

TRIBUNE

ALMS Racket Begging For Profit

The Report on the Beggar Problem in Ceylon prepared by the Department by the Social Services and published as a Sessional Paper in July 1956, though scanty and sketchy in many respects, is a most revealing document. It shows how "beggars" on the one hand, and ordinary citizens desirous of being "charitable" on the other, are being exploited by unscrupulous "mudalalies" who reap rich profits by organising begging on a trade basis.

This Report on the Beggar Problem deserves much more attention than it has so far received from the public as well as the Government. An extract from the Report is published at page 309 of this issue, and it shows what a racket *begging* has been made in this country by "mudalalies" who utilise the services of cripples and other unfortunates to prey upon the charitable instincts of ordinary people in order to make a profit for themselves (mudalalies).

Profit Motive

The testimony of this Report on the activities of the beggar "muda-

lalies" — entrepreneurs — is indeed one of the most telling instances of the abuse to which the profit motive in capitalist society can be put to by unconscionable men. Entrepreneurial activity in industry and commerce has an ethics of its own, but such activity in the field of begging (and prostitution) leads to some of the most grievous aspects of capitalist society.

What is the remedy which can effectively check this organisation of beggars by anti-social entrepreneurs to exploit the rest of society? The answer is simple. The State and organised charitable institutions must look after cripples and other unfortunates who are now on the streets as "genuine" beggars. The State must at the same time provide enough employment so that all able-bodied persons are drawn into purposeful activity. Thirdly, Government should increase the tempo of the peaceful impetus to socialism to curb the nefarious activities of persons whose anti-social instincts prompt them to subvert the profit motive to organise "beggars" (or prostitutes) to make easy money. It is significant that in socialist countries like China and Russia, "beggars" are non-existent.

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part to play and the Report succinctly draws attention to this aspect of the matter:

The habit of giving alms to beggars is strongly ingrained in the character of the people of this country. Some give alms because they believe that by so doing they will acquire merit. Some are moved strongly to sympathy on the sight of a beggar. Some give because it is the quickest way of getting rid of a nuisance. Some do not wish to be considered to be lacking in charity by any onlookers, while others give without thinking as a matter of habit. Between these types, there is a great deal of giving which, if added together, would amount to a considerable sum. This type of indiscriminate charity, although it helps to relieve a certain amount of distress, actually encourages begging. Quite often such charity helps the wrong persons as was observed at the recent Kataragama festival. Since this giving is unorganised and haphazard it fails to achieve any really useful results. It seems to be a waste of public money in so far as this money, if used to implement a planned project towards their rehabilitation would go a long way towards bettering their conditions. But the greatest defect is that indiscriminate charity helps to keep a section of the population in a perpetual state of degradation."

Something should be done about the "beggar" problem without delay. The public and the State must co-operate in order to end the present state of affairs.

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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
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FILM

MARTY

Ernest Burgoyne, Betsy Blair

English, at the Savoy

It is gratifying to know that occasionally there comes out of Hollywood something that is essentially different from the tiresome run of crooners, cowboys, Red Indians, gangsters, and sex dramas woven round the eternal and infernal triangle. Something shorn of the gilt and glitter and box-officiousness that we have learnt to associate with Hollywood production. Something that is not stupendous colossal, or gargantuan, as the superlatives go. Something that is quiet, candid, wholesome and human. But please do not for a moment imagine that the film is one of those terribly artycrafty pieces beloved of the highbrows who rave about *Battleship Potemkin*, *Existentialism*, the surrealist traditions of the French or Japanese films and the like. Nothing of the sort. It is in fact as low-brow as anything can be and spoken in very basic American. It is about a butcher, Marty by name.

But it could easily be you or me. About a butcher grappling with the problem of physical unattractiveness, the problem of love and marriage, the problem of finance, the problem of ties and obligations, and the terrible problem of all — the problem of what to do on Saturday night. That is, what to do when there is nothing to do. *That is the crucial problem of our times. The problem of boredom — the price we all pay — butchers, bakers, cooks, kings and commons — for the troublesome peculiarity of being alive.*

Savage

In this respect the savage is better off. He has no Saturday night. He is never bored. He eats, sleep, hunts and loves. There is no question for him of whiling away time. Indeed there is no time to while away. No time at all, in fact, as we know it. But not so the denizens of the brick

and mortar jungles of London and New York. They, perforce, have to spend a great part of their leisure in the soul-stimulating occupation of twiddling thumbs — after twiddling knobs have made them fairly sick of *Macleans Toothpaste*, *Brand's Essence of Chicken* and the immortal qualities *Andrew's Liver Salts*. The dread of boredom becomes so much worse when, as in Marty's case, it goes hand in hand with genteel poverty and christian scruples.

If you like the kind of film showing Clark Gable shooting gorillas in Ujiji, or wherever it is that they shoot gorillas; or Gregory Peck poised over purple plains; or Grace Kelly frolicking in Ruritania, you probably dislike this film. Here you have a simple butcher played — and I though played extremely well — by a plain blunt man who doesn't pretend to be a hero. He knows his limitations. And what is more, he knows — and of course nobody else does — how frustrating those limitations can be. He is ostensibly happy with his beery buddies who talk pornography and are not averse to the exciting occupation of picking up tarts. But Marty although he has learnt to accept these things as the inevitable part of the pattern of his life, cast as it is in the catacombs and the

ghettos of a big city finds all this rather unsatisfying and stultifying.

Unwanted

Nice girls snub him. Because he is obtuse and perhaps oblong. And perhaps also because he is what he is, — a butcher. But slowly all things right themselves. Marty discovers, by the merest chance, another human being, a girl, very much in the same boat as himself. Cast off, unwanted, both dogs as he ungraciously puts it. Flotsam and jetsom drifting around in an ocean of loneliness. And soon the shell of a man, a respirating automaton, becomes a human being with a point and a purpose and the instincts of a woman are awakened. For the first time they raise their heads from the sordid pavements and blink at the stars.

The film is full of a little gems of characterisation. We are forcibly reminded of the solitudes of widows and mothers who have left their travails behind them. Of the vexations of old age and superannuation. We see the curious blank faces of loafers and hangers on. We hear the gossip of the bars and the honky tonks. We hear the din of the dance halls. We see the human gold fish going round and round and round.

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METTANANDA'S LETTER

In this second article *Pertinax* examines Mettananda's famous Letter and analyses the context in which the charges he makes should be viewed. In the concluding article next week, *Pertinax* will analyse the replies to Mettananda's criticisms and evaluates the role of the bhikkhus in the immediate future.

In the last article, the background of Bhikkhu politics was traced, and it was found that the EBP group was endeavouring to organise a unified all-island political association of bhikkhus to bring pressure on the government as well as constitute itself as a powerful political force in the country. The success the EBP group met with in the last elections (in supporting the MEP to victory) emboldened its sponsors to feverish activity in order to secure their dominance over the entire Buddhist priesthood. This was resisted by the more conservative sections led by the High Priests of Malwatte and Asgiriya.

It was in this situation that a special meeting of the EBP was summoned to meet on Sunday September 9 to lay the foundation for a unified political organisation. This public meeting was scheduled for the afternoon at the Town Hall in Colombo, but an Executive Committee meeting was held earlier on the same day at the Privena in Kelaniya, first to overcome the "the split" that had arisen in the EBP itself and second to devise ways to bring Malwatte and Asgiriya into the fold.

The Letter

Five days before this meeting was due to be held, the now historic Mettananda letter appeared in the *Daily News* (September 4). Other Lake House papers also published this letter, but for some strange reason the *Times* group of paper either did not publish this letter at all or if a reference was made, it was scanty and sketchy.

Mettananda is a powerful propagandist with a pointedly pungent pen. He plunged right into the

controversy by stating "I learn from a report, appearing in the front page of the *Dinamina* on September 1, that the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna which was wound up on July 14 this year is being convened again on the 9th instant." After referring to circular issued under the signatures of three persons — Mapiitigama Buddharakkhita, Hewanapola Ratnasara and Talpawila Seelawansa — issued for the purpose of "exhuming the Peramuna from where it is lying peacefully at rest", he emphasised that the meeting summoned for September 9 was "to revive the Peramuna once more and re-establish it as a permanent political force in the country."

Mettananda, thereupon proceeds to examine the question of bhikkhus and politics. "The day has come, I feel", he said, "for the bhikkhus to consider what their proper role in relation to the secular affairs of the country should be." To be able to do this in perspective, Mettananda proceeded to refer to this history of the EBP. He explained that in 1953 Sangha Sabhas has been organised "for the purpose among others of re-establishing Buddhism in its rightful place in the island." He

emphasised that he was in a position to speak to the facts as "I was one of the laymen helping to form the Sangha Sabhas and I have therefore full knowledge of the history of these organisations from their very origin."

Eksath

Sometime after these Sangha Sabhas were formed, Mettananda states that another organisation called the All-Ceylon Congress of Bhikkhu Societies was formed with Buddharakkhita and Seelawansa as its Secretaries. This Congress states Mettananda "had a political program in view and wished to participate in politics" while his Sri Lanka Maha Sangha Sabha was "averse to coming directly into politics unless as a extreme step."

An extreme situation, according to Mettananda, arose towards the end of 1955 when Sir John Kotelawala attempted to perpetuate the power of his clique by means of a snap election. Mettananda states that he felt Sir John was trying to work the people into a hysteria over the language issue in order to get a majority of over 68 seats in

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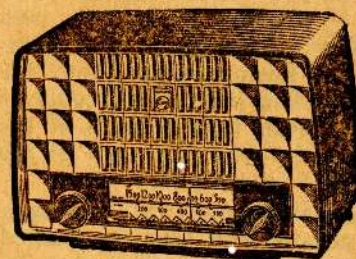
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BHIKKHU PERAMUNA—2

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Parliament, and "which would have reduced Parliament itself to a farce and placed the whole country at his feet."

Mettananda also states that a snap election would have upset their plans of issuing the "Buddhist Commission" report and the propaganda they had hoped to carry out on the basis of that document. To meet this "menace" from Kotelawela not only was the Buddhist Commission report rushed through and printed expeditiously, but it was also decided to present a United Front of Bhikkhus to avert the dangers which Buddhism would have faced if the UNP were returned once again. It was in this context that the Sri Lanka Maha Sangha Sabha and the All-Ceylon Congress of Bhikkhus got together as the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna, "but not losing the identity of their separate organisations". Mettananda stresses "in fact, it was understood clearly that the constitutions of the two organisations should continue to exist and that no rules should be framed for the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna".

Buddharakkhita

Mettananda thereafter refers to the attempts of the Buddharakkhita faction to dominate the EBP after the MEP had won the elections. He cited a few instances of such action, and declared that the name of the EBP was "misused" by this caucus to issue unauthorised communiques on various matters. Disputes naturally arose and it was therefore decided to dissolve the EBP on July 14. But on the same day a Special Committee was appointed to investigate the possibilities of having a unified body for all bhikkhus into which could be drawn even those sections of the priests who had kept out of the EBP (and been hostile to it).

From Mettananda's Maha Sangha five persons had been nominated to this Special Committee, but by the beginning of September, four of the five had withdrawn from it (Hewanpola Ratnasara, however, stayed on). The reasons for this withdrawal were threefold, according to Mettananda. Two of them were public he stated: namely, the fact that it was found impossible to draw into the organisation the bhikkhus who had earlier objected to the EBP, and the fact that the

All Ceylon Congress of Bhikkhus dominated by Buddharakkhita was determined to "commit the Sangha to the political programme of the Bhikkhu Congress."

The third reason Mettananda revealed for the first time in his letter. He stated that the main difficulty in securing unity among the priests was due to certain personal factors. "If Bhikkhus are to be brought under one organisation" he emphasised, "it can be done only by monks who command the respect and confidence of both the Sangha and the laity for their observance of the rules of Vinaya."

He accused "the group now seeking to set up new organisation" of being unable to win the respect of priests and laymen. He set out this reason in cryptic form but in a way all those aware of the gossip of the times were able to understand. Full of innuendo, his remarks were as follows:

"One of the leading lights is a person whose relations with a distinguished female have caused nauseating feeling among not only Buddhists but even among the non-Buddhist elements of the country as well. Another is a well-known Colombo landlord in yellow robes and not having much of reputation for his consideration for his tenants. Another has a reputation as being a genial host for teenage young ladies at Chinese restaurants and Muslim hotels."

The charge was that certain important personages endeavouring to establish the hegemony of the EBP were "immoral" and that it would be absurd to expect the Buddhist clergy and the laity to follow their

lead. He drives this point home when he stresses:

"The Maha Sangha would remember that ERP was organised to expel from public life irreligious people who were rushing the country into irreligion by their evil example while they asked the Buddhists to practise in ditation. It would be the very negation of the objects of the EBP if the EBP having achieved that were to set a group of irreligious bhikkhus, who treat the Vinaya with the utmost contempt, to lead them."

Mettananda whilst stressing that the unification of the "sangha" was something desirable declared categorically that "dussila" bhikkhus should be driven out of any organisation, if it hoped to win respect and influence. The primary task before Buddhists he stated was to cleanse the ranks of the Buddhist clergy of "dussila" (evil, immoral) bhikkhus.

This letter of Mettananda created a *furor*. It showed among other things that the EBP was split from end to end. In the days that followed September 4 Buddharakkhita, Seelawansa and Ratnasara endeavoured to meet Mettananda's charges. Other priests and many laymen also wrote to the press about this matter. All these letters will be examined in the next article.

The meeting on September 9 fizzled out with a whimper in spite of the efforts of many MEP politicians to patch up the differences between the Maha Sangha priests and the Buddhist Congress faction on the one hand, and to bridge the wide gulf that existed between the sponsors of the EBP and the High Priests of Malwatte and Asgiriya.

To be concluded next week



BEGGARS

Beggars usually frequent places where there are large gatherings of people as these are the most suitable places for their trade. Bus queues, market places, shopping centres are generally preferred; religious festivals too attract large numbers of beggars. The giving of alms at religious festivals has very strong associations with religious sentiment and beggars exploit this factor as much as possible. A religious festival without beggars is, therefore, an almost impossible occurrence in Ceylon. On the "Car festival" day, at the Nallur Temple in Jaffna which draws large crowds it was reported that there were no less than 500 beggars. At the recent Kataragama Festival over 703 beggars were counted.

A study of the beggars at the recent Kataragama Festival revealed some interesting facts about the beggar problem. Anyone who visits Kataragama during the Festival is struck by the number of beggars who congregate there, the majority of whom line themselves up all the way down to the Sella-Kataragama shrine, which is about three miles away from the main Kataragama temple. They come from all parts of the Island. There were beggars from Batticaloa, Matara, Galle, Colombo, Kuruwagaly, Jaffna, Trincomalee and many other places. A few beggars had come all the way from India, solely to beg at Kataragama during the season. Some of these beggars, it was ascertained, move from festival to festival for the purpose of begging.

Kataragama

It is interesting to note that a good number of beggars at Kataragama were cripples. Some of them were so badly disabled that they could not have come there without other's help. Enquiries revealed that many of these cripples as well as quite a number of other types of beggars, were mere agents for the profit of one or two persons who acted as entrepreneurs in the beggars trade. There was a man known popularly as Thomas, at Sella-Kataragama, who, while he appeared to beg with a group of

other beggars, exercised authority over his companions. On being questioned the man reluctantly admitted that his companions were his own men, from each of whom he collected about Rs. 6,- per day. Incidentally, Thomas had exhibited to the public a deformed hand as his excuse for begging which, on closer scrutiny by the officer conducting the survey, turned out to be only a pretence.

Thomas also gave information about a Daniel Fernando of Katugastota who was managing a band of about two hundred beggars. Fernando ran a boutique on the spot where the beggars had their meals. He had brought some of the beggars from Katugastota, but collected the rest at Kataragama and the adjoining areas.

It appears to be the practice of beggar Mudalalies such as the above to take their group of beggars from festival to festival. They get these beggars to beg for them and in turn they supply them with their meals and perhaps pay them a wage. They command all the points of vantage from the point of begging and anyone who encroaches on their territory is driven out. One lonely old

The following is an extract from the *Report on the Beggar Problem in Ceylon* based on a survey conducted by the Department of Social Services. The report was published as sessional paper XI of 1956.

woman complained that she was not allowed to beg near the approach to the Sella-Kataragama shrine where, she stated, she could collect more alms.

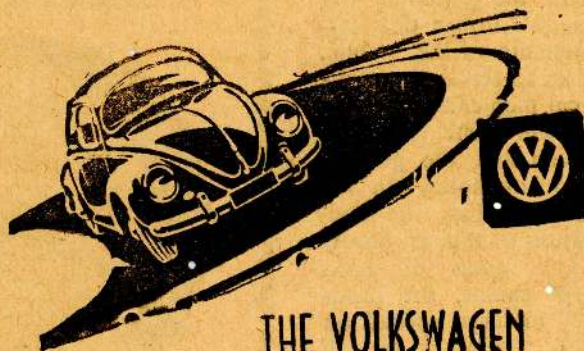
Beggar Mudalalies are reported to be operating in Anuradhapura too; certain businessmen in and around Anuradhapura get down beggars during the festivals, feed and accommodate them and get them to beg. At the end of the day they take over the collections and give a portion thereof to the beggars keeping the rest for themselves.

Bogus Beggars

Among those begging at Kataragama there were quite a number of bogus beggars. There was an able-bodied man from Matara who admitted that he had pasted some cotton wool on his arms to give it the appearance of being covered with sores. A small boy of about 13 years of age was found to be faking a fracture of his hand. One man had apparently applied a thick, dark preparation on his leg which gave

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The Rotten Side of the Rotten Business

The doctor who spoke up in your issue of September 8th has I am afraid not represented the facts accurately. There is truth in some of the things he says, but there is also a lot of halftruths and inaccuracies.

That the new entrant doctors are debarred from private practice must be viewed from the qualifying adjective that he uses "practically". It is this same word that debarred them from obtaining a rise in salary in every salaries commission. The last salaries commission said "in view of the fact that the government does not intend to restrict private practice to government medical officers in the near future or to drastically curtail the practice they enjoy we do not wish to make any recommendations." They further stated that "in the event of the government changing its policy, the salaries of doctors should be reviewed." The G. M. O. A. has asked for complete abolition of private practice, so the question of bribe does not arise. The word "practically" debarred from private practice means only, that those who wish to can do it, and if some doctors do not do it is because they are not willing to take advantage of the patients. The patients should not be made to suffer for a bad law in the department.

On another point the writer is confused. The duty of the doctor is not to serve the public; it is for him to treat the patients. The government should utilise this service for the benefits of the public. If a doctor tries to serve the public, any medical men can imagine the chaos that will exist. There is also an argument that the government spends lots of money on the specialisation of doctors, the doctor's contribution to this is hardly mentioned. The years of hard work, the stiff exams, the hardships that they undergo abroad on an inadequate allowance are all forgotten in the rush to hurl mud. One would think that if they sent a civil servant and spent that money on him he will come back with his F.R.C.S., or M.D., M.R.C.P.

There is nothing in the article that is against the request that private practice should be abolished and

adequate salaries be paid to doctors. Surely the writer does not at empt to say that the doctors are paid a salary commensurate with the work they do or are expected to do when private practice is abolished? On the other hand the writer has drawn attention to a large number of malpractices that occur today under the present system, which is what all the doctors in the G.M.O.A. are fighting against. In the face of this I cannot see any reason for allowing private or consultant practice to govt. doctors. The Government should pay an adequate salary and mobilise the services of every man in the Dept. to distribute them throughout the island in the manner best suited for the service of the State.

I wish to commend the writer on the para on environment. All I can say is that I heartily endorse every word he says. About the professional standards there is a lot of truth in the writer's words. I can only add

that the government has been aiding and abetting these unscrupulous men.

The writer on the whole has not suggested a workable remedy for the shortcomings. It is clear that he lacks a broad vision. I think that your footnote explains this deficiency. No man can could have to his credit an outstanding record in the Department, or distinguish himself in Govt. service, if he has a broad outlook. I believe that the writer is for the retention of private practice to specialists as consultants, but I cannot see what that has to do with an adequate wage to doctors and the abolition of private practice entirely.

It is one thing to force doctors to work, and quite another to see that the terms of service are such that they will work with a loyalty that only comes from a satisfied heart.

M. J. Fernando,
L.M.S., (Ceylon)

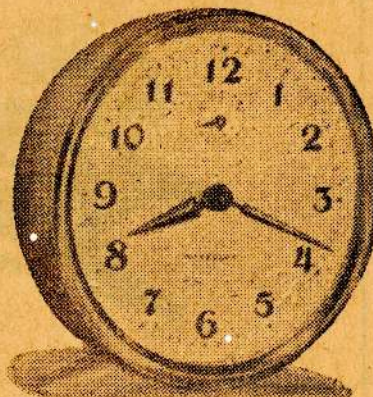
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Two members of the Ceylon Government Mission to the USSR and Peoples' China returned to Colombo this week and what they have had to say about those two countries make most interesting reading. Sir Claude Corea, Ceylon's High Commissioner in London, and T. B. Subasinghe, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, have been interviewed by reporters in the daily press. (The third member of the delegation Raju Coomaraswamy, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Finance, has shot off to Washington to join the Minister of Finance who has gone there for some Conference).

According to Sir Claude, the Soviet Premier Bulganin himself had assured the Ceylon delegation that the USSR would extend economic and technical assistance to Ceylon without any strings being attached to the same. The Soviet Union furthermore was interested not only in trade (tea, rubber, coconut oil, graphite, etc from Ceylon in exchange for agricultural and industrial machinery and capital equipment), but also in the development of cultural relations.

Sir Claude expressed admiration for the rapid pace of agricultural and industrial development in the USSR, and cited the opening up of fifty million acres of virgin land in Siberia as an example. When questioned about "freedom" in the Soviet Union, he stated that the Ceylon delegation had been free to go where they wanted, and see whatever they wanted (including an atomic plant). About religion, he had said that the government and the bulk of the people did not seem interested in religion, but anyone who wanted to was free to practise his faith.

China

Sir Claude described the Chinese as a charming and friendly people who were grateful to Ceylon for having sold her rubber when she needed it and in the teeth of opposition of the Big Powers. He also spoke of the rapid strides China had

taken in the last six years in the matter of industrial development and described how she was now producing agricultural machinery, automobiles, tyres and tubes. China, too was anxious to increase her trade with Ceylon, and was also keen about cultural relations.

Sir Claude Corea's impressions about these countries, particularly his statement that both the Soviet and Chinese Governments were sincerely interested in the maintenance of world peace, has gone a long way to dispel many unfortunate illusions which "Western" propaganda (over the years) had created in this country. The "iron curtain", which the clique now in power in Washington, had endeavoured to set up to separate the socialist countries from the rest of the world has now almost crumbled completely.

Cold War

It will be remembered that the first big dent in the Iron Curtain was made last year when Premier Nehru paid a visit to the Soviet Union. Since that time there has been a stream of visitors to the Soviet Union from all countries in the world, and Ceylon too has broken away from the old tradition the UNP had set up.

The first blast in Ceylon against the iron curtain (in so far as the older generation was concerned) came when Sir Velupillai and Lady Coomaraswamy, Ceylon's former Ambassador in Burma, paid an "unofficial" visit to China (after he relinquished his duties in Rangoon) and told the public of Ceylon what they had seen in Peoples China. The climate in Ceylon was not very good for better relations with the socialist and communist countries at that time, and Sir Velupillai's observations went unheeded.

Sir Claude went to these countries under official auspices. Not only has the change of government resulted in a different atmosphere in Colombo, but the international situation has also eased to a large extent, with the result that the visit of the Ceylon delegation was fruitful

What has struck many people is the manner in which Sir Claude Corea has reacted to what he saw and heard in Moscow and Peking. A columnist in the *Morning Times* of September 25 has summed up the feelings of a thinking person thus: "I was not surprised to read Sir Claude Corea's open-minded views of what he saw in Russia and China during his recent visits to those countries as the leader of the Ceylon diplomatic mission. Sir Claude has always been willing to learn and he has never been afraid to express his opinion."

Asia Foundation

The *Times* group of newspapers reported last week that Government had requested the Asia Foundation authorities operating from Colombo to obtain official sanction for whatever payments and donations they made in Ceylon. It will be remembered that it was the *Tribune*, ever since it started two and a half years ago, which insisted that Asia Foundation (it was then the Committee for Free Asia) should not be permitted to operate freely, without

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According to a survey conducted by the Department of Industries in 1953 (Vide *Ceylon Economic*, Vol. 3, No. 2) out of a total of 186 units that were engaged in the production of soap no less than 146 were forced to close down. Even amongst the remaining 40 units more than 90% of market is shared by the six larger factories (Census of Industry — 1952). of which Lever Brothers is by far the largest.

Since this survey in 1953, competition in the soap industry in Ceylon has grown keener and many more local units have been forced to cease operations. Lever Brothers, because of their vast financial resources, have been able to expand their factory in Ceylon to many times its original capacity. This expansion has been at the expense of the indigenous sector which as a result is faced with the serious threat of extinction.

India

It is interesting to recall that a similar situation prevailed in India until recently when the Government finally decided not to permit the expansion of Lever Brothers in India. The annual rated capacity of soap production in India at that time was estimated around 275,000 tons. Of this nearly 200,000 tons were from the factory-type units and the remainder from the cottage industry units. The rated capacity of Lever Brothers was approximately 50,000 tons. What was very serious, however, was the fact that while Lever Brothers was operating their factories at their maximum capacity the cottage units were operating at less than 40% capacity and, what is worse, the indigenous factories at less than 25%

Commenting on this situation, Mr. H. Siddaveerappa, the then Minister of Industries in Mysore observed:

“The severe competition the indigenous sector of the soap industry has had to face due to the operations of the International Combine has indeed created a very serious situation. It is seen that the estimated capacity of this Combine comes up to nearly one third of that of the

entire indigenous organised sector. It would appear also that while the indigenous sector is operating below one third of its rated capacity, the International Combine is producing to almost its full installed capacity and is contemplating further expansion. It is obvious that the indigenous sector is crippled in consequence and that the crisis it is facing is a very grave one indeed.....this competition has grown increasingly alarming since then and has now become almost a menace to the indigenous sector.....”

In a message to the 20th annual conference of the Indian Soap and Toiletaries Maker's Association, Mr. N. H. Tata drew attention to the sad plight of the Indian soap industry and appealed to the people to differentiate between what is merely 'made in India' and what is really Swadeshi. “No Indian”, Mr. Tata stated, “with any self respect, will ignore the efforts made by the Indian soap manufacturers during the last few years.....It is indeed amazing that the highly developed national consciousness of the people of India has not yet observed the tragedy of the Indian soap industry and the misfortunes when the Indian soap manufactures are facing at a time when other Indian industries are thriving. This is because the people of India have not taken sufficient care to differentiate between what is merely 'made in India' and what is really Swadeshi which means 'made in India with Indian capital and management'. The future of the Indian soap industry will remain bleak so long as this subtle difference is not sufficiently realised by the Indian consumers.

“We have no objection,” the message continued, “to foreign capital and foreign enterprise, nor are we worried about foreign competition, so long as such foreign section of the industry does not dominate and dictate the price and policy of the indigenous section of the industry by sheer strength of international resources.”

It was a result of pressure from leaders of industry and others interested in the development of indigenous industry that the Government of India decided to take

measures to curb the expansion of Lever Brothers in India. In Ceylon, the demand for similar governmental action has come from not only those who were and are interested in the soap industry but also from all who realise the need for special protection for local industry against the tremendous impact of the International Combine.

SUEZ

There are certain disquieting whispers about the Suez crisis and the U.K. Commission in Colombo which need public attention: because if the activities attributed to certain persons connected with the High Commission are true they would amount to the grossest interference in the internal affairs of this country. Two instances have been brought to our notice. The first one concerned a talk over the Radio Ceylon by a respected member of the staff of the *Times of Ceylon*. It is said that personages connected with the UK High Commission created a *furor* with a VIP in the Ceylon Government that this talk (which in our view it was no more than an objective presentation of facts of Suez crisis) was *anti-British*. It is also said that under pressure this VIP hauled certain persons in Radio Ceylon over the coals. The second instance relates to news despatches which the *Lake House* press received from Cairo from its correspondents who went to Egypt recently. We have learnt that some UK diplomatic personages stormed into the *sanctum sanctorum* of Lake House and “protested” against the tone of these despatches. We understand that as a result of this pressure — it must be remembered that a large amount of advertising in Ceylon is still British — certain subsequent news despatches of these correspondents were put into cold storage.

The issue in Suez is between freedom and colonialism, and if Britain is at the wrong end of the stick and insists on persisting in its Blimpism, it is no reason for the UK High Commission in Ceylon to throw its weight around.

One of things that is creating the greatest consternation among thinking and knowledgeable people is the way particular Cabinet Ministers make public pronouncements in regard to vital matters of policy. Take the recent instance on the question of the "English" stream in our schools. Minister Dahanayake one day proclaimed that from 1956 there would be no English medium stream in all schools. With a twist of his tongue he sought to secure a change which in other countries have been spread over five to fifteen years.

Not many hours afterwards, the Prime Minister made another declaration (said to be after consultation with Dahanayake) that the English stream would continue as heretofore, but that from 1960 selection to the Public Service would be on the basis of examinations conducted in Sinhalese and Tamil. Now which is which, and what is what?

One has to take the Prime Minister's statement as being more authoritative than Dahanayake's, but the question is how long is the public to be tormented by Ministerial pronouncements that are overruled within 24 hours (*pronouncements that deserved to be overruled everytime*). Is there a constitutional tradition called the Collective Responsibility of the Cabinet, or has this principle been jettisoned?

Enthusiasm

The tremendous enthusiasm and goodwill which the victory of the MEP had created among all sections of the people has greatly dwindled in recent weeks. Popular personal support for Premier Bandaranaike has increased, but the actions of MEP stalwarts like Rajaratne (now in exile), Philip Gunewardena and Dahanayake have created disillusion among all sections and strata of the population. In the urban areas, the disillusionment is more widespread than in the rural areas, but to judge from the reactions of the rural SSC - unemployed youth the rabble-rousing antics of Dahanayake

have not cut much ice. And Philip Gunawardena's constant threats against the Press is not likely to improve the situation for the MEP.

But this disillusion does not mean that people want the UNP back. That is one thing everybody seems to be clear about. The UNP is dead and that to revive it would be to invoke the past. The question which is troubling people is: will Bandaranaike be able to purge his Cabinet of persons who are bringing discredit to the Government? For, if he is not strong enough to do so, public disillusionment is bound to grow, but it is yet difficult to say what popular reactions are likely to be.

Good for five years

Whatever the sense of disappointment among the people who thought the MEP would usher in a *new era* is, it is clear that the Bandaranaike Cabinet is likely to last the whole term of the present Parliament (of course, unexpected and unpredictable factors may create upsets). It is the realisation of this fact that makes men like Kariapper desert the Federal Party, and join the Government Parliamentary Party — language question or no language question. Political and other circles are convinced that, barring special circumstances, the position of the Bandaranaike Government is assured for five years.

Many people, however, would wish a Cabinet reshuffle that would bring into the Government persons who would not go off the rails and create hostility to the MEP. Premier Bandaranaike, they feel, has a splendid opportunity to bring about a social and economic revolution in this country, but with the present team containing persons who persist in provoking antagonisms and illwill such a transformation would be well nigh impossible.

Hand Work

For, if there is one thing which is necessary to take the country out of the social and economic morass in which it finds itself today, it is

hard work by the entire able-bodied manpower (and womanpower) of the island. Such hard work would be forthcoming only if the people were roused to enthusiasm. The necessary enthusiasm existed for a few days after the victory of the MEP with its progressive socialist manifesto, but owing to the inactivity of the Government and its racio-jingoistic policy on language (coupled with the mirage that language can solve economic questions like employment), the enthusiasm has evaporated.

Today the country is in as bad a state as ever before. The labourer won't work, the clerk, won't work, the top executive won't think - any more than is necessary to keep things going in such a way as not to lose their jobs. With such a spirit no radical transformation is possible. And, it is here that the MEP will meet its Waterloo. If the Bandaranaike Government is not able to win the active and voluntary support of all sections of the people and mobilise them to do 12 hours a day for 8 hours pay (during the period of transition), then the MEP must fail.

Communalism of any kind (direct, and indirect, and undercover, blatant and secret) is perhaps the most dangerous cause of the present illwill that is growing towards the MEP. Not only racial minorities, but all sections not favoured by communal-minded Ministers, are getting restive. And the racial and religious majorities, which the particular Ministers are trying to placate, are getting even more disappointed because *Sinhala Only* is not delivering the goods. They imagined that, with *Sinhala Only* jobs which would produce money without work would be forthcoming, but this has not happened.

It is time that certain Ministers of the Bandaranaike Cabinet realised that communalism (however disguised) will not solve any of the problems facing the country. It is hard work, that can do it and to make people work hard proper inducements must be offered.

WEEK BY WEEK

(continued from page 311)

proper official control. The *Tribune* cited many reasons why a foreign organisation should not be allowed to distribute *largesse* in Ceylon to whom it pleased, as it pleased. The *Tribune* cry was at that time almost a voice in the wilderness, but an year and a half after this paper started its campaign the *Times* groups of papers also saw the *raison de etre* behind our campaign and joined in the demand that the activities of Asia Foundation should be controlled by Government. Sometimes after that the *Lake House* papers also joined in the demand.

The *Tribune* demand had been that all donations and contributions made by Asia Foundation should be channelled through Government. The decision that seems to have been arrived at (and which Asia Foundation seem to have accepted) is that the approval of Government should be obtained for any donations. An organisation like Asia Foundation is not likely to have one list of government approved donations and another "secret" list, but this is a matter that needs watching in view of the allegations that have been made against this organisation in this country as well as other countries in Asia.

Dudley Senanayake

The return of Dudley Senanayake, former Premier of Ceylon, has given rise to a large number of speculative conjectures. Will he join the UNP and lead it once again? Will he team up with the MEP? Or, will he start another party?

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Dudley Senanayake himself has been silent. He has come back after medical treatment, and from all reports it would appear that he has now regained much of his former good health.

In all this guesswork about Dudley Senanayake, the name of R. G. Senanayake seems to figure prominently. R. G. is a figure of mystery in the MEP set-up. He still holds two seats and many insist that he would be willing to surrender one to Dudley. But it is known that Dudley, when he was Premier, was never very happy about his "cousin" Dick. It will be remembered that when a major crisis brewed in the Dudley Senanayake Cabinet over the rice-price and other questions, R. G. Senanayake ran away to London and sulked there, leaving Dudley to face the music and his political rivals (undercover) alone. Knowledgeable circles are of the view that it would take a lot of persuasion to make Dudley agree to team up with R.G.

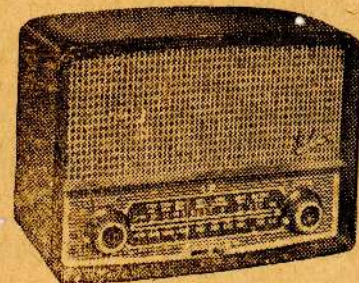
And what of Sir John? It is also reported that Sir John is likely to offer Dudley his seat and retire from politics. Whilst this game of guessing is going on, Dudley Senanayake, it is reported to be studying the situation. He continues to be the enigma he always was.

Gal Oya

After the report that Sir Lalitha Rajapakse had been appointed as a one man Commission was published (he too had accepted the assignment), the *Morning Times* protested in a very vigorous editorial that it would be more satisfactory if three persons were on the Commission in view of communal and political implications involved in the investigations. The *Times* group of papers have always very rightly taken the position that an investigation into the troubles at Gal Oya should be by a three-man Commission. The *Times* have also pressed for a fuller inquiry which would include the communal disturbances in Colombo and other places, but for some strange reason the Government has not thought fit to act on this second advice.

Shortly after the *Times* protest against a one-man inquiry by Sir Lalitha (however eminent and impartial he may be) it was reported that the Premier had decided to entrust the investigations to a three-man Commission. The search is now on for two other persons to join Sir Lalitha.

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THEIR ROLE

Mr. President, yesterday I was referring to the public attacks launched against public servants, collectively and individually, by some Members of the present Cabinet without any restraints being imposed on them by those in command. When one reads these utterances in the Press one cannot help feeling that some of the Members of the Cabinet have been so long in the Opposition that they have carried the Opposition mentality to their Cabinet seats. They are so conditioned that they must oppose and attack.

I suppose they cannot attack the Government because they themselves are the Government. They cannot attack with impunity the Opposition parties because the Opposition parties are in a position to retaliate effectively. Therefore they have to attack somebody and they probably seem to be selecting the public servants who are defenceless; and the irony of it is that by the law and convention of the land these public servants are expected to be defended by the attackers themselves! That is the situation that presents itself before us and it is somewhat tragic for the future of this country.

I do not think the soft words and mellifluous style of the Minister of Finance will solve these problems. They only expose his ineffectiveness. He should, as head of the Public Service, either contain his colleagues or tell us that this theory of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet is a bad legacy from the U.N.P.; that they have no faith in collective responsibility of the Cabinet and that they are in fact experimenting with a novel and new theory of cabinet government according to which the Prime Minister is not the leader of a team, but only a referee for the time being and accepted as such by the contending factions and the rival claimants. If that is the theory, we should like to have some statement that a new form of Cabinet Government is being experimented upon and that

Public servants are very much in the news today. Whilst the Premier quite correctly emphasises that public servants should efficiently and dutifully execute the policies formulated by Government, many MEP politicians seem to think that public servants should be stooges of the ruling party. This extract from a speech made by Senator A. M.A. Azeez on September 13, 1956 provides much food for thought.

this Government has a different theory which is far from this so-called collective responsibility which it probably thinks is a bad legacy from the last Government.

I think it is hardly necessary for me to say that the Cabinet Ministers and the Government should not regard civil servants — I am using the term "civil servant" in the English sense as inclusive of all members of the Public Service and

not in the narrow restricted sense that is popular in Ceylon—as rivals in power.

I hope they will realize that these civil servants are not rivals in power but co-operators, their own co-operators in administration. I think it would be relevant for me to read a quotation from an authority which sets out the relationship that should prevail between Ministers and the administration. I am quoting from Harold J. Laski's *Parliamentary Government in England*, page 311.

"If housing is bad, if standards of public health have to beset, if there are trades in which wages are unendurably low, if the public conscience demands certain minima of sanitation and safety in factories, then there must be the assembling of knowledge to permit action. There must be principles of action decided upon; and the civil servant whose life is passed in dealing with that knowledge will naturally advise upon those principles. Because

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Public Servants

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moreover, he has ability, he will also have views; he is not, and cannot be, a die to receive without discussion the imprint of Ministerial direction. It is his business to tell the Minister what, in his judgment, are the probable consequences of any policy for which the minister proposes to be responsible. He must warn against this line and urge the wisdom of that. The Minister must make up his mind; but he cannot, certainly, make up his mind wisely, save as he considers the burden of the experience upon his proposed line as that experience is interpreted for him by his officials. There is nothing in this of conspiracy; it is plain common sense. A policy which was separated from official experience would almost certainly be ignorant and, not seldom, disastrous.

"The civil service, in a word, has the influence it exercises because that influence corresponds to the needs implied by our political democracy. Once there is universal suffrage, political parties naturally

seek to win the largest vote they can. They construct their programmes with a view to its attraction."

He goes on—

"What the civil service really does is to maintain the government as a going concern. It corrects the risks of popular election by subduing its results to a medium where ascertainable knowledge is the protective envelope of action.....It indicates consequences; it does not impose commands. The decision which result is the Minister's decision; its business is the provision of the material within which, in its judgment, the best decision can be made."

Yesterday my hon. Friend, Senator Kannangara, referred to the impartiality of the civil service and the tradition that has developed by which its members are bound to carry out the decisions of the Ministers. I would underline that statement by reading a very short passage from the book *Cabinet Government* by Sir Ivor Jennings. He is quoting Sir Warren Fisher, at page 97:


"Determination of policy is the function of Minister, and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the civil servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same goodwill whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute. At the same time, it is the traditional duty of civil servants, while decisions are being formulated, to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the Minister's initial view. The presentation to the Minister of relevant facts, the ascertainment and marshalling of which may often call into play the whole organization of the department, demands of the civil servant the greatest care. The presentation of inferences from the facts equally demands from him all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command."


Therefore, instead of regarding them as rivals to be attacked, I think the time has come when Members of


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POLICY

With the assumption of power by the present Government, there was a great deal of apprehension in the private sector as to the new policies that would be formulated. Private enterprise eagerly awaited the Budget when they thought there would be a clear indication as to the path that the new Government would take. However, the budget did not give any clear indication except to say in the Hon. Finance Minister's own words "that it is only a prelude to the radical changes we intend to bring about both in policy and in the manner of administration." He has promised to define more clearly the role which the private sector will be called upon to play when Govern-

Public Servants

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the Government should realize that they are really partners—in fact junior partners. Therefore it is all the more the duty of the Government to assure public servants that this would be the desire of Opposition parties or groups.

I think I have read rather lengthy extracts to impress this on the Government. I have done so because I am convinced that some Ministers of the present Government are not aware of these passages. I do hope the hon. Leader will bring these passages to their specific notice because I am convinced they do not seem to be aware these passages exist at all in any books.

SENATOR NAGALINGAM :
Publish them in swabasha!

SENATOR AZEEZ : We have not got the regulations. They have suspended the publication of the new regulations. I do hope these passages will be brought to their notice.

I would summarize and say that it is not a question of replacing one set of favourites in the Public Service by another set of favourites. The real crux of the matter is not to have any favourites at all. I hope this People's Government will follow a policy of "no favourites" rather than have one set of favourites replaced by another set of favourites.

ment adopts its overall plans for development. We should like this definition to be made as early as possible.

We have broken away from a pattern that existed for many many years in the past when the road was quite clear. Frankly we do not know where we stand today. We do not want the private sector to be looked at with suspicion. We want the Government to feel that we too are national conscious and patriotic, that all our endeavours are not for selfish personal aggrandisement. We know we have a part to play in the economic development of the country and we should be trusted to play this part. I should, therefore, like to appeal to Government to let us know early the limits within which we are called upon to render assistance in the building up of our country's economy.

In our view the policy should be one where the Government, the private sector and foreign capital without strings can all play their full part. Economic development being so vital all avenues must be tapped and all sections ready and capable of doing so should be called upon to contribute to the national good, under the frame-work of a nationally planned economic policy. In this connection we welcome the formation of a National Planning Board and the inclusion of representatives from the private sector. While on this subject I have to mention that the Minister of Industries & Fisheries stated very recently in Parliament that the Government's policy was to examine every proposal of foreign investment on its own merits in order to see whether such investment would be harmful to national interests. He stated further that no such applications would be favourably considered if they undermined the interests of the country. The Chamber has already requested the Minister to make the government's policy on foreign investment known by the issue of a "White Paper" at an early date.

International Relations

We have to build the prosperity of this country on firm foundations. We have to maintain good relations

We publish further extracts from the speech made by R.F.S. de Mel, J.P. at the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Merchants Chamber on August 30, 1956. He deals with three important problems to which Government must pay immediate attention.

with our neighbours in Asia, we have to maintain international relations on a basis of goodwill and reciprocity in the economic sphere, and we have more than all to maintain our own liberty in strict accordance with the democratic ideal. No one can deny that we in this country have a very formidable task before us. We are responsible to ourselves and to posterity for the impulse which we give this country in the grave national problems which confront us. All over the world we are witnessing the birth of a new civilisation and we cannot hope to be free from the currents of ideas which are sweeping over other countries.

Legislation is shaped not entirely by leaders in any country but also by its public opinion. Our leaders and legislators and the public too should realise what is the true measure of that democratic freedom which is our most priceless heritage which alone can become the means of bestowing true liberty on generations to come. It is very necessary for us all to forget differences and to strive for the realisation of a common unity and a spirit of tolerance at this time.

We cannot hope to benefit from the freedom which we enjoy unless we realise that we are cutting the ground under our own feet if we think in terms of separate communities and separate interests. Our bickerings over matters that are not vital should cease and we should show a trust and confidence in each other and accept the idea of every individual in this country as being endowed with equal rights, with equal privileges, and as being entitled to be treated with the utmost measure of justice. I sincerely trust that all those in this country who are true lovers of freedom and who have it in their power to mould our future, will help in the creation

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Trade & Industry

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of this ideal which will ensure for ourselves and posterity the individual liberty which must always remain the foundation of our true happiness. It is especially for the younger generation to realise their responsibility in this matter. They will be the citizens of tomorrow. Our future will then be safe for we will have independence as a genuinely realised democratic ideal.

TENDERS

You will recall that last year I mentioned to you that the Chamber had urged Government to amend the Financial Regulations to permit of a more satisfactory and less secretive procedure in dealing with Government Tenders. We had urged that tenderers be allowed to be present at the time of opening of

tenders and that the rates at which tenders are awarded be made known to the public. The present system as you know was set up under the old Colonial Administration and is completely unsuited today for a free and independent country. In view of the large development projects which the Government will undertake shortly it is imperative that a new and efficient system which would inspire confidence not only among tenderers but also among the public should be introduced immediately. I am glad to report that the present Minister of Finance has appreciated our position and agreed in full to the suggestions made by a deputation of this Chamber which met him recently. I cannot refrain from placing on record our appreciation of the most helpful and courteous attitude of the Hon. Minister during our long interview with him.

BEGGARS [from page 309]

his leg a dreadful appearance. Another man was lying flat on the ground exhibiting a sore on his arm caused by the removal of the skin over an area of about 3 in. — 2 in; the sore appeared red and fresh and was probably caused by the application of some irritant preparation which, of course, he denied having done. The most interesting case was that of a boy of about 16 years who was lying on his back, his legs thrown over his head and his hands twisted; he was uttering some weird sounds while he stretched his basket out for alms. On being inspected closely by the officer conducting the survey, the boy could not help grinning and admitting that he was only pretending. He seemed to like being photographed and allowed himself to be photographed both in his posed as well as in his normal state

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Saturday's Card

Racing on Saturday the 29th, brings to an end yet another racing year, which ends as it began — on a note of gloom. The still uncertain decision of the Government's attitude, the alarming losses incurred by the Club, and many other unsolved Turf problems, are still with us.

It is to be hoped, that when the new racing year commences on the 13th of October, the Stewards and the Committee, will solve these problems slowly but surely, and together with the members of the Club, set the stage to a great revival of Turf matters, so that ere long, we will be able to see great horses and horsemen, battle for the spoils of the Sport of Kings.

All credit then to the Owners and Trainers for the excellent support they have given the 2 race meetings fixed for this month. Undoubtedly, lack of Class is quite apparent. But to make up for this, we had excellent fields on Saturday in most of

the events, and as this article is written long before the acceptors are out, I am confident we will have better fields out on this Saturday. The going remains excellent.

The card arranged for Saturday is a 7 race one, 4 for thoroughbreds, and 3 for Arabs, in distances ranging from a mile to 6 furs.

Court of Claims must have pride of place in the VEYANGODA PLATE. This son of Court Martial is having his 4th run, and the manner in which he galloped on Saturday, although beaten, suggests that he will pay to follow from now on. *Peri Gal* has incurred a penalty of 6 lbs for her gallant effort to get up to *Nasseb* last Saturday, but so fast was she travelling, she must appreciate the extra 2 furs. At this distance she has always run her best races. Should the going turn soft, an each way on *Sun Gold* will be amply compensated. At 7.7., I think he is the best outsider.

In the TELDENIYA PLATE, I understand *Friendly Isle* will not run, and I like the following in this order. *Flying Sorcerer*, *Brockdale*, and *Pantoufle*. Should the going be soft, *Boston* must be noted.

There are 21 entries in the 1st division of the GALAGEDERA PLATE, and make no mistake, it is time that *Paradise Way* chalked up a long over due win. Now running over a distance more to her liking, and at a convenient weight, I cannot see a reason why she cannot be among the first three at least. To follow her, I like *Nico-tera*, and *Dry Joke*.

The 2nd Division of this Plate must be won by *Dublin Pearl* from *Sylvia's Abbott*, and *Neptune*. Note *Kusum* for a good fluke.

Arabs in Class II will have the DOLOBAGE PLATE all to themselves. This will be the smallest field for the day, and will almost certainly be the 1st race. *Attila* ran an excellent 4th last Saturday, finishing very strongly. On that run, he must be given an excellent chance of winning, particularly as he is going over an extra 2 furs.

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