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FINANCE MINISTER'S BRILLIANT SURVEY

U. N. P. Six-Year Plan Outlined FIRST FREE LANKA BUDGET SPEECH SETS GREAT STORE ON REALISM



The Finance Minister

IT is my proud privilege to place before you the Estimates of Expenditure, and the Revenue Proposals to meet that expenditure, for the financial year 1948-49. After 400 years the power to fashion the future of our Motherland has come once again into our own hands. To us, therefore, who are entrusted with the responsibility of governing, must be apportioned praise or blame for the manner in which we perform that task. Immediate results may not flow from our decisions, but we can lay down the general lines of progress and prepare the foundations on which the future edifice of a free, democratic and contented Ceylon can be built. In this, the first Budget of Free Ceylon, the Government unfolds that plan for public scrutiny and criticism.

In my previous Budget Speech I gave a summary of the financial structure of the country. This year I do not think I need burden the House with a similar survey, except for the necessity of bringing some of the previous figures up-to-date. It would, however, be necessary for those who wish to obtain a view of Ceylon's financial and economic structure under contemporary conditions to read that speech together with the one I am delivering today. The one is complementary to the other. On this occasion, as I said before, the Government outlines its plans for the future development of our resources. It is a human plan containing defects which all human endeavours are heir to, conditioned further by limitations imposed by the existing wealth and the potential resources at our command. We can honestly claim, however, that in the preparation of these plans, the single purpose of doing the greatest good to the greatest number has influenced our decisions.

BROAD OUTLINE

I think I should explain to the House the broad outline of my speech before I introduce members to the more important details contained in it. I propose to begin with an Economic Survey of the Ceylon of today. Having placed before the House a picture of the materials available to us, I will then outline the proposals of the Government to mould that material into concrete schemes capable of execution within a given period of years, expressed in terms of agricultural produce and manufactured goods, and the extra wealth that will be created thereby. I propose to discuss the Plan under the heads of (a) Production of National wealth; (b) Utility Services; (c) Social Services; (d) External Affairs and Defence; (e) Administration; (f) Finance.

ECONOMIC SURVEY

I thought it reasonable that this Budget containing a plan for the future development of the country should begin with an economic survey. I propose to give a rapid survey of the present wealth of the country, the resources from which that wealth is produced, the man-power that helps to produce

it, and the manner of its distribution. I shall then outline the potential resources of the country, both agricultural as well as industrial, and detail our plans for its development and use by man. It is not possible to prepare a plan that can be executed in the course of a year. I will indicate first the long-term plan of the Government covering a period of 6 years beginning with the financial year 1947-48 that has just concluded, and ending with the financial year 1952-53. This excludes such other schemes which may be commenced later for which financial provision is not included in the current year's Estimates.

CLOSELY LINKED

Having outlined the long-term plan, I shall proceed to show how the important stages in its progress during the current year will be implemented with the money the House is now called upon to vote. This plan covers the period within which we hope many of the undertakings already started and to be started will be completed and bear fruit. I have further sought to integrate the present Budgetary proposals, which refer to the expenditure for an year, into that long-term plan. The economic survey, the six-year plan, and the present Budgetary proposals are closely linked subjects. It would be unwise to consider proposals for national development without reference to the wealth of the country as shown in the economic survey. It would be unwise also to consider plans for a year only, when the main consideration should be the formulation of the economic and social program of the Government covering a period of years.

CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS

The economy of Ceylon today, it is well-known, is an undiversified agricultural export economy. I need hardly emphasise again that we derive the major portion of our national income from the export of three products, Tea, Rubber and Coconut. The gross national income in 1938 was Rs. 105 per head and in 1947 Rs. 282 per head per annum. This rise does not indicate an improvement in the economic condition of the people, but reflects the wartime process of rises in prices, both as regards export and import goods. The per capita income of Ceylon in relation to the countries of South-East Asia, is second only to that of Japan and exceeds that of the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, China, Malaya and Burma. The economic survey carried out by the United Nations Economic Commission of Asia and the Far East emphasises this fact, and gives other comparative data, which are of great interest to the people of Ceylon.

HOW INCOME IS EARNED

Let us enquire for a moment as to how this income is earned. In 1947 tea, rubber and coconut produced an income of Rs. 807 million and other exports Rs. 85 million. The income from the production of goods retained

services, etc., was Rs. 1,167 million. Though this figure is high in comparison to pre-war figures, since prices went up higher than the rate of income increase, it may truly be said that the national income in physical quantities was really less than in 1938. The important point I wish to emphasise here is the dependence of our national economy on our exports, and that too almost entirely on the exports of tea, rubber and coconut products which account for 90 per cent. of the export trade.

(Continued on page 2)

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FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 1)

NATURAL RESOURCES

PRESENT AND POTENTIAL

What are our present resources in agriculture, in industry, in water power? What are the resources that are undeveloped and await opening up? In a word, what is the present potential wealth of the country? We must be fully acquainted with these before we can work out a plan for the future. Let us first consider our agricultural resources. It will be necessary to discuss these in relation to (a) the total area, (b) the area under commercial crops at present, (c) the area under other agricultural crops at present, (d) the distribution and nature of the land resources of the Island, in order to determine their suitability for further development.

MAJOR CROPS

The total area of Ceylon is estimated to be 25,331 square miles or about 16 1/2 million acres. The four major crops cover the following areas:—

Tea	553,000 Acres
Rubber	573,000 ..
Coconut	920,000 ..
Paddy	912,000 ..

3 million acres, therefore, out of a total cultivated area of 3 1/2 million acres, are occupied by these major crops. The area under total productive agriculture thus works out to 20 per cent. of the total area of Ceylon. Out of a total area of 16 1/2 million acres, about 13 million acres are either occupied, cultivated, earmarked for definite purposes, or uncultivable; and a balance of 3 1/2 million acres is available for future agricultural development—an extent as large as the area already under productive cultivation.

WET AND DRY ZONES

The land surface of Ceylon is divided into two large groups, the wet zone and the dry zone. The wet zone consists of the Western, Central and Sabaragamuwa Province, and also a large portion of the Southern and a small portion of the Uva Province. It covers an area of 4 million square miles with a population of 3 1/2 millions. The dry zone occupies the rest of the Island, the Northern, North Central, North Western, and Eastern Provinces, and the balance portion of the Southern and Uva Provinces. It covers an area of 12 million acres and contains a population of 3 millions. The two great monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the South-West and the North-East, fall on these two areas in different ways. The wet zone, which gets the full benefit of the South-west Monsoon, as it lies in the South-West region of the Island, and also benefits from the North-East Monsoon, has an average rainfall of 135 inches a year. The dry zone, which by normal world standards cannot be called "dry" but is so in relation to the wet zone, has an average rainfall of about 65 inches a year. The rain that falls in the central hills flows from them to the north, south, east and west of the Island and into the sea through the rivers which man has used down the centuries. Owing to the steepness and the unevenness of the land surface of the wet zone, cultivation depends to a large extent on the seasonal rains. For large-scale paddy cultivation, therefore, which is the main food crop of the Island, we cannot depend on the wet zone. It is, however, admirably suited for the cultivation of crops such as tea, coconut and rubber which do not need a constant and controlled flow of water.

DIFFERENT PICTURE

The dry zone, on the other hand, presents a totally different picture. The rivers that flow through the large open and flat spaces of the dry zone, such as the Mahaweli Ganga, the Gal Oya, the Walawe Ganga, the Nilwala Ganga and the Deduru Oya, to mention the largest, draw their strength from the waters that fall on the central hills. They therefore carry a perennial supply of water. It is anticipated that the resources of the dry zone can supply a regulated and constant flow of water for the vast extent of land that the Government contemplates bringing under cultivation in the immediate future. It is only in the dry zone that this is possible.

THE FUTURE PLAN

I think it will be agreed that the first step in our plans must be to produce our own food. To be self-supporting in essential foods and in the arti-

cles necessary for clothing and housing is one of the main tasks that we have to devote attention to. Agricultural development for the production of our essential foods will be effected in two ways. The Government has started a campaign for the intensive and scientific cultivation of the land already under cultivation in food crops, particularly in the wet zone; secondly, by developing the vast areas which are cultivable and still remain uncultivated in the dry zone.

With regard to the first, agricultural stations have been opened up in several parts of the wet zone and trained instructors go out into the villages to instruct the peasants in scientific methods of cultivation. Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives are being formed throughout the Island and, with the credit supplied through the Co-operative Banks, it is expected that their members will be able to secure the necessary finance for cultivation. Intensive cultivation in the wet zone is also made possible by the repair of elias, the building of amunas and the provision of scientific irrigation where necessary. Of course, the irrigation schemes in the wet zone are small when compared to those in the dry zone, but they are none the less important. In addition to the Attangala Oya Scheme, the possibilities of the Kelani Valley are being investigated by American experts. The necessity for scientific and intensive cultivation is clearly seen when the production figures are considered. In the Attangala area a fair average of yield would be 10 to 13 times the sowing extent. Ceylon figures compare very badly with those of other countries.

Country	Paddy—per acre in pounds	Fold.
Italy	4,000	77
Egypt	3,000	39
Java	2,000	22
Malaya	1,170	16
India	1,190	23
Ceylon	520	13

As a result of the very strenuous and planned effort being made to increase the yield, in some places the production which was 13-fold has risen to 30 fold.

DRY ZONE SCHEMES

The dry zones schemes are in the quite a different category. Large irrigation works have to be completed before the water is made available. The water when available cannot be utilised until the virgin jungle has been felled, and the land made fit for cultivation and human habitation. Errors were committed in the past, but the era of experiment has now passed. What seemed to many the foolish dreams of a visionary are no longer considered as such. Today those dreams have come true. They appear in concrete forms in the colonisation schemes that dot the landscape of the dry zone. The former critics now hail them as the salvation of the people of Ceylon. I am proud to say that long before I took an active part in politics, the irrigation schemes which Mr. D. S. Senanayake inaugurated as the first Minister of Agriculture under the Donoughmore Constitution attracted me.

The waters of the Parakrama Samudra, one of the largest of these schemes, will cover at full supply an area of 6,000 acres. An area of 54,000 acres will once again come under cultivation when the scheme is complete. The Minneriya and Giritale artificial lakes now repaired will, together with the Elahera Ela which brings water to them from the Ambanganga near Dambulla, cultivate a hitherto uncultivated area of 30,000 acres. Similar great works are being undertaken throughout the vast expanse of the dry zone, and members will see dotted through these estimates, reference to Kalawewa, Ridi-bendi Ela, Minipe Ela, Walawe, Nilwala Ganga, all of which, though mere names and remote to the reader, represent part of the new civilization that is being slowly but surely created.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

In my previous remarks I have mentioned how the water that is now going to waste will be harnessed and utilised and the extent of land that will be made available for cultivation. It is equally important to know what the cultivation will be and how it will be effected. The first question that I would ask is: what do we import in the

nature of essential goods, which can be produced economically in this country? In 1947 we imported rice to the value of Rs. 135,000,000; curry stuffs to the value of Rs. 28,000,000; and cotton to the value of Rs. 28,000,000; and cotton piece goods to the value of Rs. 100,000,000. Can we produce these in Ceylon? I do not propose to go into a detailed study of the many varieties of agricultural products now being imported into Ceylon and which may be profitably grown in the Island. The Agricultural Department has now, after very careful and prolonged experiments, decided on the products that can be grown in Ceylon, the areas where they can be grown, and has divided the country into agricultural zones in keeping with its decisions.

As far as rice, cotton, tobacco, ginger, sugar and a few other products are concerned, the stage of experiment has now passed and the lands that are being opened up will grow these crops. Industrial machinery will also be provided to make raw products into manufactured goods wherever possible. Cotton will provide the raw material for the textile industry and will not only supply the Island with its requirements of cloth, but will enable us to develop a useful and prosperous textile cottage industry, and thus help to avoid seasonal unemployment so often associated with agriculture.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Apart from the fact that milk is man's natural food, the manure provided by animals is essential for the proper maintenance of soil fertility. Village cattle today are neither adequately fed nor milked. The number of neat cattle of all varieties according to the latest census is 1.2 million, and is far below our normal essential requirements. Our normal consumption of milk is 1.7 ounces per head per day, which is the lowest in the world, even lower than in India. A consumption of at least 5 ounces a day is prescribed to

be necessary for a minimum standard of living. We have therefore to increase the production of milk from 23 million gallons a year to about 70 million gallons a year as the minimum standard of production below which we cannot go without serious consequences to the health of the population. The report of the Milk Committee issued in 1944 advocates for Ceylon a consumption of 102 million gallons a year to maintain a civilised standard of nutrition. Our target of 70 million gallons must be regarded as the first stage in the plan of development. Our plan is not only to increase the cattle population but also to develop a better breed of animals.

LAND DEVELOPMENT DEPT. CREATED

I have given only a bare outline of the Government plan for the agricultural development of Ceylon in the near future. It is necessary for us to see how the plan is to be carried out during the Budgetary year. Provision has been made under the head of Major Irrigation Works as well as Minor Irrigation Works for all the schemes which are ready for the fulfilment of the agricultural development of the dry zone as well as the scientific and intensive cultivation of the already cultivated wet zone. From Loan Funds alone we ask the House to sanction an expenditure of Rs. 47.2 million. There is nothing that has been asked that has been refused, and the problem that worries the Government is not whether money is available, but whether we will be able to find the men and the machinery to spend this money during the course of the year. A new department of Land Development has been created, and to this has been allocated the very important function of food production. The expenditure from current revenue under the Ministry of Agriculture will this year be Rs. 48.3 million, making a total therefore of Rs. 95.5 million to

(Continued on page 3)

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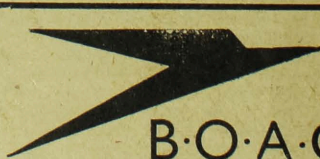
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FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 2)

spent on agricultural development within one year. Provision for the acquisition of lands for village expansion has been increased to Rs. 5 million and has been placed under Loan Fund Expenditure.

INDUSTRIAL PLAN

The other great wealth producing activity is that connected with the industrial development of Ceylon, as in the case of agriculture, our first target of attack will be to supply as far as possible the goods that we import.

We are today as a free people in a position to seek the materials we need in any country in the world, and as in the case of the Gal Oya Scheme which is now under construction by American engineers with American machinery, we hope during the course of this year to send our experts to the various industrialised countries to find out the cheapest and the best markets to purchase our equipments. I am sure not only the Opposition but the Government too is chaffing at the delay in installing the necessary modern factories to utilise our raw materials. The non-completion of our Hydro-Electric Scheme, owing to causes beyond our control, and the lack of machinery and trained personnel have been the main cause of delay in the past.

In considering industries, we must include salt as well as fisheries, which come under the care of the same Minister, and are themselves wealth-producing factors. It is proposed to begin a very vigorous campaign to manufacture the by-products of salt, and provision has been made for the establishment of industrial plants for this purpose. Fisheries too are to come within the scope of modern development and the establishment of ice and refrigeration plants as well as the purchase of modern trawlers and fishing vessels for which provision has been made will enable the foundations of a modern fishing industry to be established.

Before the war the only important factories (apart from factories which process tea, rubber or coconut) were one cotton mill, a few tile works, one or two match factories, one gas works, a few distilleries and engineering works. The war gave an impetus to new industries, a number of which were started by Government and private enterprise. During the continuation of the war they brought in profits, but now they are experiencing difficulties.

FUTURE OF FACTORIES

The future of these factories is now being reviewed in the light of contemporary conditions, and steps are being taken to reorganise a number of them on modern lines. Financial provision has been made under Loan Funds for an expenditure of Rs. 15½ million in the current year, and a large proportion of this will be spent on the reorganisation of the Glass, Coir Plywood, Leather, Paper and Ceramic Factories. Money has also been provided for the establishment of Cement (already started), Steel, Caustic Soda, Hydrogenated Coconut Oil, Textile and Paper Factories. Expert opinion and reports have been obtained and the work is ready to begin. It is expected that within a period of six years the Schemes foreshadowed in our plan will be completed. Direct and indirect employment will be given for an additional 18,500 persons. On the basis of current prices the products of these factories when purchased by the people of Ceylon would effect a reduction in our import program to the value of about Rs. 100 million.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The cottage industries movement must keep pace with the larger industrial development of the country. One of its most important functions is to provide suitable subsidiary employment for those who are engaged in seasonal agriculture. The result will be to raise the peasant's standard of living and his purchasing power. The key to the success of the industrial development of the country is the raising of the income of the worker and the peasant, so that their demand for manufactured goods increases. From the figures I cite it will be clear that very great strides have been made in the development of cottage industries.

Provision has been made in the current Estimates for all that the Ministry

of Industries requires for both large scale as well as cottage industries. The Ministry of Industries, which originally began in a small way, has now become one of the major instruments of our development program. At the beginning of the war the expenditure on the Department of Commerce and Industries was less than a million rupees. Industries has now been separated from Commerce and functions under a separate Minister. Today we ask for sanction from the House for the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 5 million from current revenue and Rs. 15 million from Loan Funds for the industrial development of the Island during the current year. Here again, as in the case of Agriculture, we have provided money for every one of the requirements in the plan of industrial development, and the expenditure for the current year 1948-49 is linked up with the long-term plan for the industrial development of Ceylon. The total expenditure under the Ministry of Industries under both current revenue as well as Loan Funds comes to Rs. 25.2 million.

In an undeveloped country like Ceylon, the State must play an important, in fact the most important part, in industrial development. Government has decided that certain basic industries, such as power and heavy industries, e.g. steel and cement, and industries which provide the necessities of life, should be state-owned. We realise the difficulties that the Government as well as the private industrialists must face without expert advice and scientific knowledge. The Government therefore would welcome the investing of money, whether it is local or foreign, in the development of our resources, provided the most modern methods are used in such development.

COMMERCE AND TRADE

The Ministry of Commerce also helps in the development of the national wealth by providing the channels for the distribution of the manufactured products. Trade, internal as well as external, is the pivot upon which the whole of our economic system swings. Even now 90 per cent of our trade is in the hands of non-Ceylonese. This Ministry seeks to recover that trade and bring it to the hands of the Ceylonese. Trade representatives will be appointed in various parts of the world to advertise our products, and the Tourist Bureau will be given new life to attract to our shores visitors with money to spend. The coconut industry comes under the care of this Ministry, particularly with regard to the export of coconut products under the existing contract with the United Kingdom. Tea and Rubber also are being nominally looked after as regards the internal sale of tea and the ensuring of a satisfactory price for the small rubber producer.

LOCAL CULTIVATORS' NEEDS

Equally important as our trade with foreign countries is our internal trade. Local cultivators need constant help in the form of attractive prices for their produce, and the Marketing Department, as well as the Co-operative Department which comes under another Minister, seek to establish machinery for the distribution of goods from the producer to the consumer without interference of the middle-man. The Marketing Department maintains several sections dealing with various aspects of this problem.

It may also be mentioned here that as soon as the Ceylon Citizenship Bill and the connected bills are passed, legislation will be introduced to ensure a higher percentage of participation by the nationals of the country in trade, commerce and industrial activities as regards management, labour, and finance. In the current year's estimates this Ministry will spend a sum of Rs 1.8 million from current revenue and Rs. 1.2 million from Loan Funds, a large portion of which money will be utilised for the modernising of the rice milling machines.

UTILITY SERVICES

Road and Rail

It is the function of a modern State to supply utility services, necessary not only for the social welfare of the people but to facilitate the development of the country also. Ceylon has been ahead of many countries in this field. The main services that have been rendered for several years can be collected under the heads of Transport, Post and Telecommunications, Ports, Civil Aviation and Power. Road and rail transport have been the subject of se-

vere criticism in recent years. The five years of war not only retarded the improvement and development of these services, but have tended to make them worse than what they were. Lost ground has now to be recovered. The repair of damage done during the post and the rehabilitation of the services was the first care of the Government. Except for the railway, it can now be said that the major roads and the post and telecommunication services have now regained their lost prestige. The Railway for several reasons which have been mentioned in this House by the Minister in charge, finds it difficult to afford a modern and comfortable service.

It has become a heavy burden on the exchequer. Private omnibus services which use our roads have also been criticised owing to their monopolist ownership and the defects in the service they render. The Minister has secured the services of Mr. D. R. Rutnam, a Ceylonese member of the Indian Civil Service, with a wide experience of transport problems in India, to come out to Ceylon and report on the question of a better co-ordination between road and rail transport with a view to eliminating competition and loss. When his report is ready, and the decision of the Government on the whole question of road and rail transport is made, possibly before the end of the year, early measures will be taken to put that policy into effect.

I do not wish to anticipate what this program will be, I can say, however, our plans will seek to provide better, more efficient and useful service to the public.

ROAD POLICY

In regard to the future expansion of the road policy, a glance at the road map will show where the defects in the present system lie. Past policy has been one of connecting the City of Colombo to the areas producing the three major agricultural exports, viz. tea, rubber and coconut. There has been no proper balance in the road development program to meet the needs of the general population. Our future plan, therefore for roads will be linked up with the schemes for the agricultural and industrial development of the country. At present emphasis will be laid on roads supplying the needs of the new agricultural schemes providing access mainly to irrigation works and colonisation schemes dependent on them.

The Port of Colombo remains our vital harbour for international communication and trade. The recent modernisation of the Port by the provision of a scheme for the bulk shipment of coconut oil is an example of schemes to following in the future.

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(Continued on page 5)

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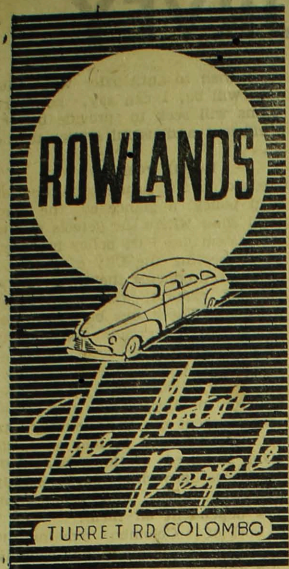
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EDUCATION POLICY

At a meeting in Anuradhapura last week Mr. M. Senanayake repeated the Government's resolution to give more and more education to the children of this country. There has admittedly been doubt and diffidence among some about the future of the free education scheme as a result of the decision of the Minister of Education to defer the date by which grant-in-aid schools should make up their minds either to enter or keep away from the free schools. Irresponsible agitators have endeavoured to find in it a sinister intention to destroy the entire free education scheme. Schools which have already entered the scheme regret that they have been penalised precisely because they were ready to cooperate with the Government. Any suggestion of sabotage is mischievous and misleading. The distress and anxiety of schools which do not now levy fees should be dispelled if the circumstances were considered in which the Minister came to announce that deadline had been deferred.

According to the decision of the State Council all schools had to enter the free scheme by October this year or cease to receive any State assistance. While some schools had immediately opted for the scheme, others had preferred to make up their minds by October. In the meantime there was a persistent agitation that the equipment grant to which schools were entitled under the free education plan was woefully inadequate. It appeared to be the case that which deterred schools entering the scheme was the insufficient grant. It was also abundantly clear that on the meagre grant contemplated the quality of education would deteriorate. There was available the experience of such schools as Dharmaraja which had accepted free education and that confirmed these fears.

When the present Cabinet took over the administration of the country in November, the first task it had to face was that of working out the change to Dominion Status. That issue was the pre-occupation of the first session of the present Parliament. With independence achieved and the immediate problems of the transition period cleared, the Government could address itself to other compelling questions. Education was one of them. The country expected that the dissatisfaction with the conditions attached to free education should be cleared. But here the factor of time limited any comprehensive

Another "Left" Effort to Achieve Unity

By Nandalal

THE recurring decimal of Leftist politics is the effort to unite the several warring factions which profess to be Marxists. The divisions and differences among the Leftists would be healed if it were possible to reconcile the Sama Samajists with the Communists. In spite of the appearance they assume of a broker trying to effect a marriage between their co-Trotskyist Sama Samaj Party and the Stalinist Party, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva simply does not count. Philip Gunewardene's devastating denunciation of them as "parlour Bolsheviks spinning their sterile theories in the drawing rooms of the Cinnamon Gardens" is a vigorous truth. The Bagatelle Bolsheviks have a following only among a few frustrated University students and graduates of one year's standing, whose enthusiasm for the vapid politics of Leon Trotsky wanes as soon as they have secured that Government post which is their ultimate destination. The B.L.P.I. lacks a mass backing. It has no working class organisations behind it.

GALKISSA ELECTION

THIS was clearly indicated in the Galkissa ward by-election of the Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia Urban Council. Though Edmund Samarakody won that seat for the B.L.P.I., it was admitted even by members of that party that such of the working class as voted the "Left" ticket entirely supported Robert Gunewardene of the L.S.S.P. The Galkissa Ward is a predominantly petite bourgeoisie electorate and Edmund Samarakody's support was derived from that section of society.

The achievement of "Left" unity to be effective, in the circumstances, must be a solid coalition of the Communists, who are behind the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, on the one hand and on the other hand of the Lanka Sama Samajist Party, which is behind the Ceylon Workers' Federation.

I gather that a conference to discuss what the Sama Samajists call "a united front of Trade Unions" is being summoned. This meeting, I am told, is to be held on July 30, 31 and on August 1.

SIX SLOGANS

POLITICAL philosophy and attitudes for the Marx brothers in Ceylon are defined and determined by slogans, so often a substitute for the rigours of mental exertion. The Sama Samajists are offering six slogans for the occasion of the conference. These are:

decision. The State Council had decreed that schools which were joining the scheme in October this year should intimate their intention to do so by July. The time between the end of the first session of Parliament and July was too short for any solution to be reached satisfying to all sections. The Cabinet's announcement, therefore, is wise that it should have given more time for decision to schools. Had those schools which had not yet joined been forced to enter an inadequate scheme the standard of education in all schools would have been grievously lowered. Now there is time to work out a reasonable equipment grant which would prevent free education degenerating into shoddy education. One earnest pledge of the Government's desire to make adequate provision is the raising of the grant to Sinhalese and Tamil schools.

- (1) Build the unity of Trade Unions.
- (2) For the fight against Fascism and Reaction, strengthen the organisations of the working classes.
- (3) Build strong Unions on the basis of one Union for one industry.
- (4) Establish one strong central Trade Union organisation.
- (5) To build a single Trade Union central organisation establish at once a united Trade Union Front.
- (6) Build a united front of all working class groups within the Parliament.

The necessity for these slogans arises from the L.S.S.P.'s analysis of the contemporary political situation.

According to the Sama Samaj diagnosis the working class faces a frightful danger.

With the aid of British-U.S. finance capital, world capitalism is endeavouring, it is alleged, to strike at the growing working class movement, whose strength has been especially developing since the war. The United States is not only endeavouring to destroy democratic rights in its own country, but also those in the rest of the world; in India, it is alleged, the Nehru Government is striving to destroy the strength of the working class; in Burma the capitalist offensive against the working class consists not only of repressive legislation and police action but of open military action. The Sama Samajists presume that Mr. Senanayake and Sir Lionel Kotelawala too will profit by these examples and seek to emulate them.

I have described in detail the L.S.S.P.'s latest political thesis with the particular purpose of pointing out how very similar it is to the Communist diagnosis of the contemporary situation.

COMMUNIST CONTENTION

THE Communists too have discovered an anti-national, anti-working class, anti-democratic policy on the part of "world capitalism."

Here then are two political physicians agreed in their diagnosis of the disease in the body politic. They even prescribe the same remedy.

The Sama Samajists declare that the cure would consist of working class unity—to protect working class rights. The Communists claim as the sovereign remedy—again working class unity—"the unity of the working people, of the peasants and the radical middle class, singly and in their several class, social and political organisations."

What is then the difficulty that deters Leftist unity? Here the miracle seems to have been accomplished of two distinctly divergent organisations, of two violently conflicting ideologists, speaking the same language, seeking the same immediate ends.

Working class unity would mean trade union unity—yet why is that so elusive, so difficult to achieve?

The explanation lies in the aims and ambitions of the Leftist parties, in the peculiar nature of the working class movement in Ceylon. That explanation will indicate why every effort to reach "working class unity" or Leftist unity among the Communists and the Sama Samajists is doomed to ignominious failure.

NOT THE FIRST EFFORT

LET it be noted, first, that this is not the first effort to bring about Left unity. The Sama Samajists claim that they have been working for that end since 1945. The Communists would give equal antiquity to their efforts. The L.S.S.P. claims that the Communists disrupted their effort; the Communists charge that on every occasion the L.S.S.P. leadership opposed the appeal for unity.

There is a glaring contradiction in this situation—where two political parties, which publicly profess the same purposes, should be dividing and disrupting the same working class whose welfare they allege is their consuming concern.

According to the Sama Samajists there are two rival Leftist trade unions for harbour workers, for estate workers there are four labour organisations: for engineering and skilled workers there are several trade unions.

This is more or less confirmed by a scrutiny of the latest report of the Labour Commissioner.

(Continued on page 5)

"Left" Unity

(Continued from page 4)

According to that report "the distribution of Unions in the various industries...discloses overlapping and duplication in trade union organisation which can only weaken trade unionism and cause wasteful and uneconomic competition to the detriment of the worker-member."

The Labour Department has "therefore constantly appealed to unions to end this rivalry and strive for trade union unity if an effective and progressive trade union movement is to evolve."

POLITICAL INSTRUMENTS

THESE divisions exist, though they are detrimental to the interests of the working class, because to the Leftists trade unions are instruments subservient to their political purposes.

In the programme of the B.L.P.I. (this was written when the Sama Samajists and the Bagatalle Bolsheviks were working together) it is declared: "Trades Unions are not ends in themselves; they are but means along the road to proletarian revolution."

In this conception, common also to the Communists, the Trade Union movement supports and buttresses the political aims and ambitions of the various Leftist parties. This explains why there should be conflicting organisations to fight for the identical interests of the working class.

The Trades Unions tail behind the political organisations of the Leftists. This was clearly illustrated during the war by the remarkable rapidity with which unions attached to the Ceylon Trade Union Federation adopted resolutions passed by the Ceylon Communist Party. Similar situations arise among the Sama Samajist Unions.

As things are at present the trades unions are the weapons of the political parties, and in that situation lies the reason why Leftist unity either as posed by the Communists or the Lanka

Sama Samaj Party cannot be attained.

A single Trade Union centre, single unions for single industries, would involve a surrender of the sovereignty which the various political parties exert over the unions. Such a surrender which would permit the unions to decide on their own which view is correct. The basis of such unity would be either political unanimity among the Leftists or a total change in the conception of trade unions which would mean their conversion into units purely for economic amelioration.

The difficulty is that unanimity of Leftist opinion is impossible because they are so hopelessly divided on the methods of the revolution they desire or on their attitudes to the Soviet Union.

If the Leftists can achieve genuine agreement on these issues then working class unity in the context of the present situation would be possible.

As it is each Party is suspicious of the other; each fears to expose its following to the influence of the other, because should one's views prevail on the workers, political extinction is the consequence for the other.

It can therefore be confidently predicted that the coming conference for working class unity will be abortive.

It will be dashed to pieces on the rocks of political theory; on the resolutions regarding the international situation which have so often wrecked previous efforts for concerted action.

Should, however, any unity emerge, it would be tenuous and purely in order to appease a demand that there should be agreement among the Left. Any alliance will always be uneasy.

Until the working classes themselves acquire enough political maturity to direct their own affairs and so long as the political domination of the Leftists persists over trade unions working class unity will be only a pipe-dream of the politically naive.

BADDEGAMA

By C. de Tivoli

A BY-ELECTION to the House of Representatives is to take place shortly at Baddegama—the seat being rendered vacant by the untimely death of Mr. Simon Abeywickrema. The Socialist leaders have been active in the South criticising the Government and pronouncing, rather pretentiously, to the people of Ceylon the full realization of social democracy and the millennium that this brand of democracy denotes. They are trying to delude the people of Lanka into believing that they and they alone are the arbitrators of what is good and proper for the people. But against the complicated background of world events and the unsettled conditions the electors must realise that the alternative offered them is a discordant organisation of incompetently led malcontents with no practical programme of suitable and enlightened development compared to that of the present Government.

Apparently the Leftist leaders regard the coalition party in power a heterogeneous composition and an unconvinc-

ing compound of labour, capital, Sinhalese and Tamil. Actually the Government which was given its mandate at the General Election claims to represent a broad-based following. The U.N.P., far from being an autocratic dictatorship filling the offices with its own Party men, in the greater and essential interest of sound administration, has sought the help of ability wherever it could be found. This is striking evidence of the spirit of service for the establishment of an independent self-governing country. It would be futile to ignore that general discontent may express itself by a reckless use of the vote, but the U.N.P. leadership should concentrate on the elementary essentials of the country's needs.

If they fail to consolidate or exploit the potential of the country by pooling all resources disaster faces the country. The main problems facing the Government is the menacing growth of unemployment and inflation which in their cumulative affect can destroy the very foundations of good Government and the State.

FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 3)

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

The Public Works Department is another Department which performs a public service of great importance though there is, sometimes, a little delay in the execution of orders. This department, started in the days of Colonial Government, now finds it difficult to cope with the tremendous pressure of work it is entrusted with. The Minister I understand, has a scheme for the re-organisation of the P.W.D. In the meantime, it has undertaken a large-scale building program, and if the supply of imported material does not fail, it expects to complete during the year 1948-49 work to the value of Rs. 33½ million. The utility services under these two Ministries will be spending out of current revenue a sum of Rs. 86.4 million and out of Loan Funds a sum of Rs. 43.7 million which include the expenditure on the completion of the Hydro-Electric Scheme.

The Hydro-Electric Scheme at Laxapana deserves some reference, for the future development of the country depends to a large extent on its completion. The Minister in charge has recovered a lot of lost ground and intends to complete the first stage of the schemes and to begin the second stage by the end of this financial year.

It may be useful to compare the power that will be available for use from the various stages of this scheme with the power produced by the Colombo Power Station, which at peak load produces only 10,000 kilowatts.

GRANTS TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES

We must not forget while considering utility services, the numerous services promoted and provided by local authorities, such as the Municipal Council of Colombo, and the numerous other local bodies. The grants that will be made during the year 1948-49 under this head to Local Bodies reach a total of Rs. 25,717,005, out of which Rs. 5,032,500 are from Loan Funds.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Under British rule, until recently the people of Ceylon relied almost exclusively on private charity for social services. The combination of private alms, public charity, government grants, and free medical assistance proved fairly

satisfactory so long as the Island was fundamentally rural and as long as the three main export products brought in valuable returns. With the economic depression of 1931 and the malaria epidemic which followed close upon it, the necessity for more substantial and direct government aid to the unemployed and the needy came into prominence. The malaria epidemic of 1934-35 brought to the forefront of public questions the necessity for State intervention in times of distress.

The expenditure which fell on the Government during this period on relief work alone was over Rs. 8 million, whereas organised charity was able to provide only Rs. 140,000.

In 1944 a Commission with Sir Ivor Jennings as Chairman was appointed to report on the adequacy of the existing social assistance and allied services, their improvement, and also to make suggestions with regard to the introduction of social insurance schemes such as old age pensions and the like. The Commission issued a very valuable, comprehensive and detailed report in February 1947. Owing to the impending dissolution of the State Council the report was not implemented, but as a forerunner to its implementation a Ministry of Social Services has been created by the present Government with a Department of Social Services under it. This Budget makes provision for a sum of Rs 14.7 million as expenditure under that department. An officer experienced in social service administration has also been recruited from New Zealand to be the Head of the department for a period of a few years.

PLACE OF STATE

In considering the place of the State in the provision of adequate social services, it should be remembered that social services are a means not of creating wealth but of distributing it. It can of course be argued by taking a long view that they help production by maintaining a healthy population free from want. Until this object is achieved, however, they remain a tax on production. It is not the hope of gain but considerations of social and human justice which demand the provision of social services. I am trying to emphasise

(Continued on page 6)



SECURITY THEN AND NOW

In the Lanka under the ancient kings every man was guaranteed a secure life. He had food, clothing, land and a dwelling for himself and his family. In return he was only required to perform "rajakariya" — service to the king whenever called up to do so.

In modern Ceylon man is secure only as long as he can work, and anything can happen, to deprive him of either his job or his capacity to work.

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SPORTS

Commentary

COVER-POINT

IN just under two weeks from today we shall be right in the midst of August Week. Entries for the August race meet closed early this week and, judging from the support given to every race that has been framed, a record-breaking meet is in prospect.

The two most coveted prizes are, of course, the first Governor-General's Cup and the Roberts Cup and in both these races the entries represent the full strength of the top class. Trainers are now hard at work getting their charges ready for the fray and there is quite a bustle of activity on the Havelock Racecourse every morning. Way up at Nuwara Eliya, too, the horses are going through their paces and one thing that is certain is that the horses that line up at the barrier during August will all be trained to the minute.

As there will be another issue of this paper before the August Meet opens, I shall defer my analysis of the races till next week and confine myself today to a brief review of the July Meet which has just ended.

To my mind the three highlights of the meet were the defeat of Kunj Lata in the Black Buck Stakes, the runaway victory of Mayfair in the Luxo Plate and the brilliant performance of Tanstar who might have won at both his starts but for interference in the second race.

Opinion is sharply divided on the defeat of Kunj Lata. Some hold the view that she did all that could be expected of her in running Devilment to 1½ lengths after conceding the waler 43 lbs. Others seem to think that she is not as brilliant as she was a year ago and that she has lost her old dash. Both points of view merit consideration though at the moment I am inclined to agree with the latter. As I saw the race, Kunj Lata was galloping where she stood as it were, when asked for her effort.

The manner in which Mayfair won over 1½ miles left no doubt as to his class. Unfortunately he is a hard horse to ride and is certainly not a boy's mount. If the services of a strong rider can be secured for him, he will be well in the finishing line in both the Roberts' and Madras Cups.

Tanstar has reached the peak of condition and, if he can be kept at that pitch, will take a lot of beating in the Lawyer's Cup. Victory in this race will make him eligible to run in the Governor-General's Cup and who knows he may even emulate the performance of his stable-mate Kunj Lata who won both these races 12 months back.

THOUGH tomorrow is a blank day so far as racing is concerned, sports fans will have their full measure of thrills on the Racecourse when the C.H. and F.C. are at home to the C.R. and F.C. in the return rugger match which is bound to be an epic struggle.

When they last met the Ceylonese scraped home to victory against the run of play. Since then they have carried all before them, with almost cricket scores, whereas the C.H. and F.C. have tasted defeat once at the hands of Dikoya. The star C.R. and F.C. winger Mollegoda, injured himself last week as did two others and I do hope they will be fit for the fray tomorrow. The match is bound to be played at a terrific pace and no quarter will be asked and none given. In wishing the best of luck to both sides, may I express the hope that the crowd, particularly the Ceylonese section of it, will not allow their excitement to get the better of their sportsmanship as some of them were inclined to do when the Clubs first met last month at Longden Place.

THE penultimate match of the Inter-Club Cricket Competition will be played next week-end between the S.S.C. "A" and the Tamil Union on the Colombo Oval. By way of preparation for this match the S.S.C. met the B.R.C. last week and just swamped them by an innings. Derrick de Saram was in grand form combining splendid defence with aggressive brilliance in scoring a century. Koo de Saram and R. B. Wijesinghe also batted well to top the 50 mark. Except for Heyn in the first innings, the B.R.C. offered little resistance to the varied S.S.C. attack. What pleased me most in this match was the magnificent fielding of the S.S.C. They gave nothing away and their returns were so accurate that there were five run outs.

BY the time these notes are in print, the Fourth Test would have commenced at Leeds. The return of Hutton to the England team was inevitable after his brilliant batting in the Grace Centenary match at Lord's. I welcome the inclusion of the Lancashire captain Cranston, who has been in fine form with bat and ball. The omission of Dollery and Emmett, was only to be expected after their poor showing at Old Trafford. England has, of course, lost the Ashes but they can make a draw of the present series if only they can follow up what they achieved at Old Trafford when rain alone prevented an English victory.

FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 5)

that the moneys we spend on social service must come out of our gross national income and, apart from the moneys we spend on children or on the temporarily sick who may help to produce wealth in the future, expenditure on the rest will continue to be a permanent and unproductive charge on the national income.

FIRST MEASURE

The Government therefore considers social services within the limits of our current national income and to the extent it can bear distribution without causing a strain on the national economy. The first measure of social service now being provided which merits attention is the payment of charitable allowances. This Parliament recently increased these allowances from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 in the case of individuals, and from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 in the case of families. The number of those receiving these allowances is also being increased, and a sum of Rs. 8 million—four times the amount provided in the previous year—is provided in the current year for public assistance. In addition to this form of public assistance casual relief due to fire, accident or a similar cause, and relief to cover distress of a widespread nature through failure of crops, floods, or an act of God claim a sum of Rs. 6½ million. The problem of unemployment is now being given special attention, and a sum of almost Rs. 2½ million has been voted under this Head together with a sum of Rs. 2 million, to provide measures for increasing employment. The main difficulty seems to be not dearth of jobs but to find the job which the unemployed person thinks he is fitted to do.

MEDICAL SERVICES

The description of our existing social services would be incomplete without reference to the medical services that this Government provides. Figures may relate the tale more eloquently than words. In 1937 the Ministry of Health spent Rs. 12½ million. Today it will spend from current revenue Rs. 56 million and from Loan Funds almost Rs. 7 million. Disease is the primary cause of a low standard of living just as much as a low standard of living is often a help to the growth of disease. We are thus caught up in a vicious circle, and the Government has set out to attack on all fronts. The policy of the Government is to increase the number of Government medical institutions in rural areas with a view to providing adequate medical facilities in the remotest village. At the same time the larger hospitals will be modernised according to a plan, and a sum of Rs. 2 million will be spent this year out of an expenditure of Rs. 20 million which will be spent out of Loan Funds during a period of years. One of the greatest drawbacks has been the lack of trained personnel such as doctors and nurses. There are less than 1,000 doctors—an average of about 1 doctor for 10,000. In Great Britain the average is 1 doctor for 2,000 people.

SANITARY SERVICES

The Sanitary Services are as important as the Medical Services, for medical cure will not be necessary if prevention of disease is possible. It has been said that "civilisation rests on drains and sewers", and taking this slogan to heart the Government has provided adequate sums of money for the provision of water and housing schemes in several towns and villages. The Department of Local Government which is charged with these special functions, is spending about Rs. 25 million this year through local bodies to provide the amenities of modern civilisation to our people. One valuable set of statistics should convince the listener that the services rendered by the Government of this country in the sphere of social and medical services are now reaping their reward. A phenomenal drop in the death and infant mortality rates in Ceylon is one of the most significant events of this country. The success of the Anti-Malaria Campaign, the provision of free meals in schools and free milk to children, together with an adequate distribution of foodstuffs to the poorest member of the community at controlled prices have been some of the contributory causes in lowering these mortality rates. Total deaths have come down by about 40,000 in one year, or a decrease of 28 per cent, on last year. Infant deaths have come down by about 10,000 or a decrease of about 24 per cent.

FOOD SUBSIDIES

The Ministry of Food also finds a place within the category of those per-

forming social services, for it provides the heavy subsidies which lessen the burden of food on the family budget. This year we include a sum of Rs. 50 million on this account to be met from current revenue. Throughout the 6 years of the war the main task of the Government was to find means to avert a famine which would have been the result of the cutting off of our essential food supplies. The people were called upon to increase local production and every possible outside source was combed to keep the population from starvation. I wish to pay a personal tribute to Sir Oliver Goonetilleke for the great services he rendered to this country during the war—a period of emergency unparalleled in its history. He, as much as anyone else, showed the powerful representatives of the ruling race who worked in Ceylon during the war, that the sons of Lanka were as capable of organisation and planning as those of any other country. The system of subsidies was begun during these years, and the Minister of Food has placed before this House a supplementary estimate to sanction the expenditure of over Rs. 200 million drawn from surplus funds for the payment of these subsidies. Through milk feeding centres, for which a sum of Rs. 2½ million has been provided, 200,000 children are fed daily at 3,500 centres. A mid-day meal provided free by the Minister of Education and costing this year Rs. 9 million is another of the social services this Government is responsible for.

EDUCATION

This brings me to the Ministry of Education which gives to the mind what the Ministry of Health seeks to give to the body. After many years of criticism the last State Council adopted a scheme of national education based largely on the recommendations of a Commission which it had appointed. The basic principles of our educational system have now been accepted and criticism is directed more to the defects in the carrying out of the plan than against the plan itself. Two of the fundamental parts of that plan, viz., that education should be free, and that it should increasingly be through the mother tongue, will not be changed by this Government. The problem that now needs immediate and wise solution is how to educate the youth of this country not to be mere sharers of the wealth that is already being produced but to be active participants in the campaign for increasing our national wealth in the future. Diversification of education is as important as diversification of agriculture.

It can thus be seen that under the Ministry of Health which through its medical services gives free medical aid throughout the Island and through its Sanitary Services seeks to render unnecessary the giving of that aid; through the Ministry of Food with its milk centres and subsidies on food; through the Ministry of Education with its free meals and free education; and through the financial aid and other social service assistance given by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, we are spending both from current revenue as well as from Loan Funds a sum of Rs. 270.6 million or about 40 per cent. of our total expenditure on social services. Free Ceylon may very justly and proudly call itself a social service state.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

Just as our services to the people will continue to expand our obligations in the international sphere will increase in a Free Ceylon. We have as yet neither the resources nor the personnel to appoint Ambassadors on the same scale as the more influential members of the Commonwealth. Several centuries ago, however, the Ambassadors from ancient Ceylon "saluted the Roman purple" in the time of Claudius Caesar (A.D. 40). In the words of Pliny "legatos quatuor misti principe eorum Rachia." While, therefore, utilising the services of British Embassies, which the U.K. Government has very kindly placed at our disposal, where we have no representative of our own, it has been decided to appoint Representatives immediately in the U.K., the U.S.A., and India, and general provision has been made for the establishment of Missions in a few other countries with whom Ceylon has very close economic and political connections.

(Continued on page 7)

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By Quintus Delilkhan

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT A MYTH

WE are apt to think generally of the Russian Revolution as an upurge of a great national idea, but it is nothing of the kind. It is by virtue of ideas imposed from outside that this revolution took place. The disintegration of Czarist Russia amazingly coincided with the dominance of an idea which had kept the minds of a small number of determined men who had watched the symptoms of the degenerate times and were fully prepared to take advantage of it, by imposing on the inchoate Russian masses an iron organization. It was inevitable that once these men had set their hands to this work, they should unchain forces which would get beyond their control. Organisation can do much in some directions but it can also do very little in other directions because the spirit of man is a stubborn thing which cannot be summarily brought into subjection to a system which weighs so heavily upon the soul of a people. Communism has attempted to do away with religion as inimical to its own hold upon the people but this has not been entirely possible. The process of corruption of the mind and heart of youth has brought about a very considerable reaction and it became inevitable that many concessions had to be made and are even now being made, not however because Communism is growing more amenable to reason but entirely because it has realised that there are matters beyond its power to determine. The people who have been dazed by events which have hurried them away from their age-long moorings begin at some stage to realise that they have been devastatingly deprived of what is essential to their happiness and well being. The masses chained to revolution were perhaps glad to be rid of all restraints. They perhaps thought that they would be satisfied with the licence which they had won. But no country could live for any length of time in a state approaching chaos, either mentally or in respect of their physical conditions. After an adjustment of physical conditions, the mind becomes more free to judge, weigh and ponder. It is then that communism stands on its trial within its own borders, and is found to be wanting. It might be accepted safely as an axiom of human history that the mind of man after long wandering tends to return to the sound ideals it has temporarily discarded. Communist leaders cannot be comfortable over this turn of the tide. As soon as religion begins to assert itself the demand for liberty begins to manifest itself. Ever afterwards communism sits uncomfortably and insecurely in the saddle. It always dreads such reactions, but there are limits to the exercise of force and they are baffled on what course they are to adopt. This, however, actually means that they have come up against forces which threaten the defeat of their cruel dominance over the untameable spirit of man. But some admissions must also in fairness be made. The Russian monarchy at the time of its collapse had no hold on the people. No one wanted to defend it. It had lost all that prestige which in England supports the idea of monarchy as necessary to the constitution. The wall of bureaucracy stood between himself and the people. He pathetically believed himself to be the spiritual father of his people but in reality they had completely disowned him. One very fatal error was committed at a time when the greatest circumspection was necessary. Rasputin for the weak-minded Emperor became the one link with the people, and the people hated Rasputin because he was a figure of evil, the sinister glow of whose corrupt mysticism lighted the downfall of those who had futilely placed their hopes in him, and had allowed him the fatal privilege of appointing Bishops who became fawning creatures upon the new despot and unable to assert the rights of religion when communism had come into power because they were despised by all Rus-

sians, both the leaders of the new atheism and the people of the old orthodox faith. The fate of Russia was a terrible one, and seemed as it were a judgment upon all those who were responsible for the spiritual degeneracy which had been allowed to invade the life of the masses. It is good to note that at least now, after so wide an interval of years, the Russian masses are showing signs of a return to sanity in the sphere of religion.

THE psychology of hatred has been given a new meaning in the modern world. It has created sad havoc, but it has been an instrument which has fully served the purposes of designing men who would march confidently to power on the shortest possible route. The Russian revolution could not have become a success unless there was foisted an agrarian revolution, and this was the first object of the revolutionary leaders. They played upon the discontent of the peasantry and they did everything they could to foster in them hatred of the land-owning classes who in Russia was practically composed of the nobles and the civil servants. The peasants were not bound by any strong ties to the owners of the land. They did not see any reason why these privileged classes should not be abolished at the first opportunity, especially as they were exasperated by the pride of the first group and the ubiquity and grasping nature of the second group. They had also a strong feeling against the nobles because they remembered the degradation of their serfdom and how impossible it was for them to rise above their own level, because the nobility would have made it impossible for them to do so. The nobility was to them a race of foreigners, having their customs, manners, culture and standards of living so entirely and unattainably different from the ordinary peasant class. The peasants were ready to cast off their yoke and they did so with alacrity hoping for wonderful changes in their own lives. When, however, the Russian peasants were told about the dictatorship of the proletariat they did not realise that they were being badly misled by the leaders of the new evangel. It is a glaring absurdity to talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat. One does not talk of the dictatorship of Nazism or of the dictatorship of Fascism. One can only speak of the dictatorship of Hitler or of Mussolini. The Russian peasants expected much more than they could ever obtain. Such a state of affairs as was anticipated was utterly impossible. This term, the dictatorship of the proletariat was only the slogan of the communist revolutionary propagandists. The peasants were being deliberately led into a blind alley. When the privileged classes were abolished, the peasant was told exactly what he should do to merely maintain his existence. The serf was assured of his necessary portion of food, well or ill. He was a dependent on the noble, and there was security for him at least as far as bare existence was concerned. The serf to the new machine of production ceased to count as an individual with definite rights. He was told what he should do if he wanted to live, and it was austerity living all over Russia. The peasant very soon learnt that he had to put up with the brutal violence of his new master. The peasants were entirely unwilling to adopt a system of collectivization for the farms. They wanted the great estates and all the land broken up into individual units. They were forced to work the farms on the collectivization basis, and every method of harshness was employed to break them to what was conceived to be the common need. This brutality was now not enforced on them by the nobility but by men of the common mass who could be expected to understand the needs of the peasantry much better than their former masters. This was the irony of the position for the peasantry flushed with high hopes. Their old masters had scourged them with rods. They were now scourged with scorpions. Their disillusionment must accordingly have been exceedingly bitter.

COMMUNISM has created a machine-made man, a really repellent type of the new humanity. In

communism we hear the tale of violence and brutality and men subjected to rules which are most galling to humanity. It is refreshing to turn from this picture to another which presents man in a form and bearing wholly and widely different. The purpose of the democratic state is to mould good citizens. The purpose the genuine religious ideal is to mould good men. The good man is the perfect type of the good citizen. He obeys the laws so far as it does not conflict with the supreme rights of conscience. He does not need to live in the fear of the law because he has a higher and more exacting law within to which he is promptly obedient. Of such a man it might be said that he is the great basis for the security of the State. The more such men there are the better is the law obeyed and the obligations of citizenship are habitually discharged without the necessity of either the supervision or the coercion of the State. In

"STUDIES IN MYSTICAL RELIGION" by Rufus M. Jones (COLOMBO BOOK CENTRE), a MacMillan publication, we are brought face to face with characters who have far transcended the obligations of citizenship and are the representatives of a type of humanity which is an asset to the whole human race. For example of Francis of Assisi it has been said that he is the world's most divine democrat. There are hosts of others who have lived up to the highest possible levels of heroic idealism and become a source of happiness to their country and a beacon to humanity. There is a story that during the last days of Lenin he was haunted by the suffering, bloodshed and misery he had brought and he told an old schoolmate who was a priest that it was only then, when it was too late, that he realised that Russia wanted only half a dozen such men as Francis of Assisi and that it would have been transformed into a happy country.

FINANCE MINISTER'S SURVEY

(Continued from page 6)

The staff structure of these Missions, while limited in size by local requirements, follow broadly the pattern of the Overseas Missions of other countries. It will include a Head of the Mission (his rank depending on the relative importance of the Mission), one or more Secretaries and Financial and Commercial Assistants. In the U.K., for instance, Ceylon will have the largest of her Missions; this is necessitated by the fact that apart from general considerations, this Mission will generally take over all the financial, supply and other functions which were hitherto carried out by the Crown Agents for the Colonies on our behalf.

Minister in charge of External Affairs will shortly introduce three Bills in this connection, viz. (1) The Ceylon Citizenship Bill; (2) The Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill; and (3) The Migration Bill. When this question is finally decided we hope the ties that have bound us through the centuries to India will be increasingly strengthened for our mutual benefit.

Our policy in foreign affairs is to be the friend of all and the enemy of none, even of that country which while talking of democracy and freedom seeks to obstruct our entry into the comity of Free Nations.

DEFENCE

NEED FOR CITIZENSHIP LAWS Independence also means that we have to define who the Nationals of Ceylon are. We are still British subjects, a status we enjoy in common with millions of others in the Commonwealth and the Empire. Until we have our citizenship laws, immigration cannot be regulated or controlled in accordance with our national requirements. The question of the rights and status of non-nationals in Ceylon, particularly of the Indian labourers resident in Ceylon, and of their absorption into the permanent population, both as regards the number and the rate of absorption which has been the concern of our two countries, can now be decided. The

The defence of Ceylon is now entirely the responsibility of this Parliament. We have agreed with the U.K. to assist each other against aggression in a manner mutually agreed upon. We do not intend, however, to rely entirely on outside help. At the beginning a small but efficient defence force comprising the Army, the Navy and the Air Force will be organised. Legislation will shortly be introduced in this House for the establishment of these forces. The estimates which involve the expenditure of about Rs. 5.5 million from both current and loan funds, are intended to provide for the establishment of the nucleus of that force.

(To be Continued)

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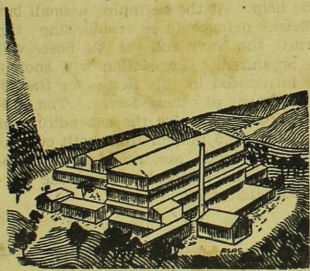
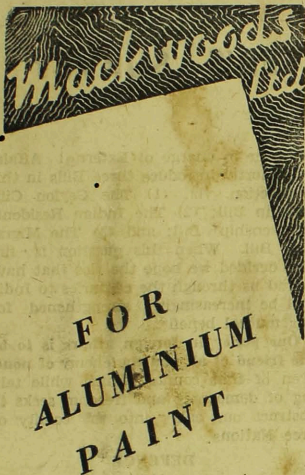
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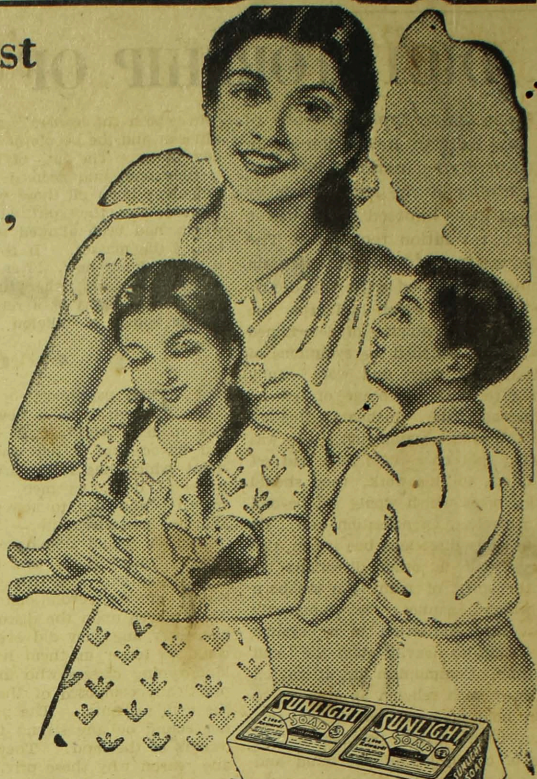
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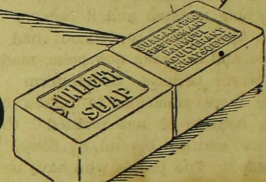
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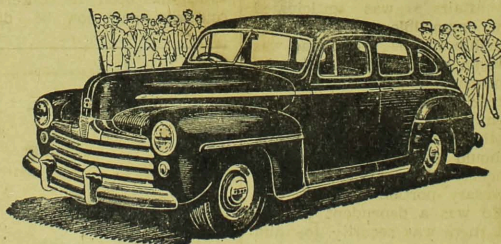
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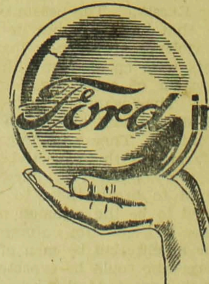
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