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Vol. 35 No. 7

COLOMBO

April 14th 1956.

The People's Government

Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet.—Abraham Lincoln.

CEYLON'S new Government has started well and, let us hope, truly. They call it a People's Government. This perhaps is to emphasise that the previous Government was not a People's Government but a government of the plutocrats who ruled the roost for ten long years and neglected the people's interests to such an extent as to compel them to throw it out neck and crop. However, now that Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has ascended the *Gadi* of Sri Lanka, and he is assisted by a younger crew of ministers and junior ministers than those of the previous government, the country has reasons to congratulate itself that a new chapter has been opened in its political history which augurs

well for the people. If at the end of the next five years the country is not called upon again to return the same verdict which conveyed their sense of disappointment and even resentment for turning out the U. N. P. government neck and crop, there will be something to be thankful for.

There is no use crying over spilt milk or of accusing the Kotalawela Government of a whole category of acts of omission and commission. The results of the last election have proved beyond dispute that the country had been grievously disappointed. What remains to be done therefore is for the new Government which came into power on the crest of a wave of popularity to start remedying the evils of the past and working on a programme less ornate and spectacular and more

(Continued on page 4)

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NUWARA ELIYA

"He was Blinded by the Dust of His Own Chariot"

(Continued from cover page)

I feel the UNP will never rise again unless some new party altogether, is formed later on its ashes but without any connection with the name UNP. That however lies in the lap of the gods. The chief cause for the total collapse of the party, in my view, is as follows:-

(a) The rash, impulsive and irresponsible —I was going to call them arrogant—speeches of Sir John Kotelawala himself, and

(b) those of his Cabinet colleagues, and their squandermania and the false promises to the people

As such there is nothing surprising if they went down like nine pins! No more seats in the Senate for henchmen, no cushy jobs and sinecures for the defeated in useless Embassies abroad as "Consolation Prizes." An Indian newspaper editor, I note, had remarked that Sir John and his party lived in a fool's paradise. How I would view the collapse is that Sir John "was blinded by the dust of his own chariot" as Oscar Wilde would say

Personally a good man Sir John is, I think, but as he allowed himself to be surrounded by a number of misfits and sycophants, men who were insensible to the cardinal principle in governing a country and devoid of respect for the peoples' wishes or view-point and a total disregard for public opinion by whomsoever expressed.

In this respect, I believe, Sir John himself was to blame. He was not too willing to hear what the other man had to say. He cared little what they thought of him. Now such people are bound to come to conflict with the masses as events have clearly proved. In these circumstances the expected happened. Personally, I favoured his party because I was enamoured of its policy and programme. But I did not expect them to behave as they did. That is to go counter to the principle of social democracy and the interests of the people.

I am not crowing over Sir John's fall. I grieve over it. I feel the party over stepped their limits. I remember a veteran planter, who was present at a reception given to Sir John, telling me after the function, "It is all blarney, Kotelawala does not care a hoot for us. He believes we are a brood of blood-suckers and

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don't care to know what we had to say. He preferred our room rather than our company. That is really how I look at it Kotelawala will listen to nobody and would just go doing as he wants to do anything he wishes and undertakes to do. Such a man must soon find his mistake."

My friend was right Sir John did find his mistake.

I too was present at that reception I have referred to. Unfortunately the old planter, who made the above observation, has retired and is now in England. I hope he'll not find fault with me for publishing what he told me. Anyway that's that. Now to come back to my subject

The people, perhaps the identical people, who idolised Sir John, attended those receptions in his honour all over the country, marched behind him in processional order headed by Kandyan dancers, drum-beaters and elephants

singing his praises—believing that the UNP was a god given institution and its high priests divinely ordained saviours of the country—were the same people who rebelled against him and his party and threw them out neck and crop!

The masses and the classes, the middle classes especially, did it for the UNP. Having had enough of the UNP, and being thoroughly sick at heart and fed up with all those promises, shows and other make-believes indulged by the party high command, they have let them have it thick. Not even in England did we ever see an entire Cabinet going under. That showed the extent of the revulsion of feeling against the Kotelawala Government.

The vote is a powerful weapon. What happened to Sir John Kotelawala and his party can and may happen again. Let Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and his M.E.P. mark my words. Unless, of course, Mr. Bandaranaike learns by experience and acts cautiously, he and his government wont succeed in fooling the people—if they attempt it.

Man to man, even though one cannot think too highly of their ideologies, I believe the members of the new Parliament, including Cabinet and Junior Ministers, are a competent set of men. They are not "duds." Most

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of them are good products of their respective schools and colleges. If they are not all rich men, they certainly are endowed with a plentiful supply of "grey matter."

Hailing from middle-class families they will, I have reason to believe, keep a vigilant eye on the Cash Box and will not be too much in a hurry to go in for grandiose schemes and spectacular shows. They will, I hope, all of them, concentrate on giving the masses of this country a fair and square deal.

Mr. Bandaranaike must not go meddling too much with nationalisation of this, that and the other. Ceylon is not yet ripe to launch on big and vast projects that involve great knowledge and experience. The government machinery is rusty and just now not able to undertake nationalisation. Five or ten years later it would be time to get into grips with such problems. Meanwhile let him devise ways and means to give the Ceylonese capitalist more encouragement to enable him to go on with commercial and industrial enterprises and thus reduce the flow out of Ceylon capital on imported goods. Let both parties, the Government and Trade and Industries make for stability first and foremost.

NEHRU AND CEYLON

One begins to see an increasing regard for Nehru. In fact there is developing a flirtation between the two Prime Ministers. Admittedly the Indian Question is a most formidable one Mr. Bandaranaike has to tackle. Unless he tackles this problem to the advantage of Ceylon, he is bound to go under. Beside Mr. Bandaranaike after he crossed over to the opposition said "I shall die happily when the last Indian has left Ceylon". Now let him boldly act up to his decision.

With the language issue making everybody furiously to think, the P.M. should not burden himself with fresh problems. Ceylon's friendship with England and USA is definitely Ceylon's benefactors. Let him not slam the door against the offer of help from Canada, Australia and the Commonwealth countries. Ceylon cannot afford to loose their friendship and good will.

THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 1)

beneficial to the populace than what the previous Government tried to achieve to bring happiness and contentment to the people,

The most pressing need of the country just now is in regard to raising the living standards of the people. The taking up of such a matter would automatically involve the tackling of the larger question of employment on which hang social and economic improvement. For it has to be assumed that without employment, and permanent employment at that, there can be no national prosperity much less contentment among the inhabitants.

We are told that already there are 600,000 men and women without employment in the Island. These are authoritative figures computed by government experts. To this huge number must be added the annual output of our schools and colleges. Some 5000 boys leave school every year. How are they going to be provided with work and where. Since these do not all belong to the working class, it would be infra dig for them to take to manual labour. Their education would not permit them to work as ordinary labourers. What then is going to happen? Naturally they must add to the army of unemployed because the chances of finding suitable work to do are remote.

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The Fall of the U.N.P.



Sir Oliver Goonetilleke
Governor-General



Sir John Kotelawala

O H, what a fall was there my countrymen when you and I, the "pandan-karaya" and the honour-hunter, the the place-seeker and the job hunter, the bus mudalali and the building contractor, the tamash-organiser and the pandal-erector; the garland supplier and the caterer and all of us fell down! The fall was worse than that experienced by Humpty Dumpty. So that not all the party men and party funds can put J. L. and J. R. together again.

The results of the General Election have proved the correctness of the saying, "you can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

BY THE SENTINEL

The elections have proved the indisputable wisdom of the above saying. Certain local newspapers in thinly veiled phraseology and others in more disguised fashion, and prospective candidates and supporting speakers from public platform, have regaled the public with such juicy morsels of political pabulum as "the only man in the country strong enough to lead the nation is Sir John Kotelawala....." "the only stable party in this country is the U.N.P. and the U.N.P. only can govern the country. Here the myth about indispensibility has again been exploded.

The late D. S. Senanayake was the founder and builder of the U.N.P. The party was national in that it consisted of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, Malays and Burghers. It was a united party united by ties of basic principles of which one was that there should be *Parity of Status* for the Sinhalese and the Tamil languages. May not Sir John be looked upon as the one who smashed the solemn basic principle of the inviolable *Parity of Status* for Sinhalese and Tamil languages and drove the Tamils out of the U.N.P. and be called the breaker-up of U.N.P.? The U.N.P. therefore is today neither united nor national as the result of the violation of the fundamental and agreed principles of parity and the secession

having resigned from the Premiership the Governor-General called upon Mr. S. W. R. Bandaranaike to form his government



Mr. A. Ratnayake
Minister for Home Affairs beaten by
a Christian in his own stronghold



Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel
Minister for Labour and
his Permanent Secretary
were ousted. The Mercantile
Clerical Community solidly
voting against them.



Major Montague Jayawickrema,
Minister for Transport, despite a
splendid record of work was
knocked out owing to the un-
popularity of the U.N.P.

of the Tamils. So much for the name of the party. Let us now consider its fame.

The Morning Times, in a analytical study of the results of the elections said: "Mr. Bandaranaike's victory represents not so much the triumph of the cohorts as the rout of the U.N.P. at the hands of the electorates." We heartily agree with that view. A country gets the governments it deserves. Verily, verily, it is so. Will the newspapers that held up the U.N.P. as a pattern of a party, the prospective candidates and other politicians who spoke of stability, have the decency to admit that they have been bluffed by Sir John and that the stability of the U.N.P. has been no greater than the house of Biblical fame that was built on sand and collapsed when the rains came and the wind blew. At the same time will the world at large that showered honours and medals ad libitum and ad nauseam on the "Bandung Hero", the Terror of Communism, the man who made the Russian Bear shiver on its hind legs, now admit that Ceylon's "great man" has been only a clay-footed idol. Here let us examine the results of the elections a little critically.

THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir John polled 21,934 at the last election. His majority was 15,468. In the present election he polled 20,286 and his majority was 8,278. That is to say he has polled 1648 less

than last time and his majority has been reduced by 7,190 or more or less than halved. If this indicates anything, it shows that Sir John has forfeited a great deal of confidence, regard and respect the populace had for him and that in spite of managed receptions, tamsahas and garlands, commemoration stamps, the cringing and the fawning services of torch-bearers, honour-hunters, place seekers, press write-ups and great lionising at public dinners, luncheons and receptions.

THE OTHER MINISTERS.

Nine Cabinet Ministers have been bundled out lock, stock and barrel. Many words are not necessary to prove that this indicates the strong disgust the people had for the Kotelawala Government. Among the nine was the Minister for Home Affairs, who contrary to Section 29 of the Order-in-Council (Parliamentary Elections), had induced Government to vote away five million rupees out of state funds, contributed by all religionists, for the purpose of the Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations. Further Mr. Ratnayake is the Chairman of a Buddha Jayanthi Celebrations Committee which is a sort of semi-government department of the U.N.P. Government and which holds its meetings in State-owned buildings. Isn't it an irony of Fate, (or shall we say a sign of Divine wrath?) that such an ardent Buddhist and an old hand at



Dr. N. M. Perera

Won a sweeping victory in Ruanwella over Mr. R. Premadasa, the favourite of the U.N.P. High Command.



Mr. Pieter Keuneman

"Apa Peter Mahatmaya" the idol of the masses triumphed over 4 UNP candidates including the Right Wing Mayor Sugathadasa.



Dr. Colvin R. de Silva.

In the Wellawatte-Galkissa Election nearly 7500 Tamils voted en bloc for him.

politics in a predominantly and almost exclusively Buddhist area, should be defeated by a Christian and almost a new-comer to politics?

At the previous election Mr. Ratnayake won by a majority of 8,883 votes. This time he loses his seat by 3,548 votes. At the last election he polled 14,204 votes and in this election he polled 11,109. Another Minister to be defeated was the one who held the Portfolio of Labour. He was defeated by an ex-postal peon, or a postman, who had been served with 'Quit Notice' on the advice of the Ministry of the defeated Minister who was its head. The Minister for Education has managed to retain his seat. The following figures will show that he too had lost much of the confidence the voters had in him. His majority on the previous occasion was 14,211. This time it is only 1440. In the present election he polled 9523 votes only. It will thus be seen that everywhere the U.N.P. was unpopular in spite of the efforts of special columnists to boost the U.N.P. as the "only party able to govern the country."!

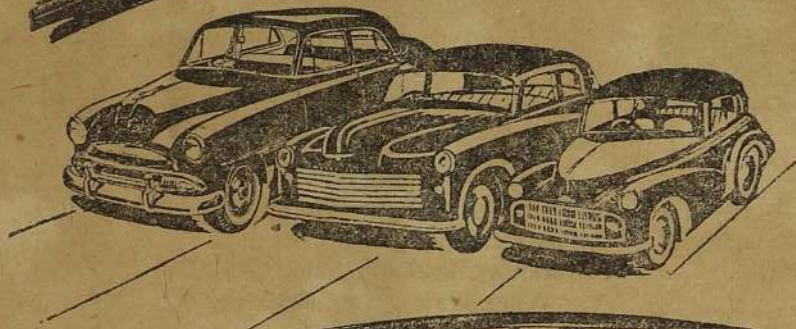
The Minister of Posts and Broadcasting, who was returned by a majority of 8088 to the Kegalle Seat at the previous election, was defeated this time by a majority of 3378 at Mawanella. The Minister for Land Acquisition, who held the Anuradhapura Seat by an

majority 3919, was thrown out this time by a M E P candidate by a majority of 2346. The Minister for Trade & Commerce, who won the Chilaw Seat last time by a majority 54, was defeated this time by a majority of 7734. The Minister of Health, who held the Kaduganawa 1st seat at the previous election by a majority of 3666, was defeated this time by the holder of the first seat by a majority 18,192. The Minister of Finance who held the Horana Seat, in his home town and birth place, by a majority of 13,497 was thrown out by a majority of 10,655 this time. The Minister of Labour who was second Member for Colombo Central came fourth this time being defeated by 24,938. The Minister of Transport who defeated his opponent in the previous election by a majority of 2591 had his former rival turn tables on him and defeated him by a 4989 majority.

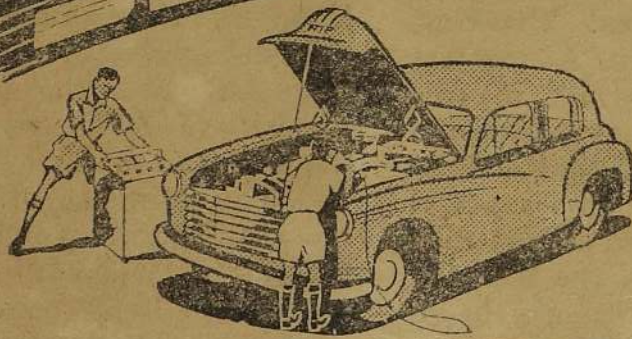
Mr. Natesan, Minister of Broadcasting, who won his seat on the previous occasion as a U.N.P. candidate by a majority of 3766 votes, although he resigned from the U.N.P. and contested this time as an Independent candidate, was defeated by 6667 votes.

Sir Kanthiah Vaithinathan, Minister of Housing etc. and who had rendered good and useful service, both as a Minister and previously as a public servant, was defeated by a

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• • Mr. T. F. Jayawardene beaten by a Leftist and deservedly too. His overthrow was a certainty. The Leftist candidate won without an effort.

F. P. candidate by a majority of 1839 votes for no other reason than that he was a member of the UNP Cabinet.

An ex-U.N.P. Minister was defeated so badly as to forfeit his deposit.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture, the hero of the Food and Agricultural Exhibition and C. Plan Exhibition and the "right hand man" of Sir John, who considered him to be worth nine R. G. Senanayakes was defeated by a majority of 225 46 by Mr. R. G. Senanayake, the despised candidate of the U.N.P Cabinet until he resigned that post in disgust.

JUNIOR MINISTER.

Five Junior Ministers have been thorn out and



Sir Richard Aluvihare It was a blunder on the part of the U.N.P. to have put up Sir Richard to contest a seat.

each of them by a big majority. The following particulars will be found interesting.

1. Won previous time by a majority of 5180
Lost in this election by a majority of 5044
2. Won at the previous election by 4634
Lost at this election by 5466
3. Won at the previous election 12,532
Lost at the present election by 7012
4. Won at the previous election by 1811
Lost at this election by 10,358
5. Won at the previous by 4606
Lost at the present election by 6434.

Let those who have eyes to see note how people who won by substantial margins on the previous occasion, have been defeated by equally substantial margins on the present occasion. Can there be any doubt how loathsome the Kotelawala Government has been in

the eyes of the public? The writer in the "New York Herald" stated no new thing when he wrote that the Prime Minister of Ceylon (Sir John Kotelawala) and members of his party "*became too cocky*"! That was well and truly said.



The Defeat of Sir Albert F. Peries The Speaker, is a very regrettable one

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Some Noteworthy Election Results

THE SPEAKER

The Speaker who won his seat at the last election by a majority of 306 was defeated this time by an Independent and a Catholic by a majority 3097.

DEPUTY SPEAKER

The Deputy Speaker won his seat on the last election on the UNP ticket by a majority of 6588, managed to save his seat by coming forward as an Independent with 1251 votes to spare.

CROSS-OVERS

Mr. H. B. Tenne who won the Dambulla Seat in 1952 as an SLFP candidate by a majority of 4852 crossed over to the UNP this time and lost the same seat by a majority of 9155.

Mr. B. H. Aluvihare in 1952 won the Matale seat by a majority of 3416. He cross-

ed over to the UNP, a couple of weeks prior to the election, and was defeated by a majority of 2596.

The Minister of Transport defeated his opponent at the previous election by a majority of 2591. His former rival turned tables on him and defeated the Minister this time by a majority of 4989

WHOSE DEFEAT?

The rout of the UNP was not only a defeat for the UNP but also to the Catholic hierarchy. The Negombo Electorate which is in a preponderatingly Catholic area and which had preferred as its representatives Buddhists on previous occasions rejecting leftists, accepted a Leftist this time. Colombo North Electorate which always had a Roman Catholic as its member and repeatedly rejected leftists preferred this time a leftist to the Roman Catholic UNP candidate. The theory of "mor-

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tal sin" and the fear of being refused religious rights did not deter Catholics from voting anti-UNP and for Leftists.

The result, therefore, is a resounding defeat for the stooge press that boomed the UNP and gave the public partial and distorted accounts and people's views. It is also a defeat for the UK and USA Ambassadors (chiefly the latter) who seem to have considered that the guardians of local public opinion were the stooge Press and that those whom the High Commissioners and their wives meet at cocktail parties, were the custodians of the secrets. Above all, it is a severe blow to Sir John who as the "Hindustan Times" says lived in a "Fools Paradise" bamboozled by numbers and the weight of the garlands at the number of receptions, honour hunters, Bus mudalalies and job seekers.

The ex-Inspector General of Police, who was at various times a Civil Servant, a Magistrate and a Permanent Secretary, was defeated in a straight contest. Three District Judges who retired prematurely to take to politics—no doubt encouraged by the UNP and with the hope of securing ministerial portfolios—were all beaten at the polls and badly too.

Two S.L.F.P. members who crossed over to the UNP, no doubt expecting some plums of office, were all defeated. One of these had he not crossed over, would have been, without a doubt, the Leader of the House, or at least a Minister, while the other would have been a Junior Minister.

All the Ministers except the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education, or II in all, were defeated by convincing majorities. The proposer and seconder of the 'Sinhalese Only' resolution moved at the Kelaniya Conference, that necessitated the Dissolution of Parliament and the holding of the elections, were both defeated, the former by a majority of 18,330 and the latter by a majority of 14,806. What price Swabasha after that?

R. G. Senanayake created history by contesting two seats on the same day and defeating two rivals by majorities of 24,917 and 22,836. The latter's victim being Sir John's right hand man—J. R. Jayawardene.

Let me now analyse the voting in some of the notable electorates such as Colombo North, South and Central.

COLOMBO NORTH—This seat was held by a Catholic of the UNP who defeated a Leftist woman, the previous time, by a majority of 3494. This time the lady defeated a catholic UNP candidate in a predominantly Catholic area, by a majority of 7352 in spite of the "faithful" being warned in diverse ways that it was a mortal sin to vote for a

candidate who belonged to a party that had been banned by the Church. This would show that even the Catholic Church had failed to arrest the avalanche and hatred the people had for the Kotelawala Government.

COLOMBO SOUTH—Tables were turned on the UNP holder of this seat. On the last occasion Mr. T. F. Jayawardene defeated the L.S.S.P. candidate by 5180. This time the Leftist beat him by 5044. Thus it will be seen that the entire municipal area is represented by a Communist and two other Leftists and that 3 UNP members in the persons of a Minister, Junior Minister, and the Mayor of Colombo were rejected by three Colombo Electorates—only the UNP man, a Muslim Knight and the leader of his community in a preponderatingly large communal electorate, saved his seat.

COLOMBO CENTRAL (3 Seats)—The Communist who held the first place on the previous occasion was returned with an enhanced majority beating the UNP Knight who came second, by 18,784 and the other UNP man by a majority of 27,062. Another noteworthy fact is that an ex-postal peon secured the third place and defeated the Minister for Labour. In this electorate which can be regarded as a City Electorate, the Communist candidate in a 7 cornered contest polled 45,290 or nearly 3/10 of the total polled.

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The "Appointed Members"

WHAT EARTHLY PURPOSE DOES THE
BURGHER MEMBERS SERVE?

(Communicated)

The following well written and argued article communicated by an estimable member of the community, was unavoidably held over from our previous issue. Even though the names of the Appointed Members have been already announced, the writer's criticism in so far as it concerns the two Burgher (Appointed) Members, still holds good and applies with force. We are dealing with this subject editorially.

YOUR article in the last issue of "The Searchlight" on the governmental Swabhasa attitude towards the Burgher has been well timed and to the point. However it will be interesting and relevant to follow this up with the intriguing question as to what is the precise position of the so called appointed "Burgher Members" of Parliament and what duties are expected of them.

A correspondent to the press over the pen name of "Bandung Burgher" some little time ago, requested of the Prime Minister or the Speaker a pronouncement on this vexed point as the matter was of vital interest to the community, and all the more so coming as it did at a time when its members were in a state of trepidation and at their wits' ends to discover what measures politically should be resorted to safeguard the community's interests and secure its prospects in the future.

As was to be expected, the difficulty was avoided and the question shelved by the authorities invoked, and as was not to be expected was any enlightenment thrown on the subject by either of the two members concerned, who of all others should have been aware of their status and what came peculiarly within the ambit of their services.

The reason for this silence is not difficult to comprehend. They realised that they even in a cleft stick, for though they would like to be regarded as being in Parliament to represent the interests of a community, they at the same time became painfully aware that they could not claim—whatever their other activities may have been—to have ever advocated the cause of the Burgher either in

the course of debate in Parliament or in communications to the Press, and in addition well knew that in recent times there have been conspicuous instances of Burghers having been overlooked without a blow being struck or a word uttered in their defence. This apathy had been so marked by the community as to arouse the remark that the only interest these members served were their own. It is poor justification to say that they have served on Parliamentary Committees from time to time and have thus contributed their share of work. These committees are constituted for general purposes and for investigating and dealing with matters connected with the affairs of the Island in general. There are 95 elected members to do this work for they have been selected by their respective constituencies to represent territorial and not communal interests. There is therefore a multitude of councillors to choose from, and there is no reason to draw on the appointed members who have been appointed for other purpose, for these men under the constitution have been appointed to represent special interests and these interests are interests that are not represented by the other 95 members or inadequately represented by them.

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—for the most part in estates sterling owned —and also in Commerce as evidenced by the multiplicity of European Mercantile Houses in Colombo, that it was thought fit and proper by the Soulbury Commission that less these wide and valuable interests suffer for want of championing, a suitable number of members with technical knowledge and experience in commerce and planting should be appointed. Be it said to the credit of these men that never the necessity did arise when they failed to doughtily espouse the cause and advance its interests *En passant* it must be also mentioned that neither did the Muslim nor the Tamil members allow the cases of their countrymen to go by default. If then it be a case as you say of "*funk or a sense of inferiority*" the sooner the Burghers make up their minds to do without their "friends" in Parliament in the future, and to depend on the magnanimity and tense of fairness of the majority community the better. Have they not the right to hold its members, whether rightists or leftists to their overwhelming protestations and promises of fair play and equal treatment to all, regardless of caste, class, creed, or community. Further in the new set up when Sinhalese only will be the State Language, a Burgher will be an anachronism, but if any is to be appointed let it be one of member for a live dog is better than a dead lion. Yes, he must be a live wire versed in the Sinhalese language and able to

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understand it when expressed in speech and to participate in it in debate. He must be young and vigorous with pep and snap, and keenly wedded to the cause. He should be of the type that will get his teeth into his job and look upon it as a spare-time occupation.

The danger of having two lives in one casting the responsibility on the other with the inevitable result of what is everybody's business is the business of nobody.

The vacuum can be filled by selecting a fervent social worker whose duty it will be to look after the necessities and requirements of the repressed classes whose interests at present are sorely neglected.

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Ceylon Needs More Work, Not More Plans

Despite ambitious development plans, Ceylon's unemployment problem grows graver. Are the plans at fault? Or the education system? The Island's dilemma presents a warning to other developing countries in the Commonwealth.

It was Goethe who remarked that "a great Revolution was never the fault of the people but of the Government." Today Ceylon is confronted with unemployment and under-employment which it finds difficult to solve. Every year over fifty thousand young men are leaving school, many of whom, through no fault of theirs, are being added to the vast army of the unemployed (and already there are over half a million or more unemployed).

There is also a tremendous increase in under-employment among the peasant class, which is the backbone of the country. There is every indication that unemployment will keep on rising steadily during the coming months; and business circles predict that an economic depression is looming large on the horizon, and unless the Government takes measures to arrest the problem it may soon get out of control.

The situation, moreover, does not appear to be just a temporary phenomenon; it is likely to remain a permanent feature, and a solution must be found without loss of time.

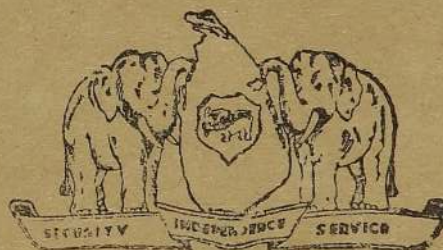
Unemployment and under-employment are not something peculiar to Ceylon; for, at some time or other practically every country in the world has been called upon to face these problems. But the present predicament of the Island provides an object lesson to other developing countries.

* * *

It is somewhat tragic that the Government of Ceylon has still not fully awakened to the crisis which threatens it. Cabinet Ministers and politicians proclaim from public platforms about their Master Plans and what not, which are designed to create large scale employment almost overnight. The blame for the present position is laid on the British Government for having failed to develop the the resources during their long years of rule

True, the British did not develop the industrial potential of the Island; since their aim was to obtain the resources as raw as possible, ship them to their country and send them back as finished goods to the colonies. But it cannot be denied—even by the most inveterate enemy of Britain—that the British did develop the agricultural industry. Thanks to their efforts, Ceylon has today highly developed tea and rubber industries, which not only provide a source of continued and steady employment to many thousands of Ceylonese, but also bring in over two-thirds of the island's revenue from abroad, chiefly from the United Kingdom.

The Ceylon Government has, of course, made some efforts to develop the industrial potential of the country with a view to solving unemployment and under-employment. With the first flush of political independence in 1947 it ventured into industrial development on a large scale, without having regard



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to the necessary requirements, in the hope that opening up industries in a haphazard manner would create large-scale employment and a sudden uplift in the standards of living of its people, who for over 150 years had been subjected to colonial rule and the evils of poverty and misery.

But at the end of six years this plan proved a colossal failure involving the loss of several millions of unaccountable rupees, retrenchment, and more poverty and misery than during the time of colonial rule. The causes for the great failure were many; and even up to now those causes continue to plague the country—some to a greater or lesser degree.

Looking back, one could point to the inadequacy of the educational system as one cause. The Government gives free education for the youth of the country from the kindergarten right up to the university. The system of education is designed in such a manner that it has produced thousands of young men doomed to frustration because their education has equipped them for jobs that they cannot find.

In the United Kingdom education is increasingly designed to give to "skill in hand and eye the same opportunity and the same status as is afforded to excellence in the sphere of academic studies." In Ceylon, however, which takes pride in the fact that it follows the United Kingdom more closely in all the social aspects than any other eastern country, education is shoddy and ill conceived, in that it is designed to meet the requirements neither of industry nor the academicians.

During the time of the British rule an English education was provided for youths of the country so that they might help to man the administration. But today Ceylon is producing more youths than jobs in that particular field. The irony of it all is that the Government is still attempting to give an academic education to everyone whether one has the aptitude or not; and it is right here that the greatest mistake is being made.

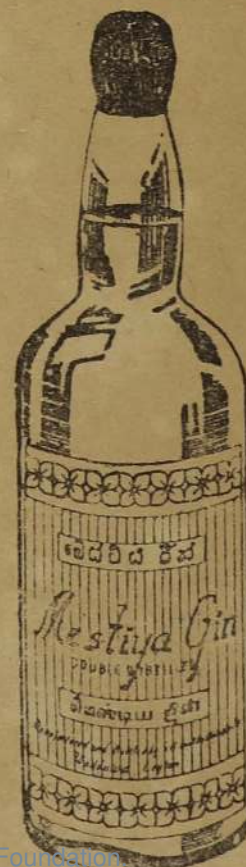
No amount of industrialisation can solve unemployment unless the type of education is imparted, and determined efforts must be made here and now to eliminate the defects in the educational system and overhaul it completely to suit the changing requirements of the country.

Experts have estimated that of the Rs. 1,700 millions worth of merchandise that the Government imports now as consumer goods about Rs. 800 m. worth could be easily produced locally within a short period of time by the fuller development of small-scale mechanised cottage industries.

It is a little gratifying to note that the Government has abandoned its more ambitious plans of opening up industries on a gigantic scale and has begun to devote itself to the fuller development of small scale cottage industries. Credit for this must go to the present Minister of Industries, Senator Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan (since defeated at the polls in the General Election) who by sheer dint of hard work, vision and recourse to foreign expert advice, is evolving a workable plan to provide employment for some of the educated unemployed over a period of some years.

The overriding consideration in all these matters must be the human factor, which simply means that the State should employ "labour intensive" rather than "capital intensive" techniques of production. However, the success of the small-scale cottage industries depends wholly on the Government, and how far it will be able to change or rather overhaul

(Continued on page 17)



Mestiya Gin

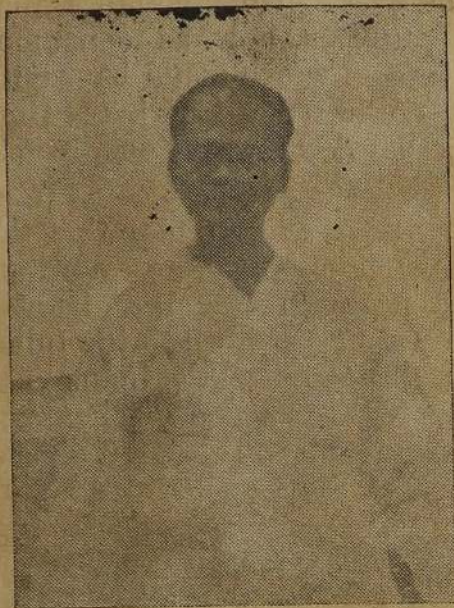
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the present educational system. The present Government has laid itself open to the charge of devising an educational system to suit its political ends.

In a rationally planned system of development of the small-scale industries the mobility of capital, which is now restricted by cumulative factors, will be increased. A new life could rejuvenate the now starved and withered rural areas which in turn will pump new life into the remotest corners. There would follow a much needed shift back of people from urban areas into the rural areas.

In any survey of under-employment it is essential to remember that Ceylon's economy is essentially agricultural, and will remain so for many more years to come. Yet it is doubtful whether it will be possible to raise the living standards of the peasant class greatly through the development of the agricultural system. It certainly would be a very great achievement if Ceylon could do so, and attain self-sufficiency in the matter of food (many precious millions of rupees are spent on importing rice from some of the countries of South East Asia). The Government is spending colossal sums of money on opening vast tracts of jungle land for the cultivation of paddy, but it has still not been able to produce even a third of the total requirements of rice—and there has been no worthwhile rise in the socio-economic conditions of the peasantry. According to the Master Plan of the Government, it proposes to solve the growing unemployment and under employment problems by opening still more thousands of acres of jungles and ploughing into them the educated unemployed.

It is pertinent, however, to ask whether the opening of new lands will to any appreciable extent solve these two problems. Quite recently, the newspapers came out with large type headlines when the Ministry of Lands and Land Development revealed, much to the embarrassment of the Government, that there were thousands of acres of cultivable lands lying fallow. Yet, the Master Plan aims to go ahead with the opening of new tracts of jungle at an enormous cost.

It seems to me that the real heart of the problem which for some inexplicable reason has escaped the attention of the Government, is that the average farmer does not consume anything more than 150 days at the most per year—even allowing for double cropping

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(rarely done in Ceylon), cultivation of several crops, looking after livestock and doing the routine yearly jobs of the farm. Time hangs heavily on his hands for over half the year round. Cannot this be remedied?

The moral of it all is that there are enough paddy lands in the Island; there is absolutely no need—for the present—to open new tracts of jungle. The farmer has to be found some sort of subsidiary employment which will keep him and his family busy for the other half of the year—that is the real answer.

The first requirement is a proper system of land distribution which will ensure that all land is used to the best advantage. Several suggestions have been put forward to the Government by the mildest Socialists and the reddest Communists. It is beyond the scope of this article to detail any method, but suffice it to say the correction of land distribution could be achieved through the process of a mild and bloodless agrarian revolution devoid of any ideology. Perhaps, in this regard Ceylon would do well to follow the lead given by the Indian agrarian crusader, Vinobha Bhave. But has Ceylon a man of his cali-

bre? Apparently not. It is time therefore, that the State assumed Bhava's role, which will certainly win over the confidence of the rural masses on whom depends so much the preservation of the democratic structure of the Island Dominion.

*

*

The second requirement is that the income per capital of the farmer should be increased to raise the socio-economic conditions, and this can best be achieved through the development of the small-scale cottage industries which will provide him and his family with employment for the other half of the year.

The handloom industry provides an unlimited scope for continued employment. If every peasant farmer were to undertake such work during his spare hours it would enable him to earn on the average at least Rs. 2 per day. Textile requirement of Ceylon is in the region of one hundred million yards per year. This industry produces only about three million yards at present, though, however, the potential capacity of the existing handlooms is six million yards. This, as I said at the beginning, is the only industry which can guarantee continued employment right through the year and the Government's guaranteed price scheme which is now in effect should give the farmer the confidence to produce all that he possibly can. Brick and tile making are other small-scale industries which could be another source of income to him.

A realistic approach to the twin problem of unemployment and under-employment is very urgent and pressing in the context of what is now happening in this Dominion; and the only solution as far as I can see, lies in the rapid and rational development of the small-scale cottage industries, where excessive mechanisation and over capitalisation would not be required.



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UNEMPLOYMENT

A GOOD deal is heard about unemployment and the figures appear to be increasing daily and are the cause of much anxiety among our politicians. It would however be interesting to ascertain if that is possible what percentage of the unemployed can be employed and the percentage of the unemployable.

One often sees numbers of men sitting about with apparently no work to do. They lounge and idle their time, smoking Beedies or cigarettes or they hie themselves to some sequestered spot and gamble, playing "Baby." This class of man is too languid and lethargic to do a job of work or if he condescends to do so he demands the highest wage for the minimum of work which is mostly unsatisfactory. Nothing seems to perturb the even tenor of his way of life. It is just typical of the country. And yet there is really plenty of work to be had for those who are willing to do honest work.

In Colombo itself there is a great dearth of domestic servants but is often well nigh to get a decent, capable and honest servant nowadays. The Ministry of Labour have launched a scheme to train hotel waiters and cooks. But this does not go far enough. Carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, barbers, to name only a few are badly wanted.

In this District formerly one was able to obtain a clean, capable, decent and honest servant or a cook at a reasonable wage. Since however the advent of the R.A.F. to this vicinity such are not to be had. Everyone crowds to the R.A.F. where fantastic wages are paid (by order I understand with the result that domestic servants are practically unobtainable.

I found myself one unable to obtain a single servant. At last I got one—a Sinhalese youth and had to pay him a very high wage. I found him lazy inefficient, and disinclined to work. I finally had to get rid of him but he quickly found another job with the R.A.F. at a higher wage. After he had left I discovered he had been quietly helping himself to my silk handkerchiefs and there were none left. He had also quietly annexed several of my good shirts. The worst thing however was the theft of my very valuable Zeiss Reflex Camera. I tried to have this traced but without success and it was only after several months through the clever detection of a very smart Police Inspector that it was found in a house in the adjacent village. I was able to identify it but did not pursue the matter further as to do so would have been sheer waste of time. I was only too thankful to receive the camera. To reward the Inspector monetarily for his very

excellent work would have been irregular and against Police Rules so I sent a fat cheque to the Police Reward Fund as a thank offering and I hope the Inspector was given a good portion of the money I paid.

In this vicinity there is only one blacksmith who is fortunately a wheelwright as well and luckily for me lives quite close. There is a clever and efficient carpenter in this area but his services have been bought body and soul by a Proprietary Planter who has placed him on his Pay Roll which debars him from working for anyone else.

Fortunately this carpenter has a son, clever and capable, who as in India he has taught his trade. But now the young man has elected to be a lorry driver and earn more money but by arrangement with him I can obtain his services when required. Masons too are rare birds around here. What masons there are find good wages and work with the R.A.F. but I can get one occasionally on a Sunday or when he has a day off. Again there are only two barbers both Tamils who serve about five villages, no Sinhalese barber here.

In practically every village in India one can find hereditary black smiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, barbers &c. in fact practically every village in India is self sufficient. There are always tailors as well and shoe makers and cobblers. But here if one wants any cloth sewn or shoes made or repaired one must

go to Negombo or even to Colombo. There is really plenty of work to be done if the people will only make up their minds to do it or to learn a useful trade or profession. But then there is always the lure of *dolce far niente* and just idling. In many Indian villages can be found spinners and weavers who make cloth for the surrounding villages.

How many hand spinners and weavers can be found in a Sinhalese village? No, the people of Ceylon are just born tired. In this they closely resemble the Malays in Malaya who are all nature's gentlemen." Malays make excellent chauffeurs, syces orderlies, police constables &c. but all the real work of the country is done by clever and capable Chinese merchants and businessmen, traders, shopkeepers clerks and every imaginable other trade. They make excellent domestic servants and cooks, clean, honest and efficient and capable. All market gardens are run by Chinese and there is always an abundance of fresh fruit and vegetables. The Malay is too much of a gentleman to bother his head about market gardening much less domestic service.

Unemployment in Ceylon could be considerably reduced if only there was more willingness to learn and work well and capably. As Sir Sidney Abrahams has so apathetically put it: "A little more humility supported by willingness to be instructed is what is very badly needed"

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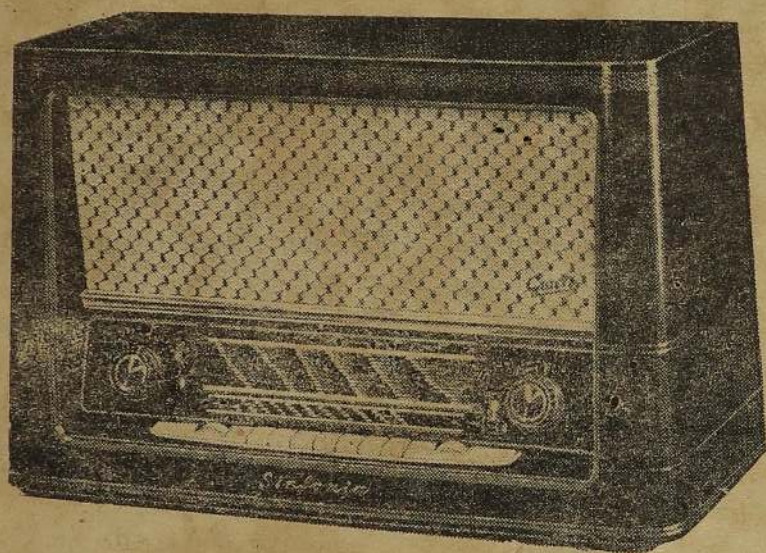
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MUSINGS

By
T. W. Hockly

TROUSERS

WHY should there be this campaign against the wearing of trousers? Practically the whole civilised world wears trousers. It is the most convenient form of clothing for the legs. Every form of work can be undertaken in trousers rather than be swathed in a sarong or cloth. For house or cycle riding it is the best. Still better are shorts. There is far less fear of trousers or shorts getting entangled with machinery and being the cause very often of serious and fatal accidents. I cannot imagine the Army or the Police being clothed in Sarongs or cloth. These would seriously affect their movements. If one analyses sarongs or cloth vertis, we find that the sarong though popular is really a Malay dress. In Malay Sarong means a sheath. The cloth or verti is purely of Indian origin and whatever may be said it is certainly not Sinhalese in origin. Therefore I say away with this stupid and foolish prejudice against trousers or shorts.

A STREET DIRECTORY

WHY is there not or at least I have not seen one, a Street Directory for Colombo? In Thackers' Indian Direc-

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tory published annually and known by everyone as the Lal Kitab" or Red Book, a Street Directory of Calcutta is incorporated in it and is a great convenience in being able to find the location of Streets and roads with their respective numbers. But here in Colombo unless one knows already it is almost impossible to find the location of any street or road in such suburbs as Kollupitiya, Bambalapitiya, Wellawatte and Maradana. Unless one actually knows the place it is almost impossible to find. An appeal in most cases to a Constable on Point Duty is worse than useless. Constables should be trained in the topography of Colombo and this should form part of their training. The same applies to all taxi drivers who may know the principal streets and roads but are quite ignorant otherwise and have to be directed.

How different in London. There an appeal to any constable on Point Duty and one can at once be furnished with directions. It is part of their training to learn the topography of London. Similarly a taxi driver is unable to obtain a Licence before he has passed an examination in the topography of London. The same applies to all the other large cities in the U.K.

THE HURLY BURLY

“WHEN the hurly burly’s done when the battle’s lost and won.”
 “The Good Lion came down like a wolf.

His cohorts were gleaming in red.
 But alas and alack.

The Good Lion came back with a very nasty sore pain in his head.”

Apropos of nothing; some little time ago I saw a very clever cartoon by Collette. It depicted a dog on a bridge with a bone in its mouth mirrored in the stream below the bridge was another dog with a bone in its mouth.

G. G. P.

AS I fully expected the Prince of the Peninsula has been returned for Yalpanam bearing the victor’s laurels on his brow “He is astute and he’s clever. He’ll remain King of Jappana for ever. I should not be surprised if Banda invites him to join his Cabinet.

But the way what has happened to the Iluk Paper Factory at Vellachenai on which many millions have been spent? A man Grierson, a discovery of G.G.P. was the Promoter of this Scheme I wonder where Grierson is now? doubtless enjoying his otium cum dignitate in a far serener clime. But is the Iluk Paper Factory functioning or is it just “one

of those things”? Iluk seed was sown in a large area and Government spent a very large amount to manure the land for Iluk. Quelle Folie !! Can madness go farther. Where is the Iluk Paper? Has any been produced as yet? I rather fancy not as no one as far as I know has heard a word about it. “Just one of those things.”

THE U.N.P. DEBACLE

SOME of the reasons for the colossal down fall of the U.N.P. at the Polls. When Sir John Kotelawala became Prime Minister he incontinently sacked two Ministers viz. Prince Ponna and Rajapakse. It was then hoped by most people that he would go farther and to quote the late Lord Admiral Fishers phrase ‘sack the lot.’ But whether through fear, friendship or favour he retained the remainder of the old gang. These men have very largely contributed to the final ruin of the U.N.P. by their incompetence—their utterly selfish disregard of the People, the false promises they have made from time to time and their insane squandermania, wasting the resources of the country for their own selfish ends and aggrandisement. There are many other matters which lie at their door too numerous to mention. But the People have now become more articulate and more intelligent. The results at the Polls show clearly that the People will have no more of these Ministers and be done with them and

their false promises for ever. With only a single exception the Ministers have fallen like ninepins. I feel sorry for Sir John as it has a tremendous come down for him. It reminds me in a way of what I read in a book several years ago.

The author writes:-
 “After a man has been Viceroy of India the only sensation left to him is to be murdered or to commit suicide. There is nothing else” The other Ministers are doomed to wonder in the wilderness.

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A FEW QUESTIONS FOR OUR NEW PRIME MINISTER TO DECIDE

THE abolition of the Senate. The Senate is just an utterly useless institution. It has no real voice in the affairs of the country. It is only a preserve for disappointed and defeated candidates and for those who are afraid to face the Polls also for a favoured few. The sooner the Senate is disbanded and abolished the better. With regard to embassies several of these could be dispensed with and a material saving of expenditure be effected. In some places Consulates would be all that is necessary and promote Trade. There are on the other hand important Embassies which could be established which could help to improve relations and encourage Trade. But only hand picked men should be sent there to represent Sri Lanka

Why not then too follow the example of Nehru and India and declare Ceylon a Republic within the Commonwealth? This would automatically do away with at one stroke the vexed question of Imperial Honours with all the Bargaining and Bribery connected with the bestowal of these Honours. Our new Prime Minister will I think give these questions the consideration they call for. These questions have doubtlessly been in the mind of our

new Prime Minister. It is only necessary for him to implement them.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES

IT is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will introduce a much needed reform following the example of the British Parliament and include Agriculture and Fisheries under one Ministry. At present it is absurd to include Fisheries in the Ministry of Commerce. I have long advocated this change but in vain. After all the harvest of the land and the harvest of the sea constitute the Food of the People and it is axiomatic that both should be included under one Ministry. This is only common sense.

SILK INDUSTRY

WHAT about the Silk Industry and proposed Silk Filature? Achaya, another discovery of Prince Ponna. Achaya was going to establish a Silk Industry in Ceylon which would turn out silk superior in quality and texture to the looms of China, Japan, Mysore and Kashmir.

Five years of wasted effort and a sinecure for Achaya and nothing done. But how typical of Ceylon. Achaya to quote O. Henry "was going to do a hell of a lot with a big stick and a basket of eggs." But all has ended 'in the nothing all things end in.'

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For the cause that needs assistance
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For the good that we can do

April 14th 1956

Restricting of Radio

PROGRAMMES IN ENGLISH & TAMIL

THE Prime Minister on several occasions made it clear that the intention and policy of the Government is to make the Sinhalese Language the Official language of Lanka, and to give to the Buddhist Religion its rightful place in the country. He has promised to do this without causing any hardship to the minorities in regard to their language or religion.

In his Press Conference on the 25th instant, the Prime Minister further confirmed his Policy when he stated that the proposed "Sinhalese Only Bill" is, in his opinion, not "A Contravention of Section 29 of the Constitution" which safeguards the rights of minorities.

Under these circumstances, the declaration of the Hon. the Minister for Posts and Broadcasting that he intends to restrict all Radio Programmes to "Sinhalese Only", in keeping with Government Policy, appears to indicate that Minister has not understood what the real Policy is to be. If he carries out his intention he would be acting contrary to Government Policy.

So long as the Government continues to provide entertainment for the Public of Ceylon through Radio Programmes, the minorities have a right to be provided with programmes both in English as well as Tamil on various subjects and music which a "Sinhalese Only Programme" cannot possibly provide.

Even in Parliament, on complaints made by the Representatives of the Minorities that they cannot follow the business of the day in Sinhalese, arrangements are being made for simultaneous translation through a radio-telephone system. If this is a necessity for the peoples' Representatives, why should not

the people also be provided with Radio Programmes in their own languages.

The Minister for Posts and Broadcasting should also consider the tremendous loss to Government Revenue through licence fees and Import Duty on Radio Apparatus that will result if he carries out his intention of restricting Radio Programmes to the Sinhalese Language only.

There is Mr. Suntharalingam who quite forgetful of "Independence" preparing to advocate a "Divide and Rule Policy" by offering Trincomalee to the British in return for allowing the Tamil people to govern the Northern and Eastern Provinces. What for instance will he have to say about the question of the people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces being compelled to listen to Sinhalese Broadcasts to the exclusion of programmes in their own language.

Radio Programmes in the various languages current in Ceylon provide a great public service in providing cheap and good entertainment, especially amongst the middle and poorer classes, and is therefore a service that the people of this country have a right to expect from their Government.

Abraham Lincoln had defined "Democracy" as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". Under any regime in modern times there will be a government of the people. Under our own system of Parliamentary Democracy there is a government of the people by the people—some sort of people: but is it necessarily "Government for the people". It will certainly not be if the Government is going to cause hardship amongst certain sections of the community as for example to neglect the English and Tamil speaking communities by depriving them of Radio Programmes in their own languages when they are being made to pay for Radio Licence every year.

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