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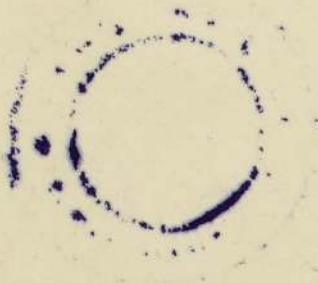
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Tribute to
AN ASIAN STATESMAN'S VISION
AND FORESIGHT



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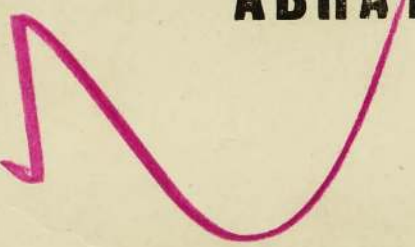
FORTY YEARS OF PARLIAMENTARY SERVICE AND ACTIVITY

of



ABHAYARATNE RATNAYAKE

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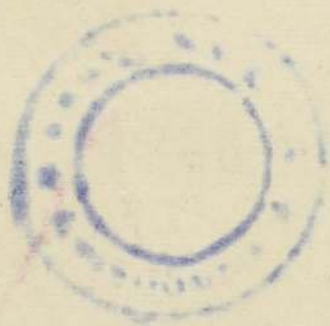


**M. S. C. for Dumbara,
M. P. for WATTEGAMA
Minister of Food
Co-operatives
Minister for Home Affairs
President of the Ceylon Senate,
1965 — 1971.**

**As a Tribute
Of his Colleagues, Friends, Well - Wishers**

**Colombo,
1971.**

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ABHAYARATNE RATNAYAKE

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P R E F A C E

It is, perhaps, somewhat uncommon to compile volumes of tribute and felicitation to politicians still actively engaged in their chosen task of service to the people and nation, since the true merit and quality of their achievement will be finally assayed in the crucible of historical reckoning and evaluation. If, therefore, an explanation is needed for the publication of this work, it is not to hard discover. For one it has only to make the most cursory glance through its pages and observe the number and variety of names and authors contributing to it, to realise that the subject of our homage and admiration was more than a mere politician, once a very honourable term, which, in our power crazy modern world has almost degenerated into a word of opprobrium and abuse. In the mass of tributes to his many sided work and character there runs one common and recurring refrain, namely that for Ratnayake, the Scholar and Philosopher who donned the mantle, or rather the mask, of politician, the power which political success and opportunity brought was, first and last, only the means to achieving his basically humanitarian goal and ideal. If, as President of the Senate, he had perforce to familiarise himself with the rules and interpretations of Parliamentary procedure and debate as set out in Erskine May's 'Parliamentary Procedure' he submitted to the discipline only as a necessary part of his public duty. Whenever he found relief or relaxation from official obligations there was nothing he more joyfully revelled in than expounding the intricacies of the 'Sattipattana sutra,' with an erudition of which few except his closest friends were aware, or the Universal Charter of Human Rights, or the Code of Prison Administration and Reform. Elementary and Higher Education, Public Health, the Co-operative Movement, Peasant Agriculture, Buddhist Temporalities, Religious Education, and the Sramadana Movement contributed but a small part of that all-embracing vision of social and national welfare and progress, too large and profound to be contained within the bounds of narrow party programs and loyalties. For whenever and wherever there was oppression, there would be found Abhyaratna Ratnayake, regardless of party or personal ties or affiliations. When the leaders of the Sama Samaja Party were imprisoned

during the War it was he who fearlessly and repeatedly moved for their release in the State Council, although faithful to his creed of socialism, democratically achieved and practised, he was firmly opposed to the Marxist philosophy of the overthrow of the State by violence and the institution of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today after nearly half a century of public duties Senator Ratnayake retires from the Parliamentary scene, vigorous and mentally alert, still concerned as ever for the happiness and welfare of the less fortunate in society. He has shifted only the battle ground, but the fight goes on with the same earnestness and good-humour, with tenacity and determination, but without a trace of rancour, malice, or ill-will. May this great and noble human soul live many more years to hearten, cheer, and inspire us, is we have no doubt, the fervent wish and prayer of all those throughout the length and breadth of this country, who have been benefited by his labours, or been moved by his high-souled utterances.

It would not be inappropriate here to make mention of four eminent personages who recur again and again in the course of Mr. Ratnayake's personal conversation as having in various ways influenced the course of his life. His father, Punchi Banda Ratnayake, a tireless worker in the temperance cause, who throughout his life was the constant inspirer of his social and humanitarian purposes and activities, guide philosopher and friend in the highest sense of the term. The Angarika Dharmapala, later ordained as the Rev. Devamitta Darmapala, who though so near to us in time, must surely rank with King Dutugemunu, Siri Sanga Bo, and Parakrama Bahu the Great, as the courageous and far-sighted architects of the nation's future in moments of gravest crisis. And in our own day the late D.S. Senanayake and S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake leaders of the nation and founders of the two principal political parties which have governed the country in the era of Independence.

To those who have so promptly, willingly, and cheerfully come forward to place on record in these pages their personal impressions of a man whom, to have met and associated with, even for a brief while, was itself a liberal education, the sincere thanks of the nation are due.

To those many individuals who have made contributions in money at the shortest possible notice to make this publication possible, but wish to remain anonymous, we offer our humble tribute of thanks. To the Honourable Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of all parties, and the general public, the members of the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations Committee and the National Chamber of Industries who have in various ways helped to speed up and sponsor this work we offer our sincere thanks. It remains to mention with thanks four well wishers of Mr. A. Ratnayake, namely Mr. A. Sangarapilla of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries, Mr. A. Edirisingha of Indo-Ceylon Friendship Society, Mr. Selvanathan and the Hon,ble Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya the Acting Minister of Justice.

Finally we thank our efficient helpers in typing out unreadable manuscript copy, Miss. Chulani Ratnayake and Miss. Chandana Tennakoon, and also members of the Senate staff and the energetic executive heads of the Hansa Publishers Ltd., for bringing out this publication at such short notice.

Since events in the political and social life of this country have been moving with breathtaking rapidity, the editors and the organising Committee who have been themselves faced with the necessity of bringing out this volume with unexpected haste, beg to apologise to the contributors of articles and the general public for any printing errors and other shortcomings of publication, which we and our printers, Messers. Hansa Publishers, have been working overtime to keep down to a minimum.

EDITORS.

Prof: F. R. Jayasuriya

Prof: T. Vimalananda

Pandit Daya Gunasekera, J.P.

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(18. - යුද්ධ හමුදාව), 1226-30, 1468, 1470, 1508.

(23. - ආගමන, විගමන සහ ඉන්දියානු සහ පකිස්ථානු පදිංචිකරුවන් ලියා
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(7. - අධිකරණ සේවා කොමිෂන් සභාව), 303.

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(22. - විදේශ බාහිර කටයුතු පිළිබඳ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව), 1327, 1329-34.

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(100. - පළාත් පාලන සහ ස්වදේශ කටයුතු අමාත්‍යවරයා), 2012-15.

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PART II

*Messages of Felicitation from His Excellency the
Governor-General and Public and Religious Personages.*

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාරතුමා ගේ පණිවුඩය

පසුගිය අවුරුදු හතළිහ ඇතුළත ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක මැතිතුමන් විසින් සිදුකරන ලද මහජන සේවාව සැමරීම් වස් පළ කරනු ලබන අභිනන්දන කලාපයට පණිවුඩයක් එවීමට අවස්ථාවක් ලැබීම ගැන මම සතුටු වෙමි. මෙම කාල පරිච්ඡේදය තුළ එතුමා අප රටට කළ සේවාව විවිධය. එමෙන්ම එය අංශ කීපයකටද ඇතුළත්ය. රත්නායක මැතිතුමාගේ සේවා කටයුතු දේශපාලනය, අධ්‍යාපනය, ආගමය, සමාජ සේවාව, ග්‍රාමාභිවෘද්ධිය, කලා හා සංස්කෘතිය යන කේෂත්‍ර කෙරෙහි බලපෑවේය. මේ හැම කරුණකදීම එතුමා හැම දෙයක් දෙස බැලූයේ පෙර දිග හා අපර දිග සංස්කෘතියෙහි යථායෝග්‍ය සංකලනයකින් බිහිවූ නිදහස් ආකල්පයකින් බව කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයක් විය.

ගරු රත්නායක මැතිතුමා ආශ්‍රය කරන්නට මට පළමුවෙන් ලැබුනේ අප දෙදෙනා පාසල් සිසුන් වශයෙන් සිටි සමයේය. ඒ මුල් අවධියේදී පවා උදර ස්වදේශානුරාගයක ලක්ෂණත්, ගැමි ජනතාව ගේ ජීවන තත්වය නභා සිටුවීමට බලවත් අභිලාෂයකුත්, බෞද්ධ කටයුතු කෙරෙහි අනූන උද්‍යෝගයකුත් එතුමා දැක්වීය. තරුණ රත්නායක මහතා තුළ මෙම අභිලාෂයන් පරිපෝෂණය කිරීමෙහි ලා තම සද්දරණීය පියාණන්ගේ මඟ පෙන්වීමත්, සිය නිවසේ පරිසරයත් මඟෝපකාරී වූ බව නිසැකය. මෙම ශතවර්ෂයේ මුල් භාගයේදී අප රටට ස්වාධීනත්වය ලබා ගැනීමේ ව්‍යාපාරය වේගයෙන් නැගී සිටි අවස්ථාවේදී එහිලා තමාට කළ හැකි ඕනෑම පරිත්‍යාගයක් කිරීමට එතුමා ඉදිරිපත් වූයේය. නීතිඥයෙකු වශයෙන් හෝ අධ්‍යාපනඥයකු හෝ සෑප පහසු අනාගතයක් තෝරා ගැනීමට එතුමා තීරණය කළේ නම් ඒ සඳහා හොඳම ඉඩකඩ සැලසී තිබිණ. එකල උපාධි ධාරීන්ටත් නීතිඥයින්ටත් කිසිදු පැකිලීමක් නැතිව සාර්ථක ජීවන වෘත්තියක් බලාපොරොත්තුවීමට හැකි වූ හෙයිනි. එසේවුවද, එතුමා තෝරාගත්තේ තම රටටත්, ජනතාවටත් මෙහෙකිරීමේ අතිශයින්ම දුෂ්කර මාර්ගයයි.

අප රටේ සිටින ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨතම දේශපාලනඥයන්ගෙන් කෙනෙකු වන ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක මැතිතුමා, ආණ්ඩු කිහිපයක් යටතේ රජයේ ඉතා භාරදුර කායඝී භාර අමාත්‍යවරයකු වශයෙන් සේවාවේ යෙදීමෙන් පසුව, අද උත්තර මන්ත්‍රීමණ්ඩලයේ සභාපති ලෙස උත්තරීතර පදවියක් හොබවමින් සිටියි. ඇමතිවරයකු වශයෙන් සමුපාකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ප්‍රාදේශීය පරිපාලනය, ග්‍රාමසංවර්ධනය හා බෞද්ධාගමික කටයුතු

වැඩි දියුණු කිරීමෙහිලා එතුමා ගෙන් විශාල මෙහෙයක් ඉටුවී ඇත. ගාන්ධි තුමන්ගේ ආත්මෝපකාර දර්ශනයෙහි පිහිටා ජීවන තත්වය නභා සිටුවීම පිණිස එතුමා දැරූ පරිශ්‍රමය ගැන බොහෝ දෙනා දනිති.

අපරට වෙනුවෙන් පුරා සතළිස් වසක් ඉතා ලැදිව සේවාවෙහි යෙදුණ ගරු රත්නායක මැතිතුමාට මෙම අවස්ථාවේදී හෘදයංගම ස්තූති පූර්වක ශ්‍රද්ධාංගනය පළකිරීමට ලැබීම මට මහත් ප්‍රීතියකි.

ඩබ්ලිව්. ගොපල්ලව

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාර

අග්‍රාණ්ඩුකාර කායභාලය

රජ වාසල,

කොළඹ,

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව,

1971 අගෝස්තු 19.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S MESSAGE

I am happy to have this opportunity of sending a Message for the Felicitation Volume to be published in commemoration of the public service rendered by the Honourable A. Ratnayake in the last forty years. During this period, he has served the country in many and varied fields. His activities embraced politics, education, religion, social service, rural upliftment, art and culture. In all these, his approach to problems was marked by a liberal attitude of mind born of a happy blending of the cultures of the East and West.

My association with the Honourable A. Ratnayake goes back to the time when we were both students. Even in those early days he showed signs of a deep patriotism, a keen desire to improve the lot of the peasantry and an abiding interest in Buddhist activities. The influence of his beloved father and the atmosphere of his home were, in no small measure, responsible in nurturing these aspirations in young Ratnayake; and when the movement to gain the country's independence gathered momentum in the early part of this century he was there to make whatever sacrifices he could make in the cause. If he chose to seek a comfortable future for himself in the legal profession or as an educationist, the way was clear for him, for in those days graduates and lawyers could seek forward unhesitatingly to a successful career. He however, chose to tread the more difficult path of service to his country and community.

Today we see the Honourable A. Ratnayake, one of the most senior politicians of our country, in the exalted position of President of the Senate, having earlier served as a Minister of State holding very important portfolios in more than one Government. As a Minister he has contributed to the progress of the Co-operative Movement,

provincial administration, rural development, and Buddhist activities. His efforts to improve the living conditions of the peasantry on the Gandhian ideals of self-help are well-known.

It gives me great pleasure to congratulate the Honorable Ratnayake on his completion of forty years of devoted service to the country.

W. GOPALLAWA
GOVERNOR GENERAL

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S, OFFICE,
QUEEN'S HOUSE,
COLOMBO, CEYLON,
19th August, 1971.

THE HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

I am very pleased to provide a Message for the Felicitation Volume which is being published to commemorate 40 years of Public Service rendered by Senator A. Ratnayake, at present President of the Senate. I think it will not be incorrect to say that Mr. Ratnayake is one of the few who are still among us who had played an active role in ushering in Independence for this country. Thereafter, he had served for many years in the Cabinet in various capacities. Mr. Ratnayake has also earned a well-deserved reputation as a social and Buddhist worker and, as President of the Senate, he has helped to guide, with impartiality and flair, the work of the Upper House. It is fitting that the many sided services which have been rendered by a person like Mr. Ratnayake should be suitably commemorated and I wish to add my own good wishes to the numerous good wishes that he must be receiving on the completion of 40 years of Public Service.

COLOMBO,
5th July, 1971.

SIRIMA R. D. BANDARANAIKE
PRIME MINISTER

Mr. DUDLEY SENANAYAKE'S MESSAGE

I am glad that a FELICITATION VOLUME commemorating the services rendered to the country by Mr. Abhayaratne Ratnayake is being brought out. I have known Mr. Ratnayake very closely from the year 1936 when I entered the State Council for the first time and Mr. Ratnayake had already been there for five years. In fact, Mr. Ratnayake had started his interest in the people of this country much earlier as he had been taking part in public activity when he was a boy and played even at that early age a prominent part in such activities.

Many are the motions he brought forward in the State Council, particularly in the interests of the common people. His knowledge of the rural folk and their problems was exceptional. He lived with them and he appreciated their difficulties very much. Many political objectives achieved subsequently had their initiation by Mr. Ratnayake and very often others have got credit for his services.

I am very glad indeed that I have been able to enjoy his personal friendship for such a long time. His sense of humour has been extraordinary, and if one were to choose a companion to travel with on long journeys, one has to undertake in public work, I would choose none other than Mr. Ratnayake whose company is most entertaining. This sense of humour has been most comforting in time of crisis.

I am therefore very glad that a felicitation volume to commemorate the life of one whose services to the nation has been almost unparalleled, is being brought out.

DUDLEY SENANAYAKE M.P.

“WOODLANDS”

D. S. SENANAYAKE MAWATHA,

COLOMBO 8.

31 July, 1971.

HON. A. RATNAYAKE, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

An Appreciation

by

J. R. JAYAWARDENE

Mr. A. Ratnayake has now become an institution in our political and social life. When the people of Ceylon obtained universal franchise and exercised it for the first time in 1931, Mr. Ratnayake was one of those elected to the State Council to represent the Dumbara Electorate. There is only one other person who was elected with him who is in active politics today, and that is Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, the Member for Akuressa in the House of Representatives. Even before his election to the State Council Mr. Ratnayake was associated with his father in Buddhist movements, and it was this interest that induced him to stand for election.

During the 40 years that he has been active in political life, he has been in and out of the Legislatures, served as a Minister of State, worked in the Opposition, and is now presiding over the Senate.

When he was a member of the Executive Committee of Education in the 2nd State Council, it was he who coined the slogan "every citizen must have an education" and proposed the free Education Scheme.

In the first Parliament as Minister of Food and Co-operatives he created the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment and other institutions to help the Co-operative Movement which was dear to him. He often said that the ideal State should have a "Co-operative State."

Outside his political activities his chief endeavour was to advance the cause of Buddhism and to encourage national and cultural movements. The Buddha Jayanthi celebrations were organized by him as Minister of Home Affairs, and for the first time since the commencement of British rule,

financial aid was given by the State to Buddhist places of worship and institutions.

Since 1965 he has sought the calmer atmosphere of the Second Chamber and has been its President since 1965. His contribution to the progress of our people cannot be measured in mere words for they range over a wide field covering religion, politics, culture and many other facets of public and social life.

There is no one who meets him who does not like him, and it is my wish, and I know of so many others, that for many more years this kind and gentle servant of the people may be able to help his countrymen in the future as he has done in the past.

අභයරත්න රත්නායක මැතිතුමා

මඩුගල්ලේ ශ්‍රී ධම්මසිද්ධි

මහනුවර උපාසිත පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරදේවයාධිපති මඩුගල්ලේ ශ්‍රී සුමන සිද්ධාර්ථ ධම්මසිද්ධාභිධාන මහා විහාර වංශික ශාමොපාලි මහානිකායේ මහානායක ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ වම්භ.

නූතන යුගයේ කන්ද උඩරට විසූ ජාතිකාභිමානයෙන් හා ආගමික හක්තියෙන් යුතුව ක්‍රියා කළ විරෝදී පුද්ගලයන් අතර මහනුවර කටුගස්තොට කහල්ලේ පී. බී. රත්නායක මැතිතුමා ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් ගෙන කටයුතු කළේය. ජාතික නිදහස පිළිබඳ අභිතව සටන්කළ එතුමාගේ විශිෂ්ඨ ක්‍රියාවක් ලෙස තමන් ගෙන ගිය සටනෙහි ප්‍රතිඵල නෙළාගැනීමට සමත්වුනු අතිජාත පුත්‍රරත්නයක් ඇති දැඩි කිරීම සැලකිය හැකි. ඒ නම් ඒ. රත්නායක මැතිතුමාය. කුඩා අවධියේ පටන්ම ස්වකීය පිතෘවරයා අනුගමනය කරමින් මේ රටට පූර්ණ නිදහස ලබාගෙන ස්වාධීන ජාතියක් ලෙස ක්‍රියා කිරීමට හැකි අවස්ථාව ලඟා කර ගැනුම එතුමාගේ අදහස වූ බව පෙනේ.

එද මේ රටේ පැවති උසස් ශාස්ත්‍රශාලාවන් වූ ධර්මරාජ, රාජකීය, ආනන්ද ශාස්ත්‍රශාලාවන්හි ඉගෙනීම ලැබූ මෙතුමා ලන්ඩන් බී. ඒ. උපාධිය ලබා මහා බෝධි විද්‍යාලයේ හා රත්මලානේ ධම්මාලෝක විද්‍යාලයේ ආධිපත්‍යය උසුලමින් විශාල ශාස්ත්‍රීය සේවයක් සිදු කළේය. එයින්ම ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ ආචාර්යවරයෙක් වශයෙන් ප්‍රසිද්ධියට පත්විය.

1931 දී අධිනීතිඥවරයෙක් ලෙස දිවුරුම් දීමෙන් නීතිය පිළිබඳ විශාරදත්වයටද පැමිණියේය. මේ මගින් තමා බලාපොරොත්තු සේවය ඉටු නොවන බැවින් පාරම්පරික පුරුදු වූ දේශපාලන ජීවිතයට බැස 1931 දී හා 1936 දී රාජ්‍යමන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේ දුම්රු ආසනයට තේරී පත්විය. නැවත 1947 දී වත්තේගම ආසනයේ නියෝජිතයා වශයෙන් පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට පත්වූ අතර රාජ්‍යමන්ත්‍රණ සභා කාලයේදී අධ්‍යාපන ඇමති ධුරයේද වැඩබලා නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය පිළිබඳ වැඩ කිරීමෙන් මේ රට වාසින්ගේ ප්‍රසාදයට පත් වූ දේශ-පාලනඥයෙක් විය.

මෙතුමාගේ දේශපාලන ජීවිතයේ විශිෂ්ඨතම අවධිය ලෙස ගැණෙනුයේ ආහාර හා සමුපකාර ඇමතිධුරයේ හා ස්වදේශ කටයුතු හා ග්‍රාමසංවර්ධන ඇමති ධුරයේත් කටයුතු කළ කාලයයි. මේ රටට ස්වාධීනත්වයක් ලබාගැනීමට සටන්කළ උසස් පෙලේ ජනනායකයන් අතර මෙතුමාගේ නමද ඉතිහාස ගතවනු ඇත. අවංක ජනනායක-යෙක් වූ මෙතුමා 1965 සිට උත්තර මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ සභාපති වශයෙන් සෑමදෙනාගේම සහයෝගයෙන් තේරී පත්වීම මේ රටේ බොහෝදෙනාගේ සතුටට හේතුවිය.

අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමා (පසුව දේවමිත්ත ධර්මපාල ස්ථවිර) සර් ඩී. ඩී. ජයතිලක මැතිතුමා ආදී ජනාදරයට ලක් වූ ජාති හිතෙහිත්ගේ ආශ්‍රය ලද මෙතුමා රටත්, ජාතියත්, ආගමත් සියදිවි දෙවෙනිකොට සලකා ක්‍රියා කළේය යනු බොහෝ දෙනාගේ පිළිගැනීම වේ.

අසන්නවුන්ගේ කණත්, සිතත් ප්‍රීතිමත්කොට තකිනුකුලව අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් කරුණු අවබෝධකර දීමෙහි සමර්ථ වතුර කටිකයෙක් වශයෙන් මෙතුමා බොහෝදෙනා පිළිගත්හ. මේ රටේ ඉතිහාසය ගැන විමර්ශනඥානයක් ලැබූ මෙතුමාගේ එම දැනීම මහජනතාවගේ අභිවාද්ධියට හේතු වූ බව පැහැදිලිවේ. සිංහල ජාතියේත් බුද්ධාගමේත් දියුණුවට එය ඉවහල් වූවාට සැක නැත.

බුදු ජයන්තිය පවත්වා අප රටවැසියන්ගේ ආගම පිළිබඳ දැනීම දියුණු කිරීමට මෙතුමා මහත් වෙහෙසක් දැරූ අතර ජේරාදෙනියේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය පිහිටුවීමටද මහත් පරිශ්‍රමයකින් ක්‍රියා කළේය.

මෙසේ මේ රටට විශිෂ්ඨ සේවයක් සිදුකර වෘද්ධතම දේශ-පාලනඥයෙක් වශයෙන් කීර්තිමත්ව වෙසෙන අභයරත්න රත්නායක මැතිතුමාට තවදුරටත් උදර සේවයක් සිදුකිරීමට තුණුරුවන් සරණින් දීඝායුෂ ලැබේවායි ප්‍රාර්ථනා කරමු.

මල්වතු මහා විහාරය,
මහනුවර.
ශ්‍රී. බු. ව. 2515
රාජ්‍ය වර්ෂ 1971, ජූලි මස 28 දින.

අබේරත්න රත්නායක අභිනන්දන

ගොඩමුන්නේ ශ්‍රී නාගසේන ධම්මානන්දහිධාන

මහනුවර අස්ගිරි විජයසුන්දරාරාම විහාරදේවාධිපති ශ්‍රාමෝපාලි මහානිකායේ අස්ගිරි පාර්ශවයේ මහානායක ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේ.

තිලෝගුරු සම්මා සම්බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේගේ පාදස්පඨියෙන් අති පරිශුද්ධ වූ ශ්‍රී ලංකාදේවීපයේ උත්තර මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේ සභාපති ඒ. රත්නායක මහතාගෙන් රට, ජාතිය සහ ආගමට සිදු වූ සේවයට උපහාර දක්වීමක් වශයෙන් පිළියෙල කෙරෙන “අබේරත්න රත්නායක අභිනන්දන” නම් ග්‍රන්ථයට ආශීර්වාදාත්මක ලිපියක් එවීමට ලැබීම මගේ බලවත් සතුටට හේතුවකි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාදේවීපයට නිදහස ලබා ගැනීමේ සටනේ පුරෝගාමීව ක්‍රියා කළ අබේරත්න රත්නායක මහතා අපට අමුත්තෙකු නොවේ. ඒ මහතාගෙන් සිදුවූ සේවාවන් මෙවැනි කෙටි ලිපියකින් විස්තර කිරීම අපහසුය. එහෙත් ඒ මහතාගෙන් සම්බුද්ධ ශාසනයට ඇති වූ සේවය ගැන අමතක කළ නොහැකිය. අප සම්මා සම්බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේගේ පිරිනිවීමෙන් වර්ෂ 2500 ක් ගතවීමේ නිමිත්තෙන් බුද්ධ ජයන්ති උත්සවය පැවැත්විය යුතුයයි තරයේ කියා සිටියේ මේ මහතා බව ප්‍රසිද්ධය. බුද්ධ ජයන්ති අනුකාරක සභාවේ සභාපති වශයෙන්ද ක්‍රියා කළ මේ මහතා එකල බුරුමයට ගිය බෞද්ධ ධර්මදූත පිරිස මෙහෙයවීමේ ගෞරවය ඒ මහතාට හිමිවේ.

දඹදිව බුද්ධගයාව බේරා ගැනීමේ සටන මෙහෙය වූ වීරෝදර ලංකා පුත්‍රයෙකු වූ අනගාරික ධම්පාල මැතිතුමා අනුගමනය කළ මේ මහතා එම සටනට ජීවිත පරිත්‍යාගයෙන් ක්‍රියාකළ අය අතර කෙනෙකි.

ලංකාවේ නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය ඇතිකළ යුතුයයි එකල අධ්‍යාපන ඇමතිව සිටි සී. ඩබ්ලිව්. ඩබ්ලිව් කන්තංගර මහතාට යෝජනා කරන ලද්දේ මේ මහතා බව ප්‍රකටය.

මිනිසේ ව්‍යාපාරයේ පුරෝගාමියා වූ මේ මහතා කන්ද උඩරට මංමාවත් තැනවීමේ කටයුතුවල නිරත වූ ජාති හිතෙහි සිංහලයෙකි. පළමුවෙන් සුළු වශයෙන් දේශපාලන ජීවිතය ඇරඹූ අබේරත්න රත්නායක මහතා 1931 වර්ෂයේ රාජ්‍ය මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවට දුම්බර මන්ත්‍රී වරයා වශයෙන්ද, ලංකාවට නිදහස ලැබීමෙන් පසු ලංකා පාර්ලිමේන්තුවට වත්තේගම මන්ත්‍රී වරයා වශයෙන්ද, කලක් ස්වදේශ ඇමැතිවරයා වශයෙන්ද විශාල සේවයක් ඉටු කළේය. සමුපකාර

ක්‍රමය ආරම්භ කරන ලද්දේ ආහාර ඇමැති වශයෙන් සිටි සමයේදීය. 1965 දී උත්තර මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවට පත් වූ ඒ මහතා එම මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේ සභාපති වශයෙන්ද, පත්විය. විදේශීය රටවල ලංකාව වෙනුවෙන් පෙනී සිටි ලංකාවට විශාල ගෞරවයක් ලබා දුන්නේය. මෙසේ අඛණ්ඩ රත්නායක මහතාගෙන් රට, ජාතිය සහ ආගමට සිදුවූ විශාල සේවය සඳහන් කරමු.

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— අගෝස්තු මස 17 වැනි දින.

1971

මහනුවර අස්ගිරි මහා විහාරයේදීය.

CARDINAL'S MESSAGE

A volume of felicitations on such a milestone in life's career as the completion of forty years of high functions of public service is a gesture of recognition that is being offered to the Hon'ble Mr. A. Ratnayake.

The idea stands to the credit of those who have undertaken the pleasing task. No doubt the actual volume will be an adequate fulfilment of that objective in vivid recalling of events and weighty assessment of their significance to the Country's welfare no less than to a notable career.

We may certainly hope that beyond this immediate scope of honouring an occasion, the "Volume" will have the further result of stimulating our youth to take the measurements for their own career of service to Harmony, Perseverance and Improvement that hold the secret to Lanka's return to historic excellence.

My best wishes accompany the "Volume" on its errand.

THOMAS CARDINAL COORAY O.M.I.
ARCHBISHOP OF COLOMBO

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
COLOMBO
CEYLON
7th September, 1971.

PART III

Articles of Appreciation and Evaluation of the contribution of Mr. A. Ratnayake to the national and social progress of Ceylon by contemporary social and public workers.

A. RATNAYAKE AS I KNEW HIM

by

A. P. JAYASURIYA

(Leader of the Senate and Acting Minister of Justice)

A happy memory of a close and unbroken friendship dating back to our schooldays, which has weathered the storms of political change and personal grief and stress, this is the picture which remains firmly implanted in my mind as I look back on more than forty years that have passed since I first met Ratnayake as a school mate at the Royal College. We were then about seventeen years of age, preparing to leave school and embark upon the journey of life. Our school began at 10.30 in the morning and we generally left home for school after an early lunch. During the interval Ratnayake and I used to repair for tea to a nearby restaurant at the turn to Bagatalle Road, and our conversation frequently turned upon the question of what we intended to do when we left school. I vividly remember Ratnayake's very solemn and considered pronouncement made during one of these meetings which has ever since lingered in my mind, and which I frequently recall with affectionate amusement, as characteristic of the man and his whole life. "I don't propose taking to any lucrative profession," he gravely pontificated with a prophetic vision and yearning, for there could hardly have been a less "lucrative" profession that he could have chosen than the forty years of silent, selfless, and unostentatious dedication and service to the nation and people in every imaginable sphere of public life and welfare. It was both an interesting and illuminating experience to listen to him as he passionately discoursed about, and bemoaned the sufferings of the common people, without food, or a proper shelter, and facing constant insecurity in their lives. In all this his great mentor and inspirer was his father who had been a tireless worker in the temperance and other social movements of the time, and a close associate of Anagarika Dharmapala.

After leaving school we used to meet from time to time but there was nothing of very special importance which we had to record. Ratnayake was busy with his University career and his law studies, after which he functioned for a short time as Principal of Mahabodi College in Colombo.

The next interesting phase of our association came in 1931 when Ratnayake had been elected as Representative for the Dumbara seat in the State Council, and we again used to meet at tea in the refectory there, or at the Globe Hotel and discuss the economic situation of the people in general and the Kandyan peasantry in particular, the theme which was ever dear to his heart.

At the elections of 1936, I, too, entered the State Council, and thereafter our meetings became even more frequent and intimate. One of the common friends we often used to meet during this period was T. D. Jayasuriya, who was previously a teacher at Royal College and had now been appointed Secretary to C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister of Education. As Ratnayake was a member of the Executive Committee of Education, there were numerous official matters which he had to discuss with Jayasuriya while I, too, very conveniently used these occasions to settle various problems relating to my constituents which required decision by the Ministry of Education. It was a most agreeable combination of personal friendship and public duty. Whenever I had any work for my constituency to be done by the Ministry of Education I went to Ratnayake and it was promptly attended to. Likewise when he had matters pertaining to his Dumbara constituents to be done by the Ministry of Local Government he brought them to me. Since we both represented provincial constituencies we made it a practice to stay overnight at the Victoria Hotel whenever the sessions lasted several days.

His speeches, on the carefully selected occasions when he spoke, were most thoughtful and impassioned, and were invariably interspersed with an abundance of witty comment and lively good humour. In fact he was easily the most witty speaker I have yet listened to in my whole public career, notwithstanding the fact that the subjects about which he spoke were always of a serious character.

He had made a special study of the problem of education generally, and of our special problems in that field. The real credit for initially proposing the adoption of Free Education as a fundamental national policy is almost entirely his and he may truly be considered the "Father of Free Education." The peculiar manner in which this revolutionary proposal came to be accepted is still not sufficiently widely known and will bear recounting in some detail. Soon after the appointment of the Special Committee of Education which included, besides the members of the Executive Committee of Education, a number of School Managers and several educationists such as P. de S. Kularatne, Warden Saram of St. Thomas, College and Sir Ivor Jennings Vice-Chancellor of the Ceylon University, Ratnayake became the victim of a somewhat serious motor accident which prevented him from attending meetings of the Committee for almost the entire duration of its sittings. When he was at length able to attend a meeting almost at the end of the Committee's deliberations, he broke out into a vehement protest that although the importance of the Committee's function in relation to the future of education in Ceylon had been much publicised, he for one could see nothing unusual or exceptional in its proposals. The one truly revolutionary proposal the Committee could make, if that was its intention, was to make Education in School and at the University free of any payment. Ratnayake had hardly ended these preliminary observations when Minister Kannangara who was presiding, sharply reprimanded him for trying to delay still further the issue of the report when the Committee was already being accused of undue delay. Ratnayake, however, was not going to be lightly put off, and as he kept urging the Minister to allow him a little time to explain his proposals, Mr. Kularatne and some other members of the Committee entered the room and intervened to say that several of them were of the same view and had just brought with them a rider to be appended to the report regretting the failure of the Committee to advocate the principle of Free Education. With this the whole position changed, and soon Mr. Kannangara himself was supporting the proposal! The only known opponent of the principle now was, Sir Ivor Jennings, who seeing the unanimity of support, and unwilling to declare his formal opposition,

quietly rose from his seat and left the meeting. Thus was won the great victory of free Education, which as the years passed not only transformed the social scene in the country, but made Ceylon known throughout the world as the pioneer of one of the greatest measures of social reform known in history.

It was perhaps in the fitness of things that this should have been almost the concluding act of the Second State Council constituted under the Donoughmore proposals, which had been responsible for introducing various other measures of social and economic reform. For the country was now moving into a new era in which political parties were hereafter to determine major questions of national policy, and the voice of the individual member was to be less and less heard. Ratnayake had by now, however, finished the most important part of his constructive activities. It only remained to gather in the harvest which he had been so assiduously sowing.

Meanwhile a new factor had entered into our political life. This was the arrival of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike from England and his almost immediate elevation to political leadership. With the inauguration of the Sinhala Maha Sabha with Mr. Bandaranaike as its President and Mr. Ratnayake as the senior deputy president, the political situation, vis a vis Ratnayake and myself, took a new turn.

Thereafter for several years the three of us were the constant and inseparable companions on motor car journeys which took us into every nook and corner of the country, carrying silently into the remote villages and hamlets of Ceylon the message of that priceless sinhala culture and heritage which, on the one hand had so valiantly withstood the recurring assaults of South Indian invaders extending over a period of over ten centuries, and on the other hand had faced and overcome the dangers of total extermination by three of the most powerful western nations, as had happened to the numerous powerful Red Indian civilizations, the Maya, Inca, and Sioux spread out over the entire North American continent, and to the equally warlike if culturally less developed Maori tribes of Australia and New Zealand.

On these long journeys we discussed incessantly the manifold valuable aspects of our past political and social organisation and Institutions which were now threatened with disintegration and decay, unless a new vigour and vitality were quickly infused into them. In the course of these journeys we also came to a deeper understanding of each other, and Ratnayake proved to be a veritable mine of Buddhist learning and lore. Then, too, I discovered how much of a common idealism was shared by both Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Ratnayake, deeply grounded in their intense love for the people and their equally deep attachment to Buddhism which they firmly agreed was a religion which existed not on the appeal to mere faith, but to reason and intelligence. Nor was religion for them a mere intellectual cloak or armour, but something upon the doctrines and principles of which they fashioned their lives. I well remember how on one of these excursions, he explained to us in detail the meaning of the Buddhist Sutra beginning "*Suvakkhato, Bhagavato, Dhammiko...*" with a profundity and erudition which left us surprised and astonished. The philosophy of the Middle Path which is such a central feature of Buddhist thought also fundamentally influenced Mr. Bandaranaike when the occasion arose subsequently for formulating the socialist policy and creed of the S.L.F.P. It is, therefore, with a profound sense of satisfaction that from the vantage point of close observation of both their thought and conduct I can truthfully declare that none of these leaders sought anything for themselves. They worked sincerely for the benefit of the country.

It was in this spirit that, although they were without any doubt among the foremost liberal political thinkers of Ceylon in recent times, they were nevertheless prepared, to risk the charge of sectarianism and narrow communalism which might be levelled against them by their political critics and enemies. Until then the fact had escaped notice that while there was a political organisation which looked after the interests of every other community, the case, of the Sinhalese alone was in danger of going by default, and we therefore thought it necessary to awaken the Sinhalese to this situation. It was partly for this reason that the first three or four sessions of the Sinhala Maha Sabha were held in Anuradhapura where the position of the

Sinhalese was so precarious that when we first went there we could not find a single Sinhalese who was prepared to face the polls in order to gain entry into the local Urban Council. The Executive Committee of Local Government had in fact to nominate a Sinhalese to the Council there, as an unrepresented interest! However, after the last annual meeting of the Sinhala Maha Sabha which was held at Anuradhapura, it became possible for a Sinhalese not merely to enter the Urban Council but even to become its Chairman. It was during this time that Mr. Bandaranaike decided to create the sacred city of Anuradhapura, and transfer to a new site the overcrowded slum dwellings and commercial buildings which were disfiguring the beauty and serenity of the ancient capital.

In 1948 when the Ceylon National Congress was dissolved and replaced by the United National Party representing an amalgamation of several of the existing parties on the eve of the adoption of the Soulbury Constitution, the question arose as to whether the Sinhala Maha Sabha should join the new Party or remain an independent entity. Although a large section of the party wished to function as an independent party, a powerful appeal by Mr. Bandaranaike at a largely attended meeting held at Anuradhapura that at that critical juncture in the country's development the Maha Sabha should, in the national interest, join the the new organisation, the members decided to accede to the proposal of the leader, but without any formal dissolution of the Maha Sabha.

In the first Parliament under the new constitution with Mr. D. S. Senanayake as Prime Minister, Mr. Ratnayake became Minister of Food and Co-operatives. During this period I had occasion to frequently seek the assistance of Mr. Ratnayake in matters relating to my constituency and always received his prompt attention and help.

About 1949 or 1950 strains were developing within the U. N. P. organisation and both Mr. Bandaranaike and indicated in our conversations with Mr. Ratnayake that we were dissatisfied with the way in which the affairs of government were being conducted. Mr. Ratnayake, although he conceded the validity of much of our criticism,

indicated nevertheless that he would like to remain with the government and not break away.

On the death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake shortly after the formation of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party by Mr. Bandaranaike, Mr. Dudley Senanayake succeeded his father as Prime Minister and continued as Prime Minister after the election victory of the UNP in 1951 until his resignation in 1952, when Sir John Kotalawela succeeded him. During this period Ratnayake continued to function successively as Minister of Food and Co-operatives and Minister of Home Affairs in the Cabinets of Dudley Senanayake and Kotalawela. Throughout these years, although we were in different political parties, our friendship remained unshaken; and we continued to meet and visit each other frequently. In 1951 I lost my parliamentary seat while Ratnayake continued as Minister till 1956.

The encouragement, support, and assistance received at all times from Mrs. Ratnayake helped him greatly and lightened the heavy burden of a politician's life.

I have stayed often at their home at Katugastota and dined and lunched there, and so can speak from personal knowledge. Not only have they enjoyed the blessing of an extremely happy married life, but they have also had the good fortune to have brought up a very happy family devoted to them, who are doing well in life.

TRIBUTE TO A GOOD FRIEND AND AN ELDER STATESMAN

by

DR. N. M. PERERA, M. P.

Minister of Finance

I am glad with the rest of those who know Mr. A. Ratnayake to pay this tribute to him at the moment of his leave-taking from active political life. I have known Mr. A. Ratnayake for over 35 years. My recollection goes back to the days of the Suriya Mal campaign when we launched an island-wide movement to help those afflicted by the scourge of Malaria. He gave us unstinted support as a Member of the State Council and we were able to bring medical aid and other nourishment to thousands of people with his help. The warm friendship that began then has continued to this day.

We came together more intimately as members of the State Council. Mr. Ratnayake was returned for the second time as the member for Dumbara and I came for the first time as the member for Ruwanwella. Politically, those were hectic days. Mr. Philip Gunawardene and I led the assault on the old brigade, the Jayatilake-Senanayake combination that dominated the political scene both inside and outside the legislative assembly. We felt that they were a reactionary clique out to compromise with the British Raj and not devoted to the obtainment of independence for Ceylon. We endeavoured to rally all elements that opposed this domination. It was a measure of their unpopularity that we succeeded in electing Sir Waitilingam Duraiswamy as the Speaker of the State Council in preference to Mr. Francis Zoysa, the nominee of the Jayatilake-Senanayake combination. In the organization of the State Council that was the only success we could claim. That defeat frightened the old brigade. They rallied their forces, cajoled and pleaded and succeeded in

thwarting our other efforts to sponsor more progressive elements. As the Minister of Education, we were very keen on having Mr. Ratnayake, but we failed.

In the debates of the State Council, I found Mr. Ratnayake to be one of the best supporters of most motions that we put forward and motions like feeding of school children and the banning of immigration into Ceylon. He was one of the few progressives in the State Council. There were moments no doubt when we could not and did not see eye to eye, but in very many measures for the amelioration of the vast mass of people in this country, Mr. Ratnayake was always with us. He was an able speaker with a ready wit. It was a pleasure to listen to him. He had always something fresh to contribute.

With our incarceration in 1940 I lost touch with him during those war years. From the records, I have known that he has continuously canvassed for our release. He was also instrumental together with Mr. George E. de Silva in obtaining decent conditions for us as detenus. If I remember right, he did visit us at the Kandy barracks where we were locked up until our escape in 1942. Another frequent visitor was of course Mr. George R. de Silva.

With the new Soulbury constitution after the elections of 1947 Mr. Ratnayake moved away from us politically. He became a Minister in the first Cabinet of Mr. D. S. Senanayake. If my memory serves me right, he was the Minister for Food and Co-operatives. By that time, he had joined the United National Party, and we found ourselves directly opposing him in Parliament. Doubtless many hard things were said in the heat of the debate in Parliament, but they never marred the good personal relationship that existed between the two of us. His essential generosity of heart never forsook him. For all our political differences, we continued to be good friends as before. I do not believe Mr. Ratnayake could have been very happy with some of the things that his Cabinet did. I have no doubt he will look back with regret to the good old days when we could freely pummel officials without the care and responsibility of a ministerial post. I think it is true to say whatever progressive proposition was

put forward by us from the Opposition, there was no mistaking of the sympathies of Mr. Ratnayake.

Mr. Ratnayake has been so long in our political life, one could scarcely conceive of him as a retired man. I have not the slightest doubt that he will be of service to this country as an elder statesman. His mature experience and wide knowledge can be of benefit to Ceylon, just as we are embarking on a new Constitution which will finally place the imprimatur of independence on our country.

It is needless to say that I wish him well and I hope he will enjoy his well-earned rest from the arduous labours of about 40 years in the hurly-burly of Ceylon politics.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SENATOR RATNAYAKE

by

AL-HAJ SIR RAZIK FAREED, KT., O.B.E., J.P.,

Life President, All-Ceylon Moors' Islamic Cultural Home (Inc)

Senator the Hon. Abayaratne Ratnayake who today adorns the Chair of the Upper House of the country's legislature as its President being a person of many attainments and wide interests could be considered more an institution than a mere individual.

A most modest, humane and lovable personality, he has during the past forty years - during 35 years of which I had had the pleasure of being associated with him as a legislator both in the State Council and in the House of Representatives - never wavered in his beliefs and ideals. Representing as he did a then under-developed valley nestling in the lap of the Kandyan hills and neglected for decades, but having every claim to attention enshrining as it did some of the most glorious chapters of our Island story, he fought hard both as a back bencher and as a Cabinet Minister for the economic well-being of the area as well as its residents. And I must say that his efforts have been rewarded to such a remarkable degree for what was then a veritable wilderness unapproachable except by foot is today an area humming with life and enjoying many facilities of the modern age.

Above all these achievements, it can be truly said of the Hon. Ratnayake that he has approached and solved many a problem impassionately and wisely and I venture to think that there is perhaps no better ambassador of goodwill than himself amongst those active in politics today.

May he live long amidst us blessed with good health and fortune so that he may continue with ardour and enthusiasm the very laudable work of inter-religious and inter-communal harmony that has been engaging his special attention in the recent past! May his counsel be valuable to the councils of our land in the future as it has been in the past.

THE INSPIRER AND PROGENITOR OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

by

DR. G. P. MALALASEKERA

I am very happy to have this opportunity of conveying my sincere felicitations to Senator the Hon. A. Ratnayake on his completion of nearly forty years of valuable service in various fields of national, religious, cultural, social and political activity, and of paying my tribute to him for his devotion and dedication to the numerous humanitarian causes in which he has shown such deep and abiding interest.

I remember him telling me once of how this interest was awakened in him. As with so many of us, it was the unforgettable impact of that ardent patriot, great Buddhist and nationalist revivalist, the Anagarika Dharmapala (later the Ven. Devamitta Dharmapala) which inspired young Ratnayake and set him ablaze with vigour and enthusiasm to do something worthwhile for his religion and for his people.

That was way back in 1914, as far as I remember the Senator telling me. The Anagarika had found in Ratnayake's father a great admirer and a faithful devotee. P.B. Ratnayake was one of the mighty stalwarts of the Temperance Movement which was then sweeping throughout Ceylon and which was the mainspring, as it turned out later, of various social and political reforms. P. B. was a frequent visitor at the Anagarika's residence and young Ratnayake often accompanied his father on these visits. Later, when he came to Colombo for his studies, he stayed with Anagarika.

It was during this period that the Anagarika often spoke to him about an impending & important event in the history of Buddhism, the celebration of the 2500th year of the Buddha's Parinirvana. There had been a long-established belief in Ceylon that after this significant event there would be a great upsurge of Buddhism throughout the world. This unique celebration was to take place in the year 1956 of the Christian era and the Anagarika had a premonition

that he would not be alive to see it. But, he wanted Ratnayake to take note of it and make a solemn vow that he would do everything he could to make the event a success.

And, so it came to pass, by decree of Destiny, that 38 years later, in 1952, Ratnayake, having by that time entered active politics, became a Minister of the Government of the day, under Sir John Kotelawala, and was appointed Minister of Home Affairs. This gave him the opportunity for the fulfilment of his most cherished ambition. He persuaded his Prime Minister to appoint, with the Cabinet's approval, a Committee to make arrangements for the Buddha Jayanthi (as it was called) with himself as Chairman of the Committee. The Buddha Jayanthi was celebrated in many countries of the world, but nowhere with greater eclat than in Ceylon where the celebrations took various forms. There were the usual traditional pinkamas alms-givings, the chanting of pirith, pilgrimages to sacred shrines, the restoration of ancient monuments, etc. But, in addition to all these, the Committee, at the instance of its Chairman, decided that several projects should be initiated that would be of lasting benefit to the Buddhists of Ceylon in particular and to the whole of humanity in general. Among these projects were the publication of the complete Pali Text of the Tripitaka with a Sinhala translation to accompany the Text and the compilation of two encyclopaedias, one of which was the Sinhala Encyclopaedia, in Sinhala, on the lines of modern encyclopaedias dealing with all branches of knowledge.

The other was the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, to be published in English, "containing all the information available on Buddhism and its significant contribution to human culture and civilisation." It was to be an international undertaking, to be implemented with the co-operation of scholars from many parts of the world, specialists in their own fields of Buddhist studies. I was appointed Honorary Editor in Chief and asked to organise the work. For this purpose, in the course of a world tour arranged for me, I visited many countries, both of the East and the West, including India, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Japan, China, Mongolia

England, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Hawaii, and the U. S. A. I was thus enabled to meet scholars of international repute, seek their advice and co-operation and obtain their consent to contribute articles for the Encyclopaedia. In several countries, chiefly in Japan, and China, Committees were appointed to co-ordinate the work of scholars there and to facilitate direct contact with those concerned. This was particularly important in order that the Encyclopaedia should contain authentic information regarding Mahayana Schools of Buddhism which are prevalent in these countries.

In all these activities Senator Ratnayake evinced the greatest possible interest and gave every assistance. He wanted the Encyclopaedia to be a monumental work, giving details on all that Buddhism contributed to the welfare of mankind, its history, doctrine and philosophy, the Fine Arts, etc., in a word, all the contribution needed for the ennoblement and the enrichment of human life.

An editorial office was set up for the Encyclopaedia in Peradeniya in the University Park, by courtesy of the University of Ceylon, and a number of full-time editors were appointed to carry out the work of compilation. An Advisory Board was constituted of eminent scholars both from Ceylon and abroad to give direction and guidance. Since the Encyclopaedia was a pioneer work in its field, a great deal of preliminary work had to be undertaken before publication could begin.

But, once begun, sending materials to the Printer has continued apace. It is estimated that the Encyclopaedia when completed would consist of 10 volumes of approximately 1000 pages each. Two volumes have been already issued and the 3rd volume is in process of publication. Articles have been written up to the end of the letter R. The printing is done at the Government Press, whose authorities have done their best in spite of the very heavy pressure of official Government work which must always receive priority. This has resulted in considerable delays.

There have been other unforeseen difficulties to contend with. It was decided quite early in the implementation

of the project that the Encyclopaedia should be printed in fascicules of between 150 and 200 pages each, so that publication could be expedited, thus providing speedier availability of information contained in the Encyclopaedia. But, it sometimes happens that a fascicule would be held up because of the late arrival of one or more articles which had been entrusted to an eminent scholar and without which that particular fascicule cannot be published since the fascicules are printed in alphabetical order. Most of the original articles written by scholars in Japan have been in Japanese and have had to be translated before inclusion in the Encyclopaedia. Translators for this purpose are rare because they need to have a good knowledge not only of Japanese and English but also of Japanese Buddhism with its many unique technical terms for which English equivalents have often to be coined afresh. Yet, in spite of these various handicaps the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism has made reasonable progress. Of course, all connected with the work wish that it could be expedited.

Our Encyclopaedia of Buddhism is bound to have many imperfections and shortcomings, many sins of omission and commission of which we are deeply conscious. This is inescapable in a pioneer work such as ours. In fact, we regard the first edition as largely an experimental one to form the basis for a much better second edition. But, we can state with a great deal of satisfaction that the fascicules so far published have won praise from those competent to judge their merits. Here, for example, is an extract from a letter, dated 16th June 1971, from one of the foremost Buddhist scholars in the world, the Lama Anagarika Govinda, who wrote in reply to a request for an article on some aspects of Tantric Buddhism : "You may be sure that I shall ever be ready to assist you in this wonderful work of yours to the best of my ability. I greatly admire the way in which this Encyclopaedia has been organised and edited. It will be the greatest source of Buddhist knowledge and tradition for the future, and it is all the more important at the present juncture of human history when all values of the past are in a state of dissolution."

Senator the Hon. A. Ratnayake can, therefore, feel righteous joy that a project which he had brought into being and the progress of which he has followed with abiding interest, is likely to reach fruition and ensure the fulfilment of his hopes and aspirations. The Buddha has declared that the gift of the Dhamma excels all other gifts. It is this gift that the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism seeks to provide. May his participation in this noble venture, therefore, bring to the Honourable Senator long life, peace of mind and great happiness and many more years of activity for the welfare of mankind, for whom he has always shown so much compassion and for whose welfare he has laboured incessantly for nearly half a century.

SENATOR A. RATNAYAKE AND THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By

S. C. FERNANDO

(Registrar Co-operative Societies 1948; Co-op. Commissioner 1953-6)

Mr. Abhyaratne Ratnayake was without doubt the most understanding and the most enthusiastic of all the Ministers placed in charge of the Co-operative Movement since Independence. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, who appointed him as the first Minister of Food and Co-operative Undertakings under the Soulbury Constitution in 1947, had himself been in charge of the subject as Minister of Agriculture and Lands continuously from 1931 till 1947 under the Donoughmore Constitution. His interest in the Movement had been an abiding one even earlier, and he used often to say at meetings how, long before he took to politics he found that the Credit Society in the rural areas was the only organization or agency in Ceylon from which the peasant could borrow small sum without any tangible security at so low a rate as 2%.

Mr. Ratnayake as Minister in 1947 was quick to grasp the essential basis of this lending, without any material security at all, but solely on mutual trust and local knowledge, with the entire society pledging itself to unlimited liability. However, this factor was not so alarming to individual members as it sounded because its mere existence entailed that the proper use of every loan, which had also to be for an economic and productive purpose, because thereby the concern of the entire society, and not merely of the two guarantors who primarily guaranteed the individual loan.

The Credit Society, first introduced to Ceylon by the Co-operative Ordinance of 1911, like its Indian counterpart by the Act of 1904, was based on the well known German system styled Raiffeisson after its author of over a century ago. At the inception in Ceylon the colonial government

provided for loans from the Local Loans and Development Fund. Gradually, the Movement built up Provincial Banks for each of the nine provinces with capital initially from actual savings and deposits of members as societies both fructified and multiplied. Incidentally the primary societies were styled and thrift societies to emphasis the aspect of saving as a moral responsibility.

It should be mentioned, to illustrate how unlimited liability served as a bedrock that at one stage, out of some Rs. 12,000,000 loaned by the L.L.D.F. only a paltry Rs. 4,000/- had to be written off as irrecoverable a fraction of what the fund would have earned as interest over the years meantime.

Then, soon after Mr. Ratnayake came, even before all the provinces had set up banks, the Movement was given, as its own Apex or balancing institution, the Co-operative Federal Bank, with an initial loan from the Government of Rs. 2,000,000.

The early history of the Co-operative Movement in Ceylon can be said to be the history of the Credit Society because the Ordinance of 1911 provided for this type only, until in the 1920's an amendment was passed which stimulated a wide variety of other types including consumers' stores, small and large business societies and even dozens of Co-operative hospitals. Our Movement had expanded so vastly by 1956 that by them the variety of types had reached nearly 100, and the number of societies some 10,000, with a turnover of nearly Rs. 2,000 million per annum!

It was for the same reason of caution at its start that the Movement was at its purest when it was confined to this safe and modest credit type. Our fieldstaff were carefully trained, and so were the potential members. Generally no credit society was ever registered except after a minimum period of six months' training and apprenticeship. The great merit of this system, as it appealed to Mr. Ratnayake when he became Minister in 1947 was that it helped to build character, developed a great sense of honesty, unitll, usefulness, and many other moral qualities. 'Each for All,

and All for Each' was the co-operative motto that inspire the adherents of all faiths, who saw in it an ideal that their own Founders endeavoured to inculcate at all times. Mr. Ratnayake would often point out at meetings how close all co-operative principles were to the teaching of Lord Buddha.

There was hardly a part of the Island he failed to visit during his five years as Minister in charge of the subject. His speeches were always a great inspiration to us officials who accompanied him, because it was propaganda in the best sense to very large gatherings.

The War Years and the Stores Movement

This slowly progressive and soundly based Movement however, received a tremendous impetus from the War Emergency, especially after the Japanese entry in December 1941 and the very real threat of invasion of Ceylon after what was considered only as a prelude in the Air Raids over Colombo and Trincomalee in April 1942. Till the War began there was only 1 village store and some 22 Estate stores in the whole Island. But with the Air Raids driving away most of the traders from Colombo, particularly foreigners, the Movement was suddenly called upon by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, then Civil Defence Commissioner, to undertake the entire rice distribution in Colombo City to a population of over 300,000. The situation in the big towns was little different, and with the need for the equitable distribution of all scarce commodities becoming a vital necessity the number of co-operative stores had reached a peak of 4034 in a few weeks. For a period, the stores worked extremely well, with the most eminent men and women coming forward to form the managing committees. But as time passed unscrupulous people found that there was good money in a system of sheltered selling points on which Government lavished all its attention, sometimes supplying them exclusively with commodities in short supply, and not surprisingly before long corruption set in. Hasty organization, with little time to probe the human material that seemed only too eager to come forward, and with our staff heavily overworked, was

the main reason that contributed to giving the entire Movement a bad name.

However, for years Mr. Ratnayake was able to proclaim with pride, perhaps over a hundred times at meetings, that there was not a single case of starvation in Ceylon, thanks to the rigid and equitable distribution of what little was available at any single time. Only the well-developed Ceylon Co-operative system could make this possible, whereas in neighbouring India, in Bengal alone, millions are said to have died in the midst of comparative plenty, with unscrupulous hoarders cornering and selling at exorbitant rates while the suffering poor, almost within sight, were deprived of even a morsel for lack of the wherewithal to pay the demanded skyrocketing prices.

Instrument of Government Policy

Thus, beginning with the stores drive of 1942, the Co-operative Movement has been evoked, and also readily responded, to become a most dependable instrument of Government Policy. So it has been ever since. Even as recently as April 1971 during the Insurrection, it was the Co-operative Movement that readily came forward to save the country in food distribution. So, as will be seen in other notable lines of activity too, it can truly be said that just as John Milton boasted that if there was anything difficult to do God always gave it to his Englishmen, in Ceylon if ever there is an economic crisis the Government hopefully looks up always to the Co-operative Movement.

Agricultural Societies

The next, and even bigger advance than with consumers' stores, was made in 1948, (fully during Mr. Ratnayake's stewardship) with the formation of Co-operative Agricultural Production and Sales Societies. These were in a way supplementary to the decade-old credit society, since all the cheap credit became useless if the producer was mulcted of the fruits of his labour when the middleman bought his produce at distress prices to sell at hundreds of per cent profit. Marketing Societies were the answer,

especially for paddy with its guaranteed price, which seldom reached the actual cultivator. In a hurry to get his money, or being tied by an old debt to the trader, it was often found that if the Government guaranteed Rs. 12/- a bushel, the farmer received only Rs. 8/- or so, while the trader who only financed cultivation and marketed his paddy got the balance.

No greater boon was conferred by the Movement to raise living standards of the cultivator, especially in the North Central Province, than these CAPS Societies. The present writer who first joined the Department in 1939 and saw hardly a banian among bare-bodied village farmers as he visited a humble credit society, would be thrilled in the early 1950's to see the same folk now not only finely clothed but also equipped with a well-kept push bicycle and also a shot gun to protect his crops.

There was the humourous side too to this flood and onrush of sudden affluence to the N. C. P. Once during a co-operative meeting in 1950, puzzled by the same car filled with human cargo of parents and a dozen children parading up and down the same road for an hour, the writer was laughingly told by the Co-op. Inspector that a farmer often unable to find an outlet for its fast accumulating wealth would engage a hiring car for about Rs. 50/- merely to jaunt up and down his village council roads all morning!

Next came this story from the Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake himself in 1966. A farmer came to town with a bundle of notes to buy a radio set and finding the operator salesman slyly producing only Tamil music, readily parted with an extra Rs. 100/- when told by the unscrupulous seller that he could have a set with Sinhala music too far for the additional price.

School of Co-operation, Polgolla

It was keeping with Mr. Ratnayake's great faith in its great educative and character-building value that he founded this School of Co-operation not far from Kandy. With one-time military buildings readily available, he obtained them at once and launched a programme of

quick expansion with annually provided funds. Very soon, not only the field staff but also employees of the larger societies were provided with courses of training. The reputation of the School soon spread abroad, and students were sent regularly from various countries of South-East Asia.

An additional feature was Adult Education, especially by correspondence courses discussed among groups as in Sweden.

Education Abroad

Regular education abroad of field staff starting with a scheme for sending 2 Assistant Registrars a year to tour Europe was another innovation of Mr. Ratnayake to serve the same purpose by broadening the outlook of key men. And its value was so recognised, that after the founding of the Co-operative Federation of Ceylon in 1955, leading unofficial co-operators too found their way often on grants made by international authorities.

The All-Island Co-operative Rally of January 1950

A fitting conclusion to this tribute to a great friend and believer in the Movement would be some mention of this Rally, which was inspired entirely by Mr. Ratnayake.

Even before 1950 the Movement had expanded so fast with over 6000 societies, that it was a formidable undertaking unlike the last previous rally of 15 years earlier when the number was barely 1000. Fortunately a conference of unofficial co-operators at the Ministry heartily supported the idea, and with full knowledge that necessary funds would be forthcoming the gigantic task was undertaken. The only suitable venue for such a vast gathering could be the Colombo Race Course, and the Turf Club readily agreed to make the two big Grand Stands and the necessary portion of the premises available for the two-day Rally.

It was a great success, and almost every society was represented. When out of a large number sent in, about 14 Resolutions were freely discussed among 6000 delegates

for about three hours, with the Minister Mr. Ratnayake in the Chair, and the public address system making speeches possible from over 25 different points and in full hearing of the whole assembly, one newspaper had a banner headline to say that it was easily the biggest business meeting, ever held in Ceylon. Mr. Ratnayake have the further ideas of having all 6000 delegates parade the streets of Colombo in chartered buses, and personnel of our varied activities expressively displayed on floaters.

The Public meeting was the finale, attended not only by the Governor-General Lord Soulbury, the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon'ble D. S. Senanayake, Cabinet Ministers, M.P.'s, the Venerable Mahanayakes of Malwatte and Asgiriya, the Archbishop of Colombo and many other notabilities in Ceylon, but also by a visiting British Cabinet Minister - the Rt. Honble Philip Noel-Baker.

Even though it may appear an anti-climax to mention it the organisers of the Conference were able to display the complete universality of the Movement in Ceylon at the time by having a delegate even from an aboriginal Veddha Society of far off Uva Province some 250 miles away.

Fame Abroad

Before Mr. Ratnayake relinquished his charge of the Co-operative Movement to become Home Minister, the Movement had acquired such fame abroad that admirers and students eager to study and visit were numerous, and the most signal tribute came to it from a Head of State while Mr. Ratnayake was still Minister. This was when the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake was returning to Ceylon via Cairo, in 1952, and General Neguib, then leader of Egypt, had asked him whether the Ceylon Co-operative Movement was not believed to be the finest in the East.

Such was the high pedestal of achievement reached by it under the able guidance, enthusiasm, and whole-hearted support, of Mr. Abhayaratne Ratnayake.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයෙන් සැලසෙන සේවය

ඩී. ඊ. හෙට්ටිආරච්චි

2500 බුද්ධ ජයන්ති මහෝත්සවය 1955 දී පවත්වන ලද්දේ රට ජාතිය, ආගම, භාෂා සාහිත්‍යය, කලාශිල්ප ආදිය අතින් අප සංස්කෘතියේ විශාල උන්නතියක්, අහ්‍යුදයක්, ප්‍රබෝධයක් ඇතිකර වීමේ පරමාධ්‍යාගය පෙරදැරි කොට ගෙනය. එවක ඒ කටයුතු සියල්ල භාරව තුබුණේ ස්වදේශ කටයුතු භාර අමාත්‍යාංශයටය. එම කටයුතු භාර අමාත්‍ය ධුරන්ධර ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක මැතිතුමාගේ පුරෝගාමීත්වයෙන් බුද්ධ ජයන්ති මහා සභාවේ දී පත් කරගන්නා ලද මධ්‍යම කාරක සභාවක පාලනය යටතේ එක එක ප්‍රධාන කර්තව්‍යයක් ඒ සඳහා තෝරා පත්කර ගන්නා ලද විශේෂ කාරක සභාවක් මගින් කරගෙන යන ලදී. එවක අග්‍රාමාත්‍යව සිටි ශ්‍රීමත් ජෝන් කොතලාවල මැතිතුමාගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන්, ස්වදේශ කටයුතු භාර ඒ. රත්නායක මැතිතුමාගේ ප්‍රමුඛත්වයෙන්, ලංකාවේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ ගිහි පැවිදි උත්තමයන්ගේ සහභාගිත්වයෙන්, අත්‍යුත්කර්ෂවත් ලෙස පවත්වන ලද බුද්ධජයන්ති මහා සභාවේ උත්සවශ්‍රීය ද එහි දී කළ කී දේ ද තව ම මාගේ දෙසවණතෙහි රැඹි පිළි රැඹි දෙයි.

ජයන්ති කායාරී

බුද්ධ ජයන්තිය නිමිත්තෙන් පවත්වන ලද උත්සව සභා, ඉදි කරවන ලද ස්මාරක ගොඩනැගිලි, ඉදිකොට පිහිටුවන ලද ප්‍රතිරූප ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කරවන ලද අනුස්මරණ කලාප ආදිය හැර කාලාති-ක්‍රමයෙන් නිමැවිය යුතු උදර වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් ද විය. මහනුවර ශ්‍රී දළඳා මාළිගා ගොඩනැගිල්ල අත්‍යලංකාර ලෙස කොට නිමවීම එකකි. ත්‍රිපිටක ග්‍රන්ථයන් සංශෝධනය කොට සිංහල අනුවාදයන් සමග පළකැරැවීම ත්‍රිපිටකයෙහි මොනවට හසළ බුද්ධියක් ඇති මහා සංඝයා වහන්සේගෙන් යුක්ත පැවිදි කාරක සභාවකට පවරන ලද උදර කතීව්‍යයකි. බෞද්ධ සමය පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් ඇතිකර ගැනීමට පුල පුලා මුළු ලෝකයෙහි ම වෙසෙන උගත් ජනයාගේ ප්‍රයෝජනය සඳහා බෞද්ධ සමය, බෞද්ධ දර්ශනය, බෞද්ධ ඉතිහාසය, බෞද්ධ කලාශිල්ප ආදී වශයෙන් විවිධ ශාඛාවන්ට අයත් බෞද්ධ සමයේ නා නා අංශ පිළිබඳ පුළුල් වූ ද ගැඹුරු වූ ද අවබෝධයක් ඇතිකරලීම සඳහා ලෝක ව්‍යාප්ත භාෂාවක් වූ ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් අංග සම්පූර්ණ බෞද්ධ විශ්වකෝෂයක් සැපයීම මහාවායාරී ජී. පී. මලලසේකර මහතුන්ගේ ප්‍රධාන කතීත්වයෙන් අරඹන ලද විශාල කතීව්‍යයකි.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂය

සිංහලය උසස් අධ්‍යාපන මාධ්‍යයක් වෙමින් තිබුණ ඒ කාල-පරිච්ඡේදයෙහි දී ස්වභාෂා මාධ්‍යයෙන් විවිධ විෂයයන් පිළිබඳ උසස් දැනීමක් ලබා ගැනීමට පොතපත නොමැති නිසාත් ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙහි ප්‍රගුණ නොවූ අයට විද්‍යාව ආදී විෂයයන් පිළිබඳ පුළුල් දැනීමක් ලබාගැනීමට ඇසුරු කළ යුතු වූ ප්‍රමාණ ග්‍රන්ථයක අඩුපාඩුව පිරි-මසාලීම සඳහාත් නූතන විද්‍යාත්මක ඥානය සමගම සිංහල සංස්කෘතියේ විවිධාංග පිළිබඳ දැනීම සිංහල පාඨකයන් වෙත පමුණුවාලීම සඳහාත් සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයක් සැපයීමේ කායනීය තවත් උදර කතීව්‍යයෙකි. මේ සෑම කායනීයක් උදෙසා ම ස්වදේශ කටයුතු භාර ඒ. රත්නායක ඇමතිතුමාත් බුද්ධ ජයන්ති මණ්ඩලයේ ලේකම්ව සිටි ආනන්ද පී. ගුරුගේ මහතාත් මධ්‍යම කාරක සභාවේ සාමාජික භවතුනුත් දැක් වූ උනන්දුව අතිශය ප්‍රශංසාර්භය. සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයක අවශ්‍යතාව දුරදක්නා නුවණින් වටහාගෙන ජයන්ති වැඩ පිළිවෙළේ ම විශේෂ අංගයක් වශයෙන් විශ්වකෝෂ යක් සැපයීමට යෝජනා කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක ඇමතිතුමා ඇතුළු ප්‍රභූන්ට ජාතියේ කෘතඥතාව හිමිවේ.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයක් සම්පාදනය කිරීම ඉතා භාරදුර කතීව්‍යයක් බව මට වැටහිණ. ඒ සඳහා මගේ නම යෝජනා කරද්දී මා ඊට විරෝධයක් නොදැක්වූයේ ස්වදේශ කටයුතු භාර ඇමතිතුමා සර්වප්‍රකාරයෙන් ම මා දිරි ගැන් වූ නිසාත් ආනන්ද ගුරුගේ මහතා හා පී. බී. සන්නස්ගල මහතාත් අත්‍යන්ත හිතෙහි භාවයෙන් අවශ්‍ය සියලු ආධාරෝපකාර කිරීමට මැදහත් වූ නිසාත්ය. සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂය සම්බන්ධයෙන් අවශ්‍ය උපදෙස් දීමට උගත් හික්ෂුන් වහන්සේලා විසිඵක් නමකගෙන් ද ගිහි ප්‍රභූන් දහනව දෙනකුගෙන් ද යුත් සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂ කාරක සභාවක් පිහිටුවා එහි සාහපති කමට මම ද ලේකම් තනතුරට පී. බී. සන්නස්ගල මහතා ද පත් කරනු ලැබීමු.

විශ්වකෝෂ කායනීලය

1955 මැයි මස 3 වෙනි දින රොස්මිඩ් පෙදෙසෙහි අංක 109 දරණ නිවසෙහි සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂ කායනීලය උත්සවශ්‍රීයෙන් ආරම්භ කිරීමේ උළෙලට ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක ඇමතිතුමා, ආනන්ද ගුරුගේ මහතා, මහාවායනී ජී. පී. මලලසේකර මහතා, පී. බී. සන්නස්ගල මහතා, එවක අධ්‍යාපන අධ්‍යක්ෂ ටී. ඩී. ජයසූරිය මහතා, කොටහේනේ පඤ්ඤාකිත්ති හිමිපාණෝ, පණ්ඩිත ලබුගම ලංකානන්ද හිමිපාණෝ, මා ඇතුළු කාර්යාලයීය පිරිස සහ විශ්ව-කෝෂ කාරක සභාවේ තවත් කිහිප පළක් ද පැමිණ සිටියහ. එම අවස්ථාවේ දී ආරබ්ධ කායනීයේ වැදගත්කම ද විශ්වකෝෂය මගින් භාෂාවට හා සංස්කෘතියටත් උසස් අධ්‍යාපනයටත් කළ හැකි මහඟු

සේවයද අළලමින් දීර්ඝ කථාවක් කළ ඒ. රත්නායක ඇමතිතුමා අවශ්‍ය සෑම ආධාරයක් කරන බවට ප්‍රතිඥාවක් දෙමින් ශුභ පැතීය.

විශ්වකෝෂකරණය පිළිබඳ කිසිදු අවබෝධයක් අප තුළ කලින් නොතුබුණු බැවින් අප අදහස් කළේ ඉංග්‍රීසි විශ්වකෝෂ වැනි ග්‍රන්ථ ඇසුරින් ලිපි ලිවිය යුතු ශීර්ෂපාඨ රැස්කොට ඒ ශීර්ෂපාඨ මාතෘකා කොට ලිපි ලිවීමට කැමති ලේඛකයන් පුවත්පත් දැන්වීම් මගින් දැනගෙන ඒ අය ලවා ලිපි ලියවා සිව්වසක දී පමණ විශ්වකෝෂයක් සැපයීම වේ. එහෙත් එම ක්‍රමය ක්‍රියාත්මක කොට වැඩි කලක් යන්ට මත්තෙන් එය සතුටුදායක නොවන බව ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂ විය.

ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙන් සම්පාදිත විශ්වකෝෂ පිරික්සීමෙන් සෑහීමට පත් නොවූ අපි කිහිපදෙනෙක් ඉන්දියාවේ නානා ප්‍රාන්තයන්හි හින්දි දෙමළ, මලයාලම්, කර්ණාට ආදී භාෂාවන්ගෙන් සම්පාදනය කර ගෙන යන විශ්වකෝෂවල සැලසුම් පරීක්ෂා කොට බැලීමු. අනතුරුව අපේ අවශ්‍යතාවන්ට අනුකූල වන පරිද්දෙන් පසළොස් අවුරුදු සැලැස්මක් තනා එය අනුමත කරවාගෙන මුළු විශ්වකෝෂයට ම ඇතුළත් වන ශීර්ෂපාඨ තෝරා ඒ ශීර්ෂ යටතේ ලියැවෙන එක් එක් ලිපියක දිග දළ වශයෙන් නිශ්චය කොට පරස්පර සම්බන්ධකම් සඳහන් විය යුතු තැන්ද නිශ්චය කොට මහජනයාගේ අදහස් විමසීමට ආදර්ශ කලාපයක් ද නිකුත් කළෙමු. ඒ පිළිබඳව සඟරා හා පුවත්පත්වල පළ වූ විවේචන ද සලකා බලා පිටු 764 කින් යුත් පළමුවන විශ්වකෝෂ කාණ්ඩය 1963 දී නිකුත් කළෙමු. අනතුරු සෑම වර්ෂයක් පාසාම පිටු 750 ක විශ්වකෝෂ කාණ්ඩයක් නිකුත් කිරීම අපේ බලාපොරොත්තුව වුවද නොවැළැක්විය හැකි නොයෙක් හේතූන් නිසා එසේ කරනු නොහැකි විය. එහෙත් දැනට කාණ්ඩ තුනක් නිකුත් කර ඇත. සිව්වැනි කාණ්ඩය ද මුද්‍රණය කර තිබේ. පස්වැනි කාණ්ඩයේ වැඩ කරගෙන යනු ලැබේ.

විශ්වකෝෂයට ඇතුළත් කළ යුතු වූත් ප්‍රාමාණික සේ ගිණිය හැකි වූත් ලිපියක් සැපයීම එසේ මෙසේ කායඝීයක් නොවේ. නව්‍ය විෂයයන් පිළිබඳ විශේෂඥතාවක් ඇති බොහෝ දෙනා සිංහලයෙන් ඒ විෂයගත මාතෘකාවන් ගැන ලිපි ලිවීමට සමත් නොවෙත්. විෂයගත දැනීමක් නැති අයට ඉංග්‍රීසියෙන් සැපයුණු ලිපියක් පරිවර්තනය කිරීම පවා දුෂ්කර කායඝීයෙකි. විශේෂඥයන් ලවා සෑම මාතෘකාවක් පිළිබඳව ලිපි ලියවා ගැනීම ද පහසු නොවේ. බොහෝ දෙනා කායඝී බහුල අය නිසායි. මෙසේ ශීර්ෂ රාශියක් එන ඉතිහාසය, භූගෝල විද්‍යාව, අර්ථ ශාස්ත්‍රය, නවීන විද්‍යා, ආගම් හා දර්ශනය, කලාශිල්ප වැනි විෂයයන් භාරව සිටි නොගැඹුරු ශීර්ෂ උපන්‍යාස කොට ලිපි ලිවීමටත් විශේෂඥතාවක් අවශ්‍ය ලිපි බාහිර විශේෂඥයන් ලවා ලියවාගෙන ඒවා සිංහලට පරිවර්තනය කොට ස්වකීය විෂයගත ලිපි සියල්ල සංවිධානය කිරීමටත් ඒ ඒ විෂයයෙන් යටත්පිරිසෙයින් ගෞරව උපාධියක්වත් ලත් සහකාර, කර්තවරුන් පත් කර ගැනීම අවශ්‍ය විය.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයේ ආරම්භ සමයේ දී අර්ථශාස්ත්‍රය, අපර දිග දර්ශනය, වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව, නවීන විද්‍යා ආදී විෂයයන්ට අදාළ මාතෘකාවන් පිළිබඳ ලිපි සිංහලෙන් ලිවිය නොහැකි යයි බොහෝ දෙනා කීහ. ඇතැමෙක් සිංහලෙන් කළ නොහෙන වැඩක් කරන්නට භාරගෙන මා රජය මුළා කරන බවක් කියමින් මට දෝෂාරෝපණය කළහ. එබඳු අනාගත වක්තෘන් කෙබඳු වෝදනා කළත් කර්තෘ මණ්ඩලය අප්‍රතිහත ධෛර්‍යයෙන් ක්‍රියා කොට විද්‍යාත්මක සියුම් අදහස් ද සිංහලට නොහුරු ඇතැම් සංකීර්ණ සංකල්පයන් ද කෙසේ හෝ සිංහලෙන් ම ප්‍රකාශ කොට පාරිභාෂික ශබ්ද තනා නොතුබුණු තන්හි අලුත් පාරිභාෂික ශබ්දයන් ද තනා සිංහලෙන් ම ලිපි සැපයූහ. පළමුවන වරට කියවනවිට ඇතැම් භාෂා ප්‍රයෝග කෘතීම සේ පෙනෙතත් අනුක්‍රමයෙන් ඒ ප්‍රයෝග රටට හුරු පුරුදු වී යන බැව් පෙනේ. මෙසේ නව්‍ය සංකල්පයන් සිංහලෙන් ප්‍රකාශනය කිරීම වක්මන් භාෂා ව්‍යවහාරයට කෙරෙන උදර සේවාවකි. විද්‍යාත්මක අදහස් සිංහලෙන් කිව නොහැකි යයි කියන්නෝ අද සුලභ නොවෙත්. සිංහලය ජීව භාෂාවක් වශයෙන් තව ටික කලක් මෙසේ ව්‍යවහාර කරගෙන ගියහොත් වර්තමාන ලෝකයේ අවශ්‍යතාවන් සපුරාලීමට එය හාත්පසින් ම සමත්වනු නොඅනුමානයි. සිංහල පාඨකයා අද දවසෙහි ජ්‍යොතිර් ගණිතය, න්‍යෂ්ටික භෞතික විද්‍යාව වැනි ගුප්ත විෂයයන් පිළිබඳ තොරතුරු සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයෙන් බලාපොරොත්තු නොවෙතත් සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයේ ප්‍රථම සංස්කරණය නිමවා දෙන සංස්කරණය කෙරෙන විට සිංහල පාඨකයාගේ තත්වය ද භාෂාවේ ප්‍රකාශන ශක්තිය ද අතිශයින් දියුණු වී පවතිනු නියත හෙයින් ඒ අවශ්‍ය තාවන් සපුරාලීමට එවක භාෂාව ප්‍රමාණවත් වනු නොඅනුමානයි. මෙසේ සිංහලෙන් විශ්වකෝෂයක් සැපයිය යුතු යයි තීරණය කිරීම සිංහල ජාතික ඉතිහාසයෙහි මෙන් ම භාෂා ඉතිහාසයෙහි ද ඉතා වැදගත් සිද්ධියකි. ඊට මුල් වූවන්ට අමරණීය ගෞරවයක් හිමි විය යුතුවේ.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂයක් අමුතුවෙන් සැපයීමෙන් ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ පන්තියේ උගතුන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක නිබද්ධ සේවය ලබාගැනීම ඉතා අවශ්‍යය. අමුතුවෙන් විශ්වකෝෂයක් සම්පාදනය කිරීම තබා සම්පාදිත විශ්වකෝෂයක සංශෝධනය සඳහා පවා පළමුවන පෙළේ වියතුන් රාශියක සේවාව ලබාගත යුතු බව විකාගෝ නගරයෙහි පිහිටුවා ඇති බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය මහා ශබ්දකෝෂ කාර්යාලයට ගිය විට අපට ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂ විය. අනික් විශ්වකෝෂ කායාර්යාලයන්හි ශෝධ්‍ය පත්‍ර බලා මුද්‍රණ කටයුතු කිරීමට ද ඡායාරූප, වර්ණ චිත්‍ර, රේඛා චිත්‍ර ආදිය සපයා ගැනීමට ද වෙන ම නිලධාරී මණ්ඩලයක් ඇතත් අප විශ්වකෝෂ කායාර්යාලයෙහි නියුක්ත ස්වල්ප දෙනා ඒ සෑම කටයුත්තක් ම කළ යුතු වේ. පුහුණු වූ කර්තෘවරුන් විටින් විට අස්වී යෑමෙන් සිදුවන පාඩු ද දරාගත යුතු වේ. මුද්‍රණ යන්ත්‍රාලයෙන් සිදුවන ප්‍රමාදයන්ට දෙස් ඇසිය යුතු වේ. කෙසේ හෝ වේවා දනට රජයේ සංස්කෘතික

කටයුතු මණ්ඩලය යටතේ එම අමාත්‍යාංශයේ අනුග්‍රහයෙන් කෙරී ගෙන යන මෙම කර්තව්‍යයෙන් සිංහල භාෂාවටත් සාහිත්‍යයටත් ධර්මශාස්ත්‍රයන්ටත් කලාශිල්පයන්ටත් නූතන විද්‍යාවටත් අප සංස්කෘතියටත් උසස් අධ්‍යාපනයටත් උදර සේවාවක් සැලසෙනු නො අනුමානයි.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂය වර්තමාන තත්වයට ගෙනරීමට උසස්-තම්භක වූ බුද්ධිජයන්ති කාරක සභාවටත් විශේෂයෙන් ම ඒ සඳහා වෙහෙස දරා ක්‍රියා කළ පී. බී. සන්නස්ගල මහතා ඇතුළු සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂ කාරක සභාවටත් විශ්වකෝෂයේ දියුණුව තකා මුල්ව ක්‍රියා කළ ගරු ඒ. රත්නායක මහතා, ඒ. කුරුප්පු මහතා ආදී ගරු අමාත්‍යවරුන්ටත් අත්‍යන්තොපකාරී වූ සංස්කෘතික අධ්‍යක්ෂක වරුන්ටත් හිතපක්ෂපාතීව ක්‍රියා කළ කර්තෘ මණ්ඩලය හා සෙසු සේවක පිරිස ඇතුළු සියලු හවතුන්ටත් අප කෘතඥතාව හිමි වේ.

සිංහල විශ්වකෝෂ කායභාලය,
සංස්කෘතික දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව,
135, ධර්මපාල මාවත,
කොළඹ 7.

නිහතමානී සමාජ සේවකයා

ටිකිරි බණ්ඩා තෙන්නකෝන්

සමාජ සේවා ඇමති

කාරුණික සමාජ සේවකයෙකු වශයෙනුත් ජනහිතකාමී මන්ත්‍රී වරයෙකු වශයෙනුත් දුරදර්ශී අමාත්‍යවරයෙකු වශයෙනුත්, විවිත්‍ර ලෙසින් විස්තෘත සේවාවක් කරමින් ලංකා දේශපාලන ඉතිහාසයේ සද්‍රැස්මරණීය කීර්ති නාමයක් ලබා සිටින ලංකා උත්තර මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ ගරු සභාපති ධුරන්ධර අභයරත්න රත්නායක ශ්‍රීමතාණන් ගේ සම සතලිස් වස් දේශපාලන සේවාවට උපහාර දැක්වීම පිණිස පළ කෙරෙන “අහිනන්දන පුස්තකය” ට මෙම ලිපිය සැපයීමට ලැබීම සාතිශය ප්‍රීතියක් කොට මම සලකමි.

දේශපාලනය සරල ක්‍රීඩාවකි. එහෙත් එය ආත්මාර්ථ සාධනය පිණිස නොව හුදෙක් පරාර්ථ සාධනය සඳහාම යයි සලකමින් ලබා ගත් ජයෙන් ජය කෙහෙළි බඳිමින් අනුද්ද්‍රව පොදු මහජන සේවාව පිණිසම මෙහෙය වුණු සිතැතිව ස්වකීය මාතෘ භූමියේ පීඩිත පන්ති ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් උත්තරීතර සේවාවක් කළ දේශපාලන නායකයන් ඇත්තේ ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකි. ඔවුන්ගේ අභයරත්න රත්නායක ශ්‍රීමතාද අග්‍රගණ්‍ය කෙනෙකි. එතුමාගේ සම සතලිස් වස් දේශ සේවා ක්‍රියා වලියේ සහග්‍ර සංඛ්‍යාත මතක සටහන්වලින් එක දේශයක් මෙහිලා සටහන් කරමි.

දේශපාලන වශයෙන් අප ඉතා ළදරු අවදියේ රාජ්‍ය මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේ මැතිවරණයක් විය. අපේ ගම දුම්බරයි. දුම්බර ආසනයට යුරෝපීය සුදු මහතෙකු ඇතුළු අපේක්ෂකයෝ පස් දෙනෙක් සටන් බිමට බැස සිටියහ. එහෙත් තම ප්‍රතිවාදීන් සියලු දෙනාම පරාජයට පත් කොට දුම්බර ආසනය දිනාගත හැකි වූයේ අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතාටය. එක්දහස් නමසිය තිස් එකේ (1931) රත්නායක මහතා දුම්බර ආසනයට තේරී පත් වූයේ පීඩිත පන්තිය හා වැටී සිටින ජනතාව නියෝජනය කරන රාජ්‍ය මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේ මන්ත්‍රීවරයා හැටියටය. එතුමාට එද විශිෂ්ට ජයග්‍රහණයක් හිමි කර ගත හැකි වූයේ එවකට ජනතාව අතර නොසිටි මුත් එතුමාගේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨතර පියාණන් වූ පුංචි බංඩාර රත්නායක මැතිතුමා ජනතාවට කළ අවංක සේවාවේ උතුම් ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් බව සඳහන් කිරීම මැනැවයි සිතමි. අපේක්ෂාපාත දේශ සේවකයකු වන ශ්‍රීමත් අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමා දේශපාලන පැත්තක් නොගෙන සිටියත් ස්වකීය ඥාති පුත්‍රයින් දෙදෙනකු මැතිවරණ සටනේ සිටියදීත් සමස්ත ලංකාවේ තරඟකරුවන් සියළු නොද

අතරින් රත්නායක මහතා ගැන පමණක් සදහන් කළේ “මගේ පා සෙවනේ වැඩුණ රත්නායක මහතා මහජන විශ්වාසය තැබීමට සුදුස්සා ලෙසත් මහජන සේවයට නොබියව ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට හැකි කෙනෙකු ලෙසත්” දක්වා එතුමාගේ අත්සන සහිත ලිපියක්ද පළ කිරීමෙනි. අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමා වෙතින් සම්මානික වූයේ මෙසේ නම් රත්නායක මහතාගේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨත්වය වටහා ගැනීමට ඊට වඩා සාධක අවශ්‍ය යයි මම නොසිතමි.

උඩරට ප්‍රදේශයට කවර තරාතිරමක දේශපාලනඥයන් කුමන පාක්ෂිකයක් වශයෙන් දේශ සේවාවක් කර තිබුණත් රත්නායක මහතා අප ගම්බද ජනතාවට කළ සේවාවට කළ සරිලන සේවාවක් කළ කිසිවකු ඇති නොවූ බව අවංකවම කිව හැකියි. වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය තිස් දෙකේදී (1932) දේශපාලන මණ්ඩලයක් වූ “උඩරට තරුණ සංගමය” රත්නායක මහතාගේ නිවසේදී ආරම්භ කරමින් තරුණයින් සිය දේශයේ දියුණුවට අවංකවම නොපසුබටව ඉදිරිපත්වී කටයුතු කරන බව ලේ වලින් අත්සන් කොට දිවුරුම් දුන් ආකාරය අපට අදත් මතකය. එම තරුණයන් අතර දැනට කෘෂිකර්ම හා ඉඩම් ඇමතිව සිටින හෙක්ටර් කොබ්බෑකඩුව, කලක් තැපැල් ඇමතිව සිටි එන්. එච්. කීර්ති රත්න, මහජන මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ හා උත්තර මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ ලේකම් ධුරයක් දරමින් සිටි බී. කොස්වත්ත, දැනට ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨාධිකරණයේ විනිශ්චයකරුවකු වන පී.බී.වල්ගමිපාය, රාජ්‍ය දැව සංස්ථාවේ සභාපති අයිවර් පලිපාන, මහනුවර සිතුම්ණ අයිති ටී. බී. එස්. ගොඩමුත්තේ පරලෝ සැපත් එල්. එම්. ජේමරත්න, අන්වතුගොඩ සමරතුංග යන මහතන් සමඟ තවත් නම් වශයෙන් අමතක සිය ගණනක් පිරිස සමග මාද ඊට සහභාගි වූ බව මට මතකය. එම සංගමයේ සභාපති පදවියට පත් වූ රත්නායක මහතා, වර්ෂ එක්දහස් අටසිය පහළොවේ (1952) ඉංග්‍රීසි, සිංහල ගිවිසුම අනුව සිංහල ජනතාවගේ හා බුද්ධාගමේ පූර්ව අයිතිවාසිකම් යථා පරිදි ආරක්ෂාකර ගැනීමට නොමදව ආධාර දුන් නේය. වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය තිස් දෙකේ (1932) පටන් වසරක් නැර නිතිඥ ඇල්ෆ්‍රඩ් ගොඩමුත්තේ මහතාගේ සංවිධානත්වයෙන් සිදු කෙරුණ මාර්තු දෙවෙනිද (2) උත්සවයෙන් ජනතාව නිසි මගක ලා පිබිදවීමට රත්නායක මහතා දුන් ධෛර්යය සුළුපටු නොවේ. දුම්බර කොට්ඨාශයටත් උඩරට ජනතාවටත් රත්නායක මහතා කළේ ආදර්ශමත් සේවාවකි.

සිංහල හා ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවන් ද බුද්ධාගම හා නීතියද එක හා සමානව උගත් දේශපාලනඥයෙකු වන රත්නායක මහතා සමානාත්මතා ගුණ යෙන් අනුන ව්‍යක්ත කථිකයෙකු වශයෙන්ද පැසසුම් ලබයි. බුද්ධාගමා ශුද්ධ භූමිය බෞද්ධයන් සතු කර ගැනීමට හා දඹදිව බෞද්ධ කටයුතු සොයා බැලීමට ලංකාවේ නියෝජිතයෙකු වශයෙන් ඉන්දියාවට ගොස් කටයුතු කළ අයුරු ප්‍රශංසාවට භාජනය වේ. අනුරාධපුර ශ්‍රී මහා බෝධි රාජ්‍යාණන් වහන්සේ වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය තිස් තුනේදී (1933) ජේම්ස් නැමැති උන්මත්තකයෙකු විසින් විනාශ කළ අවස්ථාවේ

මහනුවර විශාල මහජන රැස්වීමක් පවත්වා බෝධිය නිරූපදිතව ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමට කටයුතු කරන බවට පොරොන්දුදී එම විනාශ-කාරී ක්‍රියාව කළ පුද්ගලයාට නිසි දඬුවම් ලබා දෙන බවටද දන්වා සිටි අයුරු මට අද මෙන් මතකය.

වරක් ඉන්දියාවට ගොස් ආපසු පැමිණි ඒ මහතා අපට මතක් කළේ ඉන්දිය මහ ජනනායකයකු වශයෙන් කීර්තිධර රාජේන්ද්‍ර ප්‍රසාද් කුමාගේ පෞද්ගලික ජීවන වයඹාවේ ඇති අල්පේච්ඡතා ගුණය ගැනයි. ධනවත්කමින් හා බලවත්කමින්ද උගත්කමින්ද හා බුද්ධිමත්කමින්ද කිසිවෙකුට නොදෙවෙනි තත්වයේ ලා ගිනිය හැකි වුවත්, රාජේන්ද්‍ර ප්‍රසාද් කුමාගේ නිවසේ දිරාපත් වීමට ආසන්න පුරාණ ඇඳ පුටු කිහිපයක් පමණක් ඇති බවත්, අරුමෝසම් බඩු බාහිරාදිය හෝ සාටෝප ගෘහ භාණ්ඩ කිසිවක් එහි නැති බවත්ය. ඒ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ ඉන්දියානු ජන නායකයාගේ සුවිශේෂ සරල වාමී ජීවන දර්ශනය අගය කිරීමට නිසාදෝ අප රත්නායක මහතා තමාගේ ගේ දෙරද සරලව වාමිව තබා ගැනීමට පුරුදුව ඇත. අද ඇතැම් බලවතුන් හා ධනවතුන් මෙන් සුවිසිල් දෙමහල් මැදුරු, දුටුවන් සිත් නෙත් වගී කරවන ගෘහෝද්‍යාන, දහස් ගණන් වටිනා අයස්කාන්ත ගෘහ භාණ්ඩ ආදියෙන් ස්වකීය ජීවිතයේ බාහිර දර්ශනය ප්‍රදර්ශනය කිරීම වෙනුවට රත්නායක මහතා සරල පැවැත්මෙන් හා නොපසු බට දෙධයඹයෙන් හෙමින් සිරුවේ කටයුතු කරමින් අභ්‍යන්තර ජීවිතයේ පරිශුද්ධතාවය මැනවින් මුර්තිමත් කර පෙන්වයි.

සරල ජීවිත දර්ශනයකින් ඔප ගැන්වුණ රත්නායක මහතාගේ සද්චාර සම්පන්න ආදර්ශමත් ජීවිතය ස්ථානෝචිත ප්‍රඥවෙන්. අවස්ථාවෝචිත ලෙස කටයුතු කිරීමේ සහජ හැකියාවෙන්, දීප්තිමත් වී තිබුණි. වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය තිස් හතේ (1937) පමණ මහනුවර පිරිවෙතේ පැවති සංසරාජ ගුණානුස්මරණ රැස්වීමට සහභාගී වීමට මටද අවස්ථාව ලැබුණි. රැස්වීමේ මූලසුන ශ්‍රීමත් එෆ්. ආර්. මොලමුරේ මැතිතුමන් විසින් දුරු අතර ලක්දස් ද මෙල් පියතුමාත් අභයරත්න රත්නායක මැතිතුමාත් ආරාධිත කලීකයන් අතර වූහ. “බුදුරජානන් වහන්සේගේ අපිරිමිත කරුණාව හා මෛත්‍රිය ගැනත් ක්‍රිස්තුස්වහන්සේ ගේ කරුණාව හා මෛත්‍රිය ගැනත් පූර්ණ සංසන්දනයක යෙදෙමින් ස්වකීය දේශනය කළ ලක්දස් ද මෙල් පියතුමා මේ ආගම් කර්තෘවරු දෙදෙනා මෙසේ කරුණාව හා මෛත්‍රිය පදනම් කර ගත් දර්ශනයක් දේශනය කළත් අද බෞද්ධයන් හා ක්‍රිස්තු ලබ්ධිකයන් අතර අන්‍යෝන්‍ය එක්සත් බවක් නොමැති වීම කණගාටුවට කරුණක් බැව් පෙන්වා දීමේ ආගමේ කර්තෘවරුන් දෙදෙනා එක තැනකදී හමු වූයේ නම් කුමක් වේදැයි” සභාව ඉදිරියේ විමසිලිමත් ප්‍රශ්නයක් තබමින් සිය දෙසුම හමාර කළේය. ඉන් අනතුරුව කතාවට නැගී සිටි රත්නායක මහතා වෙත සියල්ලන්ගේම විමසිලිමත් දෙනෙත් යොමු විය. එතුමා තම කතාව ආරම්භ කරමින් ප්‍රකාශ කළේ මෙසේය:

“අද මේ සභාවේ සංඝරාජ ගුණානුන්සමරණ උත්සවය ගැන යමක් කීමට පෙර, පියතුමා මේ සභාව ඉදිරියේ තබා ඇති ලොකු බරක් පිළිබඳව වචන කිහිපයක් කිව යුතුයි. ඒ බරනම් බුදුරජානන් වහන්සේත් ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේත් එකට හමුවුවා නම් කුමක් වේද යන ප්‍රශ්නයයි. මේ ප්‍රශ්නය මගින් පියතුමා මේ සභාව මත තබා ඇති බරෙන් සභාව නිදහස් කොට මගේ කථාව කරන්නට කැමතියි.

මේ ප්‍රශ්නය බොහෝ දුර කල්පනා කළ යුතුගැඹුරු ප්‍රශ්නයක් නොවේ මේ ගැන ඉතාම කෙටියෙන් මට කියන්න පුළුවන්. බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේත් ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේත් එකට හමු වුවා නම් සිදු වන්නේ වෙන කිසිවක් නොව, ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේ සැරියුත් මුගලන් පෙළේ ශ්‍රාවකයකු බවට පත්වීම පමණයි. ඒ සභාවේ උන් ගිහි පැවිදි උගතුන් සියල්ලෝම රත්නායක මහතාගේ පුදුම අවබෝධය හා කුලභාව ගැන විශ්මයට පත් වූහ. මෙබඳු අවස්ථා රත්නායක මහතාගේ ජීවිතයෙන් එකක් නොව රාශියක් ඉදිරිපත් කළ හැක.

කන්ද උඩරට ප්‍රබල සභරාවක් වශයෙන් මහජන මතය කියා පෑ මගේ සංස්කාරත්වයෙන් පළ වූ “හොඳ හිත” සභරාවේ මංගල කලාපය එක්දහස් නවසිය නිස් හයේ (1936) ජනවාරි දෙවැනිදා රත්නායක මහතා අත තැබීම මහත් භාග්‍යයක් කොට මා පමණක් නොව කන්ද උඩරට බහුතර ජනතාවද සැලකූ අතර මෙම සභරාව මගින් හා දුම්බර විත්ති ප්‍රචාන්ති පත්‍රය මගින්ද මට මෙබඳු මහජන හැඟීමක් දීමට තිබුණා නම් ඒ මෙතුමා දුන් අනුබලය නිසාම බව කිව යුතුය.

එක්දහස් නවසිය සත් නිස්වන (1937) ගරු බණ්ඩාරනායක අගමැතිතුමාණන් විසින් ආරම්භ කළ සිංහල මහ සභාවේ ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ උප සභාපතිවරයෙකු ලෙස හා එම සභාවේ කන්ද උඩරට ශාඛාවේ අනුශාසකවරයෙකු ලෙසද අප රත්නායක මහතා ක්‍රියා කළේ ආදර්ශමත් ජනනායකයෙකු ලෙසිනි. වර්ෂ එක්දහස් නවසිය හතළිස් තුන්වැන්නේ (1943) පැවැති මහනුවර නගරසභා මැතිවරණයේදී අපේක්ෂකයෙකු වශයෙන් මා ඉදිරිපත් වූ අවස්ථාවේ රත්නායක මහතා මට නොයෙක් අයුරින් ආධාර උපකාර කළ අතර මුදල් හදල්වලින්ද උදව් කළේය. එක්දහස් නවසිය හතළිස් හතරේ (1944) ආරෝග්‍යශාලා කම්කරුවන් ගෙන ගිය සාධාරණ වැඩ වර්ජනයේදී පැවැත්වූ රැස්වීම්වල මුලසුන ගෙන ක්‍රියා කළ මහනුවර නීතිඥ එච්.ඒ.සී. වික්‍රමරත්න මහතාත්, එහි කතාවක් කළායයි මාත් සිර භාරයට ගැනීමට නියම වූ විට වික්‍රමරත්න මහතා සිර භාරයට ගත්තත් මා සිර භාරයට ගැනීම රත්නායක මහතා හරස් වීමෙන් නතර විය. එමෙන්ම 1953 වර්ෂයේ මහ හර්තලයේදී බොහෝ දෙන සිර භාරයට ගන්නා විට මා සිර භාරයට ගැනීමට රජය උත්සාහ කළත් රත්නායක මහතා 1947 සිට රජයේමන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු වීම නිසා එය වැළකුණි. රත්නායක මැතිතුමාත් මාත් දේශපාලන දර්ශන දෙකක් අනුගමනය කළත් දේශපාලන සටන් වලදී එතුමා මට විරුද්ධව හෝ මා එතුමාට විරුද්ධව හෝ කිසිම අවස්ථාවක ක්‍රියා කොට නො

මැත. රත්නායක මහතාගේත් මගේත් මිත්‍රත්වය හා සම්බන්ධය කොතරම් දැඩි වුවත් මා කැමැති දේශපාලන පක්ෂයකට බැඳී ක්‍රියා කිරීමට මට ඒ මහතා ගේ කිසිම බාධාවක් හෝ අවහිරයක් නොවූ අතර මා ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට බැඳෙන විට එතුමා ප්‍රකාශ කළේ තමා කැමති දේශපාලන පක්ෂයකට බැඳීම ගැන එතුමාගේ කිසිම විරුද්ධතාවක් නැති බවයි.

ශ්‍රීමත් එස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක මැතිතුමා එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයෙන් ඉවත්ව ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය පිහිටුවීමෙන් පසු 1952 පැවති මහා මැතිවරණයේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ අපේක්ෂකයකු වශයෙන් වත්තේගම ආසනයට තරඟ කරන ලෙස මට කියා සිටියේ සැහෙන මුදලක්ද මා අත තබමිනි. දේශපාලන භූමියෙන් ඉවත් වුවත් රත්නායක මහතා සමඟ තරඟයක් කිරීමට කිසිම අවස්ථාවක මා ඉදිරිපත් නොවන බව මම කියා සිටියෙමි.

තමා පිළිගත් දේශපාලන දර්ශනය දිගටම අනුගමනය කරමින් සිටින රත්නායක මහතා 1965 වර්ෂයේ උත්තර මන්ත්‍රී මණ්ඩලයේ සභාපති පදවියට පත්ව එම ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ පදවියේ වගකීම් භාරය අද දක්වාම සාර්ථකව ඉටුකරමින් කරනු ලබන නිහඬ සේවාව සද අගය කළ හැකිය. නිලයෙන් හෝ බලයෙන් උද්දමයට පත්වීම එතුමාගේ සිරිත නොවන අතර පදවියෙන් එතුමා නොව එතුමාගේ පදවිය ගෝභමාන වන බව පැහැදිලි වී අවසානය. කවදත් සුපුරුදු අභිංසක සිනහා රැළුලෙන් මුව සරසා ගත් එතුමා ආශ්‍රිතයන්ගේ පමණක් නොව දුටුවන්ගේද නොමද ගෞරවයට පාත්‍රවන නිහතමානි උතුමකු බව කාලාන්තරයක් තිස්සේ ඉතා ළඟින් ආශ්‍රය කළ කෙනෙකු වශයෙන් මම හොදකාරව දනිමි.

නාගරික මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු වශයෙන්ද මහජන මන්ත්‍රීවරයෙකු වශයෙන්ද උප ඇමතිවරයෙකු වශයෙන්ද දීර්ඝ කාලීන අත්දැකීමක් ඇති මා ඇමතිවරයකු වශයෙන් අද ලබන මහජන ප්‍රසාදයක් වෙයි නම් ඒ සියල්ලටම ආදර්ශ ගත්තේ රත්නායක මහතාගෙන් බව ගෞරව පෙරටුව සඳහන් කරන අතර එම උපදේශයන් මගේ ජීවිතාන්තය දක්වාම මා අගය කරන බව අවංකවම ප්‍රකාශ කරමි. ආදර්ශමත් දේශපාලන නායකයකු වශයෙන් උත්තරීතර සේවාවක් අප රටට සිදු කල රත්නායක මැතිතුමාගෙන් විරාත් කාලයක් ලබා ගැනීමට එතුමා ශත වර්ෂාධික කාලයක් යෙහෙන් වැජඹෙවායි මම ආශිංසනය කරමි.

செனெட்டர் இரத்தியக்காவின் நாற்பதாண்டு நலமிக்க சேவை

சுவாமி பிரேமாத்மானந்தா

தலைவர், இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷன் (இலங்கைக் கிளை)
இராமகிருஷ்ண ரோட்,
வெள்ளவத்தை.

சமய, சமூக, அரசியல் வாழ்வில் தன்னிகரற்ற தனிப்பெருந்தலைவராக விளங்கிய செனெற்சபைத் தலைவரும், இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷனின் நெருங்கிய நண்பருமாகிய திருவாளர் ஏ. இரத்தியக்கா அவர்களைப் பற்றிச் சில சிறப்புரைகள் எழுதுவதில் பெரிதும் மகிழ்ச்சியுறுகிறேன். இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷனின் சரித்திரத்தில் நாம் மேற்கொண்ட கைங்கரியங்கள் அனைத்திலும் நெருங்கிய நண்பனாகவும், நல்லறிவு புகட்டும் பேராசானாகவும், பிரியாத தோழனாகவும் நின்றுதவிய நமது செனெற்சபைத் தலைவர் அவர்கள், கடந்த நாற்பது ஆண்டுகளாக இந்நாட்டு முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகப் பல்வேறு துறைகளிலும் அரும்பாடுபட்டு உழைத்த பெருமகனார் ஆவர். அவர்கள் விரைவில் இப்பதவியிலிருந்து நீங்கி இளைப்பாறுகிறார் என்பதை எண்ணும்போது முன்னைய மகிழ்ச்சி முற்றாகவே மறைந்துவிடுகிறது. இளைப்பாறிய போதிலும் அவர்கள் நம் மத்தியில் இன்னும் பல்லாண்டுகள் வாழ்ந்து, அவரைப் பெரிதும் பாராட்டுகின்ற அன்பர்கள், நண்பர்களுக்கு தனது ஆழ்ந்த அனுபவத்தாலும், அறிவாலும் பெற்ற பெரும்பேற்றைத் தொடர்ந்து கொடுத்துதவவேண்டும் என்பதே எனது வேண்டுகோளும், இடையறாத பிரார்த்தனையுமாகும்.

அன்றார், உத்தியோகபூர்வமான அல்லது தனிப்பட்ட பல்வேறு வேலை நெருக்கடியினிடையிலுங்கூட, எதுவித சலிப்புமின்றி எமது அழைப்பை ஏற்று, எம்மத்தியில் வந்து எமக்கு ஏற்றமும், சிறப்பும் தந்து மேன்மைப்படுத்திய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் எத்தனை, எத்தனை? அவை பற்றிய விபரங்களையெல்லாம் ஈண்டு எடுத்துரைத்தல் சாலாது.

தலைவர் அவர்கள் உத்தியோகபூர்வமாகவும், தனிப்பட்ட முறையிலும் பலதடவை இந்தியாவுக்குச் சென்று மஹாத்மாகாந்தி, ஸ்ரீ ஜவகர்லால் நேரு, டாக்டர் எஸ். ராதாகிருஷ்ணன், ஸ்ரீ ஜெயப்பிரகாஷ் நாராயன், ஸ்ரீ இராசேந்திர பிரசாத், தற்போதைய இந்திய ராஷ்டிரபதி முதலிய பெரியார்களைச் சந்திக்கும் பேறு பெற்றுள்ளார்கள். இந்திய நாட்டுச் சரித்திரத்தில் ஒளி விட்டுப் பிரகாசிக்கும் இப் பெரியார்களின் தொண்டின் சிறப்பைப் பற்றி அவர்கள் அடிக்கடி வியந்து பேசுவார்கள். இந்தியாவுக்கும்

இலங்கைக்கும் இடையே இருந்துவந்த சரித்திரத்தொடர்பை விட அதிகமாக இவ்விரு நாடுகளும் சமய, சமூக, பண்பாடுகளில் இணைந்திருந்த திறம்பற்றி தலைவர் அவர்கள் அடிக்கடி உள்ளம் பொங்கி எழும் மகிழ்ச்சியுடன் கூறுவார்கள். இந்தியாவைப் பற்றியும் அதன் மேன்மை பற்றியும் அவர்கள் பேசக் கேட்பதே, எமக்கெல்லாம் மறக்க முடியாத பேருவகை தரும் அனுபவமாகும். இதனாலேயே எமது மிஷன் இந்தியப் பெரியார்களை வரவேற்கின்ற, சமய விழாக் களைக் கொண்டாடுகின்ற சந்தர்ப்பங்களிலெல்லாம் தலைமை தாங்குவதற்கு இப்பெரியாரை நாடி ஓடுவதுண்டு.

செனெற்சபைத் தலைவர் திருவாளர் ஏ. இரத்தினாயக்கா அவர்கள் தலைமை தாங்கி, கேட்போர் உள்ளத்தைத் தொடக்கூடிய ஆற்றல் மிக்க தனது சொற்பொழிவால், திரண்டிருந்த மக்கட்கூட்டம் தமது மனத்தைப் பறிகொடுக்க வைத்த நான்கு சந்தர்ப்பங்களைப் பற்றி இங்கே கூறுவது தவறாகாதென நம்புகின்றேன். முதலாவது 1968-ஆம் ஆண்டு ஏப்ரல் மாதம் 18-ஆம் திகதி நிகழ்ந்த சகோதரி நிவேதிதையின் நூற்றாண்டு விழா; இரண்டாவது 1968-ஆம் ஆண்டு மே மாதம் 30-ஆம் திகதி கல்கத்தாவிலுள்ள பெல்லூர் மடத்து இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷன் தலைவருக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்ட வரவேற்பு; மூன்றாவது 1969-ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் 29-ஆம் திகதி “தற்கால உலகத்துக்கு சுவாமி விவேகானந்தர் விடுத்த செய்தி” என்னும் பொருள்பற்றி கல்கத்தாவிலுள்ள பெல்லூர்மடத்து இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷன் செயலாளர் ஆற்றிய சொற்பொழிவு; நான்காவது சுவாமி இரங்கநாதானந்தா உலக சுற்றுப்பிரயாணத்தை முடித்துக்கொண்டு திரும்பும் வழியில் ஈண்டு தங்கியபோது 1969-ஆம் ஆண்டு டிசம்பர் மாதம் 17-ஆம் திகதி “தற்கால சமுதாயத்துக்கு மஹாத்மா காந்தி விடுத்துள்ள செய்தி” என்னும் பொருள் பற்றிப் பேசிய பேச்சு. இவற்றோடுகூட மற்றொரு சந்தர்ப்பமும் இங்கு குறிப்பிடப்படவேண்டியதே. கதிர்காம தேவாலய பசநாயக்க நிலைமையும், பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினருமாகிய திருவாளர் ஜே. சி. றம்புக் பொத்தையுமும் வேறுபல அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களும் சமூகமளித்திருந்த மகாநாடொன்றிற்குத் தலைமை தாங்கிய உள்ளூராட்சி மந்திரி பதவி வகித்த திருவாளர் ஏ. இரத்தினாயக்கா அவர்கள் கதிர்காமம் போன்ற ஸ்தலங்களில் சமூகத் தொண்டு செய்யவேண்டியதன் அவசியத்தை வலியுறுத்திப் பேசி, இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷன் அவ்விடத்திற் செய்து வரும் அளப்பரிய தொண்டைப்பற்றியும் எடுத்துக்கூறி, எமக்கு மடம் கட்டுவதற்கு வேண்டிய நிலத்தையும் பெற்று உதவி, மடம் கட்டுவதற்கு வேண்டிய முழு ஆதரவையும் நல்கினர். திருவாளர் இரத்தினாயக்கா அவர்கள் தமது வருகையால் எங்களைப் பெருமைப்படுத்தி மகிழ்வித்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் அனைத்தையும் விரித்துக் கூறுதல் இயலாததொன்று. ஆனால் அவர்கள் இராமகிருஷ்ணமிஷனின் நெருங்கிய உத்தம நண்பன் என்று கூறுவது வெறும் புகளுரை அன்று. எங்கள் மிஷனில் நடைபெற்ற கூட்டங்களுக்குத் தலைமை தாங்கும் வண்ணம் அவரை நாடிச் சென்றபோதெல்லாம் மகிழ்வுடன் நம்

அழைப்பை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டார். இதற்கு மறுத்த சந்தர்ப்பம் ஒன்றேனும்மில்லை.

பல்வேறு துறைகளிலும் அவர்கள் பெற்றுள்ள பரந்த அறிவும், சாதாரணமேயுடையபாடுகளைக் கடந்த விரிந்த நோக்கமுமே அவரது பரந்த புகழ்க்கும், அனைவரும் அவரிடம் நட்புறவுகொள்ளுவதற்கும் காரணமாயிருந்தன. அவர்கள் பேசும்பொழுதெல்லாம் இதயத்தின் ஆழத்திலிருந்து பேசி, எம்மையெல்லாம் தன்னோடு ஒன்றுபடுத்தி, வாழ்வின் இலட்சியத்தையே அடைந்துவிடும் நிலைக்கு நம்மை இழுத்துச் சென்றுவிடுவார்கள். உண்மையிலேயே அவர்களது ஆழந்த கருத்தமைந்த நல்லுரைகள் நம்மையெல்லாம் சிந்தனையில் உச்சநிலைக்கே ஏற்றிச்சென்று ஆன்மீக ஒளியையே அருளவல்ல வலிவுடையன.

அன்றோடு எமது இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றிகளை உவந்தளிப்பதுடன், அவர்கள் இன்னும் பல்லாண்டுகள் இன்பவாழ்வு வாழ்ந்திருக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் இறைவனைப் பிரார்த்திக்கிறோம்.

A. RATNAYAKE, THE FATHER OF FREE EDUCATION IN CEYLON

by

P. DE S. KULARATNE

It has been my privilege to be associated with Mr. A. Ratnayake, first, in the relation of teacher and pupil, second, as a co-worker in education and, third, as Members of the State Council founded under the Donoughmore Constitution granted to Ceylon many years ago.

Mr. Ratnayake, I believe, joined the London Matriculation class of Ananda College when I was Principle and passed the London Matriculation Examination as a student of the college. Later, he was a member of my staff. Still later, we were Members of the State Council. He, I believe, was a Member of the Council before me. When the Government appointed a Special Committee on Education in the 'forties, we were both in that committee trying to solve the problem of the education of our children.

In 1942 we were still Members of the State Council and we continued the work of the Special Committee on Education, and at the same time, worked together as members of the Committee on Education under the Chairmanship of the late C. W. W. Kannangara who was also Minister of Education. We worked hard for several years in the Special Committee and made various suggestions on how our children should be educated in order to exploit our human assets to the fullest extent. I believe, we finalized our report in the year 1945 and a day was appointed for the Members to come together to sign the report. The main recommendations of this Committee set out that children should be educated according to their talents; education should be free in the primary classes and should be conducted through the Sinhala and Tamil media; post-primary education should be in the English medium and should not be free.

Mr. Natesan, Principal of Ramanathan College, Jaffna.,
Mr. T. B. Jayah, Principal of Zahira College, Colombo.,

and I met together and discussed this report on a day prior to the date on which we were to meet to sign this report. At that discussion we decided that we should sign this report subject to a rider. The rider being that all education should be free. But, we decided to ask in that rider that university education should be free, because, we three felt that provision should be made to help those students who were poor and who gained admission to the University.

We came to the meeting a few minutes late, as I was waiting for my friends to sign the rider before we came to the meeting. When we ultimately arrived, we found Mr. Ratnayake having a heated discussion with the Chairman, Mr. Kannagara, on the subject of making education free. Mr. Ratnayake was urging reasons for his resolution and Mr. Kannagara was objecting to it telling him that he was dragging a red-herring across the trail and that the whole report will have to be re-drafted, as a result all this could lead to a lot of trouble and confusion. But, as soon as I went in, I told the Chairman, Mr. Kannagara, that, as a matter of fact, the three of us were going to sign the report subject to a rider and presented him with the documents to that effect. Then, Mr. Kannagara said, "If that be the view of so many of you, let us take a vote on the matter." After the voting we found that the majority of the members of the committee, except for a few, were in favour of the resolution. Thus, the Committee decided that the report should be re-drafted making the necessary alterations to give effect to our recommendation that we should have free education in Ceylon from the Kindergarten to the University.

In proposing this change in the report, Mr. Ratnayake was influenced very largely by the Basic Education Scheme proposed by Mahatma Gandhi to solve the problem of education in India. He visualized that under such a scheme students would be able to earn as they would be producing articles which the State could purchase. "Earning and learning and learning and earning" was his hope. When the three of us proposed that education should be free, we also hoped that the State would be in a position to control free education given to the children

and guide them according to their talents. The children were not to be given academic and theoretical instruction free as is being done today.

Even after the change in the proposals to grant free education, the proposals were not carried by the State Council. The principal recommendation that either at the 5th standard stage or some such stage the children should be sent to three types of schools for post-primary education was rejected by the State Council on sentimental and political grounds. The Council, while accepting the proposal to grant free education, ruined the whole scheme by rejecting the conditions under which, according to our proposals free education was to be given. If the 5th standard stage was too early for such education, then, it could have been changed to Grade VII or Grade VIII. But, such a division was essential.

I fought hard in the State Council demanding that the recommendations of the Special Committee should be accepted in toto, because, otherwise, the results would be confusing. And, as I expected, the results of the action of the State Council has led not only to confusion but also increased expenditure on education which the State is finding it difficult to bear.

If I spend on the education of a child, I should have the right to see that the child is educated according to his talents. It is true that parents feed and clothe the child, but the State is spending on his education. No country in the world gives free education to its children as is done by us in Ceylon.

So far as I know, Mr. Ratnayake is an idealist and so were we. But we have to confess that today politicians have ruined our proposals and we are not giving education to our children with a view to the utilization of their talents in the service of the country. There are so many men and women wanted for the different duties that have to be performed in the national service that it is not necessary to educate our children to sit the present G.C.E. examination and to sit again if they fail. In fact, even when the students have failed the examination twice and thrice

and they are sent out of the Government schools, the parents continue to send them to private schools and make them sit the examination with the aim of getting them through this examination. Out of thousands of such children, a few may pass the examination and go on to higher education - a very small percentage - and benefit from it, but the effort and expenditure is certainly not worth the while considering that every year more and more children are being promoted to take their places in the G.C.E. classes of our schools.

The credit for the grant of free education to our children should, in accordance with what I have stated, be first given to Mr. Ratnayake, who in a way may be said to be the father of free education in Ceylon. It may be said to the credit of our Minister, Mr. Kannangara, that although he opposed Mr. Ratnayake when he made the proposals, once it was accepted, he made it his own child, adopted it and did his best to give effect to the proposals.

But, the educational problems of the State, if they are to be solved, must be taken out of the hands of politicians and handed over to educationists. Politicians should not be allowed to interfere in the manner in which free education is granted to our children. I remember how difficult it was, when I was principal of Ananda College, to get a parent to agree to his son being given commercial education. But all those who studied in commercial classes were able to get employment and do quite well in their spheres of work.

This is not the place for me to digress on the problems of education, though I feel sorely tempted to do so. But, I felt that credit for whatever has been done in the granting of free education should be given to the right persons.

Mr. Ratnayake has served his country and in this service he has risen to the high post of President of the Senate. He has served his country to the best of his ability and as my old friend and colleague I hope that he will live many more years in retirement and still continue to contribute to the progress of our country.

A GREAT STATESMAN

by

S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM

The subject of this humble contribution is one of the noblest leaders produced by Ceylon during contemporary times. His public activities, his political career, his religious and ethical attitude towards life, men and things are matters which go to form a noble record which has inspired not only the present generation but would, if chronicled, be a source of inspiration to future generations. The personality under reference is the Honourable Senator A. Ratnayake presently President of the Senate, former elected Member of the State Council and one of Ceylon's former Ministers. He has been acting as a bridge between the various communities in Ceylon and also has been a friendly link between Ceylon and other countries. This particular article will have special reference to his indefatigable and unceasing services rendered to the cause of India-Ceylon friendship and good-will. When I speak of India-Ceylon good-will and friendship, it is not intended to be an exclusive attribute. To many in Ceylon including the writer, India means the whole of the Indian sub-continent which comprises both Bharat and Pakistan. With this great sub-continent, Ceylon has had from the earliest times beyond the dawn of recorded history connections of a very close and intimate nature. In fact some say that Ceylon also formed a portion of the sub-continent at some distant time. Others say Ceylon was part of a big mass of land which has now disappeared into the ocean. Whatever it be, Ceylon's relationship with India and Pakistan has been and continues to be on the friendliest terms.

The India-Ceylon Society was formed some years ago. One of its past Presidents was Sir Albert Peries, former Speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. Ratnayake has been one of its subsequent Presidents and did his best to promote friendly relationship between India and Ceylon, the present President being Mr. D. B. Ellepola another distinguished citizen.

Among the various valuable services rendered by Hon. Ratnayake was his invaluable contribution to the success of the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Celebrations in Ceylon. It was said by many eminent non-Ceylonese that the celebrations in Ceylon reached a very high standard. Mr. Ratnayake's personality was greatly responsible for the success of the celebrations. While, no doubt, the name of Mahatma Gandhi is very greatly revered by all sections of the people of Ceylon, yet to bring all sections together for the consummation of a common object was an almost Herculean task. A person acceptable to all communities and creeds and all political parties had to be found and that person was fortunately for Ceylon forthcoming in Senator Ratnayake. Our distinguished leader was responsible for bringing together the following associations:

Young Men's Buddhist Association
All Ceylon Buddhist Congress
Anbu Marga Sangam
All-Ceylon Malay League
Young Men's Christian Association
Democratic Workers Congress
Parsis Club
Ceylon National Chamber of Commerce
Planters Association
Sinhalese Merchants Chamber
Sindhi Association
Memon Merchants Association
Buddhist Theosophical Society
All Ceylon Moors Association
Moors Islamic Cultural Home
All Ceylon Hindu Congress
Muslim League
Kerala Sangam
Catholic Union of Ceylon
Ceylon Workers Congress
Ramakrishna Mission
Vivekananda Society
Ceylon Chamber of Commerce
Law Society
Indian Mercantile Chamber
Chettiyars Association

**Congress of Religions
Kandy an Youth League
Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon
International Islamic Institute.**

In his opening address delivered on 17th February, 1968, Senetaor Ratnayake recalled the early years of Mahatma's life in England and South Africa and of his historic mission in the Indian freedom movement which resulted in the deliverance of over five hundred million people from foreign rule. He stated that the Mahatma achieved a miracle in the history of political struggless and that his success was instrumental in several Asian and African countries including Ceylon in obtaining their freedom. He also mentioned that people all over the world were beholden to the Mahatma for their political emancipation and recalled Mahatma's visit to Ceylon and its reperussions. Owing to Mr. Ratnayake's personality leaders of the then Government Party as well as leaders of the then Opposition fully participated in the proceedings. For the information of those not intimately connected with Ceylon politics it might be stated that the Opposition at that time was led by the Honourable Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the world's first Lady Prime Minister and Mr. Dudley Senanayake was the Prime Minister. They both actively associated themselves with the Centenary celebrations.

The Hon'ble Ratnayake was greatly helpful in obtaining the support of His Excellency the Governor-General Mr. William Gopallawa in blessing the Centenary Celebrations. The National Committee for celebrating the Centenary was held at Queen's House on 11th September 1968. The Governor-General in his address stated that Mahatma Gandhi was one of the greatest men of the century acclaimed not only by India but by the whole world and that the greatest tribute that could be paid to that august personality was to practise what he preached.

Senator Ratnayake moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously and which represented the feelings of the entire population of Ceylon :-

“As we, in Ceylon, prepare to celebrate the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, one of the greatest figures of this age, let us dedicate ourselves to the principles of peace, non-violence and truth propounded by all religious teachers and preached and practised by the Mahatma with great success in the solution of human problems. The thought uppermost in mind of all mankind today is the total elimination of wars and conflicts by releasing the forces of understanding and good-will.

We firmly believe that there is nothing that cannot be achieved through persuasion, negotiation, mutual accommodation and sympathetic appreciation of each other's point of view. The only ideology at the present time that is in consonance with the thought of our survival is the unity of the human race. If we accept this as the guiding principle in this year of dedication to the Mahatma and pursue it fearlessly and steadfastly our dream of 'one world' - and a world without war - will be brought closer to fulfilment. Let this Resolution be transmitted to the four corners of the world; let all human beings consider seriously which way lies the path of our salvation; let all of us respond to the call of our conscience and resolve to act in a manner that precludes all bitterness, jealousies and hatreds and prompts us to establish the rule of Human Law which means respect for every one and proposes and underlines a world order where all nations can co-exist as equals without interference from each other and where all nations can contribute towards the welfare of all regardless of colour and creed.”

The Centenary Committee held various meetings in all parts of Ceylon and a good number of which were addressed by Mr. Ratnayake at great personal inconvenience. Among the distinguished non-Ceylonese who responded to the invitation of the Centenary Committee who came over to Ceylon were Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Srimathi Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Honourable Sri V. V. Giri, President of the Indian Republic, Sri K. P. S. Menon (Senior) and Pandit. H. N. Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society.

The Committee was instrumental in getting Mahatma Gandhi's book entitled "All Men are Brothers" printed and having the same distributed.

As a result of the initiative taken by Senator Ratnayake, a Trust called the Mahatma Gandhi Trust has been established in order to disseminate the teachings, ideals and thoughts of the Mahatma. That piece of service could not have been possible without the guidance and leadership of Senator Ratnayake. The thanks of the Ceylon public are due to him in an abundant measure for the invaluable service he rendered towards the cause of India-Ceylon friendship and good-will. Applying Mahatmaji's principle he sought at every turn to bring about reconciliation and the clearing away of misunderstanding between the various communities. He also devoted himself to causes like temple entry for certain sections of the Hindu population and made special trips to Jaffna in this connection, implementing the Mahatma's advice on the occasion of his visits there.

In rendering such invaluable service he acted in accordance with the spirit of his religion, Buddhism, of which he is a great devotee. He has also been treading the path of nationalism following the example of his own late revered father Mr. P. B. Ratnayake, one of the pioneers of the National movement in Ceylon, a fearless and independent patriot of great stature. He has also inherited in ample measure the independence and fearlessness of his father and gentleness and the "karuna" of his mother, so well known to an earlier generation. He has also followed the teachings and examples of one of Asia's greatest leaders the Venerable Anagarika Dhammapala who found in Mr. Ratnayake a true and faithful follower.

Long may live Senator Ratnayake to continue his splendid service to the country with many facets. His past has been great and noble. It is the earnest wish and hope of many that the years ahead of him will constitute an even greater and nobler record resounding to the welfare of Ceylon and of Asia.

FORTY YEARS IN THE LIME LIGHT OF NATIONAL SERVICE AND ENDEAVOUR

by

S. THONDAMAN

President, Ceylon Workers' Congress

Normally it is a formidable task to pick out a single episode from the life of a figure which has basked in the lime light of public affairs for forty years; for this is the unique record held by Senator Ratnayake, who has been a legislator from 1931 to 1971 except for a brief break between 1956 to 1960. The difficulty arises when one is confronted by a kaleidoscope of experience and events which overlap one another so closely that they form an intricate pattern that requires an Archimedes to unravel.

Therefore I can count myself among the fortunates, who are able to recount an episode concerning the Senate President that has not only made a lasting impression on me but has also had in my opinion a remarkable impact on the Third World.

Being a labour man myself and having been associated with the work of the International Labour Organisation both Ceylon's Worker Delegate for the Annual Conference for quite a number of years and participating in the ILO's various other activities; I am constantly reminded of the ILO's motto that "POVERTY ANYWHERE IS A DANGER TO PROSPERITY EVERYWHERE", when I think of Senator Ratnayake. I don't say for a certainty whether he was familiar with the work of the ILO in 1950 when he led the Ceylon Delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference that was held in Dublin that year. But he certainly developed this theme to a fine refinement at this Conference; which made unmentioned Ceylon rocket into newspaper headline prominence all over England.

The Ceylon Delegation which was led by Ratnayake, then Food Minister, comprised V. Kumarasamy, H. Sr

Nissanka, Prof. S. A. Pakeman, A. R. Perera, R. G. Senanayake who functioned as Secretary of the Delegation and myself. When we landed in Dublin on that distant day of September 1950, we were unknown figures, with only the bright Irish sunshine to greet us. But diminutive Ratnayake proceeded to remedy the situation in characteristic fashion.

It was during this time that there was a terrifying famine in some parts of India and China while charges were freely made that the surplus grain and dairy products in the U. S. A. were being destroyed in order to maintain the price levels of these products in the world market. This situation was seized upon by Ratnayake to move a resolution at the Conference which related to the grant of assistance to under-developed countries by the affluent nations of the world. The introduction of this topic to the Agenda was no cake-walk. Certain procedural matters had to be conformed to. The way to get it down on the Agenda was to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference which was responsible for planning the Agenda and get it to accept that the motion was of sufficient importance to merit insertion. Such a meeting was convened and not only was the subject included in the Agenda, the Executive Committee agreed to give it top priority.

In introducing this topic Ratnayake said "We are agreed on what has been stated, that the world is now facing the greatest calamity that it has ever faced. It war occurs it will be unprecedented in its violence and it is possible that humanity will be completely destroyed. What is the remedy for such a situation? United Nations is a failure for the simple reason that when the statesmen meet, instead of discussing the problems in front of them in an atmosphere of good-will, they are all worried about their future. That is why I appeal to you, the representatives of the nations assembled here today. We have no such malign intention. We meet in a spirit of goodwill. Let us resolve on this occasion to do something during the next week that will clear the atmosphere and banish suspicion and mistrust.

Our Agenda contains some purely academic subjects like the teaching of history or unequal treaties — subjects not quite relevant to the great issues in front of us. The issues are too great for us to be complacent. War is threatening humanity with extinction. Let us act with a sense of urgency and during the next week if necessary postpone the debates on other subjects and resolve that the statesmen of the nations shall get together on this primary issue. Let us endeavour to bring the nations together in the first instance and get them to resolve not to have war for the next twenty-five years and then to dedicate themselves to the total elimination of squalor, disease, and poverty which threatens many parts of the world. Many parts of Asia are today facing a very serious situation. Millions are facing starvation and *death*. Can the nations of the world fritter away their wealth in war and other wasteful expedients? I appeal to you to go back to your countries and exercise all your knowledge and all your wisdom so that this great peril may be averted and the nations may live and serve together,” and then proceeded to move the resolution standing in his name. I quote him fully so that it would be easier to appreciate the gravity of the situation that existed in relation to Ratnayake’s advocacy at that time. “I shall ask permission to move the resolution which stands in my name. It is necessary, as the Conference has been told, to secure a two-thirds vote in order that this resolution may be discussed. I know that all resolutions should proceed from one or other of the Committees, but in this instance I assure you that it would not have been possible for us to bring forward a motion in that way, because after the Committees met at Monaco certain developments took place in Asia and as a matter of urgency I was compelled to move this motion in the Council. Our Constitution provides for emergencies. Article 9 says that any member if he desires to move a resolution which is not on the Agenda may, with the permission of the Council, place it before the Conference, and if the Conference by a two-thirds majority accepts it then he can move the resolution. I ask that it may be put to this Conference so as to secure the necessary majority.

The food situation, particularly in South-East Asia, has deteriorated lately to a very great extent, and it would

not have been possible for us to have lodged a resolution in time to obtain the sanction of the relevant committee. Therefore, when I came here, the first thing I did was to put my resolution to the Council, and the Council were good enough by a unanimous vote to signify their wish that it should appear on the Agenda." Then he moved the resolution which read.

"That the Inter-Parliamentary Union, being deeply concerned by the chronic or frequently recurring shortage of foodstuffs in certain countries of the world, whereby millions are or may be in danger of death by starvation, expresses the wish the exportable foodstuffs may be made available from countries which have a surplus, and favours the immediate formulation of schemes designed to assist countries liable to food shortage by according prompt relief in cases of urgency, also technical and financial assistance in increasing their production of food."

and went on to explain it by producing press clippings from various newspapers in India to draw in graphic detail the tableau of terror that gripped certain sections of Bihar during that time.

It is now a matter of record that the resolution was adopted unanimously. The next day the newspapers screamed banner headlines proclaiming that the Ceylon Delegation stole the thunder at that day's proceedings at the Conference. Everyone of us chipped in with our piece supporting the resolution and I must say that Delegates representing the U. S. and other affluent countries were not backward in their support to the resolution moved by Ratnayake. It is needless to say that the motion was backed to the hilt by Hanumanthiah who led the Indian Delegation.

As I stated earlier this event was not difficult to re-capture. 1950 was a significant year for developing countries which were then known as under-developed countries. It was on September 20th, 1950 that the idea of the Colombo Plan was mooted which related to technical assistance to the poorer nations of the world. The passage

of time proved that while technical assistance was invaluable to put our nations on the way towards economic self-sufficiency, the magnitude of the problem was so great that other measures had to be introduced to give material assistance to the third world. Out of this search has emerged UNCTAD. At the last meeting of the UNCTAD (II) at Delhi which took place hard on the heels of the First Economic Conference convened by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions over which I presided, a resolution was adopted that industrially developed countries should appropriate one per cent of their G.N.P. towards assistance to developing countries. Projecting my memory back to 1950, I seriously wonder whether the credit should not go to Ratnayake for forging the matrix of this proposition when he called upon the developed nations to come to the aid of developing nations.

Apart from being the serious legislator, there is also the imp that is lurking in Ratnayake ready to burst out at the first opportunity. We were treated to a bumper dose of this quality one weekend at Dublin. It was a sunny Sunday and Ratnayake, Reggie Perera and I decided to visit an Irish Farm at a place called Gracetown which is about 20 miles from Dublin. For this purpose we hired a phaeton which is a horse driven carriage used by VIPs. Half way through, Ratnayake took the reins and drove the carriage to the farm. It was a surprise that the whole route was lined by spectators who gave us a tumultuous reception all the way. Perhaps the substantial proportions of Reggie and I gave the people the impression that we were visiting potentates being driven by our own coachman or a couple of Indian Maharajas taking the air.

I am happy that I have been able to recapitulate the serious mein and the light vein of Ratnayake's character and I hope that this short article would give the satisfaction to read as the satisfaction I derived from writing it.

SENATOR RATNAYAKE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT

by

D. B. ELLEPOLA

It is a pleasure and a privilege to write of the contribution to Rural Development of this son of Rural Ceylon, the Hon'ble Abhayaratne Ratnayake, whose forty years of long service in Parliamentary positions in this country, we now commemorate.

Born in the setting of the Dumbara Valley in the District of Kandy, he is assuredly of the very heart of Rural Ceylon. Nurtured at a time when British Colonialism had by then held away for very nearly a century, he typifies the spirit of Kandyan Ceylon of those early days.

Those of us who recall this period of Kandyan History, or the times near thereto, cannot forget the past to which the proud and independent Kandyan people had been reduced by the oppressions of the British, following on the people's rebellions of the years upto 1848. In their desire to break the unity of the people, which the British considered was a danger to their rule, the people had been subjected to long years of complete abandonment. Poverty was everywhere. Among the people themselves, caste and class distinctions were being widely exploited in a struggle for the favours of the foreign power that held sway.

Amist this sad breakdown of the Kandyan community, there still survived the grace and charm and simplicity of the Kandyan peasantry, still doggedly fighting their poverty and suffering. Memory nostalgically recalls the richness of then prevailing village life in this regard. But it required a Kandyan with roots in the land, with head and heart that understood and had a feel for the Kandyan problem, to be able to respond adequately to the needs

these benighted people. Fortunately in Mr. Ratnayake such a Kandyan emerged.

Under the wise guidance of his father, who had association with the then political leadership in Colombo, including the Anagarika Dharmapala, young Ratnayake received his education at Dharmaraja, Royal and Ananda Colleges. This was a very rare experience for a Kandyan of the Central Province of that time.

It is understandable that in the light of such education, his associations with village Ceylon and its peasantry, made on him a deep and lasting impact. From this must have stemmed the motivations that moved young Ratnayake to become the man that he developed into in later life. One can imagine him saying to himself "From scenes like these must Lanka's greatness rise, to make her loved at home, revered abroad", Hence perhaps was begotten the choice of a political career as a way of life. This in itself was a rare choice for a young man of such education at a time when most other Kandyans sought the security and prestige of service in the Government, where new opportunities of position and advancement were developing fast for the educated young.

With the choice of a career now made, and with his awareness of the needs of the rural people, of whom he was one, he began as early as 1931 to experiment with Rural Development. He organized a Rural Development Society (Grama Samwardhana Samithiya) in his own village, the object of which was to improve the living conditions of his village. He organized the members into different committees each charged with specific tasks. Thus there came into being a group of village people working on a self-help basis, on projects of education, religious affairs, road construction and improvement of basic village amenities such as lighting, water and sanitation. A Committee was set up also for settling village disputes by conciliation. He read widely of the work of rural reconstruction in other countries and experimented with some of these ideas in his own village.

In 1946, Mr. Ratnayake now elected to the State Council, became a member of the Executive Committee of Education. Incidentally it is often whispered that the member of the then Executive Committee of Education who originated the idea of free education in this country was Mr. Ratnayake, though the development of this proposal to fruition became the achievement of the Late. Mr. C. W. W. Kannagara, then Minister of Education. If this be so, whatever the complications that have later followed this decision, it was truly the boldest break-through for Rural Development that was ever made.

The opportunity now soon came his way to initiate a further step in the development of Rural Ceylon. He advocated and initiated programme of adult education specifically directed towards upliftment of Rural Ceylon. With the co-operation of the University and the Department of Education, courses of instructions were started at Polgolla in Kandy for persons of adult years drawn from all parts of Rural Ceylon. They received instruction from experienced Lecturers, whose enthusiasam Mr. A. Ratnayake fired. With books and maps and statistical data they trained these villagers to think on matters that pertained to their betterment, to understand the functions of Government, to evaluate Government estimates of expenditure and to assess and determine the methods by which the people themselves could participate in programmes for their betterment.

The first course of training of village leaders organized in this manner, brought together five hundred adult persons. The Conference was declared open by the Late Mr. D. S. Senanayake then of Agriculture Minister. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke was also present. The experiment brought its anticipated results. These top leaders of the country, who had hitherto know of Rural Development only as a experimental venture organized by the Department of Industries, were greatly impressed by the possibility of harneising the "self-help" of the people in the task of developing Rural Ceylon. With the grant of Independence in 1948, the decision was taken by Government to set up a Department of Rural Development, under a new Ministry titled "The Ministry of Home Affairs and Rural

Development". This was a decision of of great significance for Rural Ceylon, the credit for which must belong in no small measure to Mr. Ratnayake who was then himself a Minister in the first Post Independence Cabinet.

It was my good fortune to be associated with the work of the Department from its inception until 1952. A campaign was forged during the next few years to win the participation of the self-help effort, of rural people in all parts of Ceylon, through Rural Development Societies such as Mr. Ratnayake had himself experimented with, in his early years. By the end of 1951 the greater part of the Island had been covered by a network of Rural Development Societies, established through a staff of Rural Development Officers stationed in different parts of the country. They worked in close association with the Provincial Organization of Government Agents, Assistant Government Agents and Divisional Revenue Officers. The concept was, that while the Administrative Head brought together in Divisional Committees and District Committees the representatives of Government Departments at their respective levels, the staff of the Rural Development Organization would bring together the people in participation, on a self-help basis.

The three years ending 1951 saw a firm base laid for advancing this work. The total number of Rural Development Societies stood at 5, 118 and Women's Societies at 1,190, operating in 396 groups and 117 unions of societies. Schemes for training of village headmen and village leaders had been initiated. Projects for training centres in the different Districts had been planned under Colombo Plan Aid. The people had already undertaken and executed a large number of self-help projects, such as the cutting of roads, the erection of buildings for schools, Industrial Centres, and Rural Development Society Halls, and the construction of Village latrines and wells. A scheme for the development of backward communities such as the Veddah, Rodiya and Kinnara groups, was projected. Other activities such as the Organization of Conciliation Boards, Rural Volunter Squads, and Milk Feeding Centres were all gaining momentum.

All this gave conclusive evidence of mass enthusiasm for Rural Development. But towards the end of the year, with the General Elections looming ahead in 1952, disruptive elements began to appear. Political groupings in villages, the failure of Government to match fully upto its promises of financial assistance in self-help projects and such other factors, were beginning to agitate the minds of village people.

Dark clouds were gathering and the movement seemed threatened with disruption. It was fortunate that just at this stage, after the General Elections of 1952, Mr. Ratnayake was named the Minister of Home Affairs and Rural Development; an appointment which was after his own heart. He took to Rural Development as a duck to water. He quickly assessed the activities of the Department; sensed with a sure instinct the needs of the Department, and the then threatening dangers, and launched out vigorously to battle for Rural Ceylon. He sought on the one hand to secure the maximum participation of the people, and on the other to bring to them the fullest assistance Government.

Of his thinking on Rural Development and his vision for Rural Ceylon at that time, he has written "Not only did I think of Rural Development through self-help and Government Assistance. I was planning to convert the Grama Samwardhama Societies into Village Parliaments. I thought that they should be converted into Statutory Bodies called Village Councils with complete autonomy in the management of subjects..... which can be properly managed by such a Council. Most of their activities will be based on the Sarvodaya and Shramadana principles The National Government will guide, assist and inspire the Village Councils in the proper conduct of their affairs".

Of our villages themselves, his thinking was "Most of our villages are dung heaps. They can be converted into model villages. The super structure of Independence is not to be built in such a way that the top weights down and crushes the ten million people who constitute the base..... We have to concentrate on the village becoming

a self-contained, self-supporting and self-governing unit. The Governmetn of the village will be conducted by five or more persons each one being the Chairman of a Committee on the principles of the Committee System..... In fact this body will have Legislative Judicial and Executive functions all combined. All activities will be on a co-operate basis - each for all and all for each”.

Little wonder then, that with such hopes and aspirations for Rural Ceylon, he was able during his mere five years as Minister of Rural Development, to stream line, to consolidate and to build on the programmes of the earlier regime, shaping them from year to year to his own thinking, adding new projects where necessary and securing from Government financial support on a scale that never was possible before. Naturally and necessarily even the people who were beginning to loose faith in Rural Development towards the end of the earlier regime, now came together again to participate more actively than even before. By the end of 1951 the number of Rural Development Societies increased to 6,539, Women's Societies to 2,733, Groups Societies to 748 and Unions to 148. The number of Conciliation Boards rose to 5,800 and the number of Village Headmen and Village Leaders trained, to 5,725 and 46,950 respectively. There were 56,100 Rural Volunteers enrolled in 7,740 Volunteer Squads.

The figures of self-help activities successfully carried out during this period, bear ample testimony to the growth of the movement. In the erection of buildings for schools etc, the value of self-help participation rose by Rs. 7,400,000, the Government contribution towards which was Rs. 2,467,000. As against this, in 1951, although the people's self-help effort was valued at Rs. 968,000, the Government's contribution was a paltry Rs. 18,500. The record of road construction for Rural Ceylon is no less impressive. Here the value of self-help contribution which was Rs. 845,000 in 1951, increased by Rs. 5,527,000 in the succeeding five years. The Government contribution in cash towards this work which in 1951 was only Rs. 50,500, increased by Rs. 872,000. A third self-help activity of a major order was the construction of village wells and latrines

Here, the value of self-help which was Rs. 704,000 in 1951, increased by Rs. 11,800,000 in the five years terminating 1956, against which the Government paid grants totalling Rs. 4,966,000, as against Rs. 263,000 paid in 1951. In the years 1954 and thereafter, under a special Candian grant there was a further expenditure on Road Construction of Rs. 7,669,000 against a self-help contribution of Rs. 1,978,000.

During this period there were also several major advances such as the intensification of training programmes in specially established training centres in the different Districts. The Department took responsibility for continuing the UNESCO Fundamental Adult Education Centre located in the Polonnaruwa area. The assistance of foreign experts was secured for the guidance of training projects. Scholarships were secured for the training abroad of Senior Departmental Staff.

Yet another major and very important step, was the amalgamation of the Department of Cottage Industries with the Department of Rural Development, which involved elaborate re-organization of the entire set-up of the Department. In 1956, loans to the value of Rs. 2,459,700 were given to Cottage Industrialists.

The work of development of backward communities was further extended with increased assistance to these backward people.

Such then, in broad detail, were the achievements of Rural Development in the years during which Mr. Ratnayake was the Minister. It is true that what still remained to be done was almost limitless. If Rural Development had received its due attention in speedy time, perhaps the unrest we have recently experienced in the country would not have been. Nevertheless, as the achievement of a single Ministerial spell, the above record is undoubtedly an impressive one.

Mr. Ratnayake himself has perhaps never realised how much had been achieved in his period of office. These details are therefore deliberately set out, so that not only

may Mr. Ratnayake be gladdened by the memory of his stewardship for Rural Development, which was so near and dear to his heart, but also that the people of the country, in particular the rural people, may know how much they owe to Mr. Ratnayake's sincerity and interest in their welfare.

One must pause to think, what such a heavy programme of activities must have involved for a Minister in charge, and how much responsibility must have been his. The numerous conferences that must have been held at various official levels for planning in even broad outline so many programmes, may well be imagined. Not only so, all these had to be implemented at the level of the people, and in this Mr. Ratnayake must have had to play a major part, travelling widely and meeting and addressing village gatherings in Seminars and Rallies. Above all, what of the question of obtaining money for all this work? It becomes the lot of a Minister to pilot proposals for the securement of funds from various sources both of Government and International Agencies. Neither of these ever come easily. They have to be battled for at the highest levels, against a multitude of competing claims.

It is also to be remembered that as Minister of Home Affairs and Rural Development, the latter work was but only a part, and perhaps a lesser part, of his many functions. At this particular period of time he was responsible also for the organization of the unique and unprecedented event of the Buddha Jayanti. As one closely associated with this activity throughout that time, I am personally aware of how much Mr. Ratnayake had to undertake in this connection too.

Mr. Ratnayake has assuredly earned a renowned place in the history of this land. By dint of hard work and conscientious concern for his fellow men, he has earned for himself the reputation, of a life well dedicated to the services of his country, the fragrance of which will long remain.

One last thought. All those who have worked under Mr. Ratnayake or with him, will remember the kindly gentleman he always was, who never was harsh nor failed

to show sympathy and understanding to even the humblest who came his way. His simplicity of manner, without any arrogance of office, will be remembered.

Mr. Ratnayake, starting life as a Kandyan Communist, as all Kandyans of his time pardonably were, has matured in later years to be the man that he now is, free of caste, creed or race prejudices, believing firmly in the universality of man, wherever he may be. This is a fruition which perhaps is his highest embellishment today, not the high office of the President of the Senate which he holds with such acceptance at the end of a forty year Parliamentary career.

Long may he live to enjoy the memory of a full life, well lived in the service of the people of his land.

RATNAYAKE PIONEER AND PATH-BUILDER OF CEYLON BUDDHA JAYANTHI CELEBRATION

by

DR. ANANDA W. GURUGE

Though the 2500th anniversary of the Demise of the Buddha was barely two years away, few had thought of either its significance or the manner in which it should be celebrated. Honourable Mr. A. Ratnayake, then the Minister of Home Affairs, was convalescing from long illness. Apparently, his compulsory release from the arduous duties of the Ministry gave him time to consider how best this memorable occasion should be marked. Already the Party at its annual session had passed a resolution, moved by Mr. Dudley Senanayake, to the effect that the Buddha Jayanthi should be celebrated in Ceylon in a manner befitting the role she had played in the history of Buddhism. So on the 19th February 1954 he addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, Right Honourable Sir John Kotelawala, stating — “We of this generation are fortunate that we shall live to celebrate the 2500th Year of Buddha’s ‘Parinibbana’. The tradition throughout the Buddhist World is that there will be a great revival of Buddhism during that period. Burma, Siam and other Buddhist countries are taking steps to celebrate the event in a fitting manner. Burma Government is having the sixth ‘Sangayanawa’ in Rangoon to commemorate the occasion. I suggest :

- (1) To set up a Supreme Council of the Buddhist Clergy to advise the Government in all Buddhist matters, and advise Ceylon Buddhists as to what steps should be taken to celebrate the “Buddha Jayanthi”. This Council will be appointed by the Prime Minister. It will not take away the rights and privileges, powers and duties of the existing ‘Nikayas’. Their privileges will be completely safeguarded.
- (2) Appointment of a Lay Council, also by the Prime Minister, consisting of representatives of leading

Buddhists from all parts of the Island, to execute the programme drawn up by the Ecclesiastical Council.

- (3) To provide funds from various sources, to give effect to such a programme.

I visualise amongst other things the following.-

- (1) The complete translation of the Tripitaka into Sinhalese-an event which will be unprecedented and unique in the history of Ceylon. The Sinhalese versions of the Tripitaka disappeared many centuries ago.
- (2) The promotion of a great spiritual movement through all existing Buddhist organisations, Government giving every assistance and encouragement.
- (3) Government, while being impartial in religious matters will be prepared to help all religions to promote similar objectives. If you are in sympathy with the above objects, I shall be prepared to submit a detailed programme with the advice of the leading Buddhists in this country."

This historic letter incorporated in a Cabinet Paper on which the Ministers decided to appoint a Cabinet Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Ratnayake as Chairman and Messrs. J. R. Jayawardena (Minister of Agriculture and Food), Mr. M. D. Banda (Minister of Education) and Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara (Minister of Local Government) as members. Messrs. B. F. Perera (Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs) and V. F. Gunaratne (Public Trustee) assisted the Sub-Committee in its deliberations. It was my privilege to be appointed its Secretary.

For a young Civil Servant, a little over two years in the service, it was a challenging appointment - challenging not by the volume of work involved but by the unique opportunities presented by it to make an impact on the religious and cultural life of the nation. Needless to say,

we worked very hard. We met delegates from every important Buddhist Organization in the country, invited written memoranda, processed all the suggestions made by different associations and individuals and prepared a formidable list of "*Things to be done*" in connection with the Buddha Jayanthi.

"Can we do even a tenth of these?" I once asked Mr. Ratnayake.

Always optimistic, — a trait born of his confidence in himself and the belief in the innate goodness of man, he replied, "Why not?"

Encouraged by his enthusiasm, I did not hesitate to attempt an impromptu translation of the list into Sinhala. When, at a special audience with the most Venerable Mahanayaka Theros of Malwatte and Asgiriya held in the renowned Poyage, Mr. Ratnayake asked me to tell the Mahasangha what the Sub-Committee was considering as a suitable programme for the Buddha Jayanthi. Looking back on the incident now, I wonder how prophetic his words were. We had seen almost all the proposals implemented, not necessarily as a part of the Buddha Jayanthi, but certainly in the wake of the great religious and national awakening which was ushered by it.

The final report of the Sub-Committee was ready in September 1954. Dr. Kannangara, noted for his meticulous care as regards dates, English grammar and punctuation, has returned his copy with bold scratches and question marks reminiscent of an essay written by a sleepily fifth-grader. I had worked late into the night incorporating his corrections in the final draft. Prompted more by the school hours of my wife rather than any special sense of duty, I used to be among the earliest to go to office in the Ministry Building opposite the Independence Hall. This day, I was quite surprised to find that Mr. Ratnayake was there even ahead of me and more so, when a peon said that he was waiting for me.

He occupied a room in the ground floor. I went direct to his room. A year in the Prime Minister's office as Assis-

tant Secretary to both Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Sir John Kotelawala, had given me a fair idea of possible upheavals and problems in the lives of those nearest to the vortex of power. I expected to hear something ominous and was relieved when Mr. Ratnayake greeted me with his customary smile and the “*so hullo!*”

“I have been thinking.” he began, “This is an event of dual significance, we must do something on the national aspect also.” Then he proceeded to explain his idea of an Encyclopaedia in Sinhala - a new proposal which we had not discussed in the Sub-Committee or which none of our memorialists or witnesses had thought of. That morning’s discussion gave an entirely new direction to the celebration. It marked the birth of a new slogan for the entire movement. I recalled Mr. Ratnayake’s description of the Buddha Jayanthi when the brochure outlining the government’s proposals and action of the Lanka Buddha Mandalaya was named “*An Event of Dual Significance.*”

During the last ten years as the magnificent volumes of the sinhala Encyclopaedia, so ably compiled by Professor D. E. Hettiarachchi and his band of dedicated collaborators, came out of the press, I thought of the last-minute proposal of Mr. Ratnayake, which was literally “smuggled” into the Report of the Sub-Committee just before it was signed. Few readers of the Encyclopaedia - which has now become indispensable as the Sinhala policy made a headway in education and administration - may know how much they owe to Mr. Ratnayake’s foresight.

The Cabinet approved *in toto* the proposals of the Sub-Committee. It was a momentous decision. Doubts had been raised in several quarters as to the legality of the government’s sponsorship of a fundamentally religious celebration of one group of the country even though it formed the majority. Mr. Ratnayake marshalled all arguments in favour and in the Report of the Cabinet Sub-Committee a special case was made: “Buddha Jayanthi” we said, “is not an occasion to be celebrated by the Buddhists only. He belongs to humanity as a whole and not to a parochial religious group. The 25th centenary of such a personality must necessarily be celebrated by the State which represents the people of different creeds and com-

munities. Besides Buddhism is a national asset of this country and the Government has always done everything to protect and safeguard it and interested itself in its welfare.

It is the considered opinion that the Government while guaranteeing freedom of worship to all religions and maintaining its policy of religious tolerance should, as occasions arise, assist the activities of all religions. We are convinced that the Government should do everything to foster religion in order to combat the forces of irreligion which are a danger to peace and welfare of humanity."

There was much rejoicing at the Ministry of Home Affairs on the 5th October, 1954 when the Cabinet Conclusion on Buddha Jayanthi was received. It read:

1. The Government should muster all its resources to usher in a spiritual awakening. By this they envisaged a movement which will inspire all Buddhists to live up to the teachings of the Buddha and all other religionists to follow their respective teachers, and which will also be the most effective way of checking the prevalence of crime and the growing menace of irreligion.
2. That the Government should establish a Chair in Buddhism at the University of Ceylon.
3. The Government should establish a Buddhist Council whose functions will be,
 - a. to make representations to the Government on matters pertaining to the Buddha Jayanthi.
 - b. to undertake all matters connected with the Buddha Jayanthi.
 - c. to consider such matters as may be referred to it.

This Council shall comprise two sections, namely the Sangha Sabha and the Gihi Sabha and shall be representative of all Buddhist interest. This should be inaugurated on the Full Moon day of the Sinhalese month of Vap, October 12, 1954.

4. The Pali text of the Tripitaka in Sinhalese script prepared by the Vidyalankara Privena, Peliyagoda, should be published, and that 5,000 copies of this work be printed by the Government voting the amount required to the Government Printer.

5. That a Sinhalese translation of the Tripitaka should be prepared and published in time for the Buddha Jayanthi and that an editorial board consisting of both monks and laymen should be appointed for the purpose and that the Board should decide upon the best available Pali text of each book of the Tripitaka for translation.

6. That an authoritative Buddhist Encyclopaedia in English for international use should be published and that the University should be entrusted with this undertaking.

7. That the Government should assist in the publication of the following:

- a. a Buddha Jayanthi Souvenir containing articles and pictures to depict the significance of the event, the life and teachings of the Buddha, the history of Buddhism and the main trends in the Buddhist culture of Ceylon and other South East Asian Buddhist countries to be published in Sinhalese, Tamil and English.
- b. a brochure in all three languages on the life and teachings of the Buddha and the history of Buddhism written specially for the school child and the average reader.
- c. a compendium of Jataka stories in Sinhalese written in a lucid style.

8. That a new series of postage stamps to be selected through an islandwide competition should be issued on the Vesak Full Moon day of 1956, and that a special postmark should be used by all important Post Office during the period of the Buddha Jayanthi.

9. That the Government should assist in the completion of the Dalada Maligawa, which house the Tooth Relic

the most venerated object of worship throughout the Buddhist World — a national asset which draws thousands of pilgrims and tourists to Ceylon every year.

10. That the Government should provide funds for the shift to the new town of Anuradhapura in order to preserve the sacred city.

11. That the Government should help the Council to hold an International Buddhist Conference during the Jayanti period.

12. That the Council should be requested to advise the Government in what way they might assist in the Sangayana to be held by the Vidyalankara Pirivena during the Jayanthi period.

13. That the following should be published:-

- a. an Encyclopaedia in Sinhalese
- b. an illustrated national souvenir in Sinhalese, Tamil and English to depict the history of Ceylon and the salient features of the culture and civilisation of the nations.
- c. reprints of such important works on Ceylon as Parker's "Ancient Ceylon"; John Davy's "An Account of the Interior of Ceylon" and Emerson Tennent's "Ceylon."

14. That an all-island conference of representatives of Rural Development Societies and Unions, rural volunteers, Kantha and Mahila Samitis, Co-operative societies and Community Centres should be held in Colombo during the Jayanthi period.

15. That the Council should be asked to consider the holding of an Exhibition of Buddhist Art".

The establishment of the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya the organ of the government for the purpose of celebrating the Buddha Jayanthi, bears ample testimony to Mr. Rat-

nayake's magnanimity, generosity and strength of character as well as his sincere desire to ensure that the great event was raised above party politics, parochial bickerings and petty differences. Every — I say, quite emphatically *every* — erudite Buddhist monk and *every* prominent Buddhist worker was invited to be a member of the 350 strong Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya and participate actively in as many as three of the 17 functional Committees which handled very important programmes. It is true that several declined. But what is significant is that many, who were politically and ideologically opposed to Mr. Ratnayake and then government, accepted his invitation and gave the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya the true stature of a Pan-Ceylonese Buddhist Organization, befitting the unique role it was called upon to play. It was my enviable privilege again to be its General Secretary.

I remember the reaction of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, then the Leader of the Opposition, when he was invited not merely to be a member of the Mandalaya but to function in the Central Executive Committee whose other members included five Ministers, the Chief Justice and the ex-Prime Minister. Mr. Bandaranaike sent for me and asked me many questions about the constitution, membership, functions and powers of the Mandalaya and its Central Executive Committee. At the end of the interview, he said, "Tell your Minister how much I appreciate his gesture. I *will* be a member." Not only did he thus accept the membership but for two years before he, himself, as the Prime Minister became *ex-officio* president of the Mandalaya, attended its meetings and made a significant contribution to the direction of its many activities.

The inauguration of the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya was fixed for the 12th of October 1954 primarily because it was the nearest Poya Day following the Cabinet approval. The fact that it was also the first anniversary of the assumption of premiership by Sir John Kotelawala—a coincidence which was not observed by any of us responsible for its organization - led to a misunderstanding in certain circles. Although the function went off very well despite the minor diversion created by a few young monks, most of us were very unhappy at the end of the day.

“I only wish that the ugly situation did not occur,” lamented the Permanent Secretary.

But the Minister was the least despondent among us. He has a wealth of anecdotes with which he gave the evening's happenings a truly philosophical, and thereby, understandable meaning. I remember his drawing parallels even from the life of the Buddha and his encounters with Devadatta. It was a remarkable display of leadership - the kind of stuff I read years later in management text-books as the hall-mark of a true leader.

His philosophical outlook on all matters had been a great source of encouragement and solace to all of us who worked close to him. But what manner in which he couched his views in interesting and relevant anecdotes. I recall hundreds of them which I had heard as we went from province to province meeting officials and prominent members of the public to enlist their co-operation in a nation-wide “campaign” for the Buddha Jayanthi. Illustrative of the wisdom embodied in such stories are the following which I heard from him for the first time:-

1. Mahatma Gandhi, it seems, was the honoured guest of one whose main source of pride and satisfaction was his new palatial house. The Mahatma had had already been two days there without even mentioning even a word on the grandeur or the splendour of the house. The host was getting impatient and on the third day, at breakfast, he ventured to ask the Mahatma, “Sir, what do you think of my house?” Gandhiji's laconic reaction was, “Are you happy in it?”. “If you are happy in it then it is a good house. If you are not happy in it then it is not a good house.”
2. It was a government clerk with a large family ailing parents and creditors all round. Every moment of his working time was one of care, worry and misery. Life was utterly unbearable. So he invested on a pair of shoes, one size smaller than the correct one. He would work all day in tight shoes and walk two miles home in the evening. “Why do

you do this?" a friend asked him. "It is just simple. When I come back in the evening and pull my shoes off, it is just heaven on earth. How lovely everything appears to me then!"

In all aspects of our organizational work, the brilliant oratory of Mr. Ratnayake had been our biggest aid. Though I had been a prolific ghost-writer for several Prime Ministers and Ministers in a career of fifteen years, I do not recall to have written anything longer than a short message for Mr. Ratnayake. Whether in English or Sinhala, he could carry a crowd with him, not by noises and gestures he studiously avoided but by a rare gift of being able to communicate logically his sincere innermost feelings to the audience. I learnt many times from him, although in his exemplary humanity and good nature, he often paid that compliment to me.

It was as we all expected: Mr. Ratnayake made a most moving speech in Parliament on the 6th of April 1955 in the debate on the government's financial contribution to Buddha Jayanti. He concluded his inspiring address with lofty thoughts, conveyed in such chaste, direct and elegant language:

"Our life, our thoughts our aspirations, are fully based on Buddha's influence, his path towards perfection.... I think it would be quite fitting and proper to celebrate the event by getting together the countries and re-delivering the message of all great religious leaders in order to save mankind from imminent peril. That is why I feel that whatever money we spend, we shall be spending it not only on doing the various things mentioned in the schedule, but that we shall also be at the same time creating a renaissance, a spirit of religious awakening in the people of the country to make them realise that the world and mankind have come to this sorry pass today on account of the fact that man is today obsessed with a greed for power, for wealth and for things material; that it is on account of this inordinate desire, this lust for power, for wealth, that nations are divided, villages are divided and families are divided, countries are divided, cities are divided and that there is hatred and violence throughout the world. I do sincerely

hope that Buddha Jayanti will usher in an era of peace and prosperity far all mankind.”

From the day the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya was formed, Mr. Ratnayake gave the major part of his time and energy to the framing of its programme. He spared no efforts to facilitate the implementation of our proposals. I was expected to be in constant touch with him. How simple it was to get even the less enthusiastic colleagues in other departments to respond to our requirements, when our minister was always ready to “Put in a word” where it mattered. Once when a particular job was accomplished through the co-operation of the P. W. D., the Prime Minister asked me, “How did you manage to get them to do it?”

“It was quite easy,” I replied, “because our minister was prepared to telephone from the Minister of Works down to the Overseer, when a little shaking up was necessary.”

“I say, Ratnayake here,” was a familiar opening for a telephonic reminder of something which someone has failed or delayed to do.

Right from his first letter on the subject, Mr. Ratnayake’s emphasis was on utilizing the emotional import of the unique occasion to usher in a religious awakening in the country. He appealed to the other religionists, too, to co-operate in strengthening the forces of religion as opposed to materialism and irreligion. Under his guidance, the Religious Affairs Committee of the Mandalaya drew up a 12 point programme as follows:-

- (a) To establish, with the assistance of the Buddhist monks, residents and Government Officers, Committees in each village with the Headquarters at the local temple for the purpose of ensuring the moral upliftment of the people and the establishment of Buddhist temples where they are essential.
- (b) Sermons - To organise sermons at the rate of at least once a month in every village.

- (c) Pamphlets and Books — To prepare and publish rare pamphlets and books which will teach the people to adhere to a good life.
- (d) Ritual — To ensure that Buddhist rites are performed with a certain degree of uniformity.

(ii) Daily Life and Buddhist Environment.

- (a) To prepare and publish a time-table to regulate the life of the Buddhists on the Full Moon Poya Day.
- (b) To prepare a time-table for the other Poya Days.
- (c) To make representations to the Government to make Full Moon Poya Days public holidays.
- (d) To publish a book containing instructions to provide a Buddhist atmosphere in every home.

(iii) Temperance

- (a) To make representations to the Government to take administrative steps with a view to implement total prohibition.
- (b) To have organised temperance meetings in every District and to give publicity to the evils of drinking through sermons, pamphlets, films etc.
- (c) To ensure that the Government and the people holding responsible offices set an example to the people by abstaining from liquor and to seek co-operation of the Government to promote abstinence.

(iv) Slaughter of Animals.

To give publicity to the evils of killing animals and of eating meat and fish through sermons and pamphlets. To ensure that people holding important places set an example to the others by becoming vegetarians.

(v) Vices

- (a) To take such steps as are necessary to abolish prostitution and also to take steps to see that women who are taken over as domestic servants are not made use of for immoral purposes.
- (b) To give publicity to the evils of prostitution through sermons, pamphlets and films.

(vi) Horse Racing and Gambling:

- (a) To make representations to the Government to abolish horse racing and gambling.
- (b) To make such steps as are necessary to prevent the publication of the results of foreign races.

(vii) Sil Campaign.

To organise sil campaigns and give assistance to the people to observe sil.

(viii) Clubs and Carnivals:

To make representations to the Government to formulate regulations controlling Night Clubs and Carnivals.

(ix) Obscene Films and Books.

to make representations to the Government in order to ensure that obscene films and books are not imported to Ceylon. To take such steps as are necessary to prevent the publication of the above.

(x) National Customs:

To encourage people to adhere to national customs.

(XI) Simple Living.

- (a) To train the people to get used to a simple form of living.

- (b) To prevent the importation of luxury goods.
- (d) To encourage people to use as far as possible the articles produced in Ceylon and to give encouragement and assistance to the producers of these articles in order to improve their standard.

(xii) Legal Reformation.

To make representations to the Government for the purpose of repealing certain rules which are not in keeping with the conditions of Ceylon.

The Buddha Jayanti adhithanaya - an inspiring message broadcast over Radio Ceylon at the beginning of the day's transmission was another of Mr. Ratnayake's fruitful ideas. It was not a prayer but a statement of dedication presented in elegant sinhala. He had no idea of its popularity until one day we decided not to broadcast it. Both my office and Radio Ceylon received such a massive mail that the adhithanaya went on the air within a week and remained so for the following two years.

The project, nearest to Mr. Ratnayake's heart, was the restoration and re-development of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy. In 1954 we found this historic temple in a very bad shape. The older sections needed immediate renovation. An architectural monstrosity in the form of an unfinished, massive wing was to the east of the Relic Chamber. The simple direction given by Mr. Ratnayake to the Dalada Maligawa Committee of the Mandalaya which had the distinction of having His Excellency Mr. William Gopallawa (the Governor-General, then the Municipal Commissioner of Colombo) was "that the Maligawa should be made the Symbol of our highest concept of art and architecture - in fact an architectural gem which will draw many millions of pilgrims and tourists to Ceylon". All one needs to assess the nation's indebtedness to Mr. Ratnayake on this count is to compare the maligawa of the fifties with the glorious edifice which adorns Kandy today.

It is in connection of Dalada Maligawa that Mr. Ratnayake once displayed a remarkable skill in handling

purposefully and diplomatically very difficult situations. A totally unexpected problem arose when the Committee was confronted with two sets of plans for the re-development of the Maligawa. A band of lay men was thus asked to evaluate the merits of two architectural designs and choose one. I need hardly describe the kind of representations, pressures and "advice" to which the Committee was subjected. As the time for the decision drew near, everyone was trying to find out what the Minister himself felt. I asked him for a direction myself, as I thought in my inexperience that there were factors, besides the virtues of the design, which would influence the decisions. But Mr. Ratnayake's sense of impartiality was clear to me, when he said, "Let the Committee decide. Ask both architects to explain their designs and clarify anything that the members may ask." The decision was made in Kandy, but with a dissent strongly recorded by the Chairman of the Committee, C. B. Nugawela Dissawe. I was in a hurry to communicate the decision officially to the architects. But not so Mr. Ratnayake. "A decision on a matter like this should be unanimous," he said.

I do not know what exactly he did in the meantime. But a few weeks later, when a special meeting of the Dalada Maligawa Committee was summoned in the office of the Prime Minister to decide on the design, the decision was unanimous.

Almost all our projects had difficulties of one nature or another. The translation of the Tripitaka posed a problem as two attempts were already afoot. "Should we take over one of them or assist one of them or start something afresh?" Discussions on such matters were scholarly, the Venerable Mahatheras quoting Pali texts, comparing translations and spotlighting abstruse, hair-splitting differences. Mr. Ratnayake would patiently sit through all of them. I even felt that he often enjoyed them. In any case, he made it easier for captive officials to survive such meetings with his quick wit and the unending repertoire of interesting humorous stories which just seemed to fit every occasion.

It was no easy task to service and co-ordinate the work of seventeen Committees and a Central Executive Committee and also implement their decisions in all parts of the country.

Besides, there were always problems of human relations, resulting from both individual egoistic needs (I mean, in the Maslowian sense) and petty inexplicable jealousies. Mr. Ratnayake's tremendous experience in handling men was a significant aid in ironing out differences and ensuring co-operation. I wonder whether the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya could have done half as much without the personal interest shown by Mr. Ratnayake in problem-solving. A staunch believer in tenets of democracy, he allowed people around him to make decisions collectively. I had expected a minister to be, by necessity, a domineering person at meetings taking control of situations and pushing a decision at any cost. Mr. Ratnayake's approach did baffle me at the beginning, until I realized that he was only proving the efficacy of Lao-Tze's dictum, "The best government is what appears to be no government." He was a great listener, not only in his patience but also in his genuine interest in other people's points of view and in his desire to accommodate everyone's wishes.

We had amusing experiences. Applicants for membership of the Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya were numerous. They or their sponsors met the minister and we maintained a long waiting list of "*aspirants to an opportunity to celebrate Buddha Jayanthi at state expense*". We chuckled to ourselves as we assured them a place as soon as a vacancy occurred, provided it was their turn in the waiting list. We also had to deal with the fertile imagination and productive planning of several persons whose projects were to have solved all the problems of the Buddhist world, if only we had the money to give them and the power to entrust the job to the proposer.

Everyone of them had one satisfaction as he left the Home Ministry. After all, didn't the Minister give them a hearing and all the attention he could command?

Years later when I was compiling and editing the writings of Anagarika Dharmapala for my volume entitled "Return to Righteousness," I came across several complimentary remarks made by the Anagarika on Mr. Ratnayake's work as Principal of the Mahabodhi School. He was called a hard-worker. Three decades later, the description

continued to apply to him. Often my trouble was the difficulty to keep pace with him.

Two years of incessant hard work had made "*Buddha Jayanti*" a household word. A nation which was hardly conscious of the EVENT OF DUAL SIGNIFICANCE had been raised to an unprecedented pitch of enthusiasm and religious fervour. It almost appeared that nothing but the Buddha Jayanti had a real meaning to anyone in Ceylon at the moment. An election came. The leaders and policy makers changed places. Yet the concern over Buddha Jayanti remained foremost in everyone's mind. It is a tribute to Mr. Ratnayake that he paved the way for the Buddha Jayanti in such a manner that the momentum of the organization continued unabated.

I was with him when the results of the election were communicated to him. His regret was not in having a break in his continuous record as a legislator but in having to dissociate himself from the operations of the Buddha Jayanti. "Do all you can to see that the programmes are successfully carried out," he told me by way of farewell, "after all, we are commemorating the great world teacher who told us that everything including power and position, is only evanescent - you know - everything is anicca." He chuckled. His handshake was firm and friendly and I thought, buoyantly confident.

SENATOR HON'BLE A. RATNAYAKE IN THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD

by

P. SANGARAPILLAI

In the Gita, Lord Krishna says to Arjuna that to felicitate great men on the meritorious services rendered by them is itself a form of worship very acceptable to him.

I consider it a great privilege to contribute an article to the Felicitation Volume to commemorate Senator Ratnayake's forty years of service as a Legislator. The choice is due to the fact that I was the Chief Executive of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries of which Senator Ratnayake was the Chairman for a period of four years.

Senator Ratnayake has served our country and people with great devotion and dedication, continuously, un-faithfully and faithfully during the last 47 years. He had been an Educationist, Lawyer, Politician, Minister, Industrialist and Social and Religious Worker. Today, he is a Senior Statesman, Social Democrat, Religious seeker of truth and a humanist with love for all.

In 1931, he was elected to the State Council to represent Dumbara. He was an elected representative in Parliament continuously from 1931 till 1965 except for a short break from 1956 to 1960. He is a Senator from 1965. He was a Minister in two successive Parliaments from 1947 to 1956.

Our country and the welfare of its people have been the objects of his thoughts by day and his dreams by night. His services in the political, social and religious fields are well known. The cultural awakening and renaissance that we witness since independence are due to the untiring efforts of leaders like Senator Ratnayake.

The personality of Senator Ratnayake commands the love, reverence and respect of all those who come into contact with him. Words are inadequate to describe

his personality. It is a truism that the parts do not make the whole. Ratnayake the Man is greater than all his achievements.

Senator Ratnayake is a friend, philosopher and guide to all. He has only friends and no enemies. There is neither formality nor reserve in him. He is a practical philosopher neither elated by success nor depressed by adversity. He does his duty with detachment and without caring for the rewards. His catholicity, broad and liberal outlook, mature and balanced judgment, the width and depth of his culture, restrained and measured speech, dignified courtesy, spontaneous goodness, etc., take us back to the golden era of liberalism away from the modern age of petty jealousies, narrow dogmas and violent hatreds and intolerance. To talk to him is a liberal education in itself. He is a great Buddhist with love for all religions. His love is universal and extends to all humanity. He is completely free from narrow racial, religious and social prejudices.

Equable kindness, amiability, extreme modesty, self-effacing humility, unostentatious and simple behaviour, a charitable nature are the remarkable features of his character. Senator Ratnayake's life is truly a journey in the path of Justice and Dharma, an eternal search after truth, an example of the profound truth expressed by B. Paul Neuman:

“Life consists not in attainment but in the effort to attain; not in success but in the struggle to succeed; But, in the pursuit of knowledge, there is no arrival; there is all journeying; there is no attainment; it is all effort; there is no success, it is all struggle.”

Senator Ratnayake was one of the leaders who lost in the General Election of 1956 on account of the frenzy of passions and emotions which swept the country at that time. This great democrat accepted defeat with equanimity and never expressed one word of bitterness. But the loss to politics was the gain of industry. In 1958, he became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United Ceylon Insurance Co. Ltd., and continued there-

after to take an active part in the industrial development of the country.

In the pre-war period, insurance business in Ceylon was mostly in the hands of foreign companies. The post-war period saw the emergence of a large number of Ceylonese Insurance Companies. Messrs. United Ceylon Insurance Company was one of the leading Ceylonese Insurance Companies. Many of the Ceylon Companies were not financially sound and went into liquidation when Insurance was nationalised in 1962. Owing to prudent and wise management, the United Ceylon Insurance Co., had made sound investments. It bought the Lloyd's Buildings in Colombo. It continues to exist even today, nine years after nationalisation. Generally, politicians are said to be bad business men. Senator Ratnayake proved an exception to this rule.

The Fifties was the decade of the growth of Ceylon's Commerce and Trade. The Sixties was the decade of the development of Industries in Ceylon. The country was fortunate to have had as Minister of Industries a wise and sagacious Statesman who laid the foundations of industrialisation in Ceylon. In spite of the adverse foreign exchange situation, he was able to find the resources necessary to set up a large number of new industries and to service them. Moderate and wise policies were adopted. Much was achieved by the Minister of Industries and I have no doubt that when the economic history of Ceylon is written this Minister will find a prominent place in it.

In 1960, the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries was formed. The members are approved industrialists, many of whom came into existence after 1958. In 1962, Sir Claude Corea was the Chairman of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries. On his death, Senator Ratnayake was elected Chairman. He was re-elected in 1963, 1964 and 1965. He represented the Private Industrial Sector during these early days of industrialisation when policies were formulated and foundations laid.

The Executive Council of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries meets monthly. At these meetings various

problems are discussed. One can very well understand the passions with which these problems are generally discussed. Many in the Private Sector believe that State Enterprise in Industry is undesirable and that progress is only possible if the Private Sector is given greater freedom. Senator Ratnayake believed in the philosophy of the Mixed Economy. In a developing country, the State has a positive part and role to play in the development of the economy and industrialisation. He also believed that stateism, namely, state enterprise for its own sake will never lead to the progress of the country.

At meetings of private sector industrialists he was able to explain the point of view of the Government and the social interests of the people. I remember that many proposals brought forward by industrialists were not pursued on account of the advice of Senator Ratnayake. He expressed his views fearlessly without caring for popularity amongst the members. On the other hand, where private enterprise was threatened owing to bureaucratic and dogmatic action, he fought equally courageously for the rights of Private Enterprise. He was able to secure a place for Private Enterprise in the Industrial Field for which we must also thank the then Minister of Industries who was at all times reasonable and pragmatic.

Senator Ratnayake, during this period, acted as a liaison between the Government and the Private Industrial Sector. He was the undisputed champion of the rights of free enterprise. On the other hand he was at all times conscious of the obligations of Private Enterprise to the country and to the people.

The country owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Senator Ratnayake. While he took so much of interest in industrialisation, he was not personally benefited since he had no stake in any industry. The Chamber is always grateful to Senator Ratnayake for his acceptance of the office of Chairman at a time when the country was faced with many critical problems. Here is another example of selfless and devoted service.

Senator Ratnayake delivered four Addresses at the Annual General Meetings of the Chamber. Anyone

interested in the philosophy of the Mixed Economy cannot do better than to refer to these speeches. He discussed the implications of various policies and their consequences with great clarity. Fearlessly he has pin-pointed the defects in certain policies. These speeches constitute a literature in industrialisation.

In 1965 when Senator Ratnayake was elected President of the Senate, he resigned from the Office of Chairman of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries. The members unanimously elected him as Patron as a mark of respect and affection for him.

The members of the Ceylon National Chamber of Industries wish Senator Ratnayake many more years of happy life and useful service to the country.

AN ASSESSMENT OF Mr. A. RATNAYAKE FROM PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE:

by

C. SUNTHARALINGAM

A medium built figure, unassuming appearance, not different from the other applicants for admission to the Union Hostel (later Arunachalam Hall) Ceylon University College, but with a noticeable glitter in the eyes - that is the impression that was left on my mind by Ratnayake, when I first met him in 1922 - nearly half-a-century ago.

Within a week or two, the resident undergraduates had, in accordance with my advice given at the inaugural address, formed an Undergraduates Society: their Warden had the Oxford Union in view and the Society was to be the training ground for the future leaders of the country and for those who were to replace the European-ridden secondary schools, public services, judiciary, etc. Ratnayake was elected by free vote, - there were not then the bad practices of the later democratic elections of Ceylon with "cash, casippu and crookishness." He was thus the First President of a Society which sent out into the world of Lanka men like T. S. Fernando, M. F. de S. Jayaratne, Colvin R. de Silva, S. Handy Perimpanayagam, D. T. Niles, Abdul Cader, E. A. Wijesooriya. S. A. Wijayatilaka, and a host of other distinguished men - I trust they will forgive me for not singling them out too. There was in my study in Colombo till quite recently the first photograph of the Society with Ratnayake as the central figure. He proved himself, as manner born, to be a good President, capable of controlling meetings. He had the distinction of presiding at meetings addressed by eminent Indian leaders like Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, C. F. Andrews, Bepin Chandra Pal and Mohamed Ali. It was the Warden's practice to be present at the meetings, to play the part of mentor, to take no part in the proceedings, except on very rare occasions when a rebellious Colvin

would indulge in satirical rudeness against Principal Marrs!

One day, a year or two after the Hostel was inaugurated, I happened to go to D. S. Senanayake's Office in connection with a "political lesson" which I had to cover with my *Seisha*. Near his table was seated an elderly gentleman. "Do you know, who this gentleman is?" asked D. S. "This is Suntharalingam." With surprise, the elderly gentleman rose from his seat and worshipped me. D. S. gave his name, and I had no difficulty in finding that he was "Rat's" father! I delighted the father by telling him what I then thought of his son and had little difficulty in prophesying the leadership to which he was destined. Ratnayake had already acquired the desire to serve his brethren the Kandyans who had been and were being squeezed out by Europeans from above and by non-Kandyans, Indians, etc., from below. I am happy to know that he has been able to realise some of his youthful idealism.

Ratnayake rose high: he and I found ourselves as colleagues in D. S.'s First Cabinet of Ceylon Ministers - then representative of all sections of the people of the Island. I have before my mind's eye the picture of Ratnayake running after me and trying to persuade me to return to the Chamber of the House of Representatives to vote against my conscience for the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Bill. "No, Rat; Sorry!" Ratnayake knew his man, who was quite prepared to face dismissal from the Cabinet, and he with sorrow written all over his face, went back.

Years rolled by: Ratnayake kept to the path of integrity and sincerity.

Again, Ratnayake President of the Senate turns up at my residence without any notice. He had already

called on "Mrs. Sun". "I have come, Sun (or Sir) to see you about Maviddapuram" "Oh, I see! Good! Well, I suppose, you want me to have these unfortunates allowed to enter the temple by force or threat of force! Sorry, Rat! Nothing doing!"

Ratnayake was all pleasant and persuasive but his one time Guru? was, as ever, adamant. Ratnayake understood it all. He fulfilled his Mentor's prophesy to his, Father and had become the highest President in the land! He is an earnest, sincene, honest gentleman and a great Kandyan. May he live long to inspire his fellow Kandyans and continue to lead them out of their unhappy past!

Mr. A. RATNAYAKE AS FOOD MINISTER

by

K. ALVAPILLAI

It was someday in September 1947. The results of the first General Election under the reformed Constitution (which replaced the Donoughmore Scheme) had come in, and as expected, the United National Party led by the late D. S. Senanayake had secured the largest number of seats in Ceylon's new Parliament. D. S. was called upon by the Governor-General to form a government and was engaged in creating ministries and selecting ministers. Under the Executive Committee System he had himself administered the functions in relation to food and the co-operative movement. The senior officers of these and other Departments under him, only a few days earlier, had bid him farewell at lunch and also toasted him as the Prime Minister-to-be of Ceylon. To which Cabinet Minister will these functions be assigned and who will be the Minister were the questions that agitated our minds. The news came then that A. Ratnayake had accepted the portfolio of food and co-operative undertakings. This was pleasant news to all of us, the Heads of Departments and the Senior Administrators, for apart from the mature political experience Ratnayake had already acquired he was well known to be a person of liberal outlook, of tolerance and understanding. Although public administration is an art which one learns while one is on the job, a modicum of experience of administration is useful for a Minister of State, but Ratnayake had this in ample measure, having served uninterruptedly in the Executive Committee of Education from 1931 to 1947. Having served this Executive Committee as its clerk from 1937 - 1942, and also the Special Committee on Education as its Secretary from 1941 - 1943, I had the advantage of moving closely with him and admiring his ability, sense of judgement, breadth of vision and dedication to the cause he espoused. I was, at the time Ratnayake became the boss of the new Ministry, the Food Commissioner in charge of Supplies and Rex Poulter of the Civil Service and my senior, was in charge

of distribution of food and was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry. I took some pride in the fact that at least in one respect Ratnayake had followed me, that is, like me, he moved from education to food. During the period of his service to Education, Ratnayake was considered to be a revolutionary, i.e. he had revolutionary ideas. Certainly the proposal for education to be free from Kindergarten to University which he seriously brought up in the Special Committee on Education for which he secured majority acceptance was at that time considered revolutionary. All in all what one saw very plainly in his make-up was his great concern for the poor - particularly those with rural backgrounds. Rural uplift i. e. freeing the villagers from poverty, ignorance and disease on the pattern advocated by Mahatma Gandhi for the Indian villages was almost an obsession with him. Equipped with these progressive ideas and aptitudes and also with a flair for getting his ideas implemented Ratnayake presided over the activities of the Ministry of Food and Co-operative Undertakings for well-nigh five years.

The period 1942-45 was one of tribulation in Ceylon mainly on account of shortages of many essential items of food. As Burma and Thailand were cut off from Ceylon, rice was in extreme short supply. Nobody would believe now that a population accustomed to an average consumption of three measures of rice per head per week had to put up with only half a measure per week during the two years 1944 to 1945 - and this rice too was Egyptian rice. Even wheat flour which replaced rice to a large extent and sugar were not available in plenty. So the food shortages continued for several years after 1945 and all the three items rice, sugar and flour had to be rationed. Another problem that continued to harrass successive governments was that of food subsidies. This had emerged in full force at the time Ratnayake took office. One of his first tasks was to pilot two supplementary estimates for Rs. 100,000,000, (loss from 1942-47) and Rs. 85,000,000 (loss for 1947-48) to meet food subsidies. The originator of the food subsidy was the then Financial Secretary (Humham) whose main object was to keep wages of plantation labour down so that the export price of tea, rubber etc. to the Allies of World War II may in turn be kept down. So he wanted

the price of rice subsidised with profits made on flour and sugar - which were consumed in much less quantities. But later as prices of all food stuffs rose, the rice subsidy was considered necessary as much needed relief to all consumers. Sometimes flour, too, had to be subsidised but sugar was sold at a profit. Furthermore, the full commitment on subsidy rested precariously on fluctuating prices of sugar and flour. When the profits on these two items dropped due to rises in food prices and freight costs the net subsidy increased. The position could of course be mitigated by passing on the cost increases to the consumer. Ratnayake, however, viewed food subsidies as a social welfare measure and would not think of increasing the consumer price of the three items, rice, sugar and flour. I remember one occasion in 1948 when the import price of sugar went up and I had to press for an increase in its consumer price — a mere 5 cents. per lb. One likeable trait in Ratnayake is his sense of humour. In the midst of serious but sometimes dull discussions, he would let slip a remark to enliven the tedium. So when I was arguing for an increased price for sugar he said “do you know that, in the recent past, sugar was a ‘distant rumour’ in the villages, and now you want to make them pay more for their sugar when their economic position is beginning to improve.” There was an interesting sequel. D. S. the Prime Minister came to know of his opposition and got the increase through the Cabinet by a majority vote - only Ratnayake and his able ally Suntheralingam voting against. But ‘Rat’, as he is often called, did not stop. He ordered that I was not to implement the decision although the convention had been established that the Officials should promptly implement Cabinet decisions. I was subject to the Minister’s orders only — that was his view — and two weeks later he sought reconsideration by the Cabinet and had his way. Out of his concern for poor consumers, and of course not without consideration of the impact on the country’s economy, Ratnayake was responsible for reducing the price of rice from 36 cts. per measure to 30 cts. In October 1950 and further to 25 cts. In December 1950 And 2 measures were issued to each person. It was thereafter that the price of Burma rice began to rise reaching the top price of £ 60 per ton (£40 in 1950) in 1953. The overall food subsidy for 1951-52

reached the high figure of Rs. 230,000,000 whereas it was only Rs. 35,000,000 in 1949-50. There is an impression in the public mind that most of the decisions of the government are taken on the advice of the Public Servants at the top and there is often a readiness to identify the Public Servants with the relevant decisions. It is true that under the British convention the Civil Servant is the mentor and executive of his minister. But, in Ceylon, the position is that although the Civil Servant loyally executes the policy laid down, his advice on the formulation of policy is not always accepted, and for the reason that the Minister, having his finger on the pulse of public opinion, is the best judge of what would be correct policy at a particular point of time. I may in this connection refer to the increase of the price of rice from 25 cts. per measure to 70 cts. In July 1963. This was called for by the experts of the Central Bank on the ground of safeguarding the country's economy. My advice, however, was that the increase of price should be in stages of 10 to 15 cts. at a time. But the price was increased to 70 cts. with resultant trouble and turmoil. In October 1953, however, hardly three months later, the price was brought down to 55 cts and further reduction followed thereafter with import prices dropping. Fortunately for Ratnayake these happenings took place when he left the Food Ministry and if he were there he would have found a less painful solution.

Ratnayake, the confirmed democrat, as I had occasion to refer to him in another article, was a great believer in the co-operative movement as a potent instrument of rural uplift. He viewed the movement as a golden mean between unbridled capitalism and regimented socialism. He wanted it to retain its character as a People's movement to be fostered and aided by government but not to be pampered. Aided by that able and devoted Civil Servant, the late G. de Zoysa, he made it possible for co-operation to grow from strength to strength.

I had the pleasure of accompanying Ratnayake on some negotiating missions. We visited Burma twice for negotiating rice and Thailand once. His duty, which he performed extremely well, was to persuade his counterparts in the respective governments to relent and release a good export

quota leaving the price question for me to tackle. On another occasion he led the delegation of the Govt. of Ceylon (though he was then not in the Food Ministry) to the Food and Agriculture Organization. His conduct of affairs at the Biannual Conference brought prestige to Ceylon and he was elected a Vice-President of the Conference and presided at some meetings.

The best part of my official career was spent on work connected with the management of the country's food problems — procurement of food, negotiation of contracts, guaranteed prices for paddy and other local products, food production and marketing. In this period, 1942-63, I held the position of Permanent Secretary for ten years, 1953-63, and had the opportunity of serving with loyalty, dedication and with independence of mind, Ministers of different political persuasions who laid down from time to time policies they considered necessary for the improvement of the country. "Policy" said Winston Churchill "must inevitably be a balancing of risks and dangers — the deliberate courting of the smaller to ward off the larger." I cannot say to what extent the above principle influenced ministerial thinking here. In public administration too there are perils and risks, and a good and understanding Minister will no doubt allow for the administrative short-comings arising from these. I am happy to be able to say that I had this understanding from all the Ministers I served and that was a solace in carrying some of the onerous burdens of administration. As I now contemplate in retrospect my five years work under Ratnayake I bow in gratitude for this understanding and for the praise he was generous enough to shower on me when a job was well done. His other likeable qualities - humility, kindness and a sincere desire to mitigate the suffering of the have-nots still stick in my mind. Though a fervent believer in social justice I have never known him to be troubled by ideological obsessions or slogans or "isms" which many today time and again shout in order to attract public attention and acclaim. Somebody said somewhere "greed, ambition, and love of power will still colour and sicken the minds of men." This goes for politicians generally. But the world has produced and will continue to produce even among politicians a few leaders who have shaken off and

will be able to shake off these frailties. And I see Ratnayake, judging by his career of 40 years in the service of his countrymen as one who has always put people and country before personal advancement. I also see him now as an ardent propagator of religious and philosophical ideas in which field, I am sure, he can render fruitful service to a people who are weighed down with mundane problems. May he live many more years to be of further service to the country and to be hailed one of these days by a grateful people as the Grand Old Man of Ceylon.

HON'BLE A. RATNAYAKE, AS I KNEW HIM

by

DR. M. C. M. KALEEL

I came to know Mr. A. Ratnayake only after I entered the State Council in the year 1942. At that time he looked quite unimpressive in the midst of the political leaders of the time like Sir Baron Jayatilleke, D. S. Senanayake, E. W. Perera, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, W. A. de Silva, G. G. Ponnambalam and a host of others. Mr. Ratnayake was then a back-bencher, but with an effective voice in the Executive Committee of Education. He was a severe critic of the policy of the then Board of Ministers and used to make some very valuable contributions to the debates. He used to start speeches rather hesitatingly and as he proceeded and got warmed up to the subject his voice rose to a crescendo and then one could enjoy *'a feast of reason and a flow of soul'*, interspersed with bits of humour characteristic of Mr. Ratnayake.

What impressed me most about Mr. Ratnayake was not so much his oratory or his power to impress but his utter sincerity in whatever he said both in Council (later in Parliament) or outside it. His words came from the depths of his heart and he never said anything to hurt the feelings of another. He had great persuasive powers and often succeeded in making his point of view prevail.

It was said of Cicero that when he spoke people listened attentively and remarked "How well he speaks!" and then dispersed. When Demosthenes spoke they got excited and cried "Let us march!" It may be said of Mr. Ratnayake that when he spoke people felt sympathy and said "Let us do something about it", and proceeded to carry out his wishes!

Mr. Ratnayake is a socialist in the best sense of the word. His socialism, however, is not of the imported variety that required the destruction and uprooting of all that is near and dear to the heart of the people. His

socialism has to be built on the firm foundation of their ancient culture and religious faith which they have up to now preserved in spite of destructive elements both from without and within. His socialism has to be built on the goodwill and co-operation of all sections of the people - a very difficult thing to achieve indeed.

Mr. Ratnayake is a votary of Mahatma Gandhi and a believer in his political philosophy. He realised that Gandhism can have an ennobling effect on the minds of the people, especially of the younger generation. As Chairman of the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Celebration Committee he carried Gandhi's message through the length and breadth of the island, and has inaugurated a fund to establish in Ceylon a permanent Gandhi memorial which he expects would benefit every religious community in the island.

Mr. Ratnayake has done yeoman service in the field of education. It can be said without fear of contradiction that it was he, above all others, that ultimately succeeded in persuading the Ex. Co. of Education to introduce free education from Kindergarten to the University. Later as Minister of Home Affairs he was responsible in getting the Cabinet to approve setting apart a sum of ten million rupees for Buddha Jayanthi celebrations.

I have no doubt that when the history of this period comes to be written the name of the Hon'ble Ratnayake, President of the Senate, and Minister of State will always find a place in the front ranks of the patriotic sons of Sri Lanka.

COLLEGE DAYS WITH A. RATNAYAKE,

by

S. F. DE SILVA

My memories of him go back to close on fifty years when we were among the first students of the then "University College" with Mr. Edwin Evans, the Director of Education as Acting Principal until he was succeeded by Prof. Robert Marrs.

I recall the students of those days. There were two who were later officers of the Education Department — Trevor Lorage and K. S. Arulanandy. Among the younger set were Willie Rajapathirana, Philip Gunawardene, G. G. Ponnambalam, Gunasena de Zoysa and Louis Rajapakse (later Sir Lalitha). Ratnayake was one of the most cheerful of the younger set with a distinct flair for practical jokes.

I remember the lively discussions round the tables at "College House" and when argument waxed hot there was a voice that always said "Look here fellows, be reasonable." That was A. Ratnayake who from his early years was stable, unmoved and always in a Confucian manner, pleaded for reasonableness.

When the time came for the election of the President of the Students' Union, Ratnayake was the obvious choice even of the most impetuous of the students. They recognized in him certain qualities of character that won their respect and approval. I wonder whether Ratnayake, the President of the Senate, lets his mind travel back along the corridors of time, to recall memories of the meetings of the Union over which he presided with the utmost calm even when the "weather was often rough and stormy."

From the University College we went our separate ways as teachers but we met again when as an officer of the Education Department I met Ratnayake very often as a member of the Executive Committee of Education. We in the Department were glad that there were such experienced teachers as Natesan, Nalliah, and Ratnayake

in this Committee. We could always count on their knowledge and experience of educational matters and I often think of the very valuable work done by this Committee. Ratnayake was a trusted member on whom Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara often relied for advice. Ratnayake, as usual, was for “reasonableness” !

Later as a Minister of Food he took me aback by coming into my room to chat to me as in the old days. He, one day, wanted me to include the study of the “co-operative movement” in the curriculum of Civics and wished me to write a booklet to guide the students. I was very fortunate in that Gunasena Zoysa was there to help and revise my work.

Ratnayake ceased to be a “class room” teacher but he still carries the air of the school master with the smile and patience so characteristic of him. Whenever he meets me on the corridor of the Senate Building, a friendly hand takes me to his room for talk and cup of tea. The man has not changed with the passing of the years. He is still the kindly, loveable person I knew fifty years ago.

One day he spoke of the “Satipattana Sutta.” This was far from his usual talk but I knew where his mind is now in the evening of his days. A time comes to relax from toil, so unostentatiously done for others by him in his long years of service. “Not lived in vain are lives such as his” and this is the wish I have for my old friend—“May the Light of the Dhamma guide him to the end of his days.”

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මිහිර රැඳුණ මතකයක් ඉඳ හිට මගේ සිත පුබුදුවාලයි. ඒ මතකය වනාහි අදට සතළිස් දෙවසරක් පැරණි සිදුවීමක් පිළිබඳ වූවකි. එකල සත් හැවිරිදි වියෙහි වූ මම මගේ පියාණන්ගේ එක ම සුරතලා වීමි. ඒ වන විටත් මට බාල දරුවකුගේ සුරතල් බැලීමේ භාග්‍යය මපියාණන් කරා නො පැමිණි හෙයිනි. “ළදරුවන් නැති ගෙයි නාකින් දණ ගාන බව” හැබැ කරවමින් මා සුපුරුදු පරිදි දිනක් ම පියාණන් ගේ උකුළෙහි පසුවෙද්දී පින්තෝ නාමින් ඔදවන සෙව්වන්දිය කුසුමෙක රැඳුණ සිරියාවක්, උප ගාන්ත ස්වභාවයන් දක්වන මුහුණින් යුතු වැඩි උස මහත නැති තරුණ මහතකු මපියාණන් වෙතට පැමිණි අයුර කරා දැන් මසිත පස්සට දිවෙනුයේ ගතදුරු පටලයක් බිඳගෙන ඇතට විහිදෙන විද්‍යුත් ආලෝක ධාරාවක් මෙනි.

කුළුණු බර මුහුණින් ද දැඩි සිතක් වුව වසභකරන මදහසින් ද පිපුණු ඒ තරුණයා එද මැති අසුනක් පතා තරඟයෙහි යෙදුණ අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතා බව මට දැන ගන්නට ලැබුණේ බොළඳ ළමා විය මගෙන් සමුගත් පසුව යි.

1944 වසර උදවත් ම, ලංකා මහා බෝධි සමාගමයේ කෘත්‍යාධිකාරී ලේකම් පදවිය හෙබැවීමේ පින මා කරා පැමිණියේ ය. එද පියාණන් උකුළෙහි සිටිය දී, ම සිතෙහි නොමැකෙන සටහනක් ඇති කළ අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතා ඇසුරු කිරීමට ද පිනක් පෑදුණේ ය. සිය ළමා වියේ සිටම බෝධි සත්ත්ව ගුණෝපේත අනගාරික ධර්මපාල තුමන් ඇසුරෙහි වැඩුණු අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතාගේ හදවත ධර්මපාල තුමන්ගේ ගුණ තැන්පත් කොට රැකි නිදහනක් බඳු වූයේ ය. බුද්ධ ධර්මයන් සිංහල ජාතියන් සුරකිනු වස් ධර්මපාල තුමන් දුරු ප්‍රයත්නය හොඳින් පසක් කොට ගෙන සිටි ඒ මහතා ගෙන් ඒ දෙකට ආලෝකය සැපයෙන අයුරු ප්‍රමෝදයෙන් යුක්ත ව නැරඹීමේ අවස්ථාව මට ලැබුණේ ය. මුළු හදින් මහා බෝධි සමාගමයේ කාර්යයන් කෙරේ බැඳී සිටි රත්නායක මහතා විසින් එහි වැදගත් නිල කිහිපයෙක් ම වරින් වර හෙබැවිණි.

ධොනමෝර් විධායක සභා පාලන ක්‍රමය ඉතිහාසයට එක් කෙරෙමින් එහි තැන සෝල්බර් පාලන ක්‍රමය විසින් භාර ගැනෙද්දී ලක් සරසවියේ සහකාර පුස්තකාලයාධිපති ධූරය හෙබැව වූ මගේ දෛවයද ක්‍රියා විරහිත නොවූයේ ය. උතුරු මැති මඩුල්ලේ

පුස්තකාලයාධිපති තනතුරට උසස් වීමක් මට ලැබිණ. ස්වාධීන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ප්‍රථම කැබිනට් මඩුල්ලේ ආහාර අමාත්‍ය ධුරය බැබළුවීමේ භාග්‍යය අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතා කරා පැමිණියේය. උතුරු මැති, කැබිනට් යන දෙමඩුල්ලට පමණක් ඇරුණු පුස්තකාලයේ දී යටත් පිරිසෙයින් සතියකට වරක් වත් රත්නායක මහතා හමුවීමට මට ඉඩ සැලසිණ.

උතුරු මැති මඩුල්ලේ මැතිවරියකව සිටි ඒ. ඊ. ද සිල්වා ආර්යාව සිය පදවියෙන් ඉල්ලා අස්වීමෙන් පසුව 1965 මැයි නව වැනි දා ඒ පුරප්පාඩුව පිරවුණේ අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතා ගෙනි. එ වසරෙහි ම නොවැම්බර් මස දෙ වැනි දා ඔහු උතුරු මැති මඩුල්ලේ පති පදවියට පත් වූහ. එ තෙක් නොවූ විරූ ලෙස අප ඇසුර දැඩි විය. වැඩිහිටියකු, හිතවතකු, අනුශාසකයකු හැටියට එතෙක් ම විසින් ඇසුරු කැරුණු ඔහු මගේ ස්වාමියා බවට ද පත් වූහ.

රත්නායක මහතා උසස් ඉංග්‍රීසි අධ්‍යාපනයක් ලැබුවෙකි. ඉංග්‍රීසින් ඇතුළු අපර දිග ආර්ය වර්ගයන්ගේ සංස්කෘතියත් සහාත්වයත් පිළිබඳ වූ විශිෂ්ඨ අවබෝධයක් ද ඔහු සතිය. එහෙත් ඒ කිසිවක් කෙරේ අන්ධානුකරණයෙන් ගැති වීම ඔහු අසලට වත් නොපැමිණීම රටට වැඩ දයක ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ බෞද්ධ ජනනායකයකු ඔහු තුළින් පහළ වීමට ප්‍රධාන හේතුව වූයේය. කො තෙක් මහඟු වුව ද පාවහන් යුවළ පය සැරසීමට විනා හිස සැරසීමට නො ගන්නා බව දත් ඔහු ඉංග්‍රීසි අධ්‍යාපනයත්, සංස්කෘතියත්, සහාත්වයත් යන ත්‍රිවිධ අංශය පිළිබඳ වූ පරිණත භාවයෙන් තමන්ටත් තම රටුන්ටත් මෙහෙයක් ඉටු කැර ගත්තා මිස ඒවාට වහල් වී ඒවාට සිය හදවත පූජාසනය කොට සිතින් එංගලන්තයේ වෙසෙමින් පංචස්කන්ධයෙන් පමණක් සිරිලකෙහි නො විසූහ. සිය ළමා වියේ දී ම අනගාරික ධර්මපාල බෝසතුන් ගේ උදර අධ්‍යාශයයන් ගේ ආභාසයෙන් ගෝභිත වර්තයක් ගොඩ නඟා ගත් රත්නායක මහත්මෝ අපර දිගයන් අතින් හැම විට ම පෙර දිගයන්ට පසුබා සිටින බව දැක් වූ ශ්‍රී ජවහර්ලාල් නේරු සමග එකඟ වන බව ක්‍රියාවෙන් ම පළ කළහ. එ හෙයින් අපේ බොහෝ ජන නායකයන් ගේ වර්තය තුළින් දිස් වූ ඉංග්‍රීසින් ගේ ඕලාරික ජීවිතය ඔහු කෙරෙන් නො දිස් වූයේ ය. ගමනින් කපාවෙන් මෙන් ම අන් හැම ඉරියව්වක් තුළින් ම පුහු ගර්වය පෑම ඔහුට අප්‍රිය වූයේ ය. ඉංග්‍රීසින් කෙරෙන් පළ වන මවා ගත්, ව්‍යාජ මහාත්ම භාවය වෙනුවට රත්නායක මහතා කෙරෙන් පළ වනුයේ බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතියේ ප්‍රධානතම සංකේතය වූ අව්‍යාජ, සෘජු, නිහතමාන මහාත්ම භාවය යි. ඉංග්‍රීසි ගැත්තන් මෝල් ගස් ගිලූ පිඹුරන් සෙයින් සිරුර කෙළින් තබා දක්වන සෘජු බව ම මුල් තන්හි ලා තකන නමුදු රත්නායක මහතාගේ සෘජු බව ඔහුගේ හිතත් කිරියත් යන දෙකෙන් දැක්වූණේ ය. ඉංග්‍රීසින් අනුකරණයෙහි යෙදුණු ඇතැම් ජන නායකයන් “උඹලා කවරහු ද මම නො වෙමි ද මිනිහා” යැයි කියා පාන්තාක් මෙන් සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසා දෙස ගජ

නිමිතය (අලි බැල්ම) පහළ කරද්දී රත්නායක මහතා කුළුණු බර, අභිංසක නොවක් බැල්මෙන් සාමාන්‍ය මිනිසා පුබුදුවමින් හැබෑ බුදුනුවකු ගේ සැටි පළ කෙළේය.

තැන නො තැන නො බලා උපදවා ගැනෙන පුහු වේගය අපේ සභාපතිතුමා නො හඳුනයි. ඇතැමුන් ජාතික, ආගමික ප්‍රශ්නයක් උද්ගත වූ කල්හි ව්‍යාජ වේගයක් මවාගෙන, පිඹ, පිඹ කුළු අම්බරු එඩියෙන් අවට දෙවනත් කෙරෙමින් දහලා, “නැටු නැටුමකුත් නැත. බෙරේ පලුවකුත් නැත” කියමන සනාථ කෙරෙමින් අයිත් ගහන නමුදු, තීක්ෂණ ප්‍රඥාවෙන්, උට්ඨාන වීර්යයෙන්, අප්‍රතිහත ධෛර්යයෙන්, එහෙත් මනා උපශාන්ත භාවයෙන් හා ඉවැසීමෙන් හා ක්‍රියා කරන ඔහු අභිමතාර්ථය සාධනයෙහි ලා නො පොහොසත් නො වෙත් මැයි. ඔහු කිසි විටෙක ඔතැනි නොවෙත්. බියසුළු නො වෙත්. හැම තැන ම පවත්නා නමුදු කිසි තැනෙක නො පවත්නා සෙයින් පවත්නා විදුලි බලය සෙයින් අයුක්තියේ දී මතුවන ඔහු ගේ වේගය, යුක්තිය ඉටුකැර ගත් වහාම නැවත සැඟවී යන්නේ., “දෙවියන් විසින් ඇති කැරෙන බාධකයක් අභිමුඛයේ දී වුව ධීර වීර ගුණ සම්පන්න පුරුෂයා ගේ හදවත නො මැල වෙන්නේය. තව තව මෙළැවෙන්නේය. ග්‍රීෂ්ම සෘතුවේ දී භාරතයේ සකල ගංගාවන් සිදෙද්දී ඉන්ද්‍රගභ පිටාර ගලන්නා පරිද්දෙනි” යන විෂ්ණු ශර්මන් සෘෂි භාෂිතය අභයරත්න රත්නායක මහතා ගේ වර්තයෙන් හැබෑ වන්නේය.

මහලු වියට පා තබා සිටිය ද උකටලී නොව, “උට්ඨාන විරියෙන අභිමතත්ථං සාධෙති” යන බුදු වදන අනුව ම ක්‍රියා කරණ ඔහු තරුණයනට පවා ආදර්ශයෙකි.

නා නා වර්ගයේ මත් පැනින් සන්තර්පිත වෙමින් මස් මාළු බුදිමින්, මැදියම් රෑ ඉකුත් වන තුරු කාමිනියන් වැළඳ ගෙන බාල් නටමින්, ශ්‍රීක දර්ශනික එපිකරස් ගේ ගෝලයන් බවට පත් වන අපේ ඇතැම් ජන නායකයන් මෙන් නො වෙත්, එතුමෝ. ප්‍රතිචිත දිග ඕලාරික සමාජයට මේ හැසිරීම ලොකු දෙයක් වුව ද, මිනිස් දිවියේ හර බර පැත්ත නිසි සේ පසක් කොට ගත්, ආධ්‍යාත්මික ප්‍රගතියෙන් පරිපූර්ණ ප්‍රාචීන දිග සමාජයට, විශේෂයෙන් බෞද්ධ සමාජයට එය ජුගුප්සා ජනක වෙයි. තමා විසින් තම ජීවිත කාලය තුළ දී කියවන ලද හොඳ ම පොත හැටියට මහත්මා ගාන්ධි තුමන් විසින් හැඳින්වුණු භගවත් ගීතයෙහි එන,

යදා සංභාරතේ ක්‍රියාං — කුර්මෝගානී ව සර්වභා:
ඉන්ද්‍රියානින්ද්‍රයාර්ථෙභ්‍යස් — තස්‍ය ප්‍රඥා ප්‍රතිෂ්ඨිතා

“පසිදුරන් පිනවන කාම වස්තූන් කෙරේ නො බැඳී අනතුරු ඇඟවීමක් ලද ඉබ්බකු වහා කටුව තුළට හිස ඇද ගන්නාක් මෙන් ක්‍රියා කරන්නා කෙරේ (නියම) ප්‍රඥාව පිහිට යි” යන කියමනේ සැබෑ

බව පැවිදි නොවූව ද ආධ්‍යාත්මික උන්නතිය ගරු තන්හිලා රකිනා පෙර දිග ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ මනුෂ්‍යයන්ගේ වරිත වලින් දාශ්‍යමාන වෙයි. භාරතයේ මෙන්ම ලංකාවේ ද පහළ වූ ඒ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ මනුෂ්‍යයන් ටික දෙනාගේ වරිතයන්හි ඡායාව මැන යුගයේ ජන්ම ලාභය ලැබූ රත්නායක මහතා ඇතුළු කිහිප දෙනෙකුගේ වරිතයන් කෙරෙහිද දැක ගන්නට ලැබීම අපේ භාග්‍යයකි.

අක්‍රෝධ මාරෝග්‍ය ජිවිතෝදයත්වං.

දයා ක්ෂමා සර්ව ජන ප්‍රියත්වං.

නිර්ලෝභ දාතා භය ශෝක මුක්තිර්

ඥාන ප්‍රභේදා දශ ලක්ෂණානි” යනුවෙන් ක්‍රෝධ නොකි

රීම, නිරෝග භාවය, දිනන ලද ඉඳුරන් ඇති බව, දයාව, ක්ෂමාව හැමටම වාගේ ප්‍රිය වීම, ලෝභ නොකිරීම, දෙන සුළු බව, භයෙන් හා ශෝකයෙන් හා බැහැර වීම යන දශ ලක්ෂණයන් පිහිටි පුද්ගලයා ප්‍රඥාවන්තයකු බව පුරාණ සාෂිහු දක්වූහ. සිරිමත් ඩී. ඩී. ජයතිලක, ඇස්. ඩබ්ලිව්. ආර්. ඩී. බණ්ඩාරනායක, අභයරත්න රත්නායක ආදී මැන යුගයේ සිරිලකේ පහළ වූ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ මිනිසුන් කිහිප දෙනෙක් ම, ආධ්‍යාත්මික සංවර්ධනය ම උත්තර මනුෂ්‍ය භාවය බව නිගමනය කළ සාෂි භාෂිතය අනුව ප්‍රඥාවන්තයන් ගේ ගණයට වැටෙත්.

“සමහරු උපතින් ම උසස් වෙත්. සමහරු ප්‍රෝක්සාහීව උසස් බවට පැමිණෙත්. සමහරුන් කෙරේ නිකම් ම උසස් බව පැටැවෙයි” යනුවෙන් මහාකවි විලියම් ෂේක්ස්පියරයෝ කීහ. රත්නායක මහතා උපතින් ම උසස්ය. යථා උත්සාහයෙන් තව උසස් බවට පැමිණියේ ද වෙයි. එහෙත් කිසි දිනෙක උසස් බව නිකම් මැ තමන් කෙරේ ආරූඪ කැරැගත්තේ නොවේ. එහෙයින් උසස් බව ආරූඪ කැරැගත් පුස්සන් කෙරේ දක්නා ලැබෙන පුහු අභංකාරය ඔහු කෙරේ නැත. තමා යටතේ සිටිනවුනට පවා සමානාත්මතාවෙන් සැලකීමට ඔහු පුරුදු වූයේ එහෙයිනි. පල දරන්නට දරන්නට පිහිටට සිටින මහ පොළොව දෙසටම අතු නමන අඹ ගස පරිද්දෙන් ම, තත්වයෙන් ඉහළ යන්නට යන්නට තව තව නිහතමාන වූයේ එහෙයිනි. “රජුන් ඇසුරු කරන්න, එහෙත් පොඩි මිනිසා සමග ඇසුර නො බිඳින්න” යන රචියාඩ් කිප්ලිං කවියාගේ උවදෙසටත් ඔහු හදවතෙහි තැන ලැබුණේ ද එහෙයිනි මැයි.

බොහෝ ඇසු පිරු තැන් ඇතිවීම මංගලය කාරණයක් බව බුදුහු දෙසූ හ. රත්නායක මහත්මෝ මේ මංගලය කාරණයෙන් පිරිපුන් වූවාහු මැ යි. ඔහු දත් දෑ හොඳින් දත්හ. නොදත් දෑ නොදත් බව අභවන්නට, පිළිගන්නට තරම් අකුහක වූහ. එබ දු තන්හි දී ද ඔහු ගේ සිත ළපැටියකු ගේ සිත මෙන් ම අහිංසක වූයේ ය. අකුහක වූයේ ය. අව්‍යාජ වූයේ ය.

සතුරකුගෙන් පවා පළි ගැනීමේ සිතක්, සේවකයකු ගෙන් පවා තළා පෙළා වැඩ ගැනීමේ සිරිතක්, හොඳ ම හිතවතකු ගෙන් පවා කේළාම් ඇසීමේ කැමැත්තක්, කිසිසේත් නො පිහිටි උදර වර්තයකින් හෙබි මේ මහා පුරුෂයා කෙනකු ගේ වරදක් දුටු තැන කරුණා පූර්වක ව ඔවා දෙනුයේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ වැඩිහිටියකුගේ සැටි මේ යැයි පාමිනි. එ බඳු තත්වී දී ඔහු ගේ හඬ උස් නො වේ. ගොරෝසු නො වේ. සිහින්ය. එහෙත් අධිෂ්ඨාන පූර්වකය. සිරි සිරි හඬින් බැස යන සිහින් දිය පාර කෙරේ, මහ පවුරු බිඳින රළ රැඳි මහ සයුරු වල පැවැත්ම පවා රඳා පවතින බව අසන්නාට ඇඟවෙන තරමේ විශ්මය ජනක බලයක් ඔහු ගේ හීන් හඬින් පිට වෙන වචන වල රැඳී ඇත්තේය.

කුළුණු බර වැටිහිටියකු, වියත් අනුශාසකයකු, නිහතමාන ස්වාමියකු, සමානාත්මතාව රකින කළණ මිතුරකු වන අභයරත්න රත්නායක ශ්‍රීමතාණන් ඇසුරු කරන්නට ලැබීම මහ සැපතෙකි. ඔහු ගේ වචන කණට නො මැරෙන අම මිහිරෙකි. ඔහු ගේ දර්ශනය නෙතට රසඳුනෙකි.

STATESMAN RATNAYAKE, THE INCOMPARABLE FRIEND, GUIDE, AND INSPIRER

by

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WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH 1969 RAMON MAGSAYSAY
AWARDED FOR COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

It was the early nineteen fifties. I was only a teenager. Being a rural boy I was a complete stranger to the city of Colombo. Yet my desire to help my village people brought me to Colombo one day. My mission was to meet the Head of a Department and seek redress from him as his District Officers could not help me in furthering a village project. I climbed the stairs of the Torrington Square Office and walked straight in towards the room which I thought was the Director's office. At that very moment I was confronted with a stately figure just coming out of the room.

I recognized him as I had seen his picture in the newspapers. I realised that I had come to the wrong office. In spite of my excitement I said "Good morning, Sir". His response most unexpectedly was far from formal. He said "Yes, sonny what can I do for you" and holding me by the arm walked back into his office. That was the Hon'ble A. Ratnayake, the then Minister of Home Affairs. That was my first meeting though yet a school boy with the Hon'ble Ratnayake and happily for me my problem too was solved then and there.

At that time I could never have imagined that one day twenty years later I would be coming closer to him in an attempt to realise a common dream, namely, working for the goal of a Sarvodaya Society. During that period though a free people in popular terms the

common man was treated by the more privileged classes with the same contempt with which the British had been treating them hitherto. Wearing an artificial halo around themselves perhaps gave a lot of personal satisfaction to most people from the Minister down to the peon. But here I met a man who sanctified a ministerial office with the typical unassuming personality and dignified humility of a Sinhala villager.

In 1966 the Sarvodaya workers were getting organized to celebrate in a fitting manner the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi which fell in 1969. We had to form a National Committee and a Chairman had to be selected. He had to be a national leader who lived the Gandhian way of life. The natural choice was the Hon'ble Ratnayake. He readily accepted our invitation and plunged head-long in to the mainstream of the activities we planned. He placed his office at the Senate at the disposal of the Committee and get every political, religious and other shades of leadership actively involved in the celebrations. The entire programme was organised at a highly non-sectarian level under his able stewardship and our objectives were realised.

He did not confine himself to the city. He wanted to visit as many Sarvodaya villages as possible to see for himself the impact of our work on the lives of the rural people. Whether it is distant Wewala, Nedalagamuwa or Pubbiliya, Mr. Ratnayake was there guiding and inspiring our youth to forge ahead in the Sarvodaya concept of village self-government. His age did not deter him from being present in person for it was his conviction that involvement and participation where the keynotes of the Sarvodaya way of life.

Mr. Ratnayake has lived a total life — a life of dedicated service to his fellowmen and motherland. But I remember Mr. Ratnayake always lamenting on one lapse on his part. Both in private and public I have heard him say sadly "I, too, have had a hand in introducing and nursing this vicious system of party politics which has done more damage than good to our people." The more he was convinced of this the more he got driven to believe in the

better and ennobling from of politics, namely, people's and participating politics as opposed to power and party politics. It was this conviction that made him drift away from party and power politics and come closer to the Sarvodaya way. Being the first and probably the last President to be elected unaniously by both sides of the Upper House is a standing testimony to his uprightness and impartiality.

As the most elarly and loved statesman of the day Mr. Ratnayake has no equal. I think he is the only national political leader who has left the political arena without leaving a single enemy. But to me Mr. Ratnayake has just begun a new adventure - a journey into the mechanics of non-violent and ethical polities of the Gandhian order. With the zeal and enthusiasm of a young uisionary he sees only one way out for our national crisis. He does not mince his words when he says "Give the maximum power to the people. Sri Lanka should be a Commonwealth of Village Republics. Begin with Grama Swarajaya or Self-government in villages. This is the only way - the Sarvodaya."

May Mr. Ratnayake, a beloved elder statesman and a young visionary have good health and abiding strenth to guide us in our attempt to build up a Sri Lanka where Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial reign supreme. His could be the hand that will hasten the process and we look to him to supply our Movement with the urgently needed backing in added measure to make Sri Lanka a Land of peace loving, contented and diligent people.

REMINISCENCES OF THE OPENING OF THE NEW VIHARA AT SANCHI

by

HEDIGALLE PANNATISSA THERO

Chief Sangha Nayake of India & Viharadhipathi Sanchi Vihara

Nineteen years ago, on the 29th of November, 1952, at a ceremony held at the holy precincts of the Sanchi Stupa set up originally to house the sacred relics of Sariputta and Maha Moggallana, the two chief disciples of the Buddha, a shrine which had just then been renovated by the Government of India and declared open that day by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in the presence of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Thailand, Siam, the Maha Rajah of Sikkim, Dr. Sarvapillai Radakrishnan, then Vice-President of India, Cabinet Ministers, distinguished delegates from foreign countries and over a million people, the Hon. Abhayaratne Ratnayake, then Minister of Home Affairs, representing the Prime Minister and the Govt. of Ceylon at that function, made a memorable contribution to the day's proceedings with a speech which evoked the spontaneous applause and congratulations also of the vast concourse of the learned elite assembled there and more specially that of Pandit Nehru himself.

The Hon. Ratnayake stressed the necessity for the building up of a world order where fear and greed would give way to love and liberality as in the days of Dharmasoka.

John Stuart Mill, the reputed English philosopher and logician of the early 19th century, in his autobiography says that he was "convinced that no great improvements in the lot of mankind are possible, until a great change takes place in the fundamental constitution of their modes of thought."

But, "almost twenty-one centuries earlier", Mr. Ratnayake pointed out, "Emperor Asoka, deeply impressed and inspired by the thoughts and philosophy of Gautama, The Buddha, had decreed that his vast empire shall be governed according to the Laws of the Dhamma, visualising

and wishing for his subjects a "Dharma Ygaya" and a "Dharma Rajyya" eventually. For the thoughts of the Buddha have been of such an all-embracing and far-reaching nature that they have inspired great philosophers and sages down the ages and accepted as a panacea for most ills".

The Hon. Ratnayake advocated the need for the building up of a greater and brighter future and a better society based on such lofty ideals as adhered to by Emperor Asoka whose name, according to H. G. Wells in his book "*OUTLINE OF HISTORY*" shines and shines almost alone, a star, amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left its doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne".

This learned and moving speech was so befitting the occasion that it occurred to me that the Hon. Ratnayake, nurtured as he had been in his youth in the atmosphere of the great Hewavitarne home, had imbibed all that had been best from the late Anagarika Dharmapala — the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society and the greatest national and religious leader Ceylon had produced during the 19th century - and thus become entitled to be considered his most faithful lay follower and the repository of his hopes and aspirations as has been so visibly demonstrated by all his religious, cultural and public activities and more specially by the masterly planning of the BUDDHA JAYANTHI celebrated a few years later.

The Hon. Minister Ratnayake from Ceylon called upon India to take the leadership as in the days of Asoka and spread the Message of Peace, Goodwill and Harmony throughout the world. India, he said, was called the "Punya Bhumi" where the greatest thinkers and philosophers were born. It was also the home of all the Buddhas and it was in India that the highest human qualities such as self-sacrifice, Renunciation, Wisdom, Righteous

Determination, Truth and Non-Violence were practised to perfection. "Those of us therefore who come from Buddhist countries look upon India to take the necessary leadership to dethrone Violence, Hatred and Greed which today rule mankind", he concluded.

The Hon. Ratnayake's entire career has been marked with such graciousness and simplicity that could be expected only of the truly great, His steadfast attachment to the Dhamma as to his motherland and his sincere affection for all humanity — in the spirit of a living Gandhi — are well known.

To commemorate forty years of distinguished and devoted service by a patriot of this nature and to honour him is truly befitting and indeed commendable as expounded by the Buddha in the Mangala Sutra :

*"Asewanaacha baalanang, panditanancha sevana,
Pujacha pujaniyanang, etang mangala muttaman."*

May the Hon. Abeyaratna Ratnayake be blessed with good health and long life to continue in his great service for the welfare of mankind.

SANCHI VIHARA
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**THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN CEYLON AND
EMERGENCE INTO POLITICS OF
MR. A. RATNAYAKE**

by

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Ho Boy! Come bring the brandy!
A thousand thanks to good Sir John
Say Olive, Joan, and Andy!"

If we overlook a Civil Servant Governor's well meant excursion into the realm of poetry, the result is not without historical meaning and significance. The occasion is the evening of the Scottish National Festival, the setting is the "Queen's House" and the scene, viewing it in retrospect in the cool light of historical recapitulation a quarter of a century after, when the shouting and the tumult have died away and the captains and kings departed, the last act of the drama of British Imperialism and colonialism being played out in one of its most colourful abodes and sanctuaries, often proudly referred to in official documents as "the Premier Crown Colony" of Britain.

Today, as we look back wistfully, and even nostalgically, on that past which is no more, when Olive, Joan and Andy, toasting each other and their good host Sir John Tarbat, director of numerous British plantation companies, agency houses and business establishments, whose names if not yet quite forgotten are a rapidly fading memory, we can derive some measure of real satisfaction from the fact that if the British Banks and Agency Houses still remain, they have nonetheless shed the pride, glory, and let us hasten to add, arrogance, of their past. In that struggle to rid the country of its foreign yoke, in which the riots of 1915 are a towering landmark, the chapter which opens with the adoption of the "Donoughmore" Constitution in 1931 finds the subject of this humble and grateful tribute to a national hero and patriot, taking his first deliberate, thoughtful, and solemn steps of unswerving dedication to that goal, not merely of National Independence, but of

social liberation and economic emancipation of his poor and exploited fellow countrymen.

We, cannot, therefore, do better than begin by setting out in bare outline the principal events in the life and career of this simple and charming personage whose record of selfless and unpublicised service to his fellow beings must in itself remain an example, guide, and inspiration to others to follow in his footsteps.

In the twilight glow of the Donoughmore era which filled the years between Colonial darkness and dawning Independence, there emerged silently and unannounced into the political arena of Ceylon a small band of youthful idealists who were soon to make a significant contribution to the course of political change in Ceylon during the ensuing quarter century or more. There was nothing particularly revolutionary or spectacular either in their political philosophy or Parliamentary strategy. Alike in the smallness of their numbers, and the idealism of their creed, they resembled the English intellectuals of the French Revolutionary era, who had hoped by the sincerity and fervour of their appeals for political reform and social justice to usher in an age of plenty and equality for all, in which the exploitation of man by his fellow men would be a thing of the past. They too, might well have exclaimed as Wordsworth did of the French Revolution:—

“Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven”!

The acknowledged leader of this group was a young scholar hailing from the hill country who was one of the early products of University education in Ceylon at a time when academic degrees were still the privilege of a few. The years of growing nationalism in the Colonial countries after the first World War had, indeed, produced for the first time in the politics of popular democracy both intellectual moderates and revolutionary idealists. In Ceylon the intellectuals of this period were mostly professional men who, if not actually wealthy, were potential heirs to wealth and property, and were not greatly interested in rapid social change. The revolutionary idealists on the

other hand who were a small minority within this body, while themselves possessed of wealth and property, were those who, nevertheless, were impatient of social change effected gradually through the democratic process, and were ready to court imprisonment rather than acquiesce any longer in the perpetuation of the indignity, iniquity, and humiliation of submission to unjust laws such as the Poll Tax and the Waste Lands Ordinance.

Such in broad outline was the political and social background against which, in hushed tones and whispered asides, in the corridors and anterooms of the new State Council elected in 1931 under the provisions of the "Donoughmore" Constitution, the question soon came to be asked: who was this strange newcomer who had crashed his way into the high citadel of national politics and was beginning to make his presence felt in the jealously guarded political enclaves of that period. One is reminded of the delirious frenzy and enthusiasm with which half a century before, the victims of grinding poverty amid limitless plenty, in the gold and silver mines and the ranches and prairies of the American "wild west", where the new race of American millionaires were provocatively flaunting their vast and often ill-gotten wealth, welcomed the whirlwind entry into the stormy politics of Populist America, the brash and breezy William Jennings Bryan with the battle cry of :

"Prairie avenger, mountain Lion,
Bryan, Bryan, Bryan, Bryan"!

So, too, young Ratnayake, B.A.(London), Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, Principal of Mahabodhi College, Colombo., and now elected a Member of the State Council for Dumbara, though cast in a gentler mould, swooped down upon the fashionable parlours and boudoirs of the Cinnamon Gardens from the backward and neglected Hill Country, whither, of yore, the Sinhalese Kings, chieftains and people had withdrawn, to defend for 300 years, with a courage and tenacity matched only by their wisdom, the independence of their Island home against the assaults of the mightiest Western powers, and showed by his subsequent conduct that the patriotic ardour of his forefathers still burned within him.

In more senses than one Abhayaratne Ratnayake heralded the dawn of a new era in the politics of Ceylon. What Anagarika Dharmapala had done for the cause of the Buddhist and National revival, carrying into the remotest corners of the country the message of national awakening and independence from the foreign yoke, with a vigour and zest unknown before in the modern history of Ceylon, the youthful Ratnayake set out to do in the more limited political arena of the State Council and Parliament. Nor was the connection between the two patriotic champions of dispossessed Buddhists fighting to regain their lost heritage, either illusory or accidental. For Ratnayake had been schooled long and silently at the feet of the great Savant who for the first time in the latter day history of our country made the name of Ceylon reverberate in the social and religious circles of contemporary international society of East and West.

By the fierce eloquence, sincerity, and clarity with which he presented the message of the Buddha to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, and the equal tenacity and fervour with which he pursued the campaign for ensuring the return of Buddha Gaya in India to the Buddhists from the control of its Hindu masters, as also by the successful organisation and establishment through the Maha Bodhi Society and Trust of a network of Buddhist Centres of International communication and propaganda throughout India under the management of devoted monks from Ceylon, the Anagarika Dharmapala had gained for this country a new eminence and leadership in the Buddhist World which it had not known since the days of the Sinhalese Kings.

Ever since the Colebrooke-Cameron legislative reforms of 1832, and more specifically after the defeat of the last uprising of the Kandyan Sinhalese in 1848, the British Colonial Government had made a subtle but deliberate and calculated attempt at subversion and destruction of the Sinhala language, culture, and institutions, and its replacement by the English language, and by English laws and usages. To achieve this object it was necessary on the one hand to undermine the authority of the chieftains of various ranks from the Adigars down to the minor

officials, and on the other hand to seek to reduce, and if possible remove, the great influence and moral authority which the Buddhist Sangha exercised over the minds of the people. The proclamation of English as the official language of the country under the Colebrooke-Cameron proposals was the first formal step taken in this direction under the guise of introducing new and liberal principles of dispensation of justice and of the conduct of public administration. The abolition of the Pirivena system of education and the transfer of the sole responsibility for education to the Christian clergy, the institution of a new Civil Service and the restriction of all appointments to it to those willing to embrace the Christian faith, the wholesale eviction of the peasantry in the up-country areas from their village lands by the brutal enactment and enforcement of the series of Waste Lands Ordinances, and finally, the free sale of land at nominal prices to British buyers for the new coffee plantations were all part of a studied and cunningly devised scheme by which the protection solemnly promised and guaranteed under the Kandyan Convention to the Sinhalese Buddhists was steadily whittled away. Instead of preserving and maintaining the laws, customs and usages of the country as then existing and protecting the Buddhist Religion, the Christian clergy was enthroned as the seat of moral and religious authority, English laws were introduced to replace the Sinhalese legal system, and a Christian public service with English officials at its head set up to supersede and override the authority wielded by the chieftains throughout the country. All political patronage, and social and economic advancement thereafter was exclusively reserved for those who would elect to disown the language, customs, dress, and religion of their forefathers, and adopt those of the new and alien rulers. A mockery of a legislature presumed to be based on democratic principles was set up consisting of the Chief Justice and other high executive officers of the Government together with a handful of hand picked stooges of the Governor, and was declared to be the principal legislative and executive authority, subject to the overriding veto of the Secretary of State and ultimately Her Majesty the Queen of England.

This was the monolithic Christian and English based structure of Government which had been steadily built up over the years to displace and dispossess the Sinhala Buddhist system which the British Government had solemnly pledged to preserve and maintain under the solemn treaty obligations of the Kandyan Convention of 1815, the binding force of which was reiterated and reaffirmed by one of the most authoritative and powerful Select Committees of the British Parliament which had been set up in 1848 after the Kandyan uprising of that year — a Committee which included among its members three of the most famous Prime Ministers of England, Peel, Gladstone, and Disraeli. The cruel irony by which the entire Sinhala peasantry in the Kandyan area was driven out of their ancestral lands and homes, and replaced by vast plantations worked by Indian Tamil “coolie” labour, while the British planter and the British Civil Servant lorded it over those fertile hills and valleys, now presented the depressing picture of a truly “Deserted Village.” In those homesteads where once a happy and contented people had lived in the spirit of and in accord with, the doctrines of the Buddhist Faith, “a bold peasantry their country’s pride” had been forever despoiled, dispossessed, and destroyed beyond any possibility of revival or restoration. Such was the grim spectre of a civilization in ruins which faced every intelligent, patriotic, and self-respecting Sinhala leader in the closing years of the 19th century. While in a broad sense national independence had been undermined and destroyed, in reality it was the Sinhala Buddhist structure of society and government which had suffered the blows and dismemberment. Hence while during the second half of the 19th century a group of English planters supported by a small band of Ceylonese Christian professional leaders in the legal and medical professions, had constituted themselves into a kind of opposition to the autocratic rule of the Governor, any real national, movement, leadership, and opposition to continued British Colonial rule had necessarily to come from the Sinhala Buddhists. It was this awakening which may be dated as having commenced with the establishment of the Buddhist Theosophical Society in 1880 with the able support and inspiration of Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, an American who came to Ceylon after reading an account of the famous controversy between the Buddhists and Christians in

Ceylon at that time known as the "Panadura Controversy" in which the fiery Buddhist preacher the venerable Migettuwatte Gunananda argued into silence the Christian Missionaries and won a resounding victory for the Buddhist cause. Helped forward by the parallel development of Indian nationalism after the inauguration of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the demand for political reform and independence in Ceylon developed mainly into a demand for the re-establishment and development of Buddhist Education under the authority and support of the State, greater opportunity of employment in the public service for non-Christians, increased popular representation in the legislature, and finally the moral plea for control and abolition of the sale of meat and liquor under the authority of the State. Like the introduction of opium into Burma and China in British warships and under the terror of British guns and bayonets, "You send your armed cruisers up and down the China seas selling opium at the cannon's mouth" the great British writer and social reformer, John Ruskin in his addresses to the British people thundered, official authorization and approval of the sale of liquor in the up-country areas met with fierce opposition from the Sinhalese leaders and the Buddhist Clergy, and was regarded as a challenge to the entire Buddhist population. Hence when the national awakening began, the Temperance movement provided a ready rallying point and battle cry which united the entire nation and brought to its platforms people of all faiths, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus and Moslems. Thus while on the one hand the British were actively seeking to set community against community and divide the nation as in the riots of 1915, on the other hand the fundamental cultural unity of the people was manifesting itself in numerous forms. In the subsequent demand for political reforms all sections of the people remained united in their demand for greater independence from foreign domination even when they were urging their own separate claims.

All these various strands of political, social and economic reform were converging into a single all-embracing claim for complete independence or "poorna swaraj" as in India, when the sudden victory of the British Labour Party in 1929 gave an unexpectedly new turn to the direction

of politics in Ceylon, and speeded it headlong in a socialist direction. When in 1920 Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was elected President of the Ceylon National Congress, if only for a brief period, one of the most powerful blows against the imperialist attempts to sow dissension among the different communities had been struck. Likewise the Hindu Educational Society in Jaffna was working in close alliance with the Buddhist Theosophical Society, in a common demand for increased educational opportunities for Buddhist and Hindu children in a religious environment of their own, and freedom from the dominance of the Christian and Catholic Church in the educational field. On the other hand Sir James Peiris, a well known Christian, was at the head of the leadership of the National Congress in its demands for political reform. This was the dissolving fabric of the artificially created, Christian dominated, feudal society which the British colonialists had sought to implant in Ceylon. It was, therefore, not surprising when the leaders of the Ceylon National Congress despite their capitalist background and interests fraternised with and even supported A. E. Goonesinghe's labour movement in its campaigns for better wage and living conditions for Ceylonese workers against the British and Indian plantation owners, agency houses, and import and export merchant establishments.

To return to the role of the youthful Ratnayake who had entered the political battle field brimming over with reforming zeal; the ascent up the political ladder was, indeed slow and arduous for this daring "novus homo" who had sought to challenge the doctrines and the dogmas of the high priests of the prevailing political orthodoxy. What credentials had he brought with him to establish his claims to enter this holy of holies? Unassuming and modest even to a fault, young Ratnayake made no pretensions to belong to whatever still remained of the titled aristocracy, though this was now becoming a liability rather than an asset in the developing political context of the new Ceylon. Neither had he the broad acres in tea, rubber, or coconut plantations, nor the wealth in Plumbago mines which in the delirium of the years before the First World War had helped to make fortunes almost overnight and catapulted adventurous and ambitious village youths to

fame and fortune, and paved the way which carried them to national leadership. How, then, was this newcomer into the rough and tumble of political life going to fare in the strange new career which he had chosen for himself? Was it rashness or ignorance of the dangers and pitfalls through which he would have to thread his way before he could achieve any fruitful results, that had brought this youthful idealist into a battleground where tougher and more seasoned fighters and campaigners before him had failed? There was the case of E. W. Perera staring them in the face. And likewise the fate of Ponnambalam Ramanathan stood starkly before any aspiring politician as a warning that times had changed. An electorate composed of 4 percent of the population had been replaced by one of 100 percent. This was the astonishing scene which presented itself, in Ceylon, ironically, at a time when the worst economic depression known in history had shut down the entire plantation industry and put it on a "care and maintenance" basis.

To some it seemed as if mob rule had been let loose upon the country. "Three cats caterwauling like thirty cats" screamed Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan referring angrily and disparagingly to the leaders of the Ceylon National Congress, as he denounced the Donoughmore Constitution as a dark plot hatched between retreating British Imperialism and its local stooges and hirelings. On the other hand, other political leaders of equal calibre and courage, saw in the new Constitution another demonstration of the skill with which British Colonialists had fooled generations of the victims of their exploitation, and denounced the three English officials, namely the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary, and the Legal Secretary sitting as Ministers in the new State Council elected by an adult franchise, as a grim joke practised upon the people of this country. "Three policemen in plain clothes" shouted E. W. Perera, while the triumvirate of the Ceylon National Congress D. B. Jayatillaka, D. S. Senanayake and W. A. de Silva gleefully tramped the length and breadth of the country proclaiming a bloodless victory over the alien rulers in which "Seven-tenths" of Freedom had been won!

What was the truth behind these conflicting claims which were being made by stalwart national leaders who only a few years before had been standing shoulder to shoulder in their common and uncompromising denunciation of British Colonial oppression and exploitation? Time alone would reveal the secret which for the moment lay carefully concealed beneath the sugar coated pill which the British Imperialists had put before the nation. Had the ruthless oppressors of yesterday suddenly softened in their attitude towards the colonial people and having donned the mask of penitence and contrition were now appearing before them in sack cloth and ashes, holding out the olive branch of peaceful cooperation and coexistence towards their "subject races"? Or was this simply another Trojan Horse, an apple of discord, a spanner in the works thrown into the machinery of political change and orderly progress, the true character of which would be revealed only as the years passed.

The Executive Committee System was the newly forged weapon with which a penitent British people sought to undo the neglect devastation, and oppression of more than a century, and bring about rapid social economic reforms.

It was, indeed, a piece of unusual good fortune for the country that just at this juncture there should have appeared on the political horizon a politician whose high educational attainments combined with a burning passion for social reform gave to the legislative process a dynamism which drove it relentlessly forward on the path of rapid social and economic innovation. Sitting in the Court of the University of Ceylon as one of the five nominated representatives of the State Council, he startled that conservative and almost reactionary body of educationists, living their comfortable lives of voluntary and self imposed isolation from the cultural and social life of the mass of the population, by expounding an educational philosophy of which they had never heard or even dreamed, when he declared: "I look forward to the day when in this country there will be a University in every village." And no one was more stunned by the words than the British Imperialist who sat in the Vice-Chancellor's chair

and who once before had experienced the unflinching courage and energy with which Mr. Ratnayake pursued his ideals to their practical conclusion, when Sir Ivor Jennings had walked out of the meeting of the Special Committee on Education in silent protest against its adoption of the principle of "Free Education from the Kindergarten to the University" on Ratnayake's urging! In the short period of barely six months in which he had the opportunity of occupying the Ministerial Chair he fired the imagination of the whole country by a mass drive for adult literacy with the slogan of "each one teach one." Again when the Samajist leaders had been placed under detention during the War, it was once again Mr. Ratnayake who on three separate occasions moved in the State Council the resolution urging their release, even though he greatly differed from them on some of the fundamental political issues.

The years immediately following the great depression of 1930 down to the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 were critical years throughout the World. The Locarno Pact of 1925 and the establishment of the League of Nations had brought about a temporary respite in the deteriorating economic situation in the West, the seeds of which had been sown as early as the closing years of the 19th century when the sharpening economic rivalries among the European nations had intensified the search for new markets and spheres of influence in the colonies. The partition of Africa in 1890 had temporarily staved off the impending catastrophe of a World War of unprecedented proportions which, when it at length broke out in 1914, engulfed the nations of East and West and reduced to a smables the entire continent of Europe in a War which it was claimed had been fought "to make the world safe for democracy." It was, to be sure, a totally new world that emerged after the peace of 1918. In Europe itself the Bolshevik Revolution and the successful establishment of a Communist State in Russia gave rise to new hopes of independence and liberation from the fetters of Colonialism throughout Asia, Africa, and South America, and initiated political movements of various kinds designed to achieve this end. So far as the former Imperialist countries were concerned, and particularly

the Western alliance which had emerged victorious, the war had been won only by calling into active partnership and participation the people of the Colonial territories on the promise of granting them rapid political advancement.

The failure of President Woodrow Wilson to achieve a liberal political settlement at the Peace Conference and the withdrawal of the United States into political isolationism, cast a gloom over the entire Colonial world and promoted movements for political subversion in the Colonial territories with the support and benediction of the Soviet Union, particularly during the early phase of Trotskyist influence over Russian policy. Hence socialist movements of radical or moderate character began to appear throughout the Colonial territories. In Ceylon the impact of these forces led to the establishment of the Ceylon Labour Party under the leadership of Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe, a school-master in the working class area of Maradana, in Colombo. Drawing his strength from the ranks of the harbour workers of Colombo, who constituted the largest compact body of workers in the country and like their comrades in ports and harbours throughout the world, militant in their outlook and conduct, Goonesinghe had by dint of hard work organised them under the banner of social democracy, pledged to win their legitimate, reasonable and still relatively modest demands for improvement in their working conditions and standard of living, by constitutional agitation and trade union action. Looking to Fabian Socialism for its philosophy and inspiration, it was not long before the new movement found itself confronted by the challenge of more radical political creeds and programmes, particularly those presented by the various Marxist inspired movements which were beginning to take root in the colonial territories. In Ceylon the Suriya Mal (Sun-flower) movement which began as a broad-based protest against the annual sale of poppies on Armistice Day, in aid of the disabled veterans of World War I, soon developed into a more openly political challenge to the concept of any co-operation or rapprochement with colonialism in any guise, open or concealed, and led to the formal inauguration of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party as the authentic local counterpart of the Marxist and Leninist philosophy. The outbreak in 1934 of a Malaria epidemic of a virulence

previously unknown in the country, provided the newly formed Sama Samaja Party with an excellent opportunity of coming before the people as a party dedicated to the relief and uplift of the poverty stricken masses, in contrast to the ruling section of the Ceylon National Congress accused of being the agent and architect of a new and unholy alliance between Ceylonese and British capitalist interests. Between these various acrimonious and confusing charges and counter-charges of an endeavour to protect and perpetuate the colonial legacy by the leaders of the Ceylon National Congress, the now maturing politician in Ratnayake sought to act as a "third force" urging the acceptance on the one hand of a kind of Owenite Socialism based upon adoption of the co-operative ideal in every sphere and aspect of the social and economic organisation, and on the other hand Gandhian non-violence as the instrument of effecting the much needed social changes. A rural society actively professing and practising the Buddhist cultural philosophy and outlook of work, self-help, and contentment, the essential character and ingredients of which he liked to describe and sum up in the colourful phrase of the "Mahavelli Civilization" namely the daily routine of village life centering around the village tank and dagaba, was the fundamental and ever recurring theme of his vision of the new order of society for a Ceylon which had once more regained her lost independence.

His speeches in the State Council replete with knowledge and understanding of the needs and problems of the peasant, and punctuated with sparkling wit and kindly humour as they always were, commanded the most careful study and attention of the senior members of the House and immediately marked him out as easily the most outstanding of the younger recruits to the political ranks. The stamp of the liberal education he had received and the refreshing breadth of outlook which made him scour the world for examples and illustrations of solutions of social problems which had been attempted in other countries, was to be found even in his most casual remarks and observations and invariably raised his speeches above the level of time, worn platitudes of merely parochial politics. Agriculture, particularly the peasant agriculture of the up-country areas, Education, religious, and cultural problems of every

kind, and finally the Co-operative Movement were the subjects nearest to his heart, and evoked an eloquence of language and aptness of phrase which drew a full house in the legislature whenever it was known that he was due to speak. Here, indeed was the philosopher-politician, whom Plato had idealised so much, a man whose nobility of purpose and high moral stature were in inverse proportion to the appearance of humility and modesty which he so habitually and naturally wore. Gandhian in nearly everything he said and did, it was characteristic of him that he politely but firmly declined the pressing invitation of his younger colleagues and admirers in the legislature that he should accept the office of Minister of Education, and preferred instead to offer his active and loyal support and co-operation to an older and more experienced statesman. Brimming over with ideas, it must have been an uncommonly painful experience for him day after day to sit in the Executive Committee of Education listening patiently to petty details of administrative routine, when large and challenging issues of policy about which he had thought long and intently were crying out for attention and redress.

Throughout these years Mr. Ratnayake remained the incessantly active exponent and propagandist of this new socialist philosophy, criticising sharply the inefficiency, corruption and indifference of the group in power, while equally firmly eschewing and rejecting the Marxian philosophy of social change to be effected by the overthrow of the State through violence and revolution. In Parliament and outside, in the refectory and the hostel of the members of the legislature, in the committee rooms of the State Council and among the rural masses, almost single handed he kept alive this message of peaceful social transformation, until he found a new and unexpected source of strength and support in a kindred spirit newly returned with laurels won in the debating rooms of the Oxford University and fired with a like reforming ardour, and a similar cultural philosophy and outlook.

Strangely, however, the peculiar context of the local political situation at the time of their first meeting served to give an unexpected twist and emphasis to their socialist

aims and outlook, and made their far sighted and warm hearted vision of a socialist utopia appear a narrow and parochial communalist cry. For a new leadership had appeared among the ranks of the Tamil population which sought to rally the minority communities of Tamils, Muslims, Burghers and Malays into a united opposition to the Sinhalese under the cry of "Fifty-fifty", or equality of Parliamentary representation. When, therefore, the Sinhala Maha Sabha was inaugurated with Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike as President and Mr. Ratnayake became its Deputy President, it seemed for a moment as if these leaders had abandoned their socialist ideals for a narrower political goal and programme. But as subsequent events were to prove, neither of them had in the slightest degree deviated from their ideals or lost their ardour for social reform, but only wished to clear the political air of certain misrepresentations and misconceptions which if allowed to pass unchallenged would have struck at the root of any real social reform which would be of benefit to the people as a whole. In particular it was essential that the language spoken by the people should be the language in which the government was administered, if Freedom and Independence were not to be merely an empty name.

The real test however was yet to come. Hitherto, Ratnayake the fearless critic of all reactionary politics, no matter from however high or powerful a source it came, had been able to do so largely because of the peculiar character of the system of government introduced under the Donoughmore Constitution. This in turn was possible mainly because of the absence of a party system under which legislative proposals could be made and carried into effect only with the approval of a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the governing Party. The classic illustration of this fundamental feature of government by Executive Committee was given when the most far-reaching legislative and executive measure of the entire Donoughmore period, namely the adoption of "Free Education from the Kindergarten to the University" as a fundamental national policy was carried into effect on virtually the sole initiative and pressure exercised by Mr. Ratnayake first, in the Special Committee of Education, and thereafter in the Executive Committee of Education and the State Council, even

though it was well known that some of the most powerful of the Ministers were strongly opposed to it.

But this happy state of things, so far as the ordinary members of Parliament were concerned, could not last for ever. The limited independence which the country enjoyed under the Donoughmore Constitution had conferred an almost unlimited independence of action on the individual members of the legislature. The establishment of a more complete national Independence and Sovereignty for the nation, however, was accompanied by the virtual extinction of freedom of action for the private member of Parliament.

Fortunately, however, the major work of Mr. Ratnayake in propagating widely within the Parliament and the country at large the ideals of the Welfare State at its boldest and best, had been completed by the time that extensive political reforms came to be mooted. Free Education, village expansion, and the establishment of peasant colonies, rapid expansion of the Co-operative Department into the fields of Agriculture, Banking, Rural Credit, giving a rightful place to the Sinhala language and Buddhists, and so forth, expansion of the health services - all these features of a government policy constituting the clear outlines of a socialist programme had been effectively settled when the time had arrived for the replacement of the Executive Committee System of Government by a Parliamentary System based on the existence of Political Parties pledged to declared policies.

The immediate problem was how to weld this amorphous body of individual political leaders all proclaiming their separate variety of prescriptions for the health of the body politic into a limited number of sizeable parties. So far as the Marxist members were concerned they were already organised in disciplined parties and allied with other groups, such as the Ceylon Indian Congress members, to constitute a ready made opposition. If the parties of the right had similarly decided to form a loosely knit alliance, the Sinhala Maha Sabha, along with the other groups professing somewhat similar political beliefs within a broadly common credo, might still have survived and

permitted its leaders a greater latitude of action. This, however, was not to be. The curiously accidental circumstance which tipped the scales was that in a mood of excessive political generosity, the Ceylon National Congress under pressure of some of its more youthful and radically inclined members, had admitted into its ranks, certain leaders of the Ceylon Communist Party, including its General Secretary Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe. The Congress, had, however, been reckoning without its host, for the event proved to be too bitter a pill for the leader of the National Congress, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, to swallow. The prompt resignation of D. S. Senanayake from the Congress brought that organisation to an unceremonious and abrupt end on the eve of the new Constitutional reforms. When Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. A. F. Molamure immediately set to work to repair the damage thus caused to the prestige and reputation of the Congress and to gather up the broken fragments of the defunct institution they decided to amalgamate all similarly disposed political groups into a single organisation. Faced with this decision the leaders of the Sinhala Maha Sabha whose emphasis on a peaceful and constitutional transition to Socialism prevented their allying with the Marxist parties of the left, were forced to throw in their lot with the newly formed United National Party, for elections thereafter would be fought on Party lines and the independent member, however popular or esteemed would have little chance of survival.

So far as Mr. Ratnayake was concerned the major part of his life's political work had already been completed during the Donoughmore era. It remained now mainly to gather in the harvest which he had been so assiduously sowing and this he proceeded to do with a characteristic tenacity and efficiency, armed as he now was with the weapons and authority of the Ministerial offices he was thereafter to occupy. The rebuilding of the Dalada Maligawa, and the inauguration of the Sinhala and Buddhist Encyclopaedias as part of the Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations and the organisation of the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Celebrations, and the dissemination of Gandhis political ideal were among his contributions to the cultural advancement of the nation which had been so sorely neglected

during the colonial past. The complete translation of the Pali Tripitaka into Sinhalese an event unprecedented in the annals of history was a contribution to Buddhism and the Sinhala language which could only have come from one to whom religion was the primary urge and interest in life.

Worn out by a lifetime of unrelenting political activity inspired by the single aim of lightening the burdens and softening the rigours of the peasant's lot in particular, it was only fitting that he should have been spared the disagreeable task of contesting once more what he had proved beyond all doubt could not be contested, namely the right to act as the duly accredited representative, spokesman and champion, above all, of the Dumbara peasant so near and dear to his heart. Accordingly he was invited by his party, with the universal acclaim of the nation, to grace the Presidential Chair of the Senate, which he discharged in two full terms of office with a dignity, grace and éclat, of which he alone was capable. Greatness and distinction sat so lightly and gracefully on his literally broad shoulders, that the chores of Presidential office, principally that of restraining over-enthusiastic or over-excited Senators in the heat of debate hardly ever needed recourse to the formal and external weapons of authority with which the chair is conventionally vested. A gentle reprimand, delivered with the most kindly and charming of smiles was sufficient to bring to heel even the most recalcitrant of debaters.

So far as he himself is concerned, the long and arduous career of political dedication is in a formal and superficial sense ended. The ideal which he longed and laboured to see established in his country, namely the Utopia of a happy and contented peasant community living a life not only of righteousness and piety, but of hard and unremitting toil freely and cheerfully rendered, remained, as it necessarily had to be, an unfulfilled aspiration. As with all idealists that vision was too large and lofty to be capable of complete, or near complete, realisation. But the seed that he had sown, above all his success in achieving for his people what no country anywhere in the world had hitherto dared to contemplate as a practical political

goal, namely free education for all its citizens, male and female from infancy to adult manhood or womanhood and beyond, will remain to fructify and confer its blessings in the future even beyond the shores of our land, and to hail its author and architect as not only a national political leader, but an idealist and statesman who, from the little niche of his Dumbara home, by his sheer nobility of will and tenacity of purpose, has carried the message of unbounded learning and Buddha's maitriya to the ends of the earth. But the idealist in Ratnayake, the statesman and builder of Utopias will remain, imbued, with the divine discontent of wishing he had achieved still more, while one could hear the wailing of the Dumbara peasant, echoing like words uttered by their brethren elsewhere.

“O Huskisson, O Huskisson
 O Huskisson in vain our friend !
 Why hast thou left thy work undone,
 Of good begun is this the end?
 Thou shouldst have lived if they remain
 Who harried us and hated thee?
 O Huskisson in vain our friend,
 Where now are Hope and Liberty?”

Happily Senator Ratnayake is not only still with us, but as alert and mentally active as he was in his more youthful days. May we have the good fortune to benefit by his magnanimity, graciousness, and wisdom for many more years to come.

THE PEASANT'S CHAMPION FROM DUMBARA

by

T. B. M. EKANAYAKE

The simple peasant of Dumbara, happy, humorous, ever obliging and full of the sense of duty to his less fortunate brothers and sisters, a pilgrim light-heartedly carrying a pillow case slung across his back containing the requisites necessary for a long journey, walking with piety wending his way to distant Anuradhapura or Mahiyangana on pilgrimage, or wading knee-deep in mud ploughing his field to sow the Maha paddy crop or joining village maidens in singing:-

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whilst transplanting paddy stalks - that picture in all its varied and manifold phases and aspects, fits exactly and without exaggeration that magnificent of greatness collected in the garb of child-like simplicity whom we of a younger generation have known and adored as Senator A. Ratnayake. Seated in the verandah of his home in Kahalla, wearing a sarong and banian, enjoying the company of his fellow villagers, SENATOR RATNAYAKE depicts that typical peasant whom he represented both in the State Council and the Parliament. He could live among and laugh with the villagers with no reservations.

Though his public life began much earlier, it was really in 1931 when he became a Member of the State Council, as a representative of the villager, that he got the opportunity to focus attention of the powers that were then, on the plight of the impoverished peasants of the Kandyan Provinces.

Sending of a few villagers of Dumbara to colonisation schemes inaugurated by the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake under the Kalawewa in the N.C.P., or the activation of the Minipe scheme in collaboration with the late Rambukwella Dissawa did not satisfy the land hunger of the villagers who were confined within the valleys and hemmed in on all sides by foreign owned estates. The villagers clamoured for land and in order to pressurise their M.S.C., an assortment of persons comprising the Arachi, Korale, Lecam (*Registrar*) Veda (*physician*), Liyana (*clerk*) Mahatyas and a few other leaders decided to go to Colombo and meet Mr. Ratnayake. On the appointed day when this group of important personalities arrived at the Fort Railway station, Mr. Ratnayake was there to welcome and conduct them to his lodgings in the State Council - there was no 'Sravasti' hostel then and some of the outstation members were given accommodation in the State Council itself. Those were the war days, when public transport was not so developed as to enable a person to go from Fort Railway Station to Galle Face on payment of -/05 cents as bus fare, nor were taxis available; so they marched, led by Mr. Ratnayake, in single file, carrying a pillow case in one hand, an umbrella under the arm-pit and towel on the shoulder, to the State Council. The Council not being in session at the time, after their morning breakfast the party was taken to the Chamber and Mr. Ratnayake requested these august gentlemen to occupy the empty seats allocating to each the seat of a Minister. He himself took his own seat at the rear and began to address them on landlessness of the villager and pointing out to the occupant of late Mr. D. S. Senanayake's seat requested that he should meet Mr. Ratnayake's request for acquisition of Katugastota Estate for village expansion. On the discovery that those gentlemen were occupying seats of the Ministers they jumped up from their seats and implored Mr. Ratnayake to stop his speech, apologised to him and asked him to forget about their request for the acquisition of land and peacefully returned to their village. However, Mr. Ratnayake did not forget their request; the matter was pursued and Katugastota Estate was one of the first estates that Government acquired for village expansion.

As an antagonist of the feudal system of village administration he actively supported Sir Baron Jayatilleke in reforming the Headman system and replacing Chief Headman with Divisional Revenue Officers. In the scheme of recruitment of D.R.O.'s it was on his insistence that selection on a regional basis was introduced, a device which enabled the educated sons of peasants to participate in the administration of the village.

As Minister in charge of the Co-operative Department in Mr. D. S. Senanayake's Cabinet of the first Parliament, Senator Ratnayake began preaching the Co-operative Dhamma throughout the length and breadth of the country in the same manner as his Guru Anagarika Dharmapala had sought to revive and spread the practice of the Buddhist Dhamma. With a like zeal and fervour, he preached the Co-operative way of economic endeavour leading to the economic emancipation of the peasant. In as much as Anagarika built the Maha Bodhi Society he built the 'Apex organisation of the movement, the Co-operative Federation, as a statutory body; like the Pirivena which brought higher learning to the monk, he established at Polgolla the Co-operative School to teach the co-operative doctrine, and finally got legislation enacted to place on a firm footing the wartime make-shift Co-operative Wholesale Establishment as a permanent trading organisation to cater to the needs of the primary societies. The next and the important phase in Mr. Ratnayake's involvement in affairs pertaining to the welfare of the Kandyan peasant came with the achievement of independence in 1948 when an opportunity presented itself for reviewing the position of the Kandyan peasant.

In 1954 the financial position of the country was favourable for the Government to examine the proposals in detail and take implementative action. Fortunately the task fell on the able shoulders of Mr. Ratnayake as Home Minister to chair a ministerial committee to formulate action for implementing the report of the Commission.

PART IV

Specimen Selections made from speeches and writings of Mr. A. Ratnayake, representing a cross-section of his varied interest and activities.

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EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES

Extracts from the first Budget Speech made by Mr. A. Ratnayake in the State Council in 1931.

BUDGET

I say that this Budget, the first that is being submitted to the country's legislature by a Board of Ministers composed of the elected representatives of the people should have been a great document — a document that should have gone down to history, a document that should have heralded the dawn of a new era. I share with honourable members of this House the disappointment they feel.

The suggestion of the member for Horana, namely, to reject the Budget is like the demand on the part of the crew of a ship to sink the ship in order to get rid of the rats. That is not the proper thing to do. If there are rats we certainly can get rid of them without sinking the ship.

PLANNING

For instance, the Minister of Agriculture might have drawn up a plan on the lines of a five-year plan in order to achieve a definite object at the end of five years with this year as the first stage of that plan. In that case we could have all concentrated our energy, mobilized our resources, given all the support we can to the Ministers in order to make this country self-supporting in the matter of food and clothes. Certainly our object in this Council ought to be to see that every man and woman and child is well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed, and well-educated.

RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

The Minister of Agriculture should follow efforts that are being made in other countries. I shall refer particularly to the efforts in this direction — by countries like Russia. I do not think it is necessary for us to stick to the good old traditional methods of farming and agriculture. Russia is making wonderful contributions to the world in the matter of schemes such as collective farming.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Sir, this unemployment problem is a problem that seems to be the ghost that is stalking this country. The unemployment problem in Ceylon is not the same as the unemployment problem in other countries, because in this country we have the spectacle of vast tracts of land lying idle on one side and a large population both in the village and in the cities doing nothing or very little, and the country importing over Rs. 150,000,000 worth of food products. There is something wrong somewhere. If the Board of Ministers — that is the Government of the country — concentrate their energy, all their efforts, and all their resources on this problem it cannot be a very difficult problem to solve. We have land, we have men, what we need is the necessary organization, and with the necessary organization I am sure we shall be able to tackle this question of unemployment much better, with greater care, and in a quicker time than most countries could do.

Unemployment has been caused to a considerable extent by the kind of education that we give our children in this country.

Now, Sir, I have seen, and that is my experience in my own village, more than 75 per cent. of the villagers do practically nothing. After the harvesting season they do very little. There are a few people who take part in the harvesting, the large proportion of them — those who have gone through the process of our modern education, are now cultivating an aversion to agriculture. This in my opinion is certainly due to the kind of education that we impart to the child, the kind of children we are creating in our schools.

Last year no less than 6,500 students sat for the Cambridge and London examinations. Now this number, Sir, will keep on increasing. Last year no less than nine thousand from the vernacular schools sat for the teachers' examination. Large numbers are leaving school without any definite object or definite purpose in life. There are 500,000 children in our schools to-day. 500,000 more ought to be in our

schools, who are given absolutely no education. If we proceed with this scheme of education, ten years hence we will have one million children shouting out and besieging this Council Chamber and demanding the dole. The unemployed are a burden on the community. When we are drawing up the Budget for 1931-32 we must think of ten years ahead.

WHAT ARE OUR AIMS OF EDUCATION?

Sir, we must ask ourselves the question, what are our aims of education? It is an important question which educationists must constantly place before their mind's eye. The aim of education is, in my humble opinion, to produce a socially efficient citizen. Now, who is the socially efficient citizen? The socially efficient citizen is — one who is not a burden on his community. Not only should he not be a burden on his community but he must to the best of his ability contribute something to the happiness and upliftment of the community. If you look at it from this point of view I ask you where the one million children who will become adults ten years hence without any programme in life will go to, and whether they will become a burden on the community or not. If they are going to be a burden on the community then the education imparted to them is uneducational and unscientific. Russia makes an estimate of her future needs — how many engineers, doctors, teachers, skilled and unskilled labourers, and so on, will be required — and she works her educational institutions to supply that demand so that when the children leave school they fit into some job somewhere.

Now, Sir, if we are to reorganize our educational system, if we are to see that this enormous store of valuable human energy is to be diverted into the proper channels then we must reorganize and reconstruct our educational programme. If this vast stream can be diverted through the proper channels, through fertile soil and make the land disgorge its riches, then instead of being a burden on the community, we shall have a useful asset which would contribute towards the upliftment and happiness of the community.

NEGLECT OF OUR OWN LANGUAGE

Now, Sir, in order to demonstrate that, I shall point out to you how in this country we have utterly neglected our own languages. I can demonstrate it to you by showing that in the University College — I am giving merely an example — you pay your professors, lecturers and assistant lecturers who teach English, Latin and Greek a grand total of Rs. 84,000 as salary. In other words, for the instruction of English, Latin and Greek we pay a sum of Rs. 84,000 and the number of students studying those subjects is about fifty. I am going on the numbers presented at the examinations so that you spend about Rs. 1,750 per pupil on the higher learning of English, Latin and Greek.

Now look at the other picture? For 800 students studying at the Vidyodaya College we pay Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 2.50 per pupil. Nearly Rs. 1,750 is spent on each pupil who studies English, Latin and Greek and Rs. 2.50 per student on those studying Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit.

NEED FOR A UNIVERSITY

Another difficulty arises with regard to primary and secondary schools. We are unable to change the curriculum for another more important reason. We have in this country no central institution to guide and inspire the primary and secondary schools. It is for that reason that educationists who were stirred by a real desire to serve the country as long as fifty years ago, conceived the idea of a University. We are still toying with this question of the University.

I submit, Sir, that so long as we are compelled to sit for foreign examinations, so long as we are compelled to follow curricula organized by foreign institutions, curricula which were drawn up to suit the requirements of foreign countries, so long as this unsatisfactory state of affairs persists in this country our primary and secondary schools must go the wrong way. Therefore, Sir, the university is an absolute necessity.

As regards the question whether the establishment of a university is absolutely essential, there can only be one answer, in spite of protests made recently in several quarters. The Government stands pledged to establish a university for the whole of Ceylon as soon as conditions permit such a course. Moreover, the establishment of such a university is inevitable if the Island is to progress. A university gives to education a goal to aim at whereas without a university the total education energy is apt to dissipate itself.

TYPE OF UNIVERSITIES

A university, even from the point of view of the teaching profession, is absolutely necessary if primary education is really to be effective and have a vitality of its own. It is by the filtration downwards of living ideas that come from the university, that any radical improvement can be brought about in elementary schools.

The neglect of the ablest youths in the most critical years of their lives is, indeed, not only the most disheartening, but the most dangerous, feature of our educational system.

If their minds are sterilized, if their intellectual growth is starved and stunted, the nation will as surely suffer as it will if it neglects the material resources which nature has bestowed upon it.

The university should provide a course in Agriculture, Rural Economy, and Forestry leading to the Pass Degree. On general grounds it is important to associate the university with the chief industry of the country, (which is of course Agriculture) and to give a sound foundation of knowledge of the subject to those who will become land owners, managers of estates or Chief Headmen, or be in any way connected with rural organization.

The university man can, if he will, exercise a powerful influence in the direction of improving rural conditions.

It is their highest mission to develop in the student that public spirit and zeal for the welfare of his fellows

which, when he goes into the world, will impel him to a full and active part in the life of the community in which his lot is cast.

HEADMAN SYSTEM

I wish to submit that the Chief Headman or rather all headmen of this country exert a large influence on the vast majority of the people of the country and if this influence is an influence for good then this country ought to be very fortunate indeed, but if that influence is for bad, then the headmen system has caused more havoc in reducing the manhood of this country into a state of abject servility. In the case of very many that I know, the Chief Headmen — I am addressing these words particularly to the Leader of the House in whose department they serve — have completely succeeded in making the men of this country, crouching, cringing, crawling vermin. I have known, Sir, in certain places the Chief Headmen have actually objected to men appearing before them wearing the coat.

I will give a sample of the utter recklessness or disregard of the headmen for the happiness and the welfare of the people in their districts. In a village in my constituency, there was quite a serious outbreak of malaria and deaths were occurring daily in this village, but nobody took any notice of it. When I wired to the Minister of Health he was kind enough to send the Provincial Surgeon, the Medical Officer of Health, and various other officials who tackled the situation effectively, so that to-day I do not think there is any case of malaria or influenza there. When these medical officers went through the villages I went from house to house myself exhorting the villagers to come and obtain medical relief, but when we asked the headmen to request the villagers to come and obtain medical relief, he wrote to the medical officer, "There is no illness whatever to speak of". Now, Sir, how long are we going to allow these Neros to fiddle while men and women are perishing? In one village three deaths occurred in a day and not a headman cared to report to the Govern-

ment Agent for medical relief. That is a scandalous state of affairs to which I hope the Leader of the House will address himself.

DONOUGHMORE CONSTITUTION ON TRIAL

Sir, I wish to remind them and warn them about what the Honourable the European member representing the Chamber of Commerce said on the Donoughmore scheme. He said that Ceylon is on her trial. I submit that Ceylon is not on her trial. It is British Statesmanship that is on its trial. I submit that a great political experiment is being tried in this country and if the surgeons who are going to perform this operation come to the operating theatre with the spirit of exploitation, with a mercenary spirit, then we, the people of this country, who are the patients will most emphatically protest. If on the other hand they come to us with the more generous spirit of benefiting humanity, then, Sir, we shall gladly and willingly extend to them our co-operation.

I also trust that our hopes shall be their hopes and the realization of our hopes their joy.

LACK OF PRINCIPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY STATEMENTS . . .

“.....The people of this country are going through a lot of suffering owing to the state of the economy. The problems of unemployment and high cost of living have not been solved by the various nationalisation projects. This country must produce or perish and to produce the maximum it must mobilize all agencies of production. The State, State Institutions, Co-operatives, Joint Stock Companies and private individuals must all join in the national effort. Government must create the optimum conditions for maximum production. I am glad to note the large number of Co-operative Societies that are participating in the development of new industries. Many of them are members of this Chamber. We welcome them.

In other countries, where the philosophy of mixed economy prevails, the Government defines with precision the limits of the public sector. In India, for instance, the demarcation is made in unequivocal terms by a Parliamentary resolution. Further, there is a clear enunciation of the rationale for reserving particular industries for the public sector. A reasoned exposition of the theoretical base for determining the limits of the public sector precedes any act of nationalisation. The public knows precisely for achieving what ends the measure of nationalisation is undertaken. Private enterprise can, therefore go ahead with some degree of certainty in developing those sectors which are not reserved for the public sector. The line of demarcation between the private and the public sector has some meaningful purpose. For example, basic industries, i. e., those industries on which the growth of other industries hinges, are often specified as the preserve of the public sector. Again it is quite common to have industries essential for the defence of the country reserved for the public sector. In Ceylon, on the other

hand, it is just impossible to discover any principle as underlying the compilation of the list of fifteen industries mentioned by the Government as being reserved for expansion of the public sector. No reason was ever adduced for the simple reason that the authorities had no reason to put forward and acted on no definable principle.

Address by
Mr. A. RATNAYAKE M.P.
*Chairman, Ceylon National
Chamber of Industries.*

*at The Third Annual General Meeting
held on 24th April, 1964.*

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION ON THE VIVEKANANDA DAY CELEBRATIONS

RELIGION by A. Ratnayake

I believe that though religions may differ in their ultimate objectives- Buddhists aspire to attain Nirvana, Hindus unite Brahma, or the Divine, Christians have their Kingdom of Heaven, Muslims their garden of Allah- they are all united in teaching one thing, that is, the way of a good life here and now whatever may happen after death.

Buddha said that you can live the life of Brahma whatsoever your station in life may be, rich or poor, high or low. That is by the practice of (1) Metta (2) Muditha (3) Karuna and (4) Upeksha. Metta is universal love, Muditha is to rejoice in the happiness of others, Karuna is selfless service, Upeksha is complete equanimity, that is, in times of victory or defeat, success or failure, praise or abuse, pain or pleasure, react to them all alike.

This can be achieved only by a complete realisation of the three fundamentals: Anicca, Dukka and Anatta.

- (1) *Anicca* — is the impermanence of everything. “The cloud-capped towers, gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, the great globe itself shall perish and leave not a rack behind.”
- (2) *Dukka* — everything, all phenomena, leads to suffering.
- (3) *Anatta* — is the delusion of self. Everything is void of self.

This last thought demolishes the very foundations of self delusion and then in the absence of a self there is no more conflict, but the ending of strife, the cessation of all ambition. It is in that state of mind, the practice

of Metta attains its highest fruition - Metta Sutta explains how metta is to be practised.

- (1) As a mother, at the risk of her life,
 Watches over her only child,
 Let him cherish an unbounded mind
 For all living beings.
 Let him have love for the whole world,
 And develop an unbounded mind,
 Above, below and all around,
 Boundless heart of goodwill, free of hatred,
 Standing, walking, sitting or lying,
 So long as he be awake,
 Let him cherish this thought,
 This is called life divine, (or life supreme).

The Anguttara Nikaya refers to the benefits of Metta.

“If a man practises loving kindness (Metta) he is benefitted in many ways thus: Happily he sleeps; happily he awakes; he does not see bad dreams; he is dear to humans, and non humans, gods protect him; fire, poison, sword and stick come not near him; he concentrates his mind quickly; the colour of his face is pleasingly bright; at the time of death he is not bewildered; he attains the sublime state.’ Opposite of Metta is anger or hatred, envy, jealousy and despair.

“Whatsoever of the monks, entertains, even for a single moment, the heart-emancipating all-embracing loving-kindness (metta) the heart-emancipating compassion (karuna). . . . the heart-emancipating Altruistic Joy (mudita)the heart-emancipating Equanimity (upeksha). . . . of such a monk it is said that he does not practise mental absorption in vain, that he follows the teaching and advice of the Master. . . . but what should there be said about those who practise these exercises perseveringly?”

This blessed State is within the reach of all; even for the down-trodden masses, there is an infinite capacity to become great and good. It is easier for the poor because the vanities of some of the rich and the so-called educated are tremendous. Materialism and all its miseries can

never be cured by materialism. It has brought humanity to the brink of extinction — armies when they attempt to conquer armies only multiply weapons and make brutes of men.

There is a spark of divinity in every one of us — even the worst of us. Isn't that a great thought? How then are we to kindle it : so that the bright flame will destroy all the (fettters) of self-delusion, ignorance, ill-will and all the rest of it ? There is a beautiful pali stanza.

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Nirodho demands a total revolution of the mind. Our vision is clouded by all the fettters of self; my family, my possessions, my caste, my religion, my race, my party, my power, my prestige, my importance. These things separate man from man. These things cause all the conflicts of the mind — Hence man's brutality to man, hence the multiplication of menacing weapons, atom bombs, hydrogen bombs, megaton bombs. Hence the rat race for power at home and abroad, individually, nationally and internationally. Peace is maintained through a balance of Terrors. Fear rules the world and all men are slaves of fear, afraid of his security, afraid of his future.

In spite of the miraculous advances made by man in science and technology there is a wave of deterioration catching up with us, all the time. Whether we are young or old, rich or poor, learned or not, powerful or not, this enormous wave of deterioration and destruction is goin on.

What is the remedy ?

Let me quote an eminent Indian thinker who is well-known throughout the world, who believes that only through a complete change of heart in the individual can then come about a change in society and so peace in the world. He believes that this radical change can take place not through an ideology, not through legislation, not

through any form of government or Constitution, but by each of us seeing ourselves as we really are, for it is seeing with absolute clarity that the inward revolution takes place in your mind and you understand yourself. "We have our thoughts, our words and actions are contradictory; we are confused. There is utter despair, loneliness, misery, confusion and worry. This terrible ambition with all its complications — they don't seem to end, they go on and on".

* * * *

"I am expressing his views adapted to my own way of thinking, "If you seek permanent gratification, you must understand, the thing you are seeking. When you say, 'I am seeking permanent happiness — God, or truth, or what you like — must you not also understand the thing that is searching, the searcher, the seeker? Because there may be no such thing as permanent security, permanent happiness;"

* * * *

"What you are the world is. So your problem is the world's problem?"

* * * *

Thus the transformation of the world is brought about by the transformation of oneself, because the self is the product and a part of the total process of human existence. To transform oneself, self-knowledge is essential; without knowing what you are, there is no basis for right thought, and without knowing yourself there cannot be transformation.

The understanding of what you are, whatever it be — ugly or beautiful, wicked or mischievous — the understanding of what you are, without distortion, is the beginning of virtue. Virtue is essential, for it gives freedom. It is only in virtue that you can discover, that you can live.

If we can understand ourselves as we are from moment to moment then we shall see how there comes a tranquility; and only in that state of tranquility can there be Metta. When there is love there is action. That is Karuna and is that action not liberating ?

Obviously the desire to fulfil, to become something, arises when there is awareness of being nothing. Because

I am nothing, because I am insufficient, empty, inwardly poor, I struggle to become something; outwardly or inwardly I struggle to fulfil myself in a person, in a thing, in an idea.

Through self-knowledge, through constant awareness, you will find that strife, battle, the conflict of becoming, leads to pain, to sorrow and ignorance. It is only if you are aware of inward insufficiency and live with it without escape, accepting it wholly, that you will discover an extraordinary tranquility, a tranquility which is not put together, made up, but a tranquility which comes with understanding of what is. Only in that state of tranquility is there true love.

“If you and I, as individuals, can see this whole working of the self, then we shall know what love is. I assure you that that is the only reformation which can possibly change the world. Love is not of the self. Self cannot recognise love. You say, ‘I love’; but in the very saying, it is the very experiencing of it, love is not. But when you know love, self is not, when there is love, self is not.

There is understanding and freedom from the self only when I can look at it completely and integrally as a whole; and I can do that only when I understand the whole process of all activity born of desire”.

It is only when one has humility, not a cultivated humility, that one is able to meet the things of life that are so pressing, because then one is not important, one doesn't look through one's own pressures and sense of importance; one looks at the problem for itself and then one is able to solve it. It is to be just aware, from moment to moment, of overall thinking and feeling.

That is why a total change of heart and mind has become imperative, with such a total change of mind, all life is beautiful. You love all life. You serve selflessly. You rejoice in the happiness of others. Your mind is tranquil. It is in that state of complete tranquility of mind, there is love and that love or Metta alone can solve all our human problems.

May the world be ruled by free and liberated men who will create for Humans an Empire of Love.

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RELEASE OF DETENUS

I am very glad that a member of my Party should introduce a motion like this. That shows how broad-minded we are. Although we may have differences of political views, on this issue — the issue of civil liberties in this country — we are agreed that nothing should be done to restrict the liberty of the individual.

As a matter of fact, the authorities in Ceylon ought to be congratulated, or rather the people of Ceylon ought to be congratulated, because there are no disloyal elements in this country at all. The bitterest critics of the British Government are the greatest supporters of the Allied war effort. As a matter of fact, some of them are impatient with the methods of the authorities. That is why we feel that the detention of these political prisoners for certain political views they held is certainly not in the best interest of the war effort itself.

I believe, the order under which they are detained says that they are detained in custody because they have been concerned in acts prejudicial to public safety, or that they are hostile. I do not think it can be said of any member now in custody that he is hostile, that he belongs to a hostile association. As the mover himself pointed out, their association with Russia, for which reason they have been detained, ought to bring them great credit; their association with Russia has been of immense benefit to the British Empire.

Again, they have been detained because they were concerned in labour strikes, labour disputes. If you make an analysis of the various labour disputes that have occurred since 1939, the disputes of 1940, 1941 and 1942, you will find that the strikes that did occur during these years had nothing whatsoever to do with the war effort. The intention of these poor labourers was not to hamper the war effort; on the other hand, they wanted to produce

more rubber for the war. But how were they to produce more rubber if they were starving at that time ? The prices of foodstuffs were rising continually, and the labourers wanted to impress upon the authorities the need for a full stomach that they ought to be well-fed in order to work better and produce more rubber. The labourers wanted to make a bigger contribution to the war effort.

The authorities would not listen to them; therefore they struck work - a perfectly legitimate thing to do.

As a result of these efforts, they are now getting the dearness allowance and other allowances which enable them to obtain supplies of food; that makes them efficient workers, and thereby they are making a bigger contribution to the war effort. You will find that the Controller of Labour, in his report on these disputes, says that every one of these disputes was due to economic conditions.

Then, how on earth can you say that these gentlemen who are detained have been concerned with a movement to hinder the war effort? On the other hand, if you give a generous interpretation to their acts, you can say that their activities have helped the war effort and increased war production. They ought to be given some rewards for their efforts on behalf of the British authorities. Instead, they are all locked up in jail and kept there, goodness knows why. I hope, Sir, that the authorities will realize this.

As a matter of fact, I notice that there is a change of heart even among the detenus. I remember, in 1939, when war was declared, there was a big meeting held at Galle over which the Minister of Education presided; and there was a huge crowd of about 10,000 people present. I said at that meeting that in this war we had no choice but to stand by the British Nation and I was roundly condemned by a certain gentleman later. That gentleman, who ultimately became a detenu changed his mind about it. I remember seeing him in jail, and he said that he would give an undertaking to support the war effort as he was convinced that the British were now on the right side. I suppose he gave an undertaking, and he has been released.

I understand that these other gentlemen who are being kept in jail are prepared to give similar undertakings. If that is so, there is no earthly reason why anybody should be kept in jail. Then in answer to any question in the House of Commons the Secretary of State can reply that Ceylon is 100 per cent loyal.

I hope the motion will be accepted and given effect to.

REFLECTIONS ON THE BUDGET OF 1965

by

SENATOR A. RATNAYAKE B.A. (LOND.)

Chairman, The Ceylon National Chamber of Industries

“The Minister of Finance should be congratulated for his masterly, courageous, realistic and reasonably fair Budget. In his first Budget itself he has prepared the ground and set the tempo for economic development and progress. Perhaps, this is the best Budget possible under existing conditions. When the economy develops and gathers momentum, additional measures may become necessary to accelerate the pace of development and to redistribute the additional national product in a more equitable manner.

It is apparent that this year's Budget is quite different from the Budgets presented during the last few years. It is not a political Budget intended to win the next election. There is no attempt to eliminate certain classes or victimise political opponents. Issues of a controversial nature, likely to arouse passions, are not involved. There are no promises of utopias which in the past led to disillusionment. The Minister of Finance does not pretend to be a magician who can transform our economy in a few month's time. He does not even claim to be an economic pundit who has the solutions to all our economic problems. The Budget does not seek to benefit one section of the people at the expense of another. There are no taxes of a discriminatory nature like the tax on houseowners. On the other hand, the Minister has removed discriminatory taxation.

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The Budget is purely and simply a *Development Budget*. It is intended to solve the problems of poverty, unemployment and high costs of living and that, with the co-operation of the people. Its prime objective is economic development which will benefit all sections.

The Minister of Finance has cleared the obstacles and prepared the way for development. His greatest achievement is the creation of a suitable climate for saving and investment. He has dispelled the doubts, fears and uncertainties of Investors, both foreign and local. His promise of an Investors' Charter will go a long way to stimulate local investment and to attract foreign capital. That we need the assistance of developed countries to help us at this juncture cannot be denied. Already, within a few days, action is being taken to float Companies and invest million of foreign and local capital for cultivation of subsidiary foodstuffs, for production on a large-scale of meat, fruits, poultry and other essentials, for the efficient transport and distribution of food-stuffs and other necessities and for the development of the tourist traffic. There is no doubt that all these investments will bear fruit in the immediate future. Now, it is for the people - industrialists, workers and others — to work harder than ever before to achieve the given economic objectives for which the Government is giving every possible assistance. It is only through hard, honest and sincere work in the fields and factories, in Government offices and Mercantile establishments and in other places of work that we can achieve economic progress.

In the pre-war period, when the science of economics was not advanced, the Budget was conceived as a statement of the intended expenditure and expected revenue of the Government. Given the Expenditure, the Budgetary problem was to raise the revenue in an equitable manner from the various sections of the people. Then it was appropriate to speak of the Budget as favouring one class or as being unfair to another. Taxation was considered to be a burden which should equitably be placed on those shoulders best able to bear it.

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The modern Budget is simply an instrument of fiscal policy intended to achieve given economic objectives. The economic objectives of maximum production, full employment, stability of prices, equity in the distribution of income, equilibrium in the balance of payments and

economic development are common to all countries whether developed or under-developed. But the importance and priority of these objectives differ from country to country. At the present stage of our economy, the most important objective is development. The Minister of Finance has correctly given top priority to development and geared his Budget to achieve this objective.

A Budget should not be looked at from the point of view of individual taxes or items of expenditure or policy measures. These should not be considered separately or in isolation. Taxation, expenditure and policies should all be considered together in relation to the given objectives. Further the Minister of Finance has to make a choice between the different objectives since it is impossible to achieve all the objectives to the desired extent at one and the same time. For example, at the present stage of our development it may be necessary to sacrifice a certain amount of equity in order to achieve a more accelerated pace of development. This is the price which we have to pay for progress.”

PP. 159, 160

INDUSTRIAL CEYLON

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NATIONAL CHAMBER OF

INDUSTRIES.

EDUCATION: REFORM OF SYSTEM.....

The Hon. Member for Balangoda has forgotten many things since he was last a Member of this House. Not only has he forgotten procedure he has completely lost touch with the various educational developments in this country and throughout the world. If only the Hon. Member had read the newspapers, he would have seen that in England during the war a good many changes have taken place. He would have realised that the good old things we used to look up to in the past, such as the blind veneration of the public school tie are now dead.

That in England, for instance, during the war people have realised that selection to high officers from amongst those who attended public schools alone was a great calamity and that on the Continent, particularly in Germany, the triumph of the Germans was due to the fact that the Army was officered by not merely men from public schools but by men from all classes and sections of the people. They found how fatal it was to select for the Foreign Office, for the Embassies, men who were educated at Eton and Harrow alone, and they threw open those offices high and important offices, to all classes of persons, all sections of the community. England learned a great lesson from the war, particularly from Russia; and although there are people in England who still believe in the public school tie the vast majority of them have abandoned that idea.

I am sorry to see that the hon. Member for Balangoda, who ought to be in touch with what is happening in the country, said that if he had a son he would send him to St. Thomas' College and no other school. I feel sorry that there are people in this country who still believe in the public school tie, who still believe that Royal and St. Thomas' are the only schools which give a complete education for our future leaders. It is high time that we gave up those ideas, and it is because those ideas still

linger in the minds of some of our leaders, front benchers, that I intervene in this debate.

I still feel, in view of the few way in which the resolutions of the Hon. Minister of Education have been treated, that if the resolutions are carried, they will be mere expressions of opinion; that it will take many, many years for the Board of Ministers to implement them. As a matter of fact, these resolutions have been treated in the way that rich men treat their distant and poor relations. For instance, the resolutions have been kept waiting for twelve months, and it will be with tears in our eyes that we will say good-bye to these resolutions on our Agenda.

We have become so familiar with these resolutions on our Agenda. We do not know how many of them, if they are accepted, will be put into effect. Many Members on the front benches have not spoken, have not told us, whether they propose to implement these resolutions. That is why I feel very despondent, and that is why I feel that I should intervene in the debate particularly after the gloomy forecast, the picture of the future Ceylon painted by the Hon. the Acting Financial Secretary.

I wish to tell the Hon. the Acting Financial Secretary, that when I came here in 1931, the then Financial Secretary made a speech exactly like the one he made yesterday. He said that we were on the brink of bankruptcy, and every Financial Secretary, year after year, has told us that we were in for a terrible state of affairs in future. If the Hon. the Acting Financial Secretary will take the trouble to read the speeches of his predecessors, he will see that this terrible prospect of the country being on the verge of bankruptcy had annually been painted to us in order to damp our enthusiasm, in order to make us feel that we were making extravagant proposals, in order to deny to the poor masses of this country what they were entitled to. By these gloomy forecasts we have been cheating the people of this country of what they were justly entitled to. That is why I invite the Hon. the Acting Financial Secretary, for whom we have great admiration, to read those speeches. All these prophecies have been found untrue. The Board of Ministers must

make a very honest and serious effort to meet those prospects if the future is going to be reduced. What steps are they taking to meet such a situation ?

I was greatly interested in an article written by no less a person than Lord Keynes, the eminent economist. There are people who prophesy that England would be poor. But, no; this gentleman advances the theory that England not only need not be poor, but is going to be rich. He says that England is taking the necessary steps; that from the lessons learned during this war they will be able to divert the energies of the whole nation to the production of those goods during peace time which will enable England to live as comfortably as she lived the war during, and probably better. They are taking these steps.

In India, Sir, there is a plan — the Bombay Plan, which has been criticized — to increase the national wealth of the country by 300 per cent. Probably you read an article which appeared in the Daily News a week ago, by Mr. D. N. Wadia, the late Government Mineralogist. He wrote a brilliant article. He is one of the greatest scientists in the East, an eminent man. He is also the President of the Indian Science Congress. Mr. Wadia, in referring to the potential mineral wealth of Ceylon, says that iron ore, for instance, if found in Ceylon almost on the surface. He had prophesied for Ceylon a great and glorious future. He thinks that the mineral wealth of Ceylon is almost unlimited.

Sir, what about the potential agricultural resources of our land? Have we thought of, or are we taking even energetic steps to see the hydro-electric scheme an accomplished fact in the immediate future? I would ask the Hon. the Acting Financial Secretary to sit down with the Board of Ministers and devise immediately ways and means of increasing the wealth of this country by 300 per cent. within the next ten years. That will be his duty; and to do that you will have to press into service all the available man-power; every man, woman and child will have to be pressed into service. Our greatest asset must be the human asset, and we should look forward to an increased production of wealth by making the fullest use of every man, woman and child.

You have only to think of the amount of idleness that exists in this country. You have merely to go in a car and watch and you will see that 75 per cent. Of the people are just doing nothing. Everbody is doing nothing. We must, therefore, simply direct that vast potential energy that we have into fruitful sources to increase the wealth of the nation. That is the trend of our educational policy.

When I read the speech made by the hon. Nominated Member (Mr. Jayah) at a certain place, I was sorry to find that he had stated that we do not propose to usher in a Socialist State through these educational proposals.

But his whole speech yesterday gave the lie to that. He said that he was opposing the trifurcation proposal, because of the proposal regarding practical schools. He condemned that proposal, and said that the practical schools should be as important as the Central Schools. Sir, when he said that, he indirectly referred to what the Hon. Minister of Education can do or might do. If only the State is prepared to guarantee to every individual who goes through an agricultural training, a practical school training, certain minimum conditions, minimum requirements, say, a 10 acre block of land, a certain amount of capital to make a start, then you can realise what potential resources we have in this country.

One of the Secrets of Russia's spectacular successes during the war and during the years immediately preceding the war was the fact that education had been brought to the doors of every man and woman. Every student was a research worker; and it was not aliterary education that was imparted. Please remember that we do not propose to make our education a literary education.

I was alarmed when the hon. Member for Moratuwa (Mr. Thomas Amarasuriya) said that all these boys were going to be Civil Servants, Government Agents and Mr. Speakers. There can only be one Mr. Speaker. I do not know whether you can have more than one at a time. The Hon. Member for Balangoda asks, "What about the Second Chamber."

Two Speakers will not solve a national problem. No, Sir. Every man and woman who goes through this educational scheme evolved by the Hon. Minister is going to produce more wealth. That is an important thing to bear in mind. Unless we do that, it will be very difficult, as some hon. Member pointed out, to give free education from the Kindergarten to the University.

Sir, it is a good thing that this debate has taken 12 months. I remember, when this report was published there was fierce criticism that the Minister was going to rush through these resolutions that he was not going to allow the public even to discuss them. I am very glad that the public have had an opportunity of fully considering and discussing these proposals; everybody is tired of the arguments adduced for and against the various proposals that are before the House. Hon. Members are now, I am sure, in a position to arrive at a decision, a more considered decision, in regard to these proposals.

There are certain things for which, I feel, the country is almost unanimous in its demand. I will not refer to those matters which are not controversial. There are many recommendations which have been accepted by everybody, and there has been criticism with regard to them. But the one recommendation on which there was the fiercest storm is the recommendation regarding denominational schools, and, I believe, even last week we received a letter addressed to us by the Catholic Church.

It is very unfortunate that the Hon. Minister should, with a giant's strength in his arm, seek to crush a fly. We must be grateful to the missionaries for what they have done in the past; we thank them for the services they have rendered. But we must tell them now that the denominational system as it stands, the private-school system as it stands, is a great hindrance to our carrying out fully and completely a national system of education. Otherwise, what will happen will be that the fate of the denominational schools will be the fate of Dunkirk and the Channel Islands. We thank these gentlemen who have rendered a distinguished service in the past in educating such men as the Hon. Minister of Education, the Hon.

Minister of Agriculture and Lands and the Hon. Minister of Local Administration who are eminent Buddhists. These missionary schools have rendered a great service to the country. But, Sir, the time has come for us to tell them that they must in the interests of the nation give way to a national system of education, and Hon. Members will have to decide that question.

They have all the arguments for and against those proposals. Here is a man who is charged with the business of carrying on education in the future; and in season and out of season, wherever he goes, whatever audience he addresses, whether it be a body of missionaries or a body of Buddhists, he keeps on saying this: "I cannot efficiently discharge my duties so long as denominational schools exist". Well, Sir, he must, if he is going to continue as Minister of Education, vote for the abolition of denominational schools. That is one of the submissions that I wish to make with regard to these recommendations.

Then, there is another matter to which, I find, no reference has been made and in regard to which the Hon. Minister of Local Administration has submitted an amendment — I am referring to the proposal to inaugurate a movement for adult education in the country. I welcome that amendment. I am sure the Hon. Minister and the Executive Committee will also welcome that movement, because today education is a subject which cannot be confined to children of school-going age alone. We must undertake the education of a man from the cradle to the grave. We must educate not only those who have gone through the schools; but the responsibility of continuing the education from the day one leaves school, not only that of the educated people, not only that of the semi-educated people, but all the people, Sir, in other words, the duty of raising the intellectual and cultural level of the whole nation is a duty cast on the Minister of Education. Unless that is done we, as a community, will not be able to maintain our position in the world which is getting smaller, and smaller. In a world where international movements make it incumbent on us that we play an important part in those world movements. That is why I was very keen that not only should we educate the adults but we should also start what is called a "Literacy Drive."

The object of the literacy drive is to remove illiteracy from this Island within the shortest possible time. I hope hon. Members will take an active part in that movement in their own constituencies. I do hope and sincerely trust that the next election will do away with the coloured ballot-box scheme; that every man and woman will who go to the polls will be able to read and write, and put a cross in the proper place. I trust that the appeal made by the Hon. Minister and other Ministers, an appeal made to the whole nation, namely, the spread of adult education, will be taken up by hon. Members themselves, and that they will take an interest in the complete removal of illiteracy in their constituencies, and with what assistance the Hon. Minister is able to give we hope we will be able, within the next few years, to make Ceylon 100 percent literate. Not only that - that alone will not do - we hope to give every possible encouragement, by using various agencies, such as the cinema, the broadcasting machinery, the public library movement, by the establishment of reading rooms, and even by the People's Theatre movement - which has been recently started in India.

The People's Theatre movement has provoked laughter from the hon. Member for Matale (Mr. Aluwihare). I want to tell him what it is. It is one of the finest things. I was in Batticaloa about a fortnight ago, and I saw about a dozen young men staging a drama in an open air theatre. They sing certain songs; they dance in a certain way, round and round in a circle; then suddenly they all turn about dance again and sing again, and when it comes to the chorus. the whole village sings with the actors. I thought it was an excellent thing.

In the Kandyan Provinces - I do not know whether the hon. Member for Matale has seen it - there is a certain play - it is not an ancient play, nor is it a modern play - in the course of which at certain stages, not only the actors but even the onlookers join in. They have also staged the "Ramayana" and various other historical plays.

But in India they have invented modern themes and modern stories, and hundreds and thousands take part

in the movement. That is something which is sorely lacking in this country - some big movement like an adult education movement - something that can inspire the whole nation.

For instance, if the Hon. Leader of the House were to make an appeal to the people to grow more food, I ask, you, Sir, how many people would be prepared to do it. But in England, on the other hand when the Minister of Agriculture, made an appeal, he was backed by the whole nation. They spent "tons and tons" of money on literature alone. Of course, you may call it propaganda; the word "propoganda" might have a bad meaning, but, Sir, it is a very useful movement.

To educate the whole nation, to inspire them with certain high ideals, could that, I ask you, be done in Ceylon. Is there the same response from the masses with regard to any appeal that the Hon. Leader makes? It is very unfortunate that in this country there is no such response because the public, the masses, are not in such a movement.

That is why I welcome the motion of hon. Member of Bible (Mr. Dahanayake) urging the publication of HANSARD in the vernacular for distribution among villagers. After all, there are only some 30,000 villages in the Island, and the people to take an interest in matters that are discussed in HANSARD. If they can read HANSARD, they will know what is being discussed in the State Council. We cannot depend on just one or two private newspapers to provide this service. These papers are run by proprietors for their own purposes; sometimes to promote their own interest: often to promote their own views and more often to promote their own personal interests.

Yesterday I read the report of the debate in this Council on the release of the detenus. Two columns had been devoted to it by the "Lobby Correspondent" of the paper in question, but I did not see even a passing reference to the move of the motion. He has told me that there has been such deliberate suppressions in the past too. I do not know how far that is true, but most Members of this House feel the absence in this country of a newspaper that would give a fair account of what happens in the State Council.

The whole nation must know what is happening here. The people are interested, and I guarantee that once they are given an opportunity to read of what is going on here they will continue to read, they will continue to watch the careers of the Members representing them.

The proposal I have referred to will, I hope, be a part of the adult education movement we want to see launched in this country. We want an intelligent nation, a thinking, discriminating and patriotic nation, a nation that would respond to high ideals. This is a very small country, with a population of just 6,000,000, and we can liquidate illiteracy within a very short time, and by a mass movement of the type I referred to Ceylon can easily take the lead as the most cultured nation in the world.

Some of the recommendations made in this scheme of educational reforms have not been contemplated even by the Butler Report. Our Proposals are certainly the most progressive contribution to educational thought, in any country - some of the proposals at any rate.

Why, Sir, not merely now, but even in the past, education was free in this country. We had no "Kindergartens" but from the earliest stages to the latest, we do not hear of an fees having been charged either in the Pansala schools or in the universities that existed in the past, like the Mahavihare. "Free Education" is not a new idea; it is a "primitive idea", one to which we are not new. In the past, as all know, ours was a country with a great culture, with a great tradition and a wonderful literature, with a culture not second to any in the world. During the last 2,500 years we have been able to build up a culture of which we can be justly proud. We can, as a nation, give a lead to the whole world.

That is why I strongly support the proposals to provide free education from the Kindergarten to the University. We can afford to give that free education; but quite apart from that, I say that it is a very good investment. Disregarding the cultural or spiritual values, I say that from the financial and economic point of view, free education is a very good, long-term investment which is bound to

earn verly large dividends for this country. That is why I commend this resolution to the Financial Secretary and to the Board of Ministers and ask them to give these proposals their most earnest consideration.

I commend the resolution to the House.

PART V

*Events of importance in the life of Mr. A. Ratnayake,
arranged in chronological order.*

EVENTS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE LIFE OF MR. A. RATNAYAKE

- 7th January, 1900—born at Kahalle, Katugastota
- 1905— entered Dharmaraja College, Kandy
- 1912— elected President, Kahalla Sucharitabhiwardana Samitiya
- 1914— entered Royal College, Colombo
stayed at Aloe Avenue with Anagarika Dharmapala for 5 (five) years attending school
- 1915— passed Cambridge Senior with Honours and Distinctions and coming out 1st in the Colonies in Geography
- 1921— won an Arts Scholarship and entered University College, Colombo
- 1923— obtained Bachelor's degree in Arts
- 1924— followed Post-Graduate Course for Diploma in Education
- 1924— Principal, Maha Bodhi College, Colombo
- 1930— Principal, Dharmarama College, Ratmalana
- 1931— Passed out as an Advocate
7th July, 1931—entered State Council of Ceylon and took oaths as the Member for Dumbara
- 1934— elected Chairman, Rural Education District Committee, Kandy, constructed over 100 (one hundred) schools in the sharmadana way with the help of the villagers
- 1935— Malaria Epidemic. Organized social service work in a big way. Moved the Govt. for the first time to vote monies for social services, relief of distress, relief of unemployment and took an active part in setting up hospitals in villages
- 1936— Re-elected as M. S. C. for Dumbara
- 1937— Went on a Buddhist Delegation (elected by the Buddhist public) to meet the Chief Minister and other Ministers of Bihar and Bapu Rajendra Prasad, to obtain BUDDHA GAYA for the Buddhists. During this tour met most of the Indian Leaders of that time.
- 1943— Appointed to Special Committee on Education and *moved* the resolution for Free Education from the Kindergarten to the University.
Went on a Special State Council Delegation to India to study the problem of making Sinhala the Official Language of Ceylon and visiting particularly Osmania University at Hyderabad.

- 1944— Acted as the Minister of Education and in which capacity served along with other Ministers as Member of the War Council.
- 1947— elected as M. P. for Wattegama to the first Parliament of Ceylon set up under the Soulbury Constitution and appointed Minister of Food & Co-operative Undertakings
- 1947— Participated in the drafting of the Independence Act; the original intention of the Ministers being to call the new Bill the Dominion State Bill. Moved motion to call it Ind.
- 1948— Went with Sir John Kotelawala on a Good-Will Parliamentary Mission to Burma along with the Sacred Sariputta Moggallana Relics
- 1950— Led an Inter-Parliamentary Delegation to Dublin and moved a resolution for the suspension of standing orders in order to focus attention on a matter of urgent importance, namely, to bring to the notice of the world the poverty-stricken conditions of many countries in Asia and recommending the equitable distribution of food produced in the world.
- 1952— Re-elected M. P. for Wattegama.
Appointed Minister of Home Affairs and Rural Development. Led a Govt. Delegation to India for participation in the Sanchi Vihara Celebrations.
On this occasion addressed at New Delhi the Indian Council of World Affairs—the theme being “The Indian Question in Ceylon.”
- 1954— Inaugurated the Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations
- 1955— Led a Govt. Delegation to the F. A. O. Conference in Rome. Was elected the President of this Conference.
- 1956— Defeated at the General Elections
- 1960— Re-elected M.P. for Wattegama and served on the Opposition Front Benches
- 1965— April 9th—affirmed to as an Appointed Senator
- 1965— November 2nd—elected President of the Senate
- 1966— President, Indo-Ceylon Association
- 1967— Re-elected President of the Senate for second term of six years
- 1968— Chairman, Central Committee, Sarvodaya Sharmadana Movement.
- 1968— Chairman, Central Committee, National Council of Civil Liberties Ceylon.
- 1969— Chairman of the GANDHI CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS COMMITTEE IN CEYLON.



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