental sanitation), child health, food and nutrition, tuberculosis, malaria, etc. The clean-up activity will be continued throughout the week as full areas cannot be attended to in one day. The work in each area is to be organized through local committees consisting of members of the public, representatives of volunteer organizations, and officers of Government Departments. Propaganda on food and nutrition will be another important aspect of the

week's activities, specially with a view to emphasizing the value of rice substitutes in the daily diet of the people and the importance of developing a balanced diet with such substitutes, instead of entirely depending on rice.

In co-ordination with the Health Week programs the Education Department will also have physical education demonstrations. Wherever possible, arrangements will be made to hold provincial sports meets, physical training competitions during Health Week.

There will be a Central Health Exhibition in the Kotte Urban Council premises.

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The Red Network in the United Kingdom

(Continued from last issue)

LEAVING out of the picture the Soviet Embassy and such operations as it directly controls, the main and most reliable Soviet link to the United Kingdom is the Communist Party of Great Britain, which controls or assists all the other pro-Soviet operations in this country. Its national executive is shown in Appendix IV.

Its membership consists in the main of people who, in one form or another, have accepted the analysis of the world situation put forward by the present rulers of the

Soviet Union. Human motives are seldom clear and straightforward, and while many members have probably been influenced by desires for revenge, hatred or society in general, the lust for unlimited power and admiration for the more showy features of the Soviet tyranny, others, or indeed the same members, may also have been inspired by genuine desires to right social wrongs, an intellectual search for rational theories of society and of the world, and motives of self-sacrifice—or self-pity. Of course, the Soviet world victory for which the Communist parties are actually working would not produce a just or even a tolerable society. But experience has shown that even in the highest ranks of the Communist parties of countries which have now fallen to Soviet dominion there were people who did not realise this until it was too late, and whose attempts to stand out against perversions of their expectations resulted in their fall and death. This was naturally even more true of the lower ranks of the parties.

The British Communist Party has not enjoyed much political success. Nevertheless, it exerts an influence disproportionate to its size, thanks to the efficiency of its organization and the energy of many of its members. Some of the best of these are drawn from those industrial workers who have become imbued with the theory of the class struggle and to whom the Party presents itself as the most militant, uncompromising and effective organization for that struggle. It is for this reason that some 40 per cent. of Party members are in the engineering and allied trades. For such men their local industrial life is immediate experience, while Russia is a country of which they can only learn through indirect and contradictory reports. They naturally accept the reports of those whose methods and intentions seem to fit their own ideas of life.

Intellectuals form the other main division of the membership. The extreme tension of the modern political situation has long since caused certain of the weaker intellectuals to look for panaceas. The great power of the Soviet Union, the intellectual attraction of Marxism, and the strict discipline of the Communist Party obviously appeal to numbers of them.

The British Communist Party bases itself officially in its new rules on "the scientific principles of Marxism and Leninism". In its programme, *The British Road To Socialism*, the basis is described as "Marxist Theory.....as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." In so far as this is the political theory on which the Party bases its actions, it might be said that it follows the Russian lead because both the Russian and the British Communist parties base themselves on the same principles and, perhaps, because the Russian Party's fund of experience and learning, and its prestige, render it worthy of imitation. But there is more to it than that. Communist parties are not merely required to follow the general principles of Stalinism, but to do what the Russians think fit in all political circumstances. Experience shows that their allegiance to Stalin is blind and absolute. When Soviet policies change, as they did in 1939 and in 1941, the British Communist Party has also switched its line. In 1939, when it did not do so with sufficient alacrity, its general secretary and another leading member were compelled to apologise publicly.

Furthermore, as will be seen in Chapter IV, the necessity of following the Russian line now also forms part of the theoretical basis itself.

Although to many of its members the British Communist Party may appear to be a genuine indigenous political movement, its actions are invariably those required by the policies of the Soviet Government. Its short-term aim is to bring as much internal pressure as possible to bear to prevent the Government from carrying out policies opposed to Soviet interests. Its long-term aim is to obtain control of the State.

The precise methods by which it seeks to achieve these aims vary with the circumstances of the international situation and with the policy of the Soviet Government. Its chief target is organized labour, and for this purpose it seeks to form Party branches in factories and to unite persons of like interests, who will be available to secure united action for the exploitation of grievances, and to attract support as "militant trade unionists" and "champions of the workers". Party members are expected to attend all union branch meetings, to support Party candidates for union office, and to seek the adoption of a Communist policy at all levels. Where the union leadership is so anti-Communist that union penetration is impossible, rank and file committees are set up to create a bias against the leadership, on the ground that it is "anti-working class".

Election procedure in trade unions varies. In some cases, for example, a branch meeting is held to elect a representative to a district committee, this latter being then empowered to elect a representative at the next higher level, and so up to the national executive. If all the members of all the branches are not on the alert, it is quite possible that some Communists will slip through as branch representatives, even though members of the Party are in a tiny minority in any one branch. If two or three Communists thus get elected to a district committee they will form a "fraction" under the guidance of a full-time Communist officer outside the committee. By acting together, and by their exceptional diligence in attendance and in attention to business, they may achieve a greater influence than their numbers on the district committee warrant, and, by canvassing for one of their number, they may get him elected to the next higher level. In fomenting industrial disputes for their own political ends, the classic ground for the intervention of agitators is on claims for increased pay. If the claim succeeds, they take credit for it; if it fails, they can make further trouble with the disappointed workers. Other Communist methods in the industrial field have been exposed by the T.U.C. in their pamphlets, "Defend Democracy" and "The Tactics of Disruption." Strikes against "redundancy" are now an important feature in the Party lines.

The Communists are assisted greatly by the apathy of the constitutional majority of trade unionists. It is of course true that the election of Communists to important union posts does not give them absolute, or in some cases even very much, power over the union, especially when the post is one which is subject to regular elections and where any too obvious Communist activity would rouse the antipathy of the members and cause the Communist holder to fall to be re-elected. Nevertheless, the Party obtains certain advantages. It can to some extent

(Continued on page 3)

Scandal in Municipal Council

Leftist M.M.C. as Insurance Agent

(By Our Political Correspondent)

THE big political scandal in the Colombo Municipal Council concerns the activities of the Leftist M.M.C. who is going round the Council's staff signing them up for Life Insurance policies. All sections of the Council are talking about this scandalous behaviour of one who is usually very loud in his denunciations and allegations of and about others. To the credit of most Leftwingers in the Council itself it must be stated that they are themselves disgusted with this particular member's conduct, and there has been a series of whispered "what shall we do about him" meetings of groups of Leftist and U.N.P. members of the Council.

Of course, if the member had been a U.N.P. man there would have been no hesitation on the part of the Leftist leaders in demanding an inquiry.

The modus operandi of this member is simple. He goes to a Municipal employee in the capacity of an Insurance Agent and talks business. He utters no threats, promises no favours, but most officers feel compelled to be on the "safe side" by taking a policy.

A high official of the Council told the writer last week that this particular M.M.C. became hyper-critical about his work and caused him great annoyance and worry. Then a colleague told him that there would be no trouble if he got him-

self insured by the member concerned.

The question now arises: "What should the Council do about it?" Should it not set up a Committee to inquire into this. Should not this be regarded as acts of intimidation?

Are Leftist members going to allow their colleagues to get away with this kind of thing which they would make a big fuss about if perpetrated by a U.N.P. man?

About 18 months ago "The Ceylon Daily News" exposed a racket among Leftist M.M.C.'s who were signing recommendations for poor relief to any and everyone provided he or she were a Leftist sympathiser.

How were the Municipal houses at Kirillapone allocated? Were they given strictly by rule of thumb method? Was not the allocation done when there was a Leftist Mayor? And were not the tenants' political background screened to the satisfaction of Leftists in the Municipal Council of the time?

These are facts that expose the Leftists as the sanctimonious humbugs they really are. They go about making a lot of noise about the need for honesty, sincerity, integrity, etc. Whenever they get a chance, most of them act arbitrarily dishonestly and shabbily.

Let us now see what they are going to do about the member whose conduct we have today exposed.

NEXT WEEK: Probe needed into Government Valuation Methods. Is State paying lakhs more than necessary for land?

The Red Network

(Continued from page 2)

use the prestige of the union or even merely of the post for propaganda purposes. It can gain the workers' acquiescence in Communist leadership through industrial habit. And in cases of emergency it might be in a position to cause trouble even at the cost of a possible later failure to secure re-election.

In its industrial work the Party places special emphasis on transport, with special reference to plants on defence contracts, and on building. Control of transport would give an economic stranglehold on the country, denying food to the community and raw materials to industry and holding up our export trade. Transport is the vital link with the outer world, and engineering is obviously the key to our defence programme, as well as the basis of much of our export trade. It is not a coincidence that the strong Party fraction in the Communist-dominated Electrical Trades Union pays special attention to power station workers, or that the secretary of the Fire Brigades Union is on the Party executive.

The Communist Party, on the orders of the Cominform, attaches the greatest importance to the penetration of the Labour Party; realising that it must be a back-door or cellar-flap operation. In November, 1952, reporting to the Communist Party executive on work in the Labour movement, Harry Pollitt said:—

"I look upon our work in the trade unions and factories as being indivisible, as the main fields on which we concentrate our attention.....The Constitution and Rules of the Labour Party being what they are, we have to recognise that the vital changes that

are necessary in the policy and leadership of the Labour Party can never be brought about by the constituency Labour parties themselves. It is through the trade unions that the main drive will have to be made..... We must work along with Labour Party members to win the trade union branches to pay more attention to the work of local Labour parties where they are affiliated, and to get them affiliated where they are not; encouraging them to send militant delegates to the local Labour parties; constantly urging local Labour parties to conduct more public activity and propaganda; systematically organizing reports in the trade union branches of the local Labour parties and sending resolutions to them; asking Labour M.P.s to attend the trade union branches to give a report of what is happening in Parliament; giving more careful consideration to the composition of the trade union Parliamentary panels, so that the best and most militant members of the trade union branches are nominated for such panels."

The reference to "militant members" means of course members of the Communist Party—open or secret.

As part of the linking-up operation the Young Communist League will make a new approach, on a local branch basis, to the Labour League of Youth, "for joint discussion and action." It has been laid down by John Moss, the national secretary of the Young Communist League, that: "Much more attention needs to be paid to building up friendly personal relations with the Labour League of Youth members. Nowhere is this more important than in the factories."

(To be continued).

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A NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

A REMARKABLE movement has been started in India with the object of solving the problem of Indian land distribution by peaceful means or as Mahatma Gandhi has repeated often by "non-violent revolution." In the spirit of that great leader a disciple of his, Vinoba Bhave, has launched the "land gift" movement which promises to be felt not only in India but in the whole of Asia, judging from the support the "crusader" has received so far.

This movement aims to create a moral awareness of this fact—that property in land is not vested in the individual holder or in the State. That is the fundamental idea of the movement. The work began at Hyderabad where the miseries of the landless workers have been exploited with considerable success by the Communists. Vinoba's reply to the Red propaganda of violent revolution was an appeal for free gifts of land to the proletarian peasants who number millions.

Thus he began what promises to be a strong social revolution in the strange history of India. The basic element of the movement is that the total land wealth of India shall be voluntarily redistributed without recourse to any kind of

coercion, cajolery and without creating ill-will between social groups or classes. Vinoba's ultimate "target" is fifty million acres of land—about a sixth of the total cultivated land of the Indian Republic.

That he has been successful in winning the sympathy and support of the "haves" on behalf of the "have nots" is evident from the fact that he has obtained 800,000 acres of cultivated land so far which have been handed over by a number of States, in particular Hyderabad and Bihar—where there was a famine a few years ago. The Indian President Mr. Rajendra Prasad has made a donation from his personal estate in Bihar. Many wealthy landowners among them the Nizam of Hyderabad, have followed suit, paradoxical as it may seem in a land crowded with zemindars whose acts of exploitation are too wellknown. This attempt of Vinoba Bhave is the voluntary answer to Communism in the spirit of Gandhi.

It is most heartening to note that members of both Houses of the National Assembly have endorsed a resolution praising the work of Vinoba and heartily pledging their active support. In most States besides handing over cultivated land to the landless, the farmers are provided with capital for initial outlay in addition to ploughs and draught animals. This "land gift" movement which as Christians would say is one in which the State holds a "Stewardship on behalf of the community of Earth's children" must succeed, judging from the active support received so far and its effects may be felt throughout the East.

Who Are the Poor Clares?

A BAND of Poor Clares, Roman Catholic nuns from York, England, arrived in Colombo last week to spend the rest of their lives in Ceylon. There are eight of them, six of whom will be stationed at Tewatte, Ragama, where the Basilica of Our Lady of Lanka is being built. They will be in a temporary building for the present until the new Convent is built there. They will live in seclusion in "contemplation, penance and prayer" as required by their Order. Poor Clare's Colettines, an Order founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century by St. Francis of Assisi. This is the first time Sisters of this Order have arrived in Ceylon. They were met on board the "Stratheden" in which they arrived by the Archbishop of Colombo, the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Cooray.

FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER

The Order was founded in 1212 by St. Francis of Assisi, the first to enter the Order being the daughter of a nobleman, Lady Clare Scoffi, who at the age of 18 years, leaving her home on the evening of Palm Sunday that year, forsook the luxury of her father's castle, as tradition has it, to don the brown habit of a nun. She governed a community of fifty nuns including her mother, her sister, and later her aunt. From the

beginning of the Order, the cloisters of the Poor Clares were thronged by maidens of all classes, those alike from royal palaces and mansions of the great and those of humble parentage, no distinction being made and no difference of status.

The rule of all Poor Clares especially Colettines is founded on poverty by which the religious are to live—not on dowries or endowments—but on the work of their hands and the alms of their benefactors. They live ascetic lives. The Vows, perpetual after five years' trial, are four—Poverty, Chastity, Obedience and Enclosure. Silence is strictly kept, except in cases of evident necessity or charity. The feet are bare except for the weak or aged. These will wear wooden sandals. Poor Clares Convents are numerous in Europe which has 561 houses; America 71; Asia 9 (exclusive of Ceylon), Africa 4 and Australia 1. The foundation in Ceylon is English, while those in other parts of Asia are of French foundations.

Two of the eight nuns are Extern Sisters, whose duties include collecting of alms to maintain the monastery. The Sisters maintain themselves by making vestments, altar bread and other pious objects. At the new Convent established by the Archbishop of Colombo, it is hoped Ceylon girls will join the Order.

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Incentives to Capital Enterprise

By Stanley Morrison

IT is good news that three experts on taxation are coming out to Ceylon to report on our taxation policy. It is a pity that such a step was not taken years ago as soon we attained independence. But the appointment of a committee of taxation experts to frame a taxation policy in harmony with our plans for economic development is not enough. The greatest difficulty in a small and poor country like Ceylon is the formation of capital and the encouragement of savings. Savings for investment in capital enterprises are effected only by the very small group of capitalists in this country, and in this group the European investor predominates. The average middle class man who saves or manages to save in these hard times does so only with a view to buying a house. He seldom invests his money in shares since he does not know a bad investment from a good one.

However, one result of Ceylon being independent is the need for the creation of internal capital, unless we are to see the future development of the country again depend on foreign capital with all the risks that that involves. There is no doubt that the average wage-earner will save money if he is sure of investing his little yearly nest-egg in an enterprise which guarantees him both security and an adequate return. If he could find safe investments giving him regular dividends, he would somehow put some money by every month in the hope that his accumulated savings over a period of years would, if invested, give him such a regular return that this would amount to a reliable increment to his salary. He knows that our staple agricultural industries do not afford him that kind of reliable income and that, particularly during a period of depression, his income from such sources is liable to dry up altogether. On the other hand, if private enterprise or state-aided corporations were to develop those resources of the island which would, under all circumstances, be able to declare worthwhile dividends, then the small investor would find it worthwhile saving and investing his savings in those enterprises. I can conceive of at least one such enterprise which should be able to guarantee regular dividends under all circumstances. For instance, if a number of corporations or private companies were to address themselves to the task of food-growing they should be assured of good profits, since food prices have now shot up to unprecedented heights all over the world and are more than likely to remain at a pretty high level for a long time to come. Private enterprises devoted to food production should, therefore, be in a strong position, since it will take about ten years at least for Ceylon to be able to grow enough food to meet her own needs. Another enterprise which should be profitable to the private sector is, I believe, the fruit industry. While

the growing of fruit should be the responsibility of the Government and of small-scale farmers, there is ample scope for private enterprise to undertake the canning of fruits and the making of jams and preserves. This is already a fast-growing industry in India. And Ceylon should, if properly developed, be a paradise for the fruit-grower and the subsidiary industries based on it. Every visitor I have met with some knowledge of this subject is amazed at the neglect of this industry in Ceylon, since nature has been so bountiful to us in providing us with a most fertile soil and plentiful supplies of water. But up-to-date fruit-growing is a most perfunctory occupation.

Coming to the question of incentives for capital enterprise, it is to be hoped that the new taxation policy will be framed so as to fall lightly on the enterprising capitalist who risks his capital on new projects and heavily on capitalists and other wealthy men who keep their capital on fixed deposit in banks or on mortgages on house property or expend their incomes on luxurious cars and in other remunerative ways. Every encouragement should be given to the enterprising capitalists or entrepreneur by means of exemptions from income tax on new enterprises for a period of at least five years and a low rate of tax at least a further period of five years. Without such incentives the man with money to invest would be reluctant to venture out on something new and untried. And the man who takes his courage in both hands and undertakes to start a hitherto dormant industry deserves every encouragement by the State, since he is creating new sources of employment and wealth. Of course, it will also be imperative to protect such nascent industries against foreign competition for a sufficient length of time to enable the new industries to get on their feet. And even after they have got on their feet imports from abroad should be made to pay a small customs impost so as to prevent these imports undercutting the products of the local industry.

There are many other local industries which could be developed by private enterprise provided the capital is forthcoming, protection against foreign competition is afforded, and exemptions from taxation act as an incentive to encourage the development of new industrial projects. It cannot be too strongly emphasised, therefore, that the new taxation policy should be so devised that it serves the purpose of relieving new enterprises of the burden of taxation during their formative years while taxing heavily and almost prohibitively idle capital or incomes thrown away on luxuries and riotous living. There is also room for State-aided enterprises like the Ceylon Bank where the State more or less guarantees investors against failure and loss of their investments. I am certain that the small man, despite his difficulties, will save and invest regularly in such public and private enterprises once he knows that his money is safe and that he could look forward to a regular return on his investments.

Moratuwa Public Spurns U. C. Boycott

(Continued from page 1)

the Celebrations Committee. Mr. Fernando moved the following resolution: "The Public of Moratuwa here assembled express our respect, loyalty and joy at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II as the Head of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Mr. L. E. J. Fernando seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously. The Magistrate of Panadura, Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya, Senator Dr. A. M. Samarasinghe, Mr. H. E. P. de Mel, M.P., and Mr. S. O. Stembo, J.P., U.M., addressed the gathering.

Mr. S. Lucian J. Silva proposed the vote of thanks.—Moratuwa Cor.

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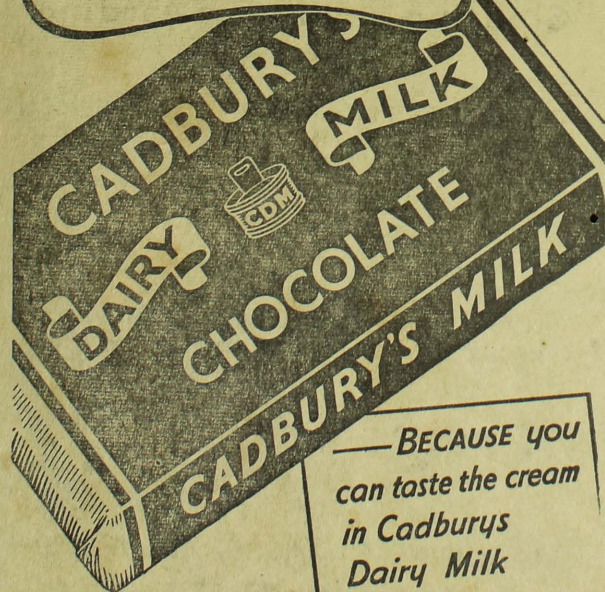
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The Story of Indian Citizenship

By Joe Karunaratne

THE question of Indian Citizenship has been the cause of much disputation and controversy. The pros and cons of this problem have been reported by Reuter and other agencies of communication which serve as the intellectual menu for the ordinary newspaper reader.

The Indian problem that confronts us today is a relic of the plantation era. The Indians came to Ceylon as indentured labourers when the British Government held sway over the island. At this time the Economy of Ceylon was not considered as an entirety by itself but considered as a part and parcel of the entire British Colonial Economy. It will suffice here to mention that the transformation from a colonial to a National Economy was only ushered in, when the Donoughmore constitution was inaugurated in 1931.

The primary reason for the coming of these labourers from across the Palk Strait was to work in the estates of the planters but why the planters did not wish to supplement this deficiency with a recruitment of local labour provides ample food for thought. There are several reasons that have been adduced to support this course of action and it must be conceded in deference to Historical truth that local labour would not have been so cheap and amenable to plantation discipline. The sad memory of a few inconvenient risings which assumed Elephantine proportions must have been still fresh in the minds of the Britishers at this time and it is quite probable that they were of opinion that to stumble twice on the same stone was a proverbial disgrace. Apart from the reasons aforesaid there is one which I must not cease to mention and that is the established fact that the average Indian is very industrious. Coming as he did from the sun baked lands of India the Indian possesses a Scottish sense of business, a rare honesty and unabated perseverance. Consequently in the light of circumstances and in the face of facts the European planter preferred immigrant labour to local labour, the Indian to the Sinhalese.

Subsequently the virgin soil of the Hill country was opened up and large scale plantations were begun in earnest. It is readily agreed that many economic and social advantages accrued to the Government as a result of the plantations but it must also be stated without fear or fervour that the development of the plantations brought in its trail a grave problem. The plantations no doubt gave permanent strength to our economy and laid the firm foundations of Ceylon's financial pyramid but it is from this very same structure the Kandyan Peasantry problem resulted. This problem that obtruded itself in the face of a smiling country is that the Kandyan peasant who had taken to agriculture as an occupation since the time of the Sinhalese kings and who had made the Hill country his abode for a long time was driven off like an animal and was robbed off his fundamental rights. The right to a normal human existence and development of his per-

sonality. The Indian problem, therefore, is not one problem but two problems. How to be fair to the Indians who fashioned the future economic development of the country on the one hand and how to be just to the downtrodden Kandyan peasantry on the other.

From the beginning of the indentured labour system the Indians kept aloof from the native population. The two were drawn from diverse sources as different as chalk is from cheese and they had no force which harnessed and welded them together. Economically and socially contacts between Indians and Ceylonese were negligible. There was, however, one common bond and that was a political one. They were both tied to the apron strings of the same mother country and consequently they had to act in subservience to British policy.

Subsequently in 1923 the right to vote was given to Indians on the same basis as the Ceylonese on the contention that both were loyal British subjects and in the eyes of Britain were equal as far as the suffrage was concerned. In 1931 the Donoughmore Constitution was inaugurated. This constitution was meant to be a half way house between Crown colony government and Full Responsible Government and consequently the constitution provided that one could be a citizen of Ceylon on the domicile basis. For the undomiciled a property and literacy qualification was provided but there was also provided in the same constitution an alternative means of obtaining the suffrage on the production of a certificate of permanent settlement. This latter device was intended cardinally to help the Indian to procure the vote because the proof of domicile on the conditions stipulated not subject to any flexibility or elasticity whatsoever involved legal questions of much difficulty and complexity. But contrary to expectations only 2 per cent. had applied for the vote on the basis of permanent settlement while the remainder 98 per cent. had done so on the more difficult domicile basis. This was indeed a rare occurrence. It was a law of nature that Human Beings in general pursued the path of least resistance. Thus although the purpose for which the certificates of permanent settlement had been instituted was defeated nevertheless it was clear as a pike staff that the interest of local Indians in Ceylon was frankly self-centred and ephemeral. These Indians were obviously attempting to eat the cake and have it at the same time. In fact the utterances of the Soulbury Commissioners pertaining to the franchise are worthy of note and substantiate this point of view. Accordingly 200,000 Indians were given the franchise to participate in the 1947 elections. But, however, when the long cherished dream of Independence had at last come true, Ceylon accordingly was made a Dominion on the 4th of February, 1948, within that great family of free nations. Subsequently there arose the need for determining who should be a citizen of this free country and who should not be. To serve this purpose alone and no other was the Ceylon Citizenship Act passed in August, 1948. To provide for the special clause in Indian and Pakistan residents a special act was passed in August, 1949.

(To be continued)

WHO IS AN INDIAN ?

Mr. Desai's Definition

A NUMBER of enquiries have been received in the High Commission for India in Ceylon, consequent on the publication in a section of the local press of a letter issued by the High Commission to an applicant for an India-Ceylon Pass. The question relates to the definition of who is an Indian citizen.

The High Commission wishes to make it clear that a person does not

lose his Indian domicile by merely being absent from India for purposes of employment or business or any other similar activity. A person who was in Ceylon on the 26th January 1950, but who was domiciled in India on that date continues to be an Indian citizen, provided he is otherwise qualified. The question of domicile has, however, to be determined by the authority concerned.

International Commentary Approach to Bermuda

By W. N. Ewer

IT was inevitable that the decision to hold a three-power "high level" meeting should at once, in many minds, have been linked with the idea of a four-power "high level" meeting.

Sir Winston Churchill had already, in his House of Commons speech on May 11th, expressed his belief that such a meeting "should take place between the leading powers without long delay", and in announcing the decision to hold the Bermuda meeting, he added that it was still his hope that it might be a step forward to a "meeting of far graver import".

These were words carefully chosen and weighed. They meant what they said, no more and no less. But they were in many quarters interpreted as implying that the main, if not the sole, purpose of the meeting was to be to agree on the form and terms and moment of an invitation to Mr. Malenkov.

Now it is obvious enough that the desirability and the possibility of suggesting a four-power meeting will be one of the subjects for discussion. It could not be otherwise. But it is equally obvious that no kind of decision could have been taken, or even half-taken, before thorough discussion. For this is a matter, which apart from any difference of views on the general desirability of such a meeting in existing circumstances, needs thorough and careful consideration before any action can be decided on.

So though the possibility of a four-power meeting must take a prominent place in any meeting for the examination of world problems, it is not the actual purpose of this coming meeting in Bermuda.

Such a meeting of the three heads of governments is called for by the general situation. It is not only that there has been a change in the government of the Soviet Union, the implications and possible implications of which call for consultation. This, quite apart from that, is one of the moments of potential changes in the whole world picture. There is the possibility of a speedy ending of the Korean hostilities, which will at once pose a whole range of difficult Far Eastern problems which have been, as it were, in suspense during the fighting in Korea. And these cannot be dissociated or disentangled from developments in South-East Asia. There is Germany

and the urgent anxiety about the ratification of the European Defence Community Treaty; and, linked with it, of the new status of Western Germany vis-a-vis the three Western powers. And in addition to all these, the pressing problems of the Middle East.

Here is ample material and good reason for a three-power conference—even without direct reference to any possible four-power meeting or any endeavour to open up some kind of negotiations with the Soviet Government.

It is, indeed, unfortunate that the relation between a three-power meeting and a possible later four-power meeting should have been over-stressed. For the Russians, as the Pravda article of May 24th showed, have regarded, or have chosen to regard, this relationship as complete. The article refers to the Bermuda meeting as a "preliminary meeting of the three powers"; as showing their "intention to pursue in future the line of agreeing among themselves at the expense of the Soviet Union"; and as "having as its purpose the drawing up of demands for presentation to the Soviet Union".

That may be merely the preparation of an excuse for declining any invitation to a conference which the Soviet Government does not in any case desire at present. Or it may be intended to persuade those who are inclined to see in a four-power conference the only hope of lessening world tension, that an essential preliminary to such a conference is the loosening of the close partnership between the three Western powers.

That latter may appear naive; but it has for a long time been a favoured argument of Soviet spokesmen that any close association of non-Communist countries is a "ganging up" against the Soviet Union, and evidence of aggressive intent. Whereas, by contrast, the existence of the tightly disciplined Soviet bloc is entirely commendable and evidence of peaceful purpose.

The Soviet reaction to the holding of the Bermuda conference is thus anything but encouraging for hopes of a "meeting of far graver import" as one of its results. But even so, the holding of the conference seems not only desirable, but essential, at the present juncture. And its outcome, if not so spectacular as the calling of a four-power conference would appear, may none the less be more than merely useful.

Prevention of Accidents

THE Ceylon Society for the Prevention of Accidents, has through the co-operation of the Education Department, sent out leaflets to all teachers at Government Schools, giving the aims of the Society and asking for their help in training children to be accident conscious. It is admitted that the only way to reduce accidents is to train children.

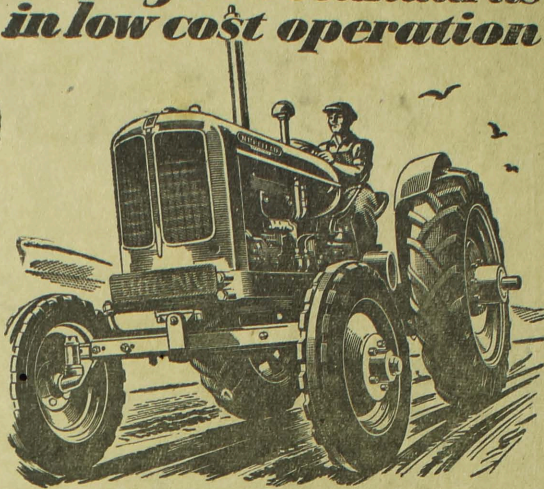
The following are extracts from the interesting leaflet which is published in English, Sinhalese and Tamil.

As a teacher you will know that the habits formed in childhood, be they good or bad, are very hard to eradicate. It is for that reason that this Society seeks to teach the children the way to avoid accidents. Some people say that if it is an accident it is not preventable but the

fallacy of this remark is seen in one small episode. A man drops a plan-tain skin on the road, another man steps on it, slips and breaks his leg. Breaking the leg was an accident but it would not have happened if the first man had not been careless. We want to prevent such carelessness.

In teaching you take the long view. It is not tomorrow's result at which you aim but the result that will be attained in five or ten years time. So it is with this Society. Whilst we try to show Adults the way in which to avoid accidents we know that it is only by bringing up the children to "Look—Listen—Take Care" that the total number of accidents in Ceylon in ten or fifteen years time will show a marked decrease. To put this long view to anyone who was not a teacher would be waste of time; we know that you will agree with us.

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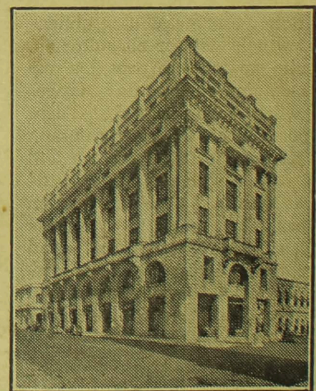
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