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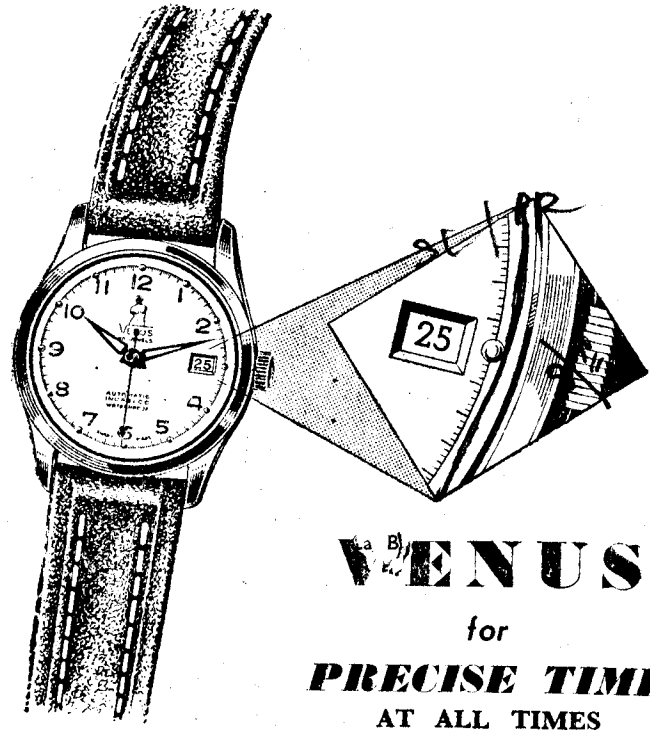

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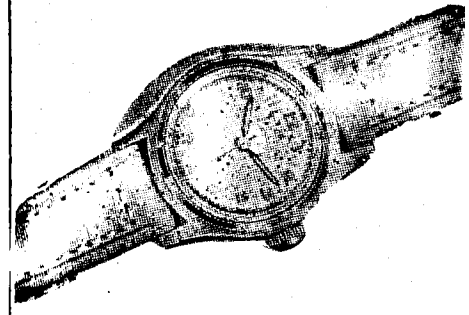

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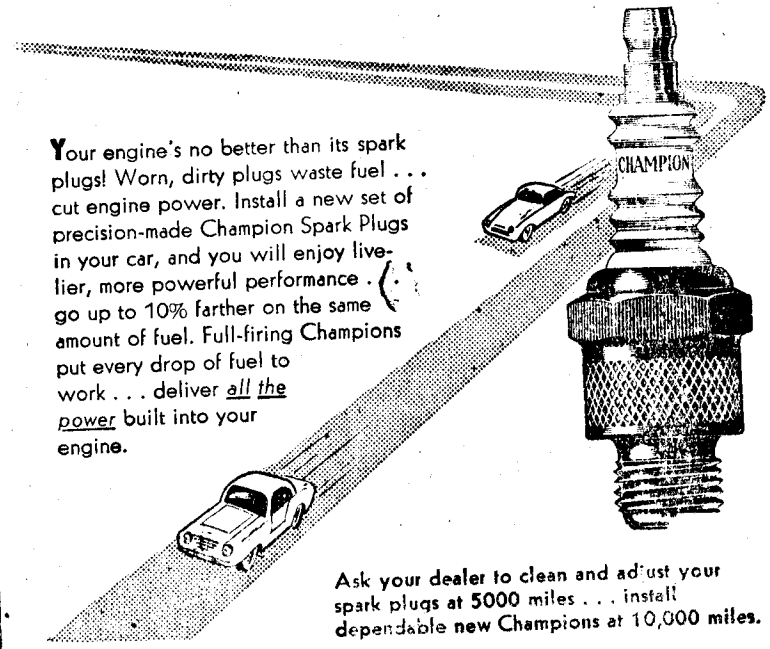

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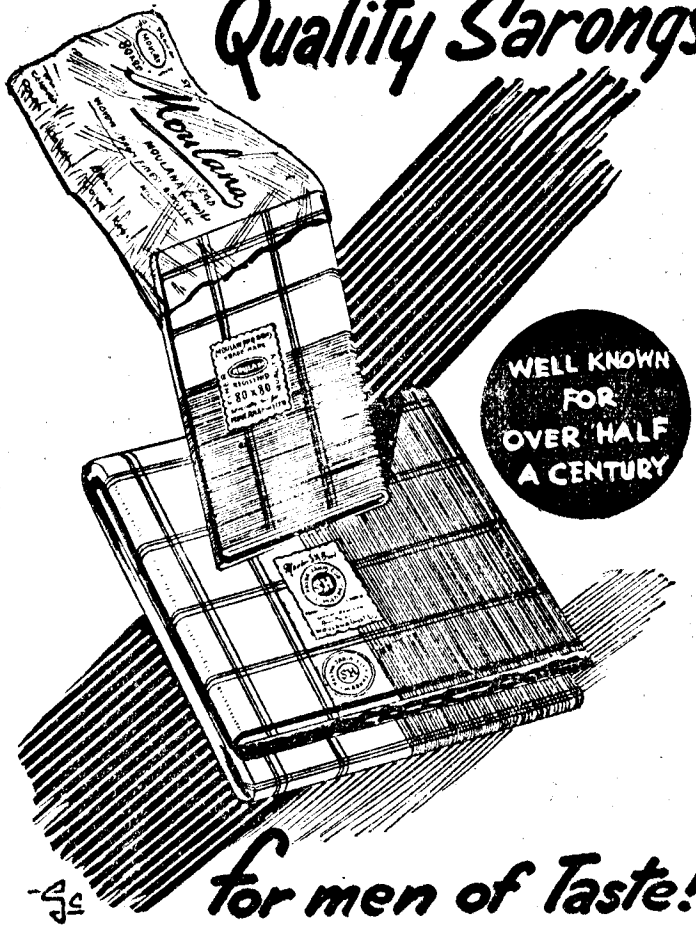

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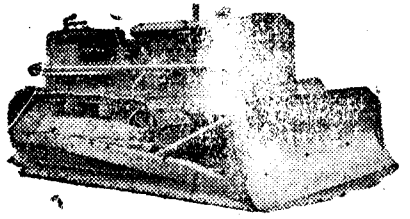

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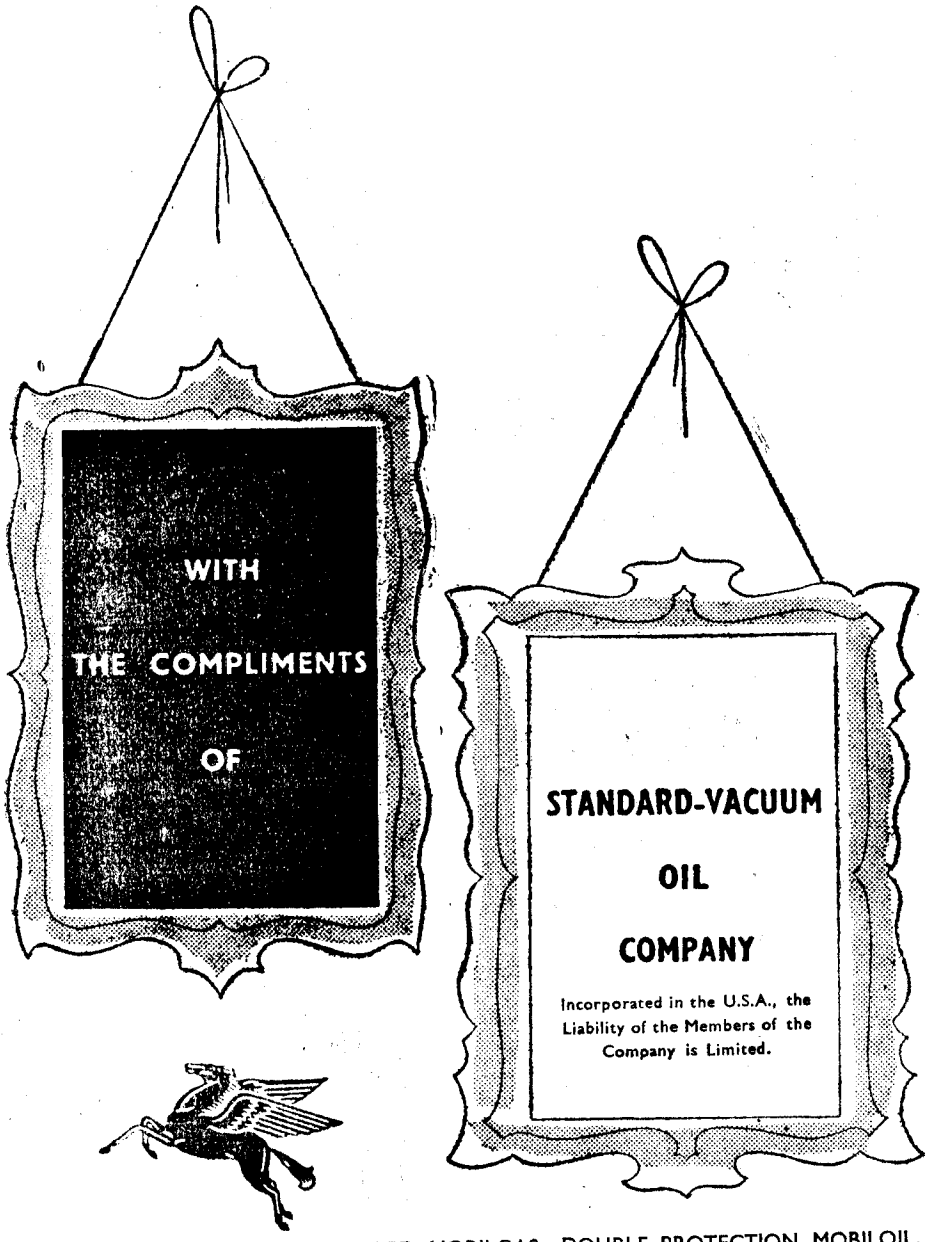

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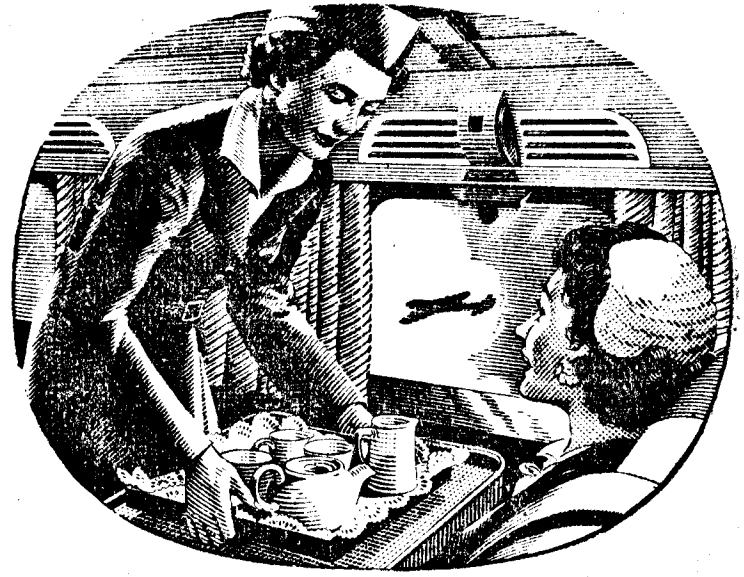

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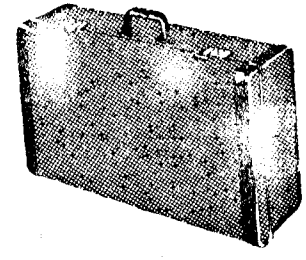

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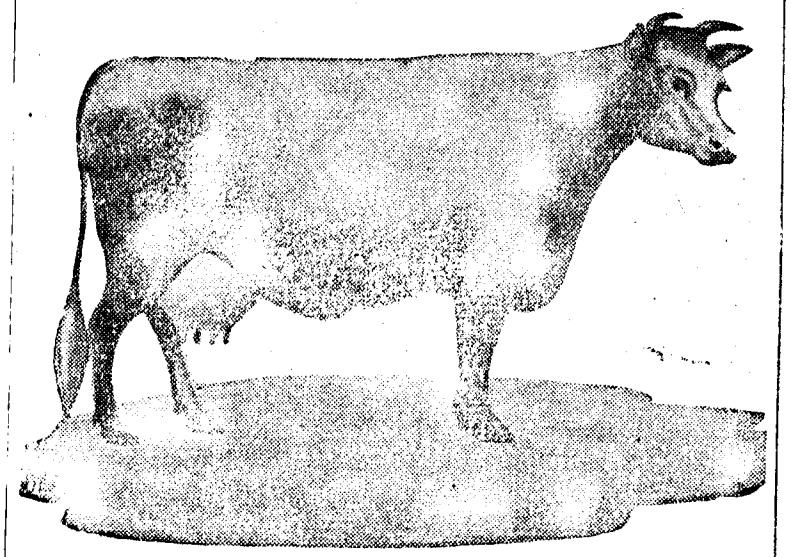

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VOLUME V. NUMBERS 1, 2, 3 and 4

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being the

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ධම්මපද—24.

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By S. D. Saparamadu

Editor, The Ceylon Historical Journal and formerly Assistant Lecturer in History in the University of Ceylon.

It was Voltaire who once said "the man who ventures to write contemporary history must expect to be attacked both for everything he has said and everything he has not said." This is even more true of the writer of the biography of a living or a recently dead person, specially if his subject is a political figure. Today, more than four years after his death, few will question the greatness of D. S. Senanayake and his contribution to the development of Ceylon. Yet one seeking to write his biography lays himself open to many criticisms. Firstly, Senanayake has not been dead for sufficiently long to see him in a proper historical perspective. Many of the movements that he inaugurated in Ceylon, such as the parliamentary system of government, or agricultural development in the Dry Zone, or the foreign policy of alliance with the West, are still continuing and have not lasted long enough or borne sufficient fruit, to be termed either unqualified failures or successes. Secondly, Senanayake's name and personality is too closely associated with a single political party, the U.N.P. which he founded, to make any judgment on his work impossible without incurring the risk of partisanship. Party propaganda has besides, woven round him a web of myth and legend which the student has to discard before any proper evaluation is possible.

In spite of these difficulties however, we did undertake this biographical study since we felt that D. S. Senanayake has played a vital role in the history of contemporary Ceylon, and so deserves the serious attention of students that is his due. In fact, before planning this work we made a detailed study of conditions in Ceylon in the last fifty years, and went through a good deal of the published writings on Senanayake and his times. We read all his available speeches, both in and out of *Hansard* and had the fortune of studying the working of some of his policies, such as on the development of land, and of discussing him with a number of men who either served under him or were his advisors. The figure that emerges from even a most cursory study however, is a man of undoubted ability, guided by a fervent desire to serve his country and gifted with rare wisdom and a courage to carry out his convictions. He was a political strategist of a high order and had the personality to endear himself to all with whom he came into contact. He was in short a man of stature, the closest there is in our short and effeminate national "struggle" who could be called a great man. Though it is doubtful what historians

of the future will say of the other leaders of the national movement, it is unlikely that they will not assign to D. S .Senanayake a place alongside Dutugemunu, Vijayabahu and Parakramabahu as among the great rulers of Ceylon.

In the main, this study has two aims in view. The first is to make a sober historical evaluation of Senanayake's work, free from the partisan bias that usually surrounds him, and second to show him as a national and not a partisan figure, who deserves the respect of all Ceylonese regardless of party, in the same way for example, that all Americans regard George Washington even though he was the founder of the still active Democratic Party. But such a historical evaluation, free from partisanship creates certain other problems. What is to be the structure of the study? What aspects of Senanayake's life are to be chosen for evaluation and what left out? What are his salient achievements and what are the unimportant ones? What aspects of his work will last and influence the future, even though certain other aspects roused more interest when he was living? This selection is the more difficult in Senanayake's case for he was closely associated in one way or another with almost every single political, social and economic movement that exists in Ceylon today, while most of the policies followed by the present government were either inaugurated by him or worked under his direction. Our structure of study has been to take out what we think are the salient and more lasting features of his work, and which will influence the future, and devote an article to each, every article being documented with one of his speeches where possible. Thus we have an article on Senanayake and independence, on Senanayake as Minister of Agriculture and on Senanayake's foreign policy, each supported by one of his major speeches. There are also two additional articles on Senanayake the Man, showing the human side of his character, and one on the origins and working of the Soulbury Commission of 1944. We have also added a chronological list of the principal events in Senanayake's life which should be useful, while the first section of the book contains several tributes to the memory of Senanayake from world statesmen such as Nehru, Attlee and Menzies, which indicates the high place and prestige he enjoyed in the counsels of the leaders of the world. Forty illustrations have also been included to provide a complete pictorial record of his life and career.

Our original plan of study however, included three more articles on Senanayake as Prime Minister, Senanayake and the United National Party and on the early life of Senanayake. The absence of these articles, for which we apologise, has been as much due to the difficulting of persuading contributors as to the paucity of source materials, particularly in the case of the last article. The

absence of scholars willing to work on the subject is also seen by the fact that the published articles in this journal have been contributed by people who were intimately associated with Senanayake, and who could not thus be called strictly objective. This charge has much substance, though personally we think all these articles maintain an admirable detachment. We leave it however to our readers to form their own judgment on them. Considering the shortcomings noted above, we will not claim any completeness for this biography, but it will serve we hope, as an interim study until a more complete survey can be undertaken.

We would also like to record another difficulty that arose in the preparation of this Memorial Number. That is the almost complete absence of source materials from which to reconstruct Senanayake's life, particularly in the period prior to 1936. Many of the sources which the biographer usually goes to, are not available in Senanayake's case. He kept no diaries or other records of his work, while family records are not numerous and dispersed. Official publications, which are usually not too useful to the biographer, are themselves few, except in the last 15 years of his life, while few of his contemporaries have published any memoirs of their own careers. Most of the material for reconstructing Senanayake's life could thus be got only from the individuals who worked and served with him. Evidence from this source too becomes scarcer daily with the death of these individuals. In fact, the story of the first thirty years of his life is even now, almost completely lost.

This absence of source materials spotlights the immediate necessity for two things. First, is the need for establishing a Senanayake Archives, a sort of national repository where all the letters, family records, speeches, official publications, in fact almost anything that sheds light on Senanayake's life and work, could be collected and preserved for posterity and for scholars. Other countries, it might be remembered even have special museums for their prominent men and it would not be asking too much for a collection of records for one of Ceylon's greatest sons. To give only one example, Franklin Roosevelt's home at Hyde Park, New York, is now a national monument run by the American State in his honour, and is a repository of all the available source materials on Roosevelt such as his letters, diaries, family records, etc., which scholars can consult.

The second need which the paucity of source materials emphasises is the necessity of undertaking immediately a complete biography of Senanayake for publication. A comprehensive biography however cannot be undertaken on his own by an individual in the present context in Ceylon. The study of the source materials alone, considering that the biographer will also have to

search and catalogue them, will take a minimum of about two years of concentrated research, which no individual can afford on his own. Similarly, since printing costs are high and the book buying public comparatively limited, no person can undertake the publication of the biography, even if he could find the time and money to write it. The only solution appears to be for government or for some interested academic body like the University to commission an author with experience to write the biography. We need hardly say that the money spent in establishing a Senanayake Archives and in commissioning a biography will be money well spent, as it will salvage for future generations the life story of a man who has made a valuable contribution to the history of this country. If this Memorial Number could only point out the need for some immediate action to be taken on this matter, it would have served one of its major purposes.

Finally, a word should be added as to the long delay there has been in the publication of this journal. It was first scheduled to be out on March 22nd 1955, but was postponed from time to time, till it has now appeared nearly one year late. The delay has been partly due to our unavoidable absence from Colombo for a long period, and also to certain gentlemen who agreed to write the three missing articles we mentioned earlier. On their promise, we held up the publication of the journal since we thought it better to publish a complete biography late than an incomplete one to schedule. That we should have had to publish an incomplete work, and that too one year late, is a misfortune which alas, happens not infrequently to editors in this country.

In conclusion it is our duty to acknowledge the many debts of gratitude, almost two numerous to mention, that we have incurred in the preparation of this journal. We would however specially like to record our appreciation to the following: to Mr. Dudley Senanayake who gave us much valuable help and advice in the planning of this study and placed at our disposal the valuable collection of photographs of his father. To our contributors, Sir Ivor Jennings, Sir Frederick Rees, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Viscount Soulbury, Mr. R. L. Brohier and Sir Nicholas Attygalle who very willingly wrote their articles for us, even though we have ill repaid their help by publishing the journal one year late. To His Excellency Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Governor General, for contributing the Foreword and to Jawaharlal Nehru, R. G. Menzies, Earl Attlee, Ghulam Mohamed, Sir John Kotelawala and Viscount Swinton for the kind tributes they have paid to the memory of D. S. Senanayake. To the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, Mr. A. G. Vittachchi for kind permission to reprint the article by Sir Ivor Jennings which first appeared in the *Ceylon Observer* of March 23rd 1952. To Miss Rene Tickell, Director of the Book

Reviews Department of the British Council in London who kindly sent us several books for review, and secured us some inaccessible material on Senanayake. To Mr. C. E. L. Wickramasinghe, Managing Director of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon who very kindly laid at our disposal the valuable selection of photographs of Senanayake in the Lake House library. To Mr. Felix Gunawardana, Editor of the *Times of Ceylon* who lent us several rare photographs from the *Times of Ceylon* collection. To the Information Department and particularly to the Assistant Information Officer, Mr. Tissanayagam, who also loaned us several photographs and the British High Commission, the Pakistan High Commission and Messrs J. R. Jayewardene and R. L. Brohier who gave us permission to use several of their copyrighted pictures. An individual acknowledgment appears at the right hand bottom corner of each photograph used. Our gratitude also to Mr. C. C. Desai, former Indian High Commissioner who very willingly helped us to contact Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for his message, to Mr. A. R. Cutler, Australian High Commissioner who put us in touch with his Prime Minister, the Pakistan High Commissioner who secured a tribute from Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, former Governor-General of Pakistan and Miss E. M. Booker, Information Officer of the British High Commission who gave us the two messages from Earl Attlee and Viscount Swinton.

We would also like to thank Miss S. Saparamadu who has given us much editorial and managerial help in the production of this journal, and Messrs S. M. Haniffa and M. S. M. Junaideen who secured several advertisements. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Mr. A Benedict de Silva of the C. W. E. Printing Department who personally supervised the printing of the journal, and bore all our numerous and exacting demands with much patience. And last, but not least, we thank the advertisers who have very willingly helped us to bear the brunt of the heavy printing costs of this production. If not for their co-operation it would not have been possible to bring out such a well printed and illustrated journal, leave alone sell it at a moderate price within the range of everyone. We hope readers would in turn patronise our advertisers.

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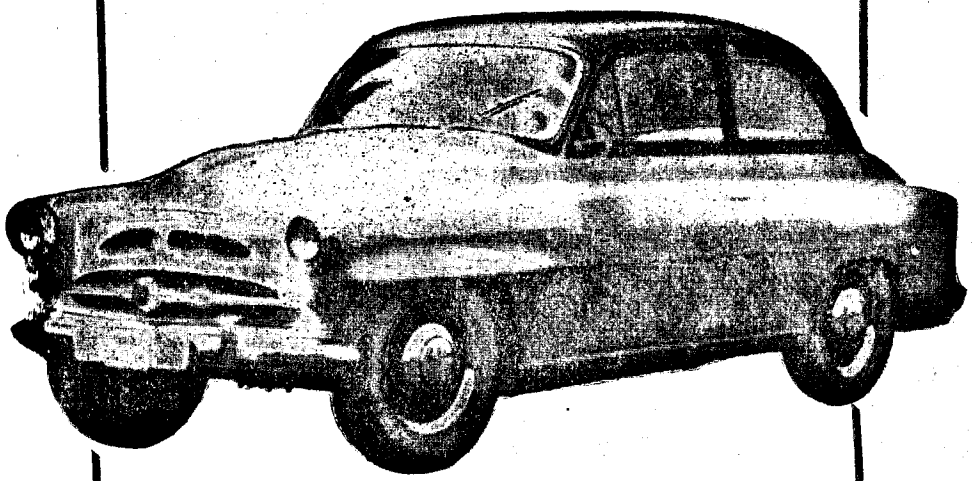

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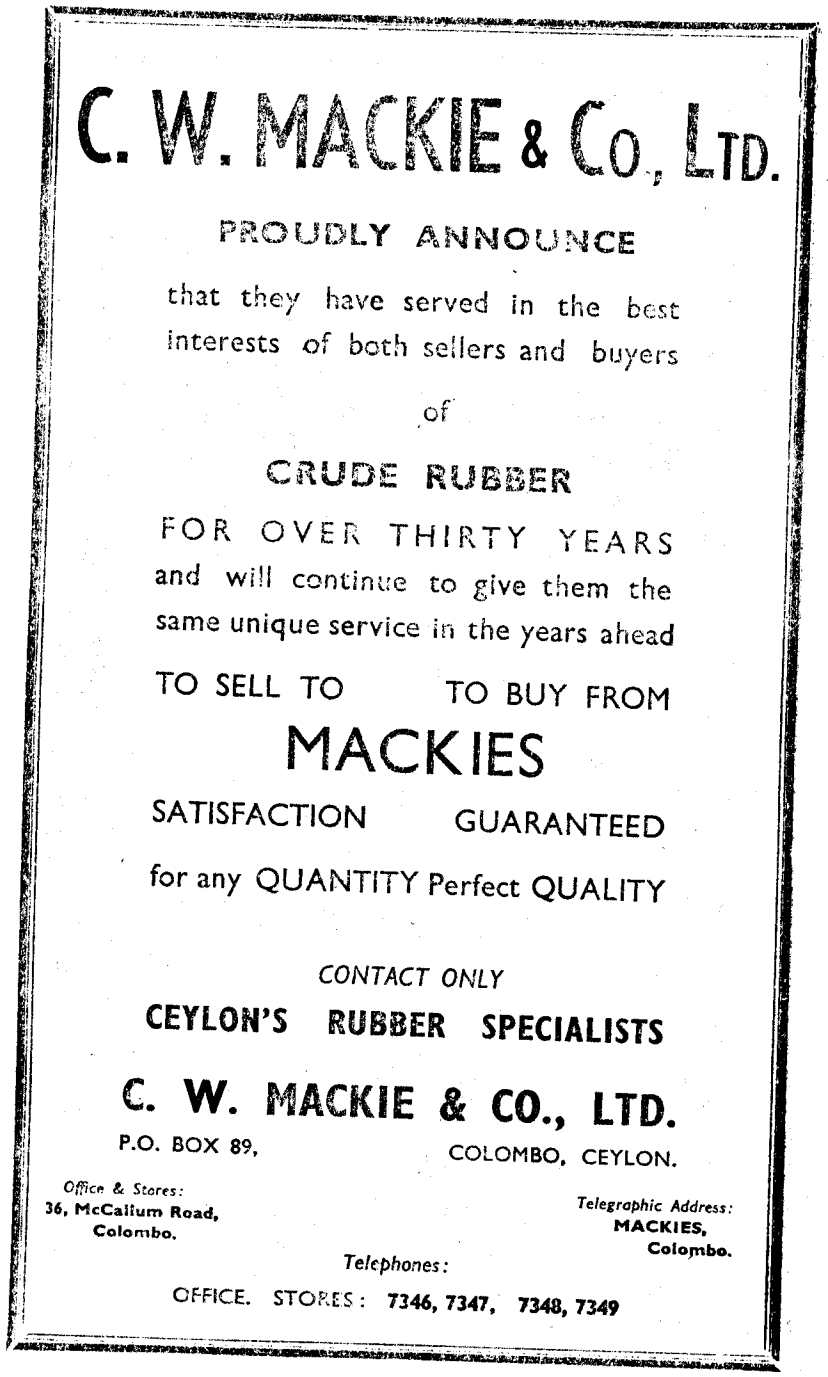

FOREWORD

By

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR OLIVER GOONETILLEKE

Governor General of Ceylon

I am glad to have this opportunity of writing a few words to the special issue of *The Ceylon Historical Journal* to be named the "D. S. Senanayake Memorial Number." The people of Ceylon will always remember with gratitude the work he did as a politician and as a leader of the country. It is fitting, therefore, that the Ceylon Historical Association should dedicate an issue of its journal to the memory of the Father of the Nation. If the Historical Association could hold up his shining example to the students of this Island's history, it would have done one of its legitimate tasks.

History has always provided her students visions of human greatness. May your journal, dedicated to the Father of our new independence, serve to reveal to the people this vision of a great leader of Ceylon, so that future generations may tread the path he trod.

Queens House,
Colombo.

D. S. SENANAYAKE, A SYMBOL OF FREE ASIA

By

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister of the Republic of India

HISTORY is not only what is written in the books, but what happens from day to day. There are periods when a country or a people move along accustomed grooves and not much that is remarkable happens. There are other periods when rapid and far-reaching changes take place, affecting the destiny of nations and the lives of milions of people.

During a lengthy period of time, the countries of Asia became rather static and their fate was largely determined by outside agencies. That period is over and Asia has become dynamic again and the countries of Asia are trying to shape their own destiny. We of this generation, wherever we may live, have passed through this great period of transition and have seen the face of Asia change in this process. That change continues. Leading personalities in different countries become the symbols of this period of transition and thus become in some way agents of historic destiny.

In Ceylon, Don Stephen Senanayake was such a personality, who impressed himself not only in Ceylon, but also on a wider sphere. If was my privilege to meet him on many occasions in Colombo as well as in London where we went to attend the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conferences.

It is fitting that on the occasion of celebrating the Independence Day of Ceylon,* he should be remembered as a person who helped to bring about the transition to freedom, and then to consolidate the freedom that had come.

On this occasion, I should like to add my tribute to this builder of Modern Ceylon.

New Delhi.

* *It was originally planned to issue this Memorial Number on Independence Commemoration day.*

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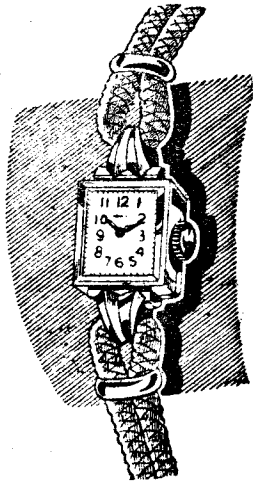

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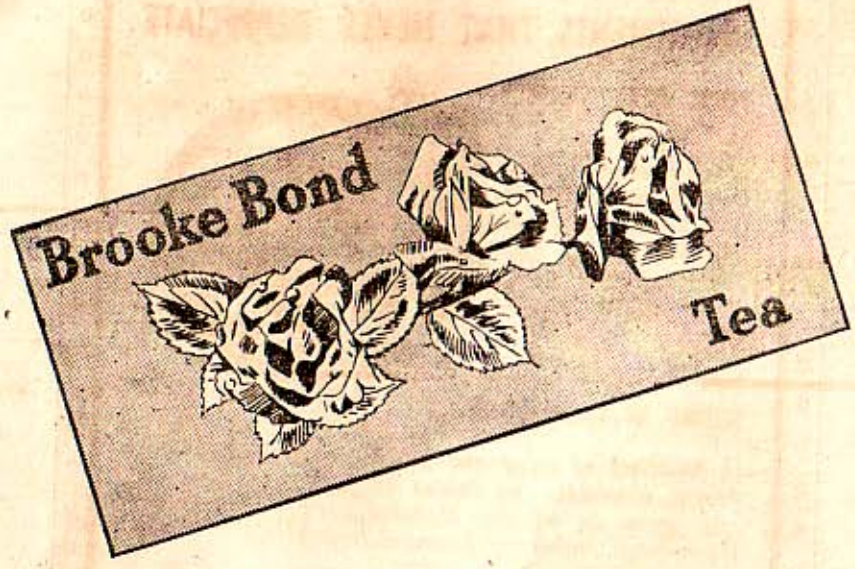

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D. S. SENANAYAKE, A WISE LEADER

By

THE RT. HON. C. R. ATTLEE, P. C.

Prime Minister of Great Britain 1945—51

I am glad to add to the tributes which are being paid to the life and work of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, former Prime Minister of Ceylon.

I have been privileged to have his friendship and enjoyed many talks with him when he was over here for the Commonwealth talks during the period I was Prime Minister. I always thought him very wise and well balanced. He was a man of great personal charm. Ceylon was extremely lucky to have such a man to inaugurate a new era of full equality in the Commonwealth.

House of Commons,
London.

D. S. SENANAYAKE, A GREAT STATESMAN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

By

THE RT. HON. R. G. MENZIES, P.C.

Prime Minister of Australia

I look back on my friendship with the late Right Honourable D.S. Senanayake with warm pleasure. Our friendship developed from official contacts and ripened during Commonwealth Conferences and the Australian Jubilee celebrations in 1951, when D. S. Senanayake did Australia the honour of visiting her shores.

D. S. Senanayake was a man of enormous breadth of vision and of singular personal attraction. He pursued his objectives—and he had a wonderful faculty for defining them precisely—with sincerity and forcefulness, yet always with due regard for the rights and feelings of others.

His work is a lesson in statesmanship—a lesson which has particular application for all of us who are members of this great Commonwealth of Nations. To a considerable extent Ceylon owes its present status to him. Nevertheless, despite the energy with which he strove for his country's independence, he was determined that if possible Ceylon's future should lie within the Commonwealth. It will be recalled that in his address to the people of Ceylon in February, 1948, he declared that Ceylon would always remain grateful for Britain's "goodwill and co-operation" and expressed the hope that Ceylon's relations with the nations of the Commonwealth "will always be one of perpetual friendship and cordiality."

Australia, and indeed most of the Commonwealth family have in common with Ceylon the need to make great strides in development during the course of the next few decades. D. S. Senanayake's work in promoting irrigation schemes, in bringing previously barren land under cultivation, in encouraging agriculture and in promoting scientific research, which led to a great increase in agricultural production generally, constitutes the best example for us all.

His achievements and personal qualities will always earn him a place of warm regard in the hearts of all who had the honour to know him. That, I think—and it is a measure of the man's stature—would be the kind of memorial he would most appreciate.

Canberra.

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A TRIBUTE TO D. S. SENANAYAKE

By

The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN KOTELAWALA, P.C., C.H., M.P.
Prime Minister of Ceylon.

NOT a day passes without some occasion on which my thoughts go back to the days when I was in almost daily contact with Mr. Senanayake. I am glad to be able to write even a brief note about him.

When, this year, I look back on my twenty-five years in political life, I shall feel even more deeply his absence, for during the whole of this long period he and I worked together for the same objectives and with the same purpose.

He coaxed me into entering politics and would not let me leave it thereafter. From 1931 until his death I was his closest colleague and disciple. To me that is far greater than being Prime Minister. I do not think I can pay him a higher tribute than that. I hope all of us will strive to keep his memory alive for all time. There is no better way than by preserving the freedom he won for our country after a whole lifetime of devotion and service to us all.

It is difficult for me to resist the temptation to write at length of him. In this article, which, in the publication for which it is intended, must keep to a reasonable length, I propose merely to put down a few of the thoughts that occur to me.

No other man had so many political enemies as Mr. Senanayake, and few others lived to make those same enemies come round at least to grudging admiration. And, of course, quite a number of them became close friends. It amused me, at first, to see them flit in and out of "Temple Trees" after he became Ceylon's first Prime Minister and hurry to do things to please him. Later I realized that he had compelled admiration by proving that his judgment, as against theirs, had been right.

Mr. Senanayake did not oppose or fight anyone for personal reasons of prejudice or envy that often compel average men to great efforts. He was not immune from human frailties, but he was too busy and far too intent on achieving Independence for Ceylon to be distracted by petty things. To him that goal was a stronger incentive than perhaps for any other Ceylonese of modern times.

His every working day was devoted to thinking and planning to reach that goal, and from that great height he looked on all other minor ambitions, of his friends and enemies, with a patriarchal good humour.

This singleness of purpose was accompanied by a confidence that he would achieve his objective. Failures in the early days of negotiation depressed many of his contemporaries. He merely smiled and went on as if nothing had happened to upset his plans.

All of us soon began to look to him for the last word in a controversy. While others debated, turned up books and polished their phrases, he looked on until he was asked what should be done. He began invariably with that famous phrase, " actually, as a matter of fact—". Thereafter he proceeded to calm everyone and steered a middle course which, judged by later events, was really the only reasonable course. This happened so often that he came to be regarded as infallible.

Whenever there was calm in the political seas some impatient critics thought Mr. Senanayake should retire and that his usefulness was over. They even waged a war of nerves over who should succeed him. The moment, however, some civil commotion or economic or political crisis broke the calm, then, like frightened children they rushed to " Temple Trees " to seek counsel from the Old Man.

" Actually, as a matter of fact,—" he saw nothing to worry about. And, in a few unhurried words, he directed what should be done. In every crisis all of us felt we could go to him and that once he took charge of the situation all would soon be well. I sincerely think that there was no other Ceylonese in this century who rose to this stature of leadership through strength.

His stature as a Leader was also won by his own example. He was never a military man but he practised the famous military dictum: " Never ask your men to do something you cannot do yourself." He did not merely preach patriotism. He had no equal in the love of his country. He did not pay mere lip-service to religion. He was deeply religious and was devout without displaying devotion. He never asked others to work hard, he shamed the lazy into work by his own example.

And he held the scales evenly for all who served him. Once he picked a man for a job he gave him his unqualified confidence and trust. He knew each one's gifts and abilities as well as limitations, and no jealous rival could oust his man by intrigue or

tale-bearing. Those who served him knew he would never let them down even if, on occasion, he lashed them with his tongue. He won loyalty by being loyal himself.

No man was too small for his attention if he had the time, and, somehow, he would find the time. This meant sixteen or even eighteen hours of the day in his office, or travelling all over the country. I have seen him talk to callers for several hours at a sitting; and long past the time when most men's patience would have been exhausted, he would greet some hundredth visitor like a long lost friend. No man who went to see him ever forgot his kindness or the sincerity with which he promised to look into his grievance. Often, as it turned out there was nothing he could do for them, but their " P.M." had seen them and given them a hearing—that was something they would never forget.

He had become, in fact, ' The Father of the Nation ' long before the newspapers gave him that name. He believed he had been called to undertake that responsibility and he also believed that he had the capacity to bear it well. And all the time he planned Ceylon's development so that her people would get into line again in the march of history. He died at a time when he was most needed, but he lived to see the people on the march.

D. S. SENANAYAKE, THE CREATOR OF A NEW CEYLON

By

HIS EXCELLENCY GHULAM MOHAMMED

Former Governor General of Pakistan

IT is indeed a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of paying a personal tribute to the memory of the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake through the courtesy of the *Ceylon Historical Journal.* I had the privilege of meeting him during the historic Commonwealth Conference held in Colombo in 1950 and coming in close contact with the creator of New Ceylon. Like Quaid-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Mr. Senanayake was one of those few leaders who did not only cherish the dream of freedom for their people but had also the will and the determination to see it fulfilled during their life-time. His name will be recorded in history as that of a great statesman and a patriot to whom nothing was dearer than the service of his people. He was a man of sterling worth with a broad outlook, a mature wisdom and a great determination. Ceylon owes much to him in the attainment of its present status and dignity in the comity of nations, but his memory will be revered throughout the entire free would. In Pakistan he will particularly be remembered as a sincere friend who laid the foundation of the present ever growing, cordial and happy relations between the two countries at the memorable meeting which was held between him and the Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of Pakistan.

Governor-General's House.
Karachi.

D. S. SENANAYAKE, A LEADER OF THE COMMONWEALTH

By

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SWINTON, P.C.

Former Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Great Britain.

I gladly add my tribute to one who was a great servant and Prime Minister of another lovely island with its roots in ancient history. I had the good fortune to know Don. Stephen Senanayake for many years and to work with him. I shall always cherish the memory of that friendship. He was not only a wise leader in his own land; but he represented traditions of public life which are a prized possession and priceless asset throughout the Commonwealth. That he lived to lead Ceylon when she took her rightful and privileged place as a governing member of this great family of nations is indeed his memorial.

Commonwealth Relations Office,
London.

D. S. SENANAYAKE AND INDEPENDENCE

By

SIR IVOR JENNINGS, Q.C.,

Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon.

THOUGH may others contributed at earlier stages, it was Mr. D. S. Senanayake's leadership which brought the agitation for Independence to a successful conclusion in 1948. An Englishman who has studied the politicians and administrators of his own country can suggest that most of the agitation from 1932 to 1942 may have been on the wrong lines. A colony can obtain independence by force or by persuasion. If it abjures force, as a Buddhist country must do, it must use persuasion. A modicum of non-co-operation may draw attention to the strength of popular demand, and so help to gain independence by persuasion: but effective non co-operation leads necessarily to force, as Mahatma Gandhi discovered; and if it leads to force it does not lead to persuasion.

If, however, persuasion is to be employed, it must study the susceptibilities of the people to be persuaded. It is difficult to imagine anything less persuasive than the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry of 1936 and the debate on Sir Andrew Caldecott's despatch in 1939. Neither step could have persuaded anybody of anything except (possibly) the incapacity of the Ceylonese for self-government.

Mr. Senanayake's sturdy commonsense enabled him to realise the weaknesses of the tactics of the preceding ten years and to start on the process of persuasion. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke gave him every support, especially by making the services of the Civil Defence Department indispensable to the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Geoffrey Layton discovered that when he needed the assistance of the civil authorities it was easier to get things done informally through Mr. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke than to use "the Governor's Government." It was, however, made plain to him that the collaboration of the Civil Government would be half-hearted so long as no attempt was made to solve the constitutional problem. It was he who suggested something a little less stupid than the Declaration of 1941; and he was apparently supported by "the Governor's Government" as soon as Sir Robert Drayton became Chief Secretary.

The declaration of May 1943 was not what Mr. Senanayake wanted, but his commonsense told him that when an offer was better than the Donoughmore Constitution it should be accepted as an interim measure and not rejected as inadequate. The fact that one could not leap to Dominion Status was not a reason for not taking the first step, for it shortened the distance to be leapt. It was not, however easy to persuade local opinion. The idea of accepting a British offer because it was better than nothing instead of rejecting it because more was expected was completely new.

It was so much easier to make a speech attacking the British than to defend in public the acceptance of an inadequate offer. It was, however easier to get the Board of Ministers to agree to accept the offer than to get them to agree upon the terms of the public statement. The Board spent eight hours over the draft. Fortunately Mr. Senanayake now had a stout ally in Sir Robert Drayton. This was due to one of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke's bright ideas. He pointed out that for the first time in his life Mr. Senanayake was proposing to support "the Governor's Government." It was therefore important that the Chief Secretary should be in complete agreement. Sir Robert was shown the draft which Mr. Senanayake was proposing; he said little, but that little was enough, and in the Board Sir Robert did his best to help Mr. Senanayake get the draft through. It went through eventually with a few amendments which seemed to weaken the document, though they never proved to be important.

That Mr. Senanayake could oppose "the Governor's Government" if need be was shown by the sequel. The reply from the Colonial Office was woolly and the situation was mishandled by the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, but it was all done in good faith. Mr. Senanayake nevertheless thought he had been betrayed and gave the Governor the sort of dressing-down that Colonial Governors do not anticipate. Eventually Sir Oliver Goonetilleke's diplomacy and Sir Robert Drayton's draughtmanship produced a document which Mr. Senanayake thought sufficiently satisfactory, and the process of drafting the Constitution was begun.

The fact that the new constitution was called "the Soulbury Constitution" has led those who have not read the documents to infer that it was produced by the Soulbury Commission. The fact is that it was produced by Mr. Senanayake. All the essential provisions of "the Ministers' Draft" were embodied in the Soulbury Constitution, and the only substantial addition made by the Soulbury Commission was the Senate. Mr. Senanayake had produced a scheme for a Senate, but he found that the Ministers were divided

and therefore withdrew it, substituting an empowering clause which would have enabled the new single-chamber legislature to create a Senate if it felt so disposed.

The belief that the Soulbury Commission produced the Constitution is due partly to the fact that people doubted whether Mr. Senanayake had the capacity to produce a Constitution: after all, he had never passed Matriculation. This is, however, seriously to underrate Mr. Senanayake's intellectual capacity. Naturally he relied heavily on his advisers: any Minister who does not is bound to fall. What is more, he left insignificant detail to his advisers. Nevertheless, he had an excellent grasp of fundamental principles and he very quickly seized the essence of any problem that might become controversial. If after an explanation he began, "As a matter of fact," or "I mean to say," or "Actually," his advisers at once knew that something was wrong. If they were unable to convince him they were told, in the nicest possible way, that they had better go away and think again.

What is more he knew what sort of Constitution he wanted In the first place, the aim was Dominion Status. The Declaration of 1943 did not allow of it, but the restrictions in that document had to be whittled down to their narrowest and inserted in such a way that they could easily be removed. In the second place the system had to be one of Cabinet Government. He had managed his Executive Committee with an ease which was the envy of other Ministers, but he did not like it and he disliked even more the idea of a heterogeneous Board of Ministers.

In the third place he was anxious for a Constitution which was so fair to all communities that they would forget that there were communities. When the distribution of seats was under discussion he was specifically asked how many Tamils he wanted in the House. His answer was typical: "I don't care if they're all Tamils, provided they are elected as Ceylonese". In fact, he never counted how many Sinhalese or Tamils there would probably be. He wanted the distribution of seats to be based on a principle which he could defend. He had no objection to anybody else trying to reach agreement, but he did not think anybody would succeed. He believed that the negotiations would turn into haggling over odd seats, and he merely grinned when he proved to be correct. He said he could get virtually complete argeement later on if the whole scheme, including the representation clauses, was fair to everyone, and gave a substantial measure of self-government. So it proved, for the State Council subsequently agreed by 51 votes to 3—two Indians and a Communist.

When these and other principles were put into a draft he went through it very carefully with Sir Oliver Goonetilleke. How

carefully the work was done may be judged from the fact that the draft which he submitted to his colleagues was the fourth. By this time he knew the text very well: even more important was the fact that he knew the answers to all the objections.

Numerous minor amendments were made by the Ministers, but the final text, which was published as Sessional Paper XIV of 1944, was in all essentials the same as that which he had circulated, except for the deletion of the Senate, which he did not regard as a question of great importance. This was not because he tried to force his scheme through the Board. He wanted agreement in the Board so that his hands would be strengthened when he came to negotiate at the "commission or conference." stipulated by the Declaration.

He had never intended to abide by the condition that the "commission or conference" should be postponed until after the war. What is more, he made his intention plain both publicly and privately. Having secured acceptance of the Declaration and worked out "proposals for a constitutional scheme" which satisfied the Declaration, he intended to ask and did ask for immediate consideration. Actually, the commission or conference never met, for the United Kingdom Government decided to send the Soulbury Commission with terms of reference which were inconsistent with the Declaration. What went wrong is not known, though Mr. Senanayake thought that Sir Andrew Caldecott and Sir Robert Drayton had let him down. Colonel Oliver Stanley said afterwards that "the thing had been badly handled", but he did not explain whether the fault lay in Whitehall or in Ceylon.

Oddly enough, Mr. Senanayake was not at all angry: he simply sat down to consider how he could profit from the new development. The result was a cable to London to ask if Sir Oliver could discuss problems of food supply with the Ministry of Food. Naturally he was in and out of the Colonial Office a good deal, and incidentally he met the Commissioners. Whether he brought any food nobody, so far as is known even enquired: for what he had brought was a plan of campaign.

The Ministers had decided not to collaborate. That meant that they left the various groups to give evidence and allowed their own scheme to speak for itself. It would, however, have been contrary to Ceylon traditions not to be hospitable and in fact many of the Commission's social engangements were organized by the Civil Defence Department. Memoranda were prepared on matters which the various groups were likely to raise and Mr. Senanayake was very willing to answer questions privately on these or any other points.

Of course, such methods would not cover up a bad case, but a good case becomes better when it is thoroughly thought out and well presented. The contrast between the quiet, disinterested behaviour of the Ministers and the public advocacy of the supporters of other causes was in itself most effective. In any case Mr. Senanayake wanted to be in London when the Report appeared. If it was favourable he would ask for more; if it was unsatisfactory he would repudiate it. The Ministers were no longer bound by the Declaration, which the United Kingdom Government had itself repudiated. He could, therefore, ask for Dominion Status.

Colonel Stanley was very willing to remedy a situation which his officials should never have created, and the invitation was sent very readily. Unfortunately there were no funds available. The Treasury was now controlled by Sir Oliver, and it proved very inventive of devices for getting a staff to London. The Royal Air Force provided a plane, But living expenses in London—and they exceeded £ 100 a week—had to be borne by Mr. Senanayake himself.

Mr. Senanayake made a great impression in London because he was so utterly unexpected. Whitehall was used to the slick, England-educated, graduate politician. It had not expected a bluff old farmer with a sense of humour. What is more he "knew his stuff." Whitehall knew about him through his speeches and the despatches of the Governor. Everybody knows that Mr. Senanayake was not very articulate as a speaker and that an *ex tempore* speech, as reported, was always ordinary. Sir Andrew Caldecott too, had never understood Mr. Senanayake. He once asked one of the advisers if he found Mr. Senanayake "intelligent".

The Soulbury Report was given to Mr. Senanayake in proof. As soon as he read it he grinned all over his face. The main principles of the Ministers' scheme had been accepted. The new Senate was of no particular importance. Above all, the fundamental defect of the Ministers' scheme had been made more defective. The Ministers had inserted all the limitations on self-government required by the Declaration, but they had put in all the possible qualifications and restrictions with the intention of bartering them one by one at the "commission or conference." The Soulbury Commission had put qualifications and restrictions upon the qualifications and restrictions. This gave Mr. Senanayake an irrefutable argument. This Constitution—*devised by the Soulbury Commission*—simply would not work. It would break down as soon as an emergency arose. Why not scrap the restrictions and trust the Ceylonese?

A reply had to be made forthwith before opinion in the Colonial Office crystallised. Besides, the efficiency of Ceylon administration

had to be demonstrated. Within 48 hours a lengthy memorandum had be delivered to the Colonial Office. It asked for Dominion Status; but if that required delay it asked for full self-government forthwith; and if there was difficulty about that there were defects in the *Soulbury* Constitution which ought to be removed.

A few days later a full constitution, complete with draft agreements designed to tempt the Service Departments (who had probably had messages from Sir Geoffrey Layton). was delivered at the Colonial Office. The officials were astonished. What sort of colony was this? How could such a place be kept as a colony when it took Whitehall itself months to get this kind of thing done?

The case was backed by Mr. Senanayake's personal representations; and here he secured his greatest triumph, for the Colonial Secretary was persuaded to take to the Cabinet a proposal for Dominion Status. Had it been a Conservative Government or had the Secretary of State been more persuasive, Ceylon might have become a Dominion in 1946. Unfortunately the Labour Government was very worried about India and Burma and it did not want little Ceylon to get Dominion Status before those problems were settled. The Colonial Office was apparently told to meet Mr. Senanayake's views as much as possible but not to confer Dominion Status. Mr. Senanayake was disappointed but not unduly worried. He would get the Soulbury Constitution into being and hold the general election. At the appropriate moment he would ask for, and obtain Dominion Status.

When Burma was given independence the new Secretary of State, Mr. Creech Jones, told the Cabinet that he would soon have either Mr. Senanayake or Sir Oliver Goonetilleke on his doorstep. Shortly afterwards Sir Oliver turned up in London with a letter from Mr. Senanayake. It was a very short letter. It merely asked that Mr. Creech Jones have another look at Mr. Senanayake's letter of September 1945. Mr. Creech Jones did, and this time the Cabinet saw no reason to dissent. The details took time to work out, and independence was not finally proclaimed until the 4th February 1948, but the principles had been settled by July 1947.

Mr. Senanayake was not liked by some of those who worked under him, because he could not tolerate inefficiency, procrastination and bombast. He liked people who could work quickly, efficiently and cheerfully. To them he was delightful. He was himself excessively modest. He never said "No"; he simply said "I mean to say." That meant "Try again." Once he had confidence in an adviser he would let him do his job in his own way and himself stand the racket. If somebody else was making a case against

them he wanted an answer, and he would not put up with bluff; but once he had the answer he knew how to use it forcefully and decisively. On the evening of the 26th May, 1943 he explained at a conference in the Civil Defence Department how Dominion Status could be obtained and how he proposed to obtain it. He had confidence in his own people and he also had confidence that if he was adequately supported, he could persuade His Majesty's Government. He had not only the fire of a complete conviction but also the sense of strategy of a great general. There have been few greater statesmen in the history of the British Commonwealth, and Ceylon owes a debt to his memory that will be difficult to repay.

THE SOULBURY COMMISSION (1944-45)

By

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IT is now ten years since the Soulbury Commission visited Ceylon. The purpose of this article is to record as precisely as possible the circumstances in which the Commission was appointed and the problems which it was called upon to consider. What conclusions it reached are fully stated in its Report which was published in September 1945. The analysis here offered is mainly based on the evidence given before the Commission at public hearings in Colombo Town Hall between 22nd January and 13 February of that year. The hearings themselves were designed to elucidate by question and answer, memoranda submitted by individuals or on behalf of organisations, in response to a general invitation published by the Commission in the Press.

The decision to appoint a Commission was announced by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on 5th July 1944. It was to reach Ceylon towards the end of the year. The membership of the Commission, however, was not finally settled unti early in November and then arrangements for its departure had to be speedily made. The Commissioners had their first meeting in London on 30th November. At the Colonial Office they gathered a sense of urgency on several grounds closely related to one another. It was alleged that the public in Ceylon had become restive because the life of the State Council had, owing to the War, been twice extended. There had also been persistent complaints that the existing constitution had proved to be unworkable and all attempts to have it amended had been unsuccessful. The general feeling of discontent, it was suggested, might be exploited by extreme elements and thus hamper the War effort. At that time it seemed probable that after the defeat of Germany the main theatre of the War would be in the East where Ceylon would be an important base for its conduct. The appreciation at the Colonial Office of the position in Ceylon was more alarming than was justified by the facts. Political leaders there saw that conditions were opportune for them to exercise pressure on His Majesty's Government in favour of constitutional reform.

The terms of reference of the Commission were:—

> 'To visit Ceylon in order to examine and discuss any proposals for constitutional reform in the Island which have the object of giving effect to the Declaration of His Majesty's Government on the subject dated 26th May 1943; and after consultation with various interests in the Island, including minority communities, concerned with the subject of constitutional reform, to advise His Majesty's Government on all measures necessary to attain that object."

It should be particularly noticed in view of what happened subsequently that the Commissioners were instructed (i) 'to examine and discuss *any* proposals for constitutional reform,' (ii) to have regard to giving effect to the Declaration of 26th May 1943, and (iii) to consult various interests in the Island, *including minority communities.*

The Declaration of 26th May 1943 was itself designed to give greater precision to the statement of 1st September 1941 in which His Majesty's Government recognised the importance of reform of the Constitution, but observed that there was 'little unanimity' on the subject in Ceylon, and promised that the matter would be taken up 'with the least possible delay after the War.' This was regarded as an indefinite postponement and strongly criticised on the grounds already mentioned. The Declaration of 26th May 1943, therefore, indicated in a series of paragraphs how far His Majesty's Government was prepared to go to meet the aspirations of the people of Ceylon. Consequently, it must be quoted *in extenso*, particularly as the Commissioners were instructed to consider what steps should be taken to give effect to it.

> (1) The post-war re-examination of the reform of the Ceylon Constitution, to which His Majesty's Government stands pledged, will be directed towards the grant to Ceylon by Order of His Majesty in Council, of full responsible Government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration.
>
> (2) His Majesty's Government will retain control of the provision, construction, maintenance, security, staffing, manning and use of such defences, equipment, establishments and communications as His Majesty's Government may deem necessary for the Naval, Military and Air security of the Commonwealth, including that of the Island, the cost thereof being shared between the two Governments in agreed proportions.

> (3) Ceylon's relations with foreign countries and with other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations will be subject to the control and direction of His Majesty's Government.
>
> (4) The Governor will be vested with such powers as will enable him, if necessary, to enact any direction of His Majesty's Government in regard to matters within the scope of paragraphs 2 and 3 of this declaration; and his assent to local measures upon these matters will be subject to reference to His Majesty's Government.
>
> (5) The present classes of Reserved Bills in the Royal Instructions will be largely reduced under a new Constitution. Apart from measures affecting Defence and External Relations, it is intended that these shall be restricted to classes of Bills which:—
>
> (*a*) relate to the Royal Prerogative, the rights and property of His Majesty's subjects not residing in the Island, and the trade and shipping of any part of the Commonwealth;
>
> (*b*) have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and which in the Governor's opinion are likely to involve oppression or unfairness to any community;
>
> (*c*) relate to currency.
>
> (6) The limitations contained in the preceding paragraph will not be deemed to prevent the Governor from assenting in the King's name to any measure relating to, and conforming with, any trade agreements concluded with the approval of His Majesty's Government by Ceylon with other parts of the Commonwealth. It is the desire of His Majesty's Government that the Island's commercial relations should be settled by the conclusion of agreements, and His Majesty's Government will be pleased to assist in any negotiations with this object.
>
> (7) The framing of a Constitution in accordance with the terms of this Declaration will require such examination of detail and such precision of definition as cannot be brought to bear so long as the whole of the energies of the Service and other Departments of His Majesty's Government must remain focussed on the successful prosecution of the war. His Majesty's Government will, however, once victory is achieved, proceed to examine by suitable Commission or

Conference such detailed proposals as the Ministers may in the meantime have been able to formulate in the way of a complete constitutional scheme, subject to the clear understanding that acceptance by His Majesty's Government of any proposals will depend:—

> First, upon His Majesty's Government being satisfied that they are in full compliance with the preceding portions of this Statement;
>
> Secondly, upon their subsequent approval by three-quarters of all members of the State Council of Ceylon, excluding the Officers of State and the Speaker or other presiding Officer.

(8) In their consideration of the problem, His Majesty's Government have very fully appreciated and valued the contribution which Ceylon has made and is making to the war effort of the British Commonwealth and the United Nations, and the co-operation which, under the leadership of the Board of Ministers and the State Council, has made this contribution effective.

What interpretation was to be put on paragraph 7 ? Was the suggested Commission or Conference merely to examine whether the Ministers' proposals satisfied the principles laid down in the preceding paragraphs of the Declaration ? If so, the terms of reference of the Commission were much too wide. They were instructed, it will be recalled, 'to examine and discuss *any* proposals' and to consult various interests in the Island, *including minority communities*. The Ministers chose to regard this as a departure from the undertaking given in the Declaration. In the meanwhile, however, they had drafted a scheme in the form of an Order in Council and forwarded it to the Secretary of State.

The Ministers' draft can only be appreciated if reference be made to the criticisms of the existing Constitution which was based (with certain modifications) on the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission which had reported in 1928. The Donoughmore Constitution was in itself a reform—in fact, a drastic departure from previous practice—and was ingeniously designed to solve the difficulties which had made the Constitution of 1924 unworkable. These difficulties in the opinion of the Donoughmore Commission arose because a representative legislature with a large unofficial majority had no control over the executive. It suggested, therefore, that executive functions should be vested in the legislature itself. After a General Election the members of the legislature (now called the State Council)

were to be divided by secret ballot among themselves between seven Executive Committees—each Committee to have charge of a Department—and the Chairmen of the Committees, together with the three Officers of State (the Chief Secretary, the Treasurer and the Attorney-General) were to form a Board of Ministers responsible for the general conduct of the business of government and in particular for the preparation of the annual budget. This was the feature of the Donoughmore Constitution which came under the sharpest criticism. The Commission also recommended the abolition of communal representation in favour of territorial representation based on universal suffrage without property, income or literacy qualification. Many regarded that as 'a leap in the dark' and the minority communities were particularly concerned about the possible consequences of taking it.

The motion in favour of adopting the Donoughmore Constitution had been carried after prolonged discussion in December 1929 by a majority of two of the unofficial members in the Legislative Council. It was not long before it was alleged to reveal serious defects. The real weakness was that the Board of Ministers did not have, and were not prepared to assume, collective responsibility. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Sinhalese majority, confirmed in power by universal suffrage, were not prepared to give the scheme a fair trial. There was a demand for 'a homogeneous Ministry wholly responsible to the Legislature.' Instead of the Chairmen of the Executive Committees becoming Ministers, it was suggested that the State Council should elect a Chief Minister, the other Ministers to be nominated by him and then Committees assigned to them. This would have been a step towards a responsible Ministry under the leadership of a Chief Minister. The Executive Committees were retained for the time in deference to the views of the minorities who regarded the system as some safeguard of their interests. One of their members might become a Chairman of a Committee and thus have a place on the Board of Ministers. In the first State Council two minority members had thus become Ministers. This meant that there was not unanimity on the Board of Ministers about reform of the Constitution—a point which the Secretary of State was not slow to notice. In the second election to the State Council in 1936 the representation of the communities was practically unchanged. When the ballot was taken to appoint members of the Executive Committees the Sinhalese so arranged the distribution of their numbers that they had a majority on every Committee. Each then proceeded to elect a Sinhalese Chairman and so formed a Pan-Sinhalese Ministry. This was a practical demonstration that under the Donoughmore Constitution there was no guarantee that any member of the minority communities would get on to the Board of Ministers. It was also possible to represent to the

Secretary of State that there was unanimity on the Board of Ministers in favour of constitutional reform; an argument which would carry little force when the method of achieving the result was realised. The minorities were naturally more convinced than ever that the Sinhalese aimed at domination.

The Board of Ministers now launched an open attack on the Executive Committee system. They declared that it caused endless dissensions among Ministers who pressed the claims of their respective Committees and consequently there were constant delays in administration. In their opinion it ought to be replaced by the ordinary form of cabinet government. The discussion reached a further stage when the Secretary of State instructed the newly-appointed Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, to investigate the position and submit his observations. His 'Reforms Despatch' of 1938 was an independent expression of opinion based on a careful sifting of the evidence. He was convinced that the Executive Committee system had proved unsatisfactory. It made co-ordinated effort difficult and prevented the emergence of any real ministerial policy. So he recommended that it should be abolished. The alternative was a Cabinet with collective responsibility which might in time stimulate the formation of political parties. For he was as convinced as the Donoughmore Commissioners that communalism should be eliminated from political life. He rejected any suggestion that the franchise should be restricted by imposing a property or literacy test. He had to recognise, however, that this meant that the apprehensions of the minority communities would not be removed. So he made two suggestions. The first was that the boundaries of the electoral districts might be re-drawn so as to afford an opportunity for a fuller representation of the ten seats. The alternative (of which more will be said later) of attempting to effect a balance of majority and minority representation—the principle of 'Fifty-Fifty'—he rejected. His second suggestion was that a place should be found in the cabinet for some representatives of the minorities, *i.e.* that the cabinet should be composite. The Sinhalese leaders, he found, realised that the formation of the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry had been a mistake, though they contended it had been forced upon them by circumstances. His solution of the problem was that the Royal Instructions to the Governor should contain a clause similar to that in the Indian Instructions, which charged him to use his best endeavours, in consultation with the person likely to command a majority in the Legislature, to select those, *including so far as practicable members of important minority communities*, who would inspire confidence.

The proposals of the 'Reforms Despatch' were discussed at great length in the State Council. The Governor had to admit

to the Secretary of State that they had not received 'the general consent of all important interests in Ceylon.' In fact, they were riddled with destructive criticisms with no attempt to find a basis for possible agreement. What was significant was the condemnation of the Executive Committee system which confirmed the views of the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry. It was obviously doomed. No less important was the condemnation of communalism, accompanied by a recognition of its influence in the proposal of a delimitation of areas to give the minorities better representation and the insistence on a composite Cabinet.

To return to the Ministers' draft. It has already been mentioned that it was drawn up in the form of an Order in Council because that required precision of statement and comprehensiveness. The Ministers worked on the assumption that with the necessary legal revision it might satisfy the requirements of the Declaration of 26th May 1943. When the terms of reference of the Soulbury Commission were announced they took umbrage and withdrew the Draft. But they published it with an Explanatory Memorandum as a Sessional Paper is September 1944. Its contents were therefore known to the Commission and to those who submitted memoranda and gave evidence before it. Attention was naturally concentrated upon it. In general, it may be said that discussion turned on the alleged weaknesses of the Donoughmore Constitution and the proposals for reform put forward by the Board of Ministers. The Draft provided for the appointment by the Governor-General (the term used) of a Prime Minister who would recommend the appointment of his nine colleagues. They would form a Cabinet. The Prime Minister could also recommend the appointment of Deputy Ministers not exceeding ten in number. The Legislature (the name Council of State was suggested) was to consist of approximately 100 members, 95 of whom were to be elected on a territorial basis. The increase in the number of members is significant. The Donoughmore Commission had recommended that the Legislature should have 65 members elected territorially, but this had been reduced to 50 when the Constitution was promulgated, and that probably meant a more than proportionate reduction in the representation of the minorities. The mere increase might, therefore, operate in their favour. In addition a Delimitation Commission was to be appointed to divide each of the nine provinces into electoral districts and they were to proceed on the principle of allotting a district for every 75,000 of population plus a district for every square mile of area. This was frankly based on a consideration of the geographical distribution of the communities. The great majority of the Sinhalese lived in the densely populated areas, while the great majority of the Tamils and Muslims lived in the less densely populated areas, *e.g.*, the Northern Province mostly

inhabited by Tamils could claim 5 electoral Districts on the basis of population but had 4 added in consideration of area. Sir Andrew Caldecott, as has already been mentioned, suggested a re-drawing of electoral areas so as to give the minorities better representation. Whether the population-area weightage which the Ministers had devised would in practice give the proportionate additional membership he suggested was a question which the Soulbury Commission often put to witnesses who were prepared to make estimates.

The Ministers' draft provided for a single-chamber Constitution, but gave the Council of State power to establish a Second Chamber or Senate and to define its composition, powers, privileges, etc. They explained that the question of a Second Chamber was controversial and should be left for decision at a later date. A constitutional purist might point out that for the Council of State to decide whether the structure of the Legislature should be fundamentally altered by the creation of a Second Chamber was open to strong objection. In any event, it is almost inconceivable that it would do so of its own volition. As was stated in a memorial drawn up in April 1944 and addressed to the Secretary of State by a group which advocated a Second Chamber, the Ministers in formulating their proposals were in an embarrassing position. They were, it was pointed out, virtually judges in their own case: to include provision for a Second Chamber in their scheme would imply that they thought the majority in the Council of State required some supervision and control. The minorities, on the other hand, alarmed by the removal of the checks contained in the existing Constitution, as, for instance, the limitation of the powers of the Governor and the abolition of the Executive Committees, were inclined to place their hopes on the creation of a Second Chamber with powers of delay and revision. They noticed, too, that the Ministers do not either in their Draft Order or Explanatory Memorandum make any reference to the qualification for the suffrage. The implication was that no change was contemplated. The vexed question of the conditions on which the Indian Tamils on the estates were to qualify for the vote remained in its unsatisfactory position.

That experienced colonial administrator, Sir Philip Mitchell, has said recently that when a Commission arrives in a territory the bees in everyone's bonnet have the buzzing of their lives. This was certainly the experience of the Soulbury Commission. As one witness put it 'minorities are springing up like mushrooms since the advent of the Commission.' Now and then the Commissioners could not resist the temptation to ask when they were formed and how many members they had enrolled. The answers were often revealing. But the cross examination was never hostile;

the suave question frequently elicits more than the witness realises. Much discussion turned on communalism. Many witnesses ascribed communal friction, if they admitted it to exist, to the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution. The element of truth in this allegation was that, while in previous Constitutions the principle of Communalism was recognised, with the adoption of adult suffrage and territorial constituencies it was the obvious ground of appeal which a political candidate could make. There were no defined parties with opposing programmes. What the ordinary voter knew was the community (and within it the caste) to which the respective candidates belonged. Candidates did not hesitate to exploit this position. So territorial representation was for the most part in existing circumstances what one witness described as camouflage. The very suggestion of delimitation of electoral areas to offer the opportunity for a larger representation of minorities was an acknowledgement of the fact. The underlying structure of society in Ceylon is communal. In the course of history its strata have been laid down and preserved by the influence of location, religion and occupation. Location has divided the Tamils of the Northern Province from the Sinhalese; religion sharply distinguishes between the Sinhalese and Tamils, whether Ceylon or Indian on the one hand, and the Muslims on the other; while occupation separates the Indian Tamils on the estates from the typical small cultivator, whether Sinhalese or Tamil.

The Donoughmore Commission recommended the abolition of communal representation partly because they found that if the principle was retained, claims for special representation came from an increasing number of communities, religions, castes and special interests, each of which asserted that they had as much right to the privilege as those who already enjoyed it. So they decided in favour of territorial representation perhaps without fully realising the effect of the impact of a Western idea on a traditional structure. The Soulbury Commission heard witnesses who pressed for special representation by nomination, separate registers of voters or special delimitation of electoral districts. The Ceylon Moors' Association asked for at least one seat in the legislature by nomination in order to have direct representation of the interests of their Chamber of Commerce. The All-Ceylon Minority Tamil Sabha (depressed classes) also asked for representation by nomination on the ground that adult suffrage in itself did not enable them to exert any influence on the Legislature for the redressing of their grievances. The All-Ceylon Scheduled Castes' Federation, on the other hand, wanted separate electorates with a separate register. The suggestion that areas should be specially demarcated so as to provide an opportunity for its representation in the Legislature was made by the Catholic Union of Ceylon. In its evidence it pointed out this would be possible

by extending districts along the coast instead of merging them with the hinterland. A similar plea was made by the Central Fisheries Union of Ceylon which asserted that the fishing interest was overwhelmed by the agriculturists. With the demarcation which the Union advocated it was estimated it would give them at least 15 or 20 seats. Finally the Ceylon Malayali Mahajana Sabha made the novel suggestion that there should be one or two Malayalis in the Second Chamber to protect their interests.

To the Sinhalese territorial representation was quite acceptable. With their large predominance in numbers they could count on the return of a substantial majority in a General Election. It was this fact, of course, which caused alarm to the minorities and set them to contriving ways and means of neutralising the advantage. But before examining their proposals reference must be made to the claims of the Kandyans. They asserted that the Low Country Sinhalese had infiltrated into the Kandyan districts where they had gained key positions, *e.g.* as keepers of boutiques in the villages, and thus exercised a control over the poor villagers. This was an old complaint. The Donoughmore Commission, had noted the fear expressed in that 'the more resourceful invaders' would take advantage of adult suffrage to consolidate their hold on the peasantry. The Low Country Sinhalese, the Kandyan spokesmen pointed out, had successively been conquered by, and had submitted to the rule of, the Portuguese, Dutch and British while the Kandyan Kingdom had retained its independence until it had of its own free will in 1815 entered into a treaty with King George III, in which it gave him its allegiance. The Soulbury Commissioners were well aware that their attention would be drawn to the Kandyan Convention and shared the general uncertainty of its relevance to present day issues. They had taken note that the Donoughmore Commission had viewed the Kandyan claim to special treatment 'not without sympathy' and had made the innocuous and rather impracticable suggestion that the Legislature might sometimes meet at Kandy. But quite apart from the Kandyan Convention there was now the definite evidence that in two General Elections the majority of the seats in the Kandyan area had been captured by Low Country Sinhalese candidates. There were 21 territorial seats; but in the General Election of 1931, 10 Kandyans were elected and in 1936, only 6. What was the explanation? Witnesses put forward three—the ignorance of the voters, corrupt practices on the part of the candidates and the effect of the Indian vote. They had to admit that there were sufficient Kandyan voters on the lists to ensure the return of a Kandyan candidate if he was supported; in some instances in fact no Kandyan had come forward. The remedy suggested was that only Kandyans should be eligible for election in these constituencies.

Although the Kandyan case was stated by four organisations and one individual witness, it was clear that, despite the earnestness with which it was put forward, it had become weaker since it was presented to the Donoughmore Commission. Then the Kandyan National Assembly had suggested the division of the Island into three self-governing areas—the North and East; the Kandyan; and the South and West—united in a rather loose federation. Before the Soulbury Commission, witnesses were inclined to evade questions about federation, except the individual witness who said he thought it impracticable. The demand was now for a single local government unit which should have control of a large share of the revenue arising in the area. It was argued that the State Council spent much money on grandiose schemes of irrigation and colonisation which could be more profitably employed in the repair of small village tanks. The aim should be to prevent depopulation rather than to settle new colonists. The facilities for education were also defective with the result that Kandyan boys were handicapped in competition for posts in the Government Service. As an immediate remedy for this handicap it was seriously suggested that twenty-five per cent of the posts should be reserved for Kandyans, the others to be filled by competition; while for the reserved twenty-five per cent the minimum qualifying pass standard should be sufficient. In the long run, of course, it was agreed that improved education would be the solution.

The Tamils are the largest minority community. Their spokesmen were the chief, though by no means the only, exponents of the principle of balanced representation. The number of seats held by the majority community were to be equal, or approximately equal, to those held by the combined minorities. It was the principle of weightage carried to the extreme point. The majority community would not then be in a position to dominate. At first sight this would appear to make it impossible to carry on the government, for the opposition would be as strong as the administration. The advocates of the scheme, however, pointed out that this was a misapprehension. The purpose was to prevent the majority community from taking any action prejudicial to the interests of the minorities. Balanced representation would achieve this end because the majority knew that it would operate automatically if such an attempt were made. Normally the Legislature would function smoothly, voting freely for or against this or that proposal without regard to the community to which the members belonged. In other words, the position would be fluid; there would be no permanent opposition. Granted the internal self-acting check, however, there was the initial difficulty of adjusting the balance. Electoral districts would presumably have to be so arranged that equal numbers of majority and minority community members were returned. The territorial constituencies

would have to be in fact communal and those which returned majority community members would have to be numerically larger, that is, the value of a vote in them would be less than in a minority community constituency. At each General Election steps would have to be taken to ensure the balance and so the only possible change in the nature of the Legislature would be one of the persons returned. There would be no guarantee of stable government. To effect this, indeed, the majority representatives would be tempted to detach one of the minority community groups, for they would have the advantage of being more or less homogeneous while the minorities lacked cohesion.

It cannot be denied that the Donoughmore Constitution gave to the Sinhalese a predominance which they had not previously enjoyed. Until 1931 the principle of communal representation was fully recognised. There was a definite proportion observed in the membership of the Legislative Council and the presence of the Official Members guaranteed that no community would take advantage of another. Sir Andrew Caldecott in his Reforms Despatch, as has already been mentioned, referred to the 'fifty-fifty demand' and rejected it or any modification of it because 'any concession to the principle of communal representation would perpetuate sectionalism and preclude the emergence of true political parties on true political issues.' The one concession he advised, it will be recalled, was a delimitation of electoral districts to afford a chance of the return of more minority candidates. This suggestion was later incorporated in the Ministers' draft. As spokesman of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam told the Soulbury Commission that, while it seemed superficially to meet the claims of the minorities, this was in fact illusory. The Sinhalese would still have a large majority over all others. In two long sessions he presented the case for 'fifty-fifty' with eloquence and great forensic skill. He argued that the abolition of communal representation had been the cause of the intensification of communal feeling. If the minorities were free from the fear of domination and the majority knew that they should not exercise it, a habit of compromise and co-operation would develop. As yet there were no political parties and a parliamentary democracy in the British sense did not exist. Parties might emerge under balanced representation because communal tension would be relaxed. It was the Donoughmore Constitution that produced a static condition because it ensured an absolute and irremovable majority to the Sinhalese. That political parties rather than communal groupings were desirable was generally acknowledged by witnesses. The question was how this could be achieved against a background of strong communal consciousness. On this directly opposing opinions were expressed. Was it wiser in public affairs to ignore communalism (fact though it be) than to give it recognition? Would it not be a great advantage to eliminate it from political life?

The representatives of the Ceylon Muslim League contended that the Donoughmore Commissioners had been misled about the strength of communal feeling and that it had been a mistake to abolish communal representation. The proposals in the Ministers' draft would give the Muslims, they estimated, three or four members while on their total numbers in the Island they should have six or seven, They were in favour of 'weightage' and considered that they should have twelve members. This claim was supported by the All-Ceylon Muslim Political Conference which asserted, as indeed did the Ceylon Muslim League, that they represented *all* sections of the Muslim community. In general, they took up a conservative position. They considered that the Donoughmore Commission was too great a break with the past; but, having accepted it, they thought it would have worked satisfactorily, provided that the State Council had been enlarged with a consequent increase in the membership of the Executive Committees. It is interesting to record this attitude towards the Executive Committee system; the implication is that, had the original number of representatives on the State Council recommended by the Donoughmore Commission been accepted, the Constitution would not have been open to so much criticism. Even as it was, they were of opinon that much had been accomplished since 1931, despite some weaknesses of the Constitution. Within the Muslim Community, however, there was a minority that put in a claim for two of the twelve seats which have been mentioned. This representation was made by the All-Ceylon Malay Congress. It asserted that it was racially quite distinct from the majority Muslims—the so-called Moors—and was a definite and separate minority. Here, of course, the question was whether racial difference overruled the common religious bond. In fact, the All-Ceylon Malay League repudiated the pretensions of the All-Ceylon Malay Congress. There was obviously here a domestic quarrel which seemed, from some insinuations which the witnesses made, perhaps inadvertently, to be born from a personal vendetta. It is always good policy for outsiders not to interfere in such circumstances.

The Burgher Community could not on account of its size expect to get representation on a territorial basis. It would have to depend either on nomination or on an Island-wide electorate with a special register. They had enjoyed this privilege until it was abolished by the Donoughmore reforms. The weight of opinion among them seemed to be strongly in favour of the restoration of the principle of election. The Dutch Burgher Union asked for five Members in a Legislature of a hundred, these to be chosen by a separate electorate. All the Burgher spokesmen deplored

the consequences of the abolition of communal representation. It had, they declared, promoted great tension at elections which had resulted in widespread bribery, impersonation, intimidation and sometimes open violence. The representatives of the European Community stressed the same point. Like the Burghers they expressed a preference for an Island-wide electorate rather than nomination. One deputation made the interesting suggestion that territorial districts should be delimited where there was an overwhelming majority of either Sinhalese or Tamils and that communal electoral registers should be made for all minorities. The concessions to the minorities in the Ministers' draft they thought to be more apparent than real. Both Burghers and Europeans were attracted by the idea of a balanced representation, though they were not prepared to support the definite 'Fifty-Fifty' scheme. What they wanted was some device which would prevent any single community from controlling more than half the votes in the Legislature. This would in their view relieve communal tension and contribute to the formation of political parties.

It will be clear from the foregoing analysis that the underlying cause of the uneasiness felt by the minorities was the grant of universal suffrage. It seemed to them to offer great advantages to the Sinhalese majority. The Donoughmore Commissioners had recommended that the suffrage should be given to men over the age of twenty-one and to women over thirty, without property, income or literacy qualification. The recommendation was adopted with the amendment that both men and women should enjoy the franchise at twenty-one. Reference has already been made to this sweeping reform. It was in marked contrast to the treatment of the Donoughmore Commission's recommendation with regard to the Indian vote. There a much less liberal course was taken. The arguments in favour of universal suffrage were that it would expedite the passing of social and industrial legislation and that the exercise of the vote was in itself an education. The Donoughmore Commission also believed that the larger the electorate the less likelihood there would be of corruption and manipulation. In this there is a considerable evidence that they were mistaken. Only one witness before the Soulbury Commission was prepared to state that the granting of universal suffrage had proved an unqualified success. Many expressed the view that it had demoralised the electorate and had led to the abuses already mentioned—bribery, impersonation and intimidation. Some witnesses thought the remedy would be the re-imposition of a literacy test, though they differed widely on the degree of the severity of it. One witness suggested that there should be an educational qualification of at least the Fifth Standard, while another favoured a test in reading and writing which he estimated would reduce the size of the electorate by a half. Still a third was satisfied with a simple

test before a Headman. An interesting scheme for indirect election as a temporary measure was put forward in another memorandum. Here the idea was that, since it was alleged that the rural voter in particular was unable to decide between candidates and was liable to be misled, the electoral districts should be divided into smaller areas in which the electors should select a person in whom they had confidence. In this way a kind of electoral college would be formed which could exercise proper discretion in choosing the candidate best fitted to serve in the Legislature The difficulty about this scheme, and all suggestions for the restriction of the franchise, was that they would mean the withdrawal of a privilege enjoyed by the electors in two General Elections. An alternative way of dealing with abuses advanced by a number of witnesses was that of holding all the elections on one day. They were not disposed to accept the objection that this was administratively impossible. Some wanted to make voting compulsory; but they did not make a very convincing case for it. Perhaps it should be added that one organisation actually wished the age of qualification for the vote to be reduced to eighteen on the ground that the young persons had not had time to acquire prejudices. On the other hand, another witness suggested that it should be raised to twenty-five. The reason given was that many voters were not certain of their age and this provision would make it fairly sure that they were over twenty-one. In general, however, little reference was made to the age for qualification.

On the question of the Indian franchise opinion was sharply divided on lines which might have been anticipated. There was strong objection, especially from the Sinhalese, to the granting of adult suffrage to the floating population (as they chose to regard it) of Indian labourers on the estates. The Donoughmore Commission had realised that the extension of the franchise would raise a knotty question on this score. Their solution was to exclude those who had not resided in the Island for a period of five years, allowing for a temporary absence of not more than eight months. The principle they enunciated was that the franchise 'should be confined to those who have an abiding interest in the country or who may be regarded as permanently settled in the Island.' It is generally agreed that, had not this proposal been amended, the whole Donoughmore Commission scheme would have been rejected by the Legislative Council. To facilitate its passage the Governor (Sir Herbert Stanley) suggested that the principle on domicile should be the general standard test for inclusion on the Electoral Register. In practice this would mainly affect the Indian labourers. Evidence was given before the Soulbury Commission that the complications that subsequently arose in the administration of the regulations led to a progressive reduction in the number of Indians who obtained the vote. Such restrictions, however,

were not unwelcome to the Sinhalese in the Kandyan districts because they always feared that they would be swamped by the Indians. On the other hand, the Indians strongly resented what they regarded as discrimination against them. Their spokesmen before the Soulbury Commission claimed that the Indians should qualify for the vote on the same conditions as other residents in the country. The five year residence qualification, proposed by the Donoughmore Commission, had been accepted in 1931, though even then recognised as discriminatory; but it had little relevance after the passage of years, for a high percentage of the Indians had been long settled in the Island and fresh immigration had been banned since 1939 by the Indian Government. On their numbers they might expect to have at least eight representatives in the Legislature. The crux was the possible effect of general enfranchisement in the Kandyan constituencies. One suggestion was that electorates might be delimited in the estates areas so as to give the Indians the opportunity to return their own members. Alternatively, there might be a separate roll for Indians which would ensure that they would not hold the balance in the local elections.

The dissatisfaction of the Board of Ministers with the working of the Executive Committee system and Sir Andrew Caldecott's condemnation of it have already been mentioned. It is interesting therefore to gather from the record of evidence before the Soulbury Commission the opinions expressed by witnesses. There are about twenty direct references and curiously enough they are fairly equally divided for and against. As stated earlier the Muslim representatives were in favour with the qualification that the membership of the Committees should be enlarged. Some others made the same point. It was also said that the Committees enabled all sections of the State Council to work together and served a useful purpose in the absence of political parties. There was a division of opinion as to whether they were any safeguard of the interests of the minorities. One witness, however, went so far as to say that they countered the tendency towards power politics and the drift to a dictatorship. Against the committee system it was urged that it caused delay in business, made it impossible to bring responsibility home to any Minister and created an obstacle to the growth of political parties. The hope that they would help to educate members in the art of administration was said not to have been realised. They merely encouraged excessive interference with details and the lack of co-ordination promoted competitive spending. One deputation declared that they were the most disappointing feature of the Donoughmore Constitution. Among the witnesses, whose views are here briefly summarised, were some who had had practical experience of the working of the system. They adopted diametrically different attitudes towards

it. Much clearly depended on whether they were for or against the adoption of a cabinet form of government.

It will be recalled that practically from the inception of the Donoughmore Constitution, the Sinhalese majority had agitated for a homogeneous ministry and that they had eventually used the machinery of the Executive Committees to construct one. In his 'Reforms Despatch' Sir Andrew Caldecott acknowledged that the Constitution had defects and recommended the adoption of 'a Cabinet of the normal type.' He found that the formation of the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry was generally recognised to have been a mistake and he suggested means by which minority community members might be admitted to a future Ministry. His solution—a composite Cabinet—involved the acceptance of a convention rather than the enactment of a statutory provision. In the Ministers' draft a Prime Minister was to be appointed by the Governor-General and the other ministers on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The witnesses before the Soulbury Commission were familiar with this background and with the discussions that had taken place on the issues it had raised. Few (if any) were in favour of 'a normal Cabinet,' if by that it was meant one in which the Prime Minister is free to select his colleagues at his own discretion. For even those who said that they accepted the Ministers' draft probably had in mind the convention that some minority members should be admitted, The Cabinet would be composite in structure from a communal (though not necessarily from a party-point of view). Many witnesses, however, were not prepared to take any risks. The Prime Minister was to be under a statutory obligation to include minority representatives in his Cabinet. One witness said that he should have to select one-third from the minorities, while the advocates of 'Fifty-Fifty' naturally made it one-half. Another witness suggested a severe restriction on the choice allowed to the Prime Minister. He was to select his team one from each of the nine Provinces. When it was suggested that a statutory obligation of any kind might mean that the Prime Minister might find it impossible to form a Government at all, witnesses seemed to think it inconceivable that anyone invited to serve would decline to do so. It should be added that there was by no means unanimity on the principle that the Governor should appoint the Prime Minister. One suggestion was that he should be elected by the Legislature; another that all the Ministers should be thus elected and the Prime Minister's discretion should be confined to the ascribing of portfolios to them. The fear that the Prime Minister might become autocratic and that the Cabinet system might lead to a dictatorship was expressed by some witnesses. One actually wanted to protect the other Ministers against him by enacting that no Minister could be removed from office except by a majority vote of the Legislature.

The general conclusion to be drawn, however, from the submission was that the Cabinet was to be composite, whether this was as a recognised constitutional convention or a statutory obligation. Communalism might in the course of time give place to political parties: but, while in the meantime it might be officially ignored, it had in practice to be recognised to exist.

In the discussion of the desirability or otherwise of a bi-cameral form of Government the supporters of a Second Chamber were either concerned with the protection to the minorities it might afford or with the danger that universal suffrage would lead to 'hasty legislation' inimical to the interests of the professional and propertied classes. If, it was argued, the suffrage was not to be restricted a Second Chamber was 'absolutely necessary,' 'essential,' 'almost indispensable' or 'highly desirable', according to different witnesses. When it came to constructing a Second Chamber great ingenuity was shown. One suggestion was that the nine Provinces of the Island should have representatives who could be chosen by the members of each Province in the First Chamber or by election on a restricted franchise. Another definitely advocated three representatives from each Province elected by those having a literacy or income qualification. A variation of this was that three members should be returned for each Province by voters who had passed matriculation or its equivalent and a fourth by an electoral college constituted by the Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and Village Communities in the Province. A less elaborate scheme was that the Municipal Councils and Urban District Councils should elect members to the Second Chamber (in some cases combining to do so) and to these should be added others elected by associations representing banking, commerce, industry, agriculture and the learned professions; this would be relatively simple once the lists of electing bodies were drawn up. One witness favoured elections by such organisations together with four nominations by the Governor. Another that three-fourths were to be elected and one-fourth were to be nominated by the Governor to provide for any interest which had not already secured representation. The franchise was to be in the latter case restricted to about 10,000 persons, all to be men. There was general agreement that the Second Chamber should be much smaller than the First Chamber. A figure round about thirty seemed reasonable. Several witnesses thought that a difference between the two Chambers might be resolved by a meeting in joint session, though one considered that a threat to dissolve both Chambers would force them to come to an understanding.

The Donoughmore Commissioners had rejected the proposal that a Second Chamber should be set up partly on the ground that it would be difficult to find suitable candidates among the

educated section of the community without limiting the supply available for the First Chamber. When this point was put by the Soulbury Commissioners they were assured that there was now no shortage; that in fact there were many eminently suited persons who were reluctant to take part in the ordinary rough and tumble of elections. Of course, the idea of a somewhat exclusive body elected on a restricted franchise or appointed by nomination was highly objectionable to some witnesses. The demand for it was said to come from capitalists who felt that they were losing power. They wished to erect a barrier against progress. There would inevitably be constant friction between the two Chambers. When the fact was pointed out that in other countries a Second Chamber was a usual feature of their constitutions, it was contended that the position in Ceylon was exceptional and that its introduction there would be very unpopular. It would be sufficient to require that any legislation to which the minorities objected should need a two-thirds majority of the elected Chamber. The witness who made this suggestion qualified it when it was remarked that such a provision might make the passing of legislation difficult. It should only apply, he said, to financial measures or matters which vitally affected minorities. Since the Second Chamber, following precedents elsewhere, would have no control over finance and it would be hard to determine whether a proposal vitally affected minorities, this alternative to a Second Chamber had little to commend it. One or two objectors were content with the simple assertion that a Second Chamber would involve the country in unnecessary expense.

The evidence given before the Soulbury Commission necessarily contained much that had no direct relevance to the principles of the existing Constitution or indeed to the question of constitutional reform. It may be included under two main heads. There were many statements about the prevalence of electoral abuses and a number of allegations with regard to discrimination against the minorities, The former were usually quoted in support of the contention that the grant of adult suffrage had been premature and that it should in some way be modified. The latter were made to strengthen the argument that special weightage should be given to the representation of the minority communities. The electoral abuses were said to be bribery, impersonation, selling of ballot papers and intimidation. Of these, charges of bribery, which was said to be widespread and flagrant, were easy to make but often difficult to prove. The tendency to generalise from particular instances was obvious in this and other allegations. Impersonation had apparently been detected and punished in many cases. Whether it had been practised on a scale large enough to influence results was at least doubtful. One witness alleged that the training of impersonators was not uncommon. He gave an example of

which he said he had learnt from a Headman. An election agent who had drilled twenty men in the art of impersonation tried to induce the Headman not to intervene when the men presented themselves at the polling booth. Suggested remedies against this abuse was that there should be more numerous polling booths so that the voters could be more easily identified and even that voters should have identity cards with their photographs. The sale of ballot papers had been made possible owing to the method which had been adopted to enable illiterates to record their votes. A different colour box was provided for each candidate and all the voter had to do was to fold his paper and place it in the appropriate box. If he did so in the presence of the presiding officer, and any others who might be in the booth, obviously the ballot would not be secret. The boxes were therefore screened off. But this meant that there was no guarantee that the ballot paper was placed in a box. It could be taken outside and sold to an agent of one of the candidates for so many rupees and he could arrange that a supporter who had not yet voted would place all the ballot papers thus collected in the right box. To prevent this kind of fraud it was suggested that the ballot paper itself should have a number, colour, or symbol to distinguish the candidates from one another and that the voter should be required to place a cross against the one for whom he voted and put the paper in a common box in the presence of the presiding officer. So this particular abuse would be eliminated. Mass intimidation called for police protection to the would-be voters. A case was quoted of a by-election at Nuwara Eliya when a whole group was driven off by a hostile crowd and prevented from voting. In its more subtle forms the prevention of intimidation would present more difficulty. The general conclusion which the Soulbury Commissioners were invited to draw from the evidence with respect to electoral abuses was that adult suffrage had led to wholesale corruption and that the position was getting progressively worse. The Donoughmore Commission had recommended that the registration of voters should not be compulsory or automatic, but should be restricted to those who applied for it. The Government, however, undertook the task of registration after 1936, and then the electoral roll was greatly expanded and, it was alleged, abuses had greatly increased. Some witnesses advocated a return to the former practice and pointed out that it would facilitate the issuing of identity cards to those who were formally registered.

The majority of the charges of discrimination took the form of complaints that the Government in its expenditure on irrigation schemes, hospitals and schools had shown special partiality to some areas and had neglected others. The sweeping statement was made by one witness that the Eastern Province had been totally neglected for fourteen years. Another asserted that very little

money had been spent in either the Northern or Eastern Province during that period. These allegations were accompanied by criticisms of the large sums spent in other Provinces on schemes which it was said had yielded very poor results. The Sinhalese majority had attempted to revive the ancient glories of the Dry Zone by the construction of vast irrigation works and the settlement of colonists in areas which had to be recovered from jungle. Little attention, however, had been paid to the repair of old tanks and particularly to the small village tanks, which would have been a profitable proposition. The charges of ill-advised expenditure as between the Nothern and Eastern Provinces, on the one hand, and the North Central Province, on the other, were naturally made by representatives of the Tamils and Muslims; but the argument that the money would have been better spent on small tanks was also advanced by Kandyan witnesses. They were particularly critical of the colonisation schemes which they said had not met with the success anticipated by the Government. One of their deputations suggested that instead of spending millions in "wild and uninhabitable parts" the plantations devoted to the cultivation of tea and rubber should be broken up and allotted to the villagers to whom the land had originally belonged.

The tacit assumption that unless an area or community had adequate representation it would be neglected, with the corollary that the possession of an overwhelming majority would mean the exclusive enjoyment of all advantages, was at the back of the argument. It was regarded as axiomatic. Statistical proof was rarely forthcoming. The provision of educational and hospital facilities in any district depended on influence and this was naturally in the hands of the members of the majority community in the Legislature. The result of this approach was that completely contradictory statements were made. One witness absolutely contradicted what another had said about matters which were capable of objective proof. The only safe inference to draw was that they differed in point of view and on closer examination it would probably be discovered that they were members of different communities. A few special cases of alleged discrimination may be mentioned such as the siting of the University at Peradeniya and the suspension of the levy for the administration of the Buddhist temporalities. The Indians employed on the estates complained that they were excluded by the Village Communities Ordinance from voting for the Village Committees, though it was admitted that this rule applied equally to all workers resident on estates whether Tamil or Sinhalese. Representatives of the fisheries interest asked for a separate Ministry. They stated that the industry received scant attention from the Government while agriculture was loaded with favours—free distribution of seed paddy and fertilisers, introduction of improved agricultural implements,

importation of pedigree livestock, central marketing schemes, etc. Had assistance of this kind been given to the fishing industry the Island would long ago have become independent of imported fish on which millions of rupees a year were now spent. It was asserted that the industry was the victim of religious and caste prejudices; the strict Buddhists objected to the taking of life which it involved; while the Goigama caste, which practically monopolised the Legislature, did not wish the Karawa caste, to which the fishermen mainly belonged, to prosper and become a menace to its ascendency.

Caste grievances were voiced by other deputations and the usual claim was made that they could be removed by the provision of special representation. This was to overlook the fact that deep-rooted social custom could not be eradicated by a stroke of the pen. Two castes among the Sinhalese—the Bathgama and the Wahumpura—complained of the disabilities under which they laboured. They were denied, they said, equality of opportunity. Schools were not built in their villages. Their young men, even if they got high marks in a written test, were not appointed Divisional Revenue Officers. Only a few of their caste were employed as peons and police constables. The Bathgama caste stated that they numbered some 400,000 and the Wahumpura caste a million; together, over one-third of the total Sinhalese community. Naturally they were asked why they had not exercised greater political pressure under a system of universal suffrage and why it was that no member of either of the castes had been elected to the State Council. They attempted to answer these questions by alleging that electoral areas had been deliberately delimited to prevent them from being represented and that their names were often wilfully omitted from the register. It is more reasonable to infer that the great majority of them lacked education and passively accepted their social status. As one witness admitted 'indigenous minds have to observe castes.' Caste among the Sinhalese, however, is not so definitely marked as with the Tamils. The Indian Tamils on the estates formed an All-Ceylon Scheduled Castes Federation, a term borrowed from India and strongly repudiated in Ceylon. The spokesmen of the Federation enumerated the grievances to which reference has already been made. They claimed the franchise on the same terms as other inhabitants of the country and pointed out that they were discriminated against in the Village Communities Ordinance and in the provisions for the distribution of Crown Lands. There was no opportunity for the son of a labourer on the estates to get a secondary education and to enter the Government service. The remedy suggested was that the Scheduled Castes should be recognised as a distinct and separate element of constitutional safeguards and that they should have representation in the Legislature. The Tamil Depressed

Classes Mahasabha stated that there were 200,000 in the depressed classes among the Ceylon Tamils and that they suffered from many social disabilities. They were debarred from eating houses and restaurants and their children were treated in a humiliating manner in the schools and sometimes altogether excluded from them. No low caste person's name was entered on a jury list or employed in a Government office.

This brief analysis of the representations made to the Soulbury Commission may indicate the wealth of material which exists in the six files which contain a short-hand *verbatim* record of the evidence. It extends to nearly eight hundred pages. The Commissioners were greatly assisted in the interpretation of all they had heard by the visits they paid to different parts of the Island. There was the extensive tour of the Central, North-Central and North-Western Provinces conducted by Mr. D. S. Senanayake in the course of which the reclamation scheme at Minipe and the irrigation works at Minneriya were inspected. Calls were made at cattle farms where Mr. Senanayake took a particular delight in an organised 'march past' of the animals. On this occasion, too, the Commissioners were conducted round the 'buried cities' of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa by that expert guide Dr. Paranavitana, the Archaeological Commissioner. A later tour was arranged of the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa provinces when the Plywood Factory at Gintota, the Coir Factory at Dondra, the Ambalantota Rice Mill and the Gem Pits at Pelmadulla were visited. Finally, the Commissioners went by train to Jaffna and toured the Peninsula, gathering impressions of the Northern Province by seeing the Thirunelveli Farm School, a Co-operative Bank, Jaffna College and several other schools. Mannar was visited on the return journey to Colombo. Interspersed with these tours were shorter runs arranged by Mr. Kannangara, then Minister of Education, to a representative selection of Training Colleges and schools. As has been said, the value of seeing so many aspects of the life of the people as an aid to the appreciation of the material collected by memoranda and interview can hardly be exaggerated. 'If the Commission wanted to see anything', Mr. Senanayake declared in the State Council later, 'we showed it to them.' He did so with great frankness. The rather subtle methods adopted by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke were much more obvious than he himself realised.

The Soulbury Commissioners knew that the goal which was aimed at in Ceylon was that of Dominion Status; but their recommendations necessarily fell short of it. They had to have regard to their terms of reference which directed them to examine proposals which had the object of giving effect to the Declaration of 26th May 1943. The Declaration contained provisions on

defence, external relations, currency and the reserved powers of the Governor which were incompatible with full independence. It was evident enough that Mr. Senanayake would not be satisfied with what the Commissioners were able to recommend; but he saw that it would be an important step towards his objective. In this he displayed greater statesmanship than some of his colleagues. They decided not to co-operate with the Commission (on the ground already noticed that its appointment was a breach of faith on the part of His Majesty's Government) and introduced the Ceylon (Constitution) Bill designed to confer immediate Dominion Status. It was passing through its stages in the State Council while the Commission was taking evidence in the Colombo Town Hall and had its third reading on 22nd March 1945. The Bill followed practically *verbatim* the Ministers' Draft with the deletion of the clauses which dealt with defence, external affairs, currency and the reserved powers of the Governor.

The British Government presented a White Paper to Parliament on 31 st October 1945 in which it declared its sympathy with the desire of the people of Ceylon to advance towards Dominion status and expressed the hope that a Constitution on the general lines proposed by the Soulbury Commission would prove acceptable and the evolution toward full self-government would take 'a comparatively short time.' A week later Mr. Senanayake introduced a motion in the State Council in the following terms:—

> 'This House expresses its disappointment that His Majesty's Government have deferred the admission of Ceylon to full Dominion status, but, in view of the assurance contained in the White Paper of 31st October, 1945, that His Majesty's Government will co-operate with the people of Ceylon so that such status may be attained by this country in a comparatively short time, this House resolves that the Constitution offered in the said White Paper be accepted during the interim period.'

He supported this motion by what must have been the finest speech of his career. In it he made an eloquent appeal for unanimous acceptance of the offer on the commonsense ground that 'a man should not refuse bread merely because it is not cake.' The motion was debated for two days and met with a measure of approval he had hardly hoped to get. It was passed by a vote of 54 to 3, the dissentients being two Indians and one Sinhalese. In a letter to the present writer, dated 13th November 1945, he says that it was a great personal satisfaction to him to have received such support from all sections of the community and that he was deeply conscious of the confidence placed in him by them all. He never betrayed that confidence in the years that were left to him.

His success was a great and well-deserved personal triumph. But there was more to be done. How his mind was working is revealed in another paragraph in the letter already quoted. 'I wish it were possible even at this stage', he writes, 'for His Majesty's Government to agree to the transfer of the general responsibility for Ceylon to the Dominions Office and to admit us to Imperial and other Conferences, even as observer in the first instance.' He was anxious that 'the comparatively short time' should be as brief as possible. With the acceptance of the proposals in the White Paper the way was open for the adoption of the new Constitution. By an Order in Council it was provided that a Delimitation Commission should be set up to divide each Province into electoral districts and the registers prepared. These tasks were completed with commendable expedition. The Governor then dissolved the State Council and a General Election under the new Constitution was held. The voting took place between 23rd August and 20th September 1947. The membership of the House of Representatives (the name now given to the Lower House in the bi-cameral Constitution) had been enlarged to 101; 95 of whom were elected. The Sinhalese Ministers formed the United National Party to fight the Election and sought general support for their policy. They won 42 seats; but 21 Independents were returned, many of them willing to vote with them. For the rest, there were 18 Communists, 7 Ceylon Tamils, 6 Indian Tamils and 1 Labour. The Communists were not a compact group for they were divided into three sections on ideological grounds. The United National Party had had the support of many Sinhalese, Muslims, Burghers, Europeans and even of some Ceylon Tamils. The only party which was exclusively communal was the Ceylon Indian Congress. This is not to say that a political party alignment had taken the place of communalism. That will take time.

Meanwhile, on 18th June, 1947, the British Government had announced its decision to grant Ceylon the status of a Dominion as soon as certain necessary agreements were made. These related to the questions of Defence and External Affairs. Negotiations were completed and the agreements signed on behalf of the two Governments on 11th November, 1947. A Ceylon Independence Bill was introduced in the British Parliament two days later. On 'the Appointed day'—4th February, 1948—Ceylon became independent having attained fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Soulbury Constitution had lasted less than two years; but the main structure of it was carried over and survives. The Dominion of Ceylon has a Cabinet form of Government on the British model and there is a bi-cameral Legislature with a House of Representatives and a Senate. The limitations which the Soulbury Commission was obliged to observe by its terms of reference are removed. The Governor-General

is now a constitutional head and, as has been stated, there were agreements negotiated on Defence and External Affairs. How the 'Westminster model' will work out in the very different conditions of Ceylon, time alone will reveal. From a communal point of view the Cabinet is composite and for this reason and others the doctrine of collective responsibility may be difficult to learn. Again, there is as yet no cohesive Opposition in sight, *i.e.* one capable of taking the place of the present Government which is virtually composed of elements that have been in control since 1931. It is necessary, too, to get away from the habit, contracted during the Colonial period, of thinking that problems can be solved by amending the Constitution. There are much more urgent tasks to hand.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that Mr. Senanayake satisfied himself while in London that the difference between the Board of Ministers and the Colonial Office over the interpretation of the Declaration of 26th May 1943 had arisen because of representations made by the minorities; in an excess of caution the Soulbury Commission had been instructed to consult minority opinion. The question may be asked whether, had the Board of Ministers when they were drafting their scheme consulted some of the leaders of the minorities, such representations might not have been made to the Colonial Office. There is still the more interesting question whether the Ministers' draft would have secured the two-thirds majority in the State Council had their interpretation of the Declaration been accepted. The answers to these questions must remain conjectural. In the event the Soulbury Commissioners resolved the difficulties which the difference of opinion on the interpretation of the Declaration had created. They, as a psychologist might say, released the complexes with which so many were afflicted by a full, frank and public exposure of them. That perhaps was their great achievement.

D. S. SENANAYAKE - A STUDY OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY

By

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ON February 4, 1948, Ceylon regained her freedom. As a colony, she had no independent foreign policy. During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the whole of South-East Asia was controlled by Western powers and had no means of following a foreign policy of its own. It was during this period that man's economic environment changed from feudalism to capitalism; that the great discoveries which gave man greater control over the forces of nature were made; and the industrial revolution was ushered in. The foreign policies of the Western powers, which alone counted, had their beginning during this period, and the theories of balance of power commenced then. During this formative period in the history of mankind, Ceylon, together with so many of her neighbours, was tied to the chariot wheels of the British Empire, and her foreign policy was the foreign policy of the United Kingdom.

When independence came in 1948 we were able not only to govern our country but also to direct its foreign policy. It is fortunate that at this important stage in our recent history we had a man of wisdom and balance, such as the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, to direct us. It is useful to study the principles which guided him and the interests he sought to protect in framing that policy. As a member of his Cabinet since he became Prime Minister and as one who represented Ceylon at many international conferences during the 4½ years of his term of office, I can speak with some knowledge of his mind. In this article, however, I have sought to support such views as I felt Mr. Senanayake held, by reference to his own speeches.

Defence

The first question he considered was that of defence. Mr. Senanayake was aware that the defence of our freedom was one of the primary obligations of the State. He was realist enough to know also that the security of small nations depended on their ability to defend themselves either individually or collectively. Ceylon had no army, navy or air force; she had formed part of the defence plans of the United Kingdom and, unlike India which had a standing army that had won its laurels in several

wars, would have been left defenceless by the departure of the British forces. Moreover, Ceylon occupied a strategic situation in the Indian Ocean and may have been sought after by a nation which intended to dominate this region of the world. He also had experience during the war of the necessity for keeping our sea and air bases free from obstruction in order to bring in the essential imports, without which our people would starve. During the war we relied on the British to defend us and to maintain our food supplies. He was frank enough to admit that we could not immediately produce the armaments we needed in this country, nor afford to buy them. In Parliament he stated:—

> "I cannot accept the responsibility of being Minister of Defence unless I am provided with the means of defence."

If we could not defend ourselves, he thought, the next best thing was to look round for some other country which would. At the moment he could think of only one country with sufficient interest in us to defend us at their expense, and the United Kingdom was that country. He also saw that our security was involved in British security because Britain needed the use of the Indian Ocean for her ships and other vessels to maintain her great two-way East-West trade.

It is in this context that he bargained with the British Government and entered into the Defence Agreements which were signed simultaneously with the passing of the Independence Act. It was a mutual pact whereby we would allow Great Britain to use bases in Ceylon with our consent, and we would help Great Britain if she was attacked and it was to our advantage to help her. The Agreement began with the preamble that "*the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Ceylon will give to each other such military assistance for the security of their territories,*" and further that "*the Government of the United Kingdom may base such Naval and Air Forces and maintain such Land Forces in Ceylon as may be required for these purposes and as may be mutually agreed.*" Throughout this Agreement it is clear that the consent of Ceylon is necessary before any action can be taken, and such action must be in the mutual interests of both countries. This Defence Agreement, while it lasts, must necessarily colour our foreign policy. If we accept the fact that this Agreement in no way whittles down our independence, and that it was entered into in our interests as much as in the interests of the United Kingdom, then we have some clue to the way in which Mr. D. S. Senanayake's mind was working with regard to Ceylon's foreign policy which he was then framing.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake laid the foundations of our foreign policy on this basis. He thought as follows: "The British people

helped us to become a free nation once again. They can keep us free even from the intrusion of the Russian menace. I will come to an agreement with Britain to defend us at our request, and we to help them if they seek our help, and we think it is in our interests to do so. I do not wish now to consider whatever policies the British people may have pursued in the past, or whatever good or bad they may have done to us." [1]

It was a very realistic and sensible foundation upon which he built our foreign policy.

It is true of all nations that their foreign policy is conditioned primarily by defence considerations. Alliances are entered into which will help the nation to protect itself from attack and also help in defeating a possible enemy of the future. Ceylon therefore began her foreign policy by entering into an alliance for her protection when she had no means of protecting herself, and to do that she had to enter into an agreement with the country which had been associated with her for almost 150 years, whose ways of government she had accepted, who had helped her to attain freedom and whose interest it was to see that Ceylon was free; and that country too happened to be the third most powerful nation in the world militarily, the nation with the greatest overseas trade and, what is very important, the nation with which we have the largest trade in imports as well as exports.

The Commonwealth

The defence alliance with the United Kingdom logically led Mr. Senanayake to affirm his allegiance to the Commonwealth. He never had any intention of leaving the Commonwealth once freedom was granted. The political parties to which he belonged—the Ceylon National Congress and the United National Party; nay, all democratic parties in Ceylon—wished Ceylon to be an independent member of the Commonwealth, some as a monarchy, others as a republic. It was only the Marxist parties that sought to sever Ceylon's connection with the Commonwealth. Mr. Senanayake's desire to be in the Commonwealth arose from various reasons. Firstly, his faith in the democratic way of life and the knowledge that the Commonwealth stood for this ideal Secondly, our trade, both export and import, was largely with the nations in the Commonwealth, and it was to our advantage politically to be in the Commonwealth, and financially to be members of the Sterling Area. Thirdly it gave strength to a small nation like Ceylon to be a partner in a large comity of nations. She was able through her representatives to take part in Commonwealth Conferences on an equal

1. Hansard of 1st December 1947, column 444 et seq.

footing, and her representatives acquitted themselves so creditably that very soon Ceylon was able to play a leading part at these Conferences, far beyond the influence which her size warranted. Mr. Senanayake's view of the Commonwealth connection was stated in several Speeches from the Throne, and in none more appropriately than the last one made while he was Prime Minister, on the 20th June 1951.

> "My Government reiterates its firm faith in the democratic way of life in which the rule of the moral law holds sway, and in which, instead of force as the arbiter of international disputes, mutual confidence and co-operation arise as a pre-requisite to peace. In order to safeguard freedom and peace, my Government will continue to maintain the closest relationship with all peace-loving nations, and especially with the other Governments of the Commonwealth." [2]

In another similar speech it was stated—

> "My Government is keenly aware of the significance and unity of purpose of the Commonwealth in the effort to preserve peace in the post-war world, and will use its utmost endeavour to cherish and safeguard these valuable associations." [3]

Mr. Senanayake was convinced that the Commonwealth had no expansionist ideas and that its one ambition and desire was to preserve peace in the world. He wanted peace for Ceylon and peace for the rest of the world, and he felt that whatever weight he could throw on the side of those who wanted peace would help the cause. He also had a great admiration for the Englishman and his way of life. It is natural that this should be so, for the people of Ceylon had moved with them for over 100 years, and, though some of the memories of that association, particularly the events in connection with the riots of 1915 during which time Mr. Senanayake and his colleagues were imprisoned, were not happy ones, yet Mr. Senanayake was aware that the Englishmen were democrats at home and imbued with a sense of fairness. Once the British Government decided to give freedom to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, whatever differences of opinion he may have had with them or any distrust he had towards them, disappeared, and he felt that "the known devil was better than the unknown devil." The ties of education and language also were very strong. The decision of India and Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth also added weight to Mr. Senanayake's own personal desire to be

2. Hansard of 20th June 1951, column 5 et seq.
3. Hansard of 20th June 1950, colum 8 et seq.

a member of the Commonwealth. In an eloquent speech in the House he reiterated his faith in the Commonwealth thus:—

> "If there is any one body of people who are for maintaining peace in this world, I believe it is the peoples of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth wants to establish peace. They may have at one time been perhaps exploiting some of the Asian countries. Whatever their past policies may have been, some of the Asian countries that had been under subjection have been given their independence. They have been given an opportunity to establish free and democratic governments, and I believe, although perhaps we may not have been able to take a very great part in the work of the commonwealth, still we have to some extent influenced even other governments, like the Dutch government, to give freedom to their colonies. Therefore the influence of the Commonwealth, as far as Asia is concerned, has been to give the Asian peoples freedom and democratic institutions." [4]

This, therefore, became another fundamental pivot of his foreign policy, namely, membership of the Commonwealth.

Foreign Countries

We can now consider how, based on these two as a foundation, the Defence Agreements with the United Kingdom, and membership of the Commonwealth, Mr. Senanayake built up the structure of his country's foreign policy. Here again we have recourse to the Governor-General's Speech where his Government's foreign policy is stated in the following words:—

> "My Government's relations with other countries continue to be extended on the basis of friendship."[5]

This was the view expressed even in the very first Speech from the Throne, delivered even before the attainment of freedom soon after the inauguration of the Soulbury Constitution in November 1947, when the Government's policy in the sphere of external affairs, on the attainment of Dominion Status, was stated to be as follows:—

> "Ceylon will enter upon new relations with other sovereign states. It will be the endeavour of my Government to maintain friendly relations with the countries of the Commonwealth and to live in peace with other nations.' [6]

4. Hansard of 1st February 1950, Column 1398 et seq.
5. Hansard of 20th June 1950, Column 7 et seq.
6. Hansard of 25th November 1947, Column 31 et seq.

Mr. Senanayake amplified this statement in several speeches and re-affirmed his desire to be friendly with every nation. He defended the decision to give aid to Burma on the ground that Burma was a friendly country with whom we had been friends for centuries. He said:—

> "If ever it becomes necessary, or it is possible, for us to help Burma, we shall certainly give that help to the best of our ability, not only for the sake of Burma but also for the sake of our country. Not only are there ancient connections between ourselves, but we depend on Burma to a large extent for our foodstuffs. Peace and order in that country are of the greatest importance to us." [7]

If people did not wish to be friendly with us, they would be left severely alone. Ceylon had no desire to expand or to interfere with other people. Ceylon wished to be left alone and was concerned primarily with her own development.

Communist Countries

His attitude towards Communism, both at home and abroad, left no doubt in the minds of people. He had several times expressed the view that even at his advanced age he was in politics to protect Ceylon from Communism, that he believed in rebirth and felt that he would be born over and over again to help in the fight against Communism. His attitude to International Communism was governed by the knowledge that he felt that International Communism did not seek peace, but sought to bring about trouble in other countries. This, he thought tended to war. He openly stated that he did not approve of these methods. He identified International Communism with the policy of the Soviet Union. He did not think this policy would tend to peace.

> "Enslavement of the world is what we believe to be their attitude.....We will never be with Russia until she gives up her policy." [8]

He was, however, not concerned with Russia's internal government nor with China's internal government, and he would recognise them and be friendly with them and trade with them, but he did not approve of their foreign policy. He went further and stated that:—

> "towards the maintenance of peace, it will be our endeavour to make our contribution, and that contribution

7. Hansard of 1st February 1950, Column 1398 et seq.
8. Hansard of 7th July 1950, Column 486.

> is against the policy that is adopted by Russia and her satellites. I like to make that plain as far as I am concerned." [9]

It was clear, therefore, that his friendship with countries was not based on any differences of ideology or on the acceptance or rejection of their forms of government, but on his own desire for peace. Russia, he thought, had an idea of enslaving the world, therefore he would not be with her. Though China had a communist form of government, he recognized that government as an existing government. It was not that he had any love for the Chinese government, but he accepted a fact. He did not believe in interfering with others, nor in the "*Russian method of penetrating into other countries and disturbing the good relations that exist in those countries and trying by force or insidious methods to bring trouble to those countries.*" [10]

U. S. A.

In this context it may be relevant to state his views about the United States of America. In a debate on the Address in July 1950 he stated:—

> "As far as the United States is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that she holds the view that we hold. That is, they are for democracy. As long as they are for democracy, and as long as it becomes necessary for us to associate ourselves with either the United States or with anyone else, we will join that side." [11]

And again—

> "I do not agree that it is only through America that the living standards of the Asian peoples could be raised. But, at the same time, I feel that if it is only with the assistance of America that the standard of living of the peoples of Asia could be improved, there is nothing wrong in obtaining that assistance." [12]

In the light of these remarks, which shows his attitude to both the Commonwealth and America, he refused to accede to the request of the Opposition to deny harbour facilities to an American flotilla on its way to the Korean war. While Mr. Senanayake thought he should take no part in the Korean war as it was a U. N. O.

9. Hansard of 7th July 1950, Column 487.
10. Hansard of 7th July 1950, Column 486.
11. Hansard of 7th July 1950, Column 487.
12. Hansard of 1st February 1950, Column 1395.

matter and Ceylon was not a member of the U. N. O., [13] he saw no reason why facilities which were available to the Americans in the past should not be made available now. He drew a distinction between this incident and the refusal to grant facilities to the Dutch to use our aerodromes in their military action against the Indonesians. The distinction [14] was that in one case the Dutch were opposing a movement for freedom and in the other the U. N. O. was opposing aggression by International Communism.

India

Mr. Senanayake's attitude to India dates back to a period before the attainment of freedom. Then the question was one of the granting of voting rights to Indian residents in Ceylon. At that time both Indians and Ceylonese were British subjects and there had been State aided immigration into Ceylon for over 75 years. The Indian population was now in the region of almost one million. When the Donoughmore Constitution was to be introduced in 1930, the question was to what extent the vote was to be given to those of Indian origin. Mr. Senanayake,as one of the leaders of the Ceylon National Congress was consulted, and he agreed that those of Indian origin who either acquired Ceylon domicile or a certificate of permanent settlement should be given the franchise. The question came up again for discussion between the two countries when in 1940 the State Council sent a delegation headed by Mr. Senanayake to India. No agreement was reached. In September 1941, delegations representing India and Ceylon (Mr. Senanayake was the Ceylon leader) reached agreement on all points, including the franchise, but subject to ratification by the two Governments. [15] The Indian Government, however, did not ratify this Agreement. In drafting the Constitution in 1943, the Ceylon Government thought it advisable not to include their proposed scheme containing franchise clauses based on the Agreement referred to, fearing that the Government of India may use influence with the British Government to reject the whole Constitution. Mr. Senanayake therefore decided not to put the franchise into the Constitution, but thought it advisable to have the first General Election on the 1931 franchise, empowering the new Parliament to change the Franchise Law. The Soulbury Commission agreed to this. As soon as the Soulbury Constitution was inaugurated, Mr. Senanayake who was the Prime Minister, went to India for discussions with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who was the Prime Minister of free India. They were able to agree on some points. Mr. Senanayake thought that non-agreement

13. Hansard of 7th July 1950, Column 488.
14. Hansard of 7th August 1950, Col. 1860 et seq.
15. Sessional Paper 28 of 1941.

was no bar to our introducing our own legislation. He therefore introduced in the last few months of 1948 several Bills dealing firstly with citizenship, defining who a citizen by descent was, dealing with immigration and emigration, and finally conferring citizenship by registration on persons of Indian and Pakistani origin. He referred in terms of great friendship to India. He stated—

> "Our attachment to India, our close association with India, whether it be cultural or otherwise, makes us feel that it is very necessary for us to be in close friendship with that country."

Again—

> "We consider India to be one of the greatest nations in the world, but we do not expect India to play the role of trying to establish rights where they have no rights, or privileges where they have no privileges, or of trying to deprive other countries of their rights." [16]

He said that there were two attitudes on the matter, the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister of India and that adopted by us. Mr. Senanayake's attitude was put quite clearly when he stated—

> "While Ceylon would certainly find it difficult to absorb in her economy the large number of Indians resident in Ceylon, it was her desire to absorb all those who had made Ceylon their home." [17]

Further, he thought that—

> "those Indians who do not choose, or are not admitted to Ceylon citizenship, will still continue to be allowed to remain in the Island as Indian citizens and to pursue their lawful avocations without any interference."

Though there was disagreement between India and Ceylon, Mr. Senanayake expressed his great admiration for India and he desired to be on the friendliest terms with that great country. He, however, would not permit India seeking to esatablish rights in Ceylon where they have no rights, "*or privileges where they have no privileges, or of trying to deprive other countries of their rights.*" [18]

U. N. O. and International Organizations

Ceylon applied for membership of the United Nations Organisation. Her application was vetoed by the Soviet Union on the ground

16. Hansard of 9th December 1948, Column 427 et seq.
17. Hansard of 9th December 1948, Column 429 et seq.
18. Hansard of 9th December 1948, Column 427.

that Ceylon was not free. A few years after our first application, Commonwealth countries pressed very strongly that Ceylon should be admitted as a member. This time Russia did not raise the plea that Ceylon was not free, but bargained for the admission of some of her satellite countries as members of the U. N. O. if her objection to Ceylon's admission was to be withdrawn. This made Mr. Senanayake rather bitter about Ceylon's admission into the U. N. O. and he did not renew his application nor press for admission. He, however, took full advantage of the organizations set up by the United Nations dealing with Health, Food, Education, etc. Under his leadershhip Ceylon continued to play an important part in the activities of these international organizations. Delegates were sent to their meetings and some of the meetings were held in Ceylon at which representatives from many countries of the world attended. One of the chief organizations which Mr. Senanayake was keen that Ceylon should join was the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, better known as the World Bank. We became members of these Organisations in 1950 and since then have attended the annual meetings held in Paris, Washington and Mexico. Here, too, Ceylon played an important part in the proceedings and gave her decision on all matters that needed a decision, independent of all countries and guided by her own views. The World Bank was of considerable help both in sending out an Economic Mission and in granting us a substantial loan towards the completion of the second stage of the Laxapana Hydro-Electric Scheme. It was Ceylon's inability to join the U. N. O. that enabled us to enter into a trade pact with China. Ceylon therefore enjoyed a dual advantage, namely, the advantages that the U. N. O. gave to its members as well as any advantage that she derived from her not being a member.

Foreign Trade

With regard to foreign trade, his view was that we should trade with foreign countries, irrespective of their political views and ideologies. When questioned in Parliament whether he had refused to have anythig to do with Russia in regard to the sale of rubber, he repled—

> "If Russia wants our rubber let her become another competitor and compete with these people..... The Russian representatives can come here and buy in the open market. When it is a question of money, I do not mind taking even from my enemies. I have no scruples about that so long as I do not cheat anybody." [19]

19. Hansard of 4th August 1949, Column 1353 et seq.

With this idea he permitted the private sale of rubber to China even after the United Nations Organization had decided that its members should not sell strategic materials, such as rubber, to China which was held to be an aggressor in the Korean conflict. Though America was anxious that we should not permit the private trade to sell rubber to China, Mr. Senanayake did not impose an embargo on such sales. He was, however, negotiating with America with regard to the sale of our rubber in bulk to America. There were difficulties about agreement on the question of price, and while the discussions were proceeding he died. It was after his death that the Rubber-Rice Pact with China was entered into.

Commonwealth Conferences

Mr. Senanayake availed himself of every opportunity of participating in Commonwealth conferences. He always attended conferences of Prime Ministers and sent his Ministers to Ministerial Conferences. He went further and invited Commonwealth Foreign Ministers to meet in Ceylon. This was the first occasion on which a Commonwealth Conference at Ministerial level had met outside the United Kingdom. It was a compliment to Ceylon and a compliment to Mr. Senanayake that not only was such a conference held in Colombo in 1950, but that he was chosen to preside over a conference attended by such world figures as Pundit Nehru and Mr. Bevin. In replying to a vote of no confidence soon after the Colombo Conference, he outlined his views on Commonwealth Conferences as follows:—

> "Ceylon," he said, "is now a member of the Commonwealth and she has to take her place at these Conferences.....These are held periodically, primarily for the benefit of the members of the Commonwealth .....The recent Commonwealth Conference was of great importance. We discussed things that concern all the Commonwealth countries and not plans, as some people say, to overthrow Governments and countries and unite them all under one banner." [20]

He went on to defend these conferences by saying that there was nothing sacred in these meetings nor were they summoned for any particular purpose or to achieve any sinister design. The Commonwealth countries had a common interest and they meet from time to time to see how their common interests could be furthered, and that common interest was to achieve the well-being of the Commonwealth countries and thereby to see that the peace of the world was assured.

20. Hansard of 1st February 1950, Columns 1392 and 1393.

Japan

The question of freedom for Japan was mooted at the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers. There was some hesitation among some of the countries before agreeing to freedom for Japan. Mr. Senanayake came out very strongly on the side of complete freedom. He was of opinion that a nation of 80 million people could not be kept in subjection without danger to the peace of the world, and the Conference decided that steps should be taken to make Japan free. On his instructions, his representative in London pressed the same point of view at a conference of Commonwealth Ambassadors, and ultimately America took the same view and steps were taken to draw up the Japanese Peace Treaty. This Treaty came up for consideration at San Francisco in September 1951 and Mr. Senanayake instructed me to represent Ceylon, to support freedom for Japan and not to ask for reparations. He said in the House that he had taken a step towards peace with Japan and to make Japan a sovereign state. He had instructed our representative to press for even more favourable terms for Japan at the Conference. He could not understand the attitude which kept two big nations like Germany and Japan under subjection. He said—

> "We are asked why we do not favour this bloc or the other bloc. We are not concerned about favouring this bloc or that bloc. We are concerned about maintaining peace in this world. Any little action that we can take, however small that may be, we shall take as far as Ceylon is concerned. Ceylon feels that peace cannot be established in this world by hatred or revenge or by suspicion or keeping nations under subjection. That would only develop into greater wars and greater misery." [21]

On being questioned as to why Republican China was not being recognized for she had not been invited to the Conference, he said—

> "It is much better for us not to think of the disputes that exist between all the states but that we should try to settle disputes one by one. This is the first step that we are taking for the safety of Asia and perhaps for that of other countries as well.....Let us forgive and forget the past and let us hope that Japan will live as a friend in the future. That is the attitude that Ceylon would take. We will not be a party to tightening the hold over Japan or of any power. Our contribution will be to make Japan as free as possible." [21]

21. Hansard of 23rd August 1951, Column 3846 et seq.

Conclusion

A knowledge of Mr. Senanayake's views on foreign affairs and a study of his speeches on this subject show the realistic attitude he adopted in framing Ceylon's foreign policy. This was quite in keeping with the attitude he adopted to all other questions. He based his foreign policy on two fundamentals—

(1) The defence of his country's recently regained freedom, and

(2) Membership of the Commonwealth of Nations as a sovereign state.

He believed in these two ideals because he thought they tended to peace; peace for Ceylon, peace for Asia and for the world. He then began to build a superstructure on this foundation on the following principles:—

(*a*) Friendship with foreign countries, particularly those that believe in peace.

(*b*) Ceylon would contribute towards the maintenance of peace.

(*c*) Russia and her satellites wished to enslave the world and Ceylon was opposed to this.

These were the main principles of his foreign policy, and arising from these, as I have stated, flowed all the other considerations. It was a realistic policy formulated in the interests of Ceylon and the peace of the world.

D. S. SENANAYAKE THE MAN

By

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SOULBURY, P.C.
Governor General of Ceylon 1949-54
Chairman of the Commission on Constitutional Reform 1944-45.

SOME people consider that history is shaped by impalpable, immaterial forces to which they apply such terms as 'Time-Spirit,' 'World Tendency,' 'Mass-Consciousness,'' 'Evolution,' 'Progress' and other abstractions. There is an element of truth in that. No man who plays a notable part in the affairs of the world can be independent of the past or the present, for what he does or intends to do should fit on to what has been done. "Everyone," said Lord Morley, "has all the centuries in him." But the germ that gives life and concrete expression to those abstractions comes from the individual. It is his genius that awakens the latent semi-conscious impulses of a nation and formulates and guides them. History is the impact of the individual man of mark upon his contemporaries. In short, it is the great man who makes history; D. S. Senanayake was a great man and if he had not lived, the history of Ceylon would have been very different.

I first met D. S.—as I shall always think and speak of him—in Colombo at the end of December, 1944 after the arrival in Ceylon of the Commision of which I was the chairman. The despatch of that Commission was at the time regarded by the political leaders of Ceylon as a breach of an undertaking given by the Government of the United Kingdom some eighteen months earlier, and the relations between that Government and the Ceylon ministers were somewhat strained. Consequently the coming of myself and my colleagues was by no means welcome. The ministers held aloof from us and there was more than a possibility that we might be boycotted and deprived of the opportunity to carry out our terms of reference.

That such a step was not taken was largely due to the strength and wisdom of D. S. and to the good judgement and tact of the present Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke. But it was also due, as in most human affairs, to the impression that one man made upon another, and I can remember, as if it was yesterday, how much impressed I was by D. S. at my first meeting with him.

For I found to my great relief that I had to deal, not with an adroit and subtle politician or hair-splitting intellectual, whose

every word would have to be weighed in case there was a catch in it, but with a man whom, if he had been born and bred in my country, I should have described as the best type of English country-gentleman, able, shrewd, practical, good-humoured, kindly and modest. It was also clear to me that he was a man filled with that spirit of intense patriotism and love of his homeland which is characteristic of the members of long-settled and ancient families. From the very first I felt that I could trust him implicitly —so that as the saying goes—I could "put my shirt on him". I have no doubt that he soon trusted me, for had it been otherwise no progress could have been made in the negotiations upon which we were engaged. When mutual trust is absent eventual failure is inevitable.

D. S. could have known little about me, except that I had been a Conservative politician and a member of several Conservative governments. For that reason he might have suspected that I was imbued with an imperialist tradition frequently, though I think erroneously, ascribed to Conservative administrations—and therefore unlikely to be sympathetic to the aspirations of a country seeking its independence. But I am sure that it did not take him long to discover that in performing my task I had no intention of repeating mistakes that my country had made elsewhere in bygone years, and that he quickly realised that so far as it was in my power I was bent upon furthering what was subsequently described in the Commission's report as "the ultimate ideal of British statesmanship—the fusion of Empire and Commonwealth."

With the kindliness and hospitality typical of his people, D. S. made extensive arrangements for the Commissioners to see the Island, and I believe that in the four months of our stay we must have seen more of Ceylon than many residents had seen in four years. This was a tremendous help to the Commissioners in making their report, particularly in connection with economic and agricultural problems, for D. S. who accompanied us on many occasions, was Minister of Agriculture as well as the Leader of the State Council. Neither he nor any other minister gave formal evidence before the Commission, and I think that was prudent, for otherwise there might have been premature and embarrassing public discussion of the constitutional scheme already formulated by the Ceylon ministers and submitted to the Government of the United Kingdom. But D. S. and I had many conversations during our tour and I particularly recollect one that took place in the garden of the Rest House at Weligama. We talked all night and after a somewhat heated discussion got to bed in the early hours of the morning. The main subject was the status of the Indian workers on the estates, and the conclusions which

emerged were embodied in chapters XI and XIII of the Commission's report. I am however inclined to think that though D. S. accepted the Commission's recommendations, he was sceptical of the result which would ensue. In the light of after events it seems that his scepticism was not unjustified. But when the Commissioners envisaged the ability of the Government of Ceylon to assimilate the Indian community, they did not foresee that the political leaders of that community would oppose the government in the House of Representatives on practically every issue, whether or not it affected the interests of their constituents.

The Commission left Ceylon on April 7th, 1945 and its report was in draft before the end of June. That was quick work but there was no time to lose and as a matter of fact a substantial part of the report was written in Ceylon. Consequently when D. S. arrived in England in July he was able to study a proof of the report before commencing his conversations with Mr. George Hall—the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. Colonel Oliver Stanley, to whom the report was addressed, had vacated that office on the fall of the Conservative government. I have no doubt that when D. S. read the report he appreciated that the way was opened to Dominion Status, and indeed I told him so, but I explained that the Commission could not go further than it had done, in view of its terms of reference and while the war with Japan was still in being.

D. S. was not a man who made up his mind quickly but once it was made up it was very difficult to shift him. By this time he had determined to secure Dominion Status for Ceylon and Mr. Hall found him a very formidable negotiator. I was present at some of the conversations between them and enjoyed seeing D. S. in action. He was what the Scotch call a "bonny fighter." D. S. pressed the Secretary of State for much wider powers of self-government particularly in the sphere of defence and external affairs. My sympathies were with him, for I was certain that the Commissioners would have recommended those wider powers, had Japan collapsed before the report was completed.

Sir Ivor Jennings wrote in an article some time ago that "It is believed that the Colonial Office consulted Lord Soulbury." That is quite correct, and I was most grateful to the Secretary of State for allowing me to express my views to him; as D. S. said four years later—"It is one of the happiest features of British public life that an opposition leader can be called into consultation by a minister and can give the government the benefit of his advice without either the government or the opposition leader feeling that there is anything unusual in the arrangement and without anybody trying to make political capital out of it. We know that

the Labour government did not disdain to consult a Conservative peer; and that the conservative peer did not even mention that he had been consulted. What advice he gave we know only from the result, and the result was that we obtained independence." It can, I think, be said in parenthesis—that that happy feature of British public life can now be discerned in the public life of Ceylon.

I cannot of course record the arguments which I employed in support of D. S.'s claim, but the general tenor of my advice may be summed up in these words. "To hit the golden mean between caution and magnanimity is perhaps impossible, but I believe that in the long run giving too much and too soon will prove to be wiser than giving too little and too late." Nothing has happened since then to give me any cause to doubt the good sense of that observation.

It was during D. S.'s visit that I had the privilege of entertaining him in my country home and I could not have had a more delightful or welcome guest. I remember taking him to the Whipsnade Zoo—about twelve miles away—where by a happy chance the first elephant we saw had been brought from Ceylon about seventeen years previously. D. S. went up to him and spoke a few words in a language incomprehensible to me but obviously understood and relished by the elephant.

D. S. returned to Ceylon at the beginning of October, 1945—thoroughly dissatisfied with the progress of his negotiations and much disquieted by the delay in getting a decision from the Government of the United Kingdom. In fact he was at that moment convinced that he had failed in his mission. He wrote to me on October 5th that the postponement of a decision had had the worst possible effect and that he was already being accused of having offered too much and asked for too little. "A week ago" wrote D. S. "I could have obtained an almost unanimous vote for a reasonable settlement. If there is to be a favourable decision it must come before the State Council meets on November 6th, and the earlier it comes the more chance I have of carrying it." At that moment—so I learnt later on—D. S. had almost reached the conclusion that he had no alternative but to reject the Soulbury Report and start afresh, and indeed he was on the verge of doing so. Happily, however, on October 31st the Secretary of State, who had been made aware of D. S.'s attitude, announced the decision of the United Kingdom Government and published a White Paper accepting a constitution on the general lines proposed by the Soulbury Commission as a workable basis for constitutional progress, and announcing the Government's sympathy with the desire of the people of Ceylon to advance towards Dominion

Status and promising co-operation with them to that end. D. S. was assured of Dominion Status for his country in "a comparatively short space of time" and a crisis was averted. The moral of that episode seems to be that in political affairs correct timing is of the utmost importance. Readers of Lord Templewood's recent book *Nine Troubled Years* may form the opinion that the constitutional development of India would have been very different if the British Government had been able to act with less delay.

As we all know, the State Council debated the motion to accept the White Paper on November 8th and 9th and approved it by 51 votes to 3. D. S.'s magnificent speech in that debate—which is reproduced in this volume—must have made a powerful contribution to the result. I need hardly say that it was with heartfelt relief and satisfaction that I received from D. S. the following telegram—

"NINETY FOUR PERCENT MAJORITY FOR SOULBURY SCHEME—VOUS L'AVEZ VOULU GEORGE DANDIN. MOST GRATEFUL ALL YOUR ASSISTANCE."

The French phrase—a line from one of Moliere's plays—was quoted in the epilogue to the Commission's report. Our English equivalent would be "You asked for it."

My next visit to Ceylon was as the guest of D. S. at Temple Trees in February, 1948 when the inaugural celebration of Ceylon's independence took place. During this visit D. S. and I had a long talk on the lake at Bolgoda which concluded by his asking me whether I would accept the office of Governor-General of Ceylon upon the retirement of Sir Henry Moore. There was no hesitation in my answer.

I arrived in Ceylon as Governor-General on July 6th, 1949 and from that day onwards D. S. used to come to see me at Queen's House about once a week—a very useful and helpful practice for both of us—which I am glad to say was continued by D. S.'s successors. I used to look forward with keen pleasure to my talks with him. He brought into my office the fresh air of the countryside, the breezy cheerfulness and good humour of a charming friend. He never seemed worried or depressed and I still seem to hear his hearty chuckle, and can recall his little mannerisms, such as the use of the word "absolutely" whenever he wished to express agreement. But we did not always agree, and yet looking backwards I think that when we differed he was much more often right than wrong.

He had an uncanny gift for the correct timing of his decisions and actions. His well-known dictum "*Hemin, Hemin*" was not

prompted by irresolution or procrastination, but by a profound knowledge of human nature and a first-class political instinct. His memory was remarkable. He never made a note during our conversations, but I never had to repeat a request for information or remind him of a promise, and only once did I see him really disturbed. A misunderstanding had arisen between us about something which he had agreed to do. I forget what it was, but I remember that he came to see me at once in order to convince me that he had not broken his undertaking; and it was obvious that the mere possibility that I might think him guilty of a breach of faith had filled him with consternation. I have never met a man more scrupulous in keeping his word or more careful of the truth. It is not to be wondered at that I relied implicitly not only puon his wisdom, but upon his integrity.

It was my duty in accordance with constitutional usage to accept and act upon his advice, but he was always ready to listen to advice from me, though of course he did not always take it—nor did I expect him to do so. Sometimes however I used to tell him that the only advice he really ought to accept was the advice that his doctor and I gave him, not to overtax his strength and to spare himself the fatigue of innumerable engagements up and down the country. Alas, he never followed that advice but preferred to dedicate his life to his country and to lose it in his country's service. The memory of him will endure for ever, and his great qualities will remain as an inspiration to his fellow countrymen. In his passing we all lost a dear friend and the best and most fitting return for his friendship that any of us can make—wherever we may be—is to work for the ideal that guided his life—the happiness, contentment, prosperity, peace and freedom of Ceylon.

Many years ago an English writer—Sidney Smith—declared the "Great men hallow a whole people and lift up all who live in their time." These words are absolutely true of D. S., for those who lived in his time were lifted up by the example of courage, kindliness, moderation and modesty with which his people were hallowed.

D. S. SENANAYAKE AS MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND LANDS

By

R. L. BROHIER

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CEYLON has always been mainly an agricultural country. Hence, the parent earth was, and ever will be, the heart of Ceylon life. Truly, the original decree which sent man forth a "tiller of the ground", is perhaps even truer in its natural than its metaphysical sense, when reviewed in the comprehensive landscape of agriculture in Ceylon from the early years of Aryan settlement 2500 years ago, through 23-centuries of Sinhalese kingship.

Then, as now the feud for food was a long battle waged chiefly in the Ceylon dry zone against frequent and continuous droughts, where man's very sustenance depended on fertilizing a soil that would yield results only in proportion to the labour and energy spent in tending it. Our knowledge of the conduct of the remarkable efforts by which natural prosperity through agricultural industry was built in the past, are scanty. Nevertheless, the vastness of the engineering skill connected with agricultural interests, and the evidence of an organised land system cannot deny a very high standard of development. In the gloom of its decline, the historical annals do not fail to record that "because the fertility of the land had decreased, kings were no longer esteemed as before."

The panorama of indigenous agriculture in Ceylon shows too, how vain human efforts were to stay the operation of those mighty causes, also now lost in obscurity, which stalled the march of civilization and consigned those extraordinary and intricate irrigation systems to neglect and decay. For centuries these sad and solemn memorials, together with the ruins of proud cities, have lain deep in cloistered forests which sprang up to give tranquillity to the plains. Only a remnant descended from the original settlers, whose very insignificance was a melancholy commentary on their poverty of resources, continued to till and cultivate such patches of field as the driblets from the ruined tanks allowed.

When the Dutch were in occupation of the maritime territory they made some endeavour to rescue the peasant agriculture of

Ceylon. They left the impress of their efforts even in remote and sparsely populated villages, and repaired many ancient works, calculated to benefit undeveloped and under-developed tracts subject to flood and drought.

In the first half-century of the British period there were sown the seeds that diverted agriculture to an industry which commanded money rather than the means of sustenance. Very little, if at all, was done to encourage the utilization of the soil for the production of the first article of food, which had commanded in the past the most anxious care of princes and legislators.

Apparently too, without cognizance of the absolute necessity for the joint action required of co-parceners in connection with irrigation as practised in Ceylon from remote time, compulsory labour on the old communal system was abolished in 1832, on the report of a Royal Commission. Many irrigation works, especially the smaller village tanks, fell early victims of the neglect which followed.

In this phase of general neglect and somnolence, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the masterly report of a young Assistant Agent of Government named John Bailey, and the force and acumen of a Governor Sir Henry Ward, supplied the sparks, which kindled interest in the subject. Both focussed earnest attention on the practicability of restoring the works of irrigation which the climate rendered indispensable and for securing the intimate co-operation so necessary for successful paddy cultivation. Nevertheless, although the British administration made some effort to restore the old reservoirs, to every dispassionate reviewer the conviction is irresistible that the difficulties of restoring the ancient bunds and channels only screened a disinclination to spend money on such works, so long as imported rice fed the people and yielded a revenue.

If one were to contrast the official attitude to indigenous agriculture in Ceylon from this stage of passivity and supineness into which it had sunk, with that which followed after the promulgation of a new Constitution on the basis of the Donoughmore Report in 1931, the picture one gets is startling, inasmuch as the change is dramatic. Coincident with the establishment of a new Constitution, the governmental administration of agriculture was in the hands of the people of the country, and D. S. Senanayake was projected into the arena as Minister of Agriculture and Lands. No one was better blessed with the many qualities of head and heart which fitted him to play a role in shaping what may well be called the modern chapter in the history of irrigation, agricultural development and colonization in Ceylon.

The new Minister's magnificent conception of turning barren acres into national use was based on a conviction that the future of Lanka depended more than on anything else, on systematic land development, improved husbandry, and what the poet Goldsmith termed: "a bold peasantry their country's pride." His policy focussed itself on the peasant farmers needs. First, with agriculture as a technology based on science; secondly, as an industry based on tradition; and thirdly, as a business to be founded on economics and not merely a way of life: "a long drawn question between crop and crop." Basically he accepted the fact that the past was a mighty teacher, that its lessons are not to be lightly regarded although we may fail to measure their wisdom at a glance.

Both, the lessons of history and the dictates of policy inculcated in him the ambition to solve the problem presented by the phenomenon of a rising population, convinced that the solution lay in organising agricultural efforts primarily for the production of crops which would afford a direct means of sustenance, but in equal measure emphasising the dignity of labour and the value of co-operation. He saw in this plan much work to be done: a wide expanse of land once the seat of a flourishing industry and the "home of millions," sadly neglected in jungle, which had to be reclaimed to productivity. He saw large tracts of land under crops which had to be scientifically tended in order that they may produce more food. He saw the necessity for improving the quality of crops, for growing a wider range of varieties to ensure balanced dietary, and the need for inculcating animal husbandry. He also visualized that there must be governmental financial assistance for the colonist to set himself up, technical guidance, and a system of easy and orderly marketing.

In order to get his policy going and co-ordinate various activities, the Minister launched his initial skirmish by notifying his intention in 1931 to have frequent consultations with the Heads of Departments functioning under his Executive Committee.

Foremost in his plan of action was a concerted effort to build up a line of defence against drought by getting irrigation projects established. Investigations had however disclosed that most of the ancient works which irrigated the dry zone in the past, and were indispensable for indigenous agriculture, had reached a considerable state of deterioration. Moreover, that not all the ancient tanks and channels were capable, if restored, of performing their pristine functions. The causes on which this latter conclusion was based were two-fold. It seems as well to notice them here, for they played an important part in D. S. Senanayake's policy.

The first point established, that the ancient irrigation works were contributions made in succeeding cycles of time. The water

was invariably diverted from the old to the new works and the former went into ruin long before the plains were abandoned. The second point, was the part played by the rain-forests of the mountain zone in providing the water to fill the large man-made reservoirs which were in due course built. Within half a century of British occupation many of these forests were felled. The uplands of Ceylon were thereafter covered with plantations of coffee. Later, tea rose phoenix-like from the ashes of the coffee estates. When in due course rubber was introduced as a commercial crop, the foot-hills too were denuded of their forest cover.

As a result of forest denudation the springs in the up-land regions dried up, the fair-weather flow of streams diminished and their storm-flow increased. The weathered products swept down from the ridges and slopes lost many a noble perennial river to the low-lands they were specially intended to benefit. These changes in hydrographic conditions had brought new and intricate problems of flooding and silting, which had to be solved in relation to the present day scope and functions of the ancient irrigation schemes.

These altered conditions called for careful and wise consideration of land and water resources before any of the old works could be restored. It was clear too that the problems would have to be tackled on different lines for no mere pottering at isolated tanks would suffice to give the country the water needed to cultivate the available areas of undeveloped and under-developed lands. Large storage reservoirs sited at selected points from data collected on a river-basin wide scale of investigation, together with an afforestation drive, appeared the most effective solution. On this basis, responsibility for the ground-work and plans for these investigations as far as they concerned land and terrain were assigned to the Survey Department; for appraisal of gauging and availability of water, to the Irrigation Department.

This wide range of investigation necessarily required much time to complete, but the Minister would brook no delay. The measures he adopted, and the success which attended his efforts to rehabilitate the dry-zone with as little delay as possible are therefore specially noteworthy. While the mundane medium of surveying and gauging was progressing apace, he turned to ways and means of utilizing to fullest advantage such water resources as were already available. This was how Minneriya which had long tantalized patriots who sought to promote a well-rounded prosperity to agriculture, was brought once again to public notice as a scheme which held out great promise for colonization on an irrigation basis.

Traditions old in story allege that nearly seventeen centuries have elapsed since the Mineriya tank was built. It was one of only a very few reservoirs which survived the dire effects of abandonment. As regularly as one year followed another, this tank was filled by rainfall draining from its catchment. Untrammelled by the old stone sluices which had ceased to function, this water escaped in an unbroken stream. Only a dwindling handful of peasants bound by hereditary ties who continued to live in the deadly fever-stricken climate, made use of the water. They tilled in all 170 acres of ancient field in the Minneriya Village. The rest of the water ran to waste.

Minneriya today with its environal colonies, Hingurakgoda and Hatamuna, designed and constructed to bring 50,000 acres of virgin wild into valuable irrigable land, is the first large-scale operation in the dry zone which testifies to the zeal and energy of D. S. Senanayake as Minister of Agriculture and Lands. From the outset the scheme of reclamation was evisaged as a whole, based on a careful survey of the region and a full study of its potentialities. It began with the construction of roads and irrigation channels and a lay-out of the land into irrigable and high-land plots. It has proved, indeed, a monument to the Minister's far-seeing aims of mass distribution of population on scientific lines.

With no knowledge of past conditions and the many unsuccessful attempts made to reclaim Minneriya, it is not possible to realise the difficulties which had to be surmounted to carry out what the Minister did. Arrayed against his efforts was even the failure of "Big Business," which financed a Company at the close of the first great war, with the intention of opening up Minneriya to produce rice. Paddy was than selling at what was considered the very high price of Rs. 4 per bushel, hence much enthusiasm and breathless activity characterised the initial operations. It was expected that good profit would be earned on the capital invested.

One year showed that in prevailing circumstances, no business concern could hope to rescue the dry-zone. What was more essential than money, was courage and determination. The first monsoon rains brought malaria—very deadly in its attacks at that time. Labour could not be controlled, and the Minneriya Development Company Limited resolved to liquidate.

The primary purpose of the Senanayake enterprise to colonise Minneriya was social. The returns he realised were not to be measured so much in solid rupees, but in the splendid satisfaction and very great value of having developed rich and fertile new lands for Ceylon and her people out of a vast area which had been lying forgotten and neglected for centuries.

Often has D. S. Senanayake recalled the many initial difficulties he had to contend against to bring his plans under way. He even told of subterfuge and juggling with votes to pay for some surveys required for tracing a channel which the Treasury refused to finance. Eventually, in December 1932, the Scheme was approved by the State Council, and was formally inaugurated in April the next year.

The practical measures taken to implement development on this scheme, are of more than ordinary interest and merit notice here, as they imprint many an idea of the Minister's, which were as novel as they were repugnant to the official disciples at the time. Moreover they are important since D. S. Senanayake was the pioneer who was endeavouring to establish a new place for agriculture in the policies of Government, and was formulating the lines which agricultural development and government policies in relation thereto should follow.

The task of formulating a definite plan was entrusted at an early stage under his guidance to a Committee consisting of the Land Commissioner, the Government Agent of the North-Central Province, the Director of Irrigation, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services and the Medical Entomologist. They recommend a general plan of development with paddy regarded as the main crop. There was to be no prohibition against the cultivation of other crops provided that cultivation was adopted to a regulation of water designed to meet the requirements of paddy, and that the issue of the water would not be injurious to the interests of the paddy growers.

Two important details received special consideration: namely the system on which colonists were to be selected, and the terms on which land should be made available to selected colonists. Both are in force to this day, the latter, a completely new system. Briefly, all applicants were to be divided into three classes: peasants or small-holders, middle class Ceylonese, and others. The terms, in the case of the peasant or small-holder was a restricted tenure preventing alienation or mortage without the consent of the Government Agent.

Conditions protecting the holders from the sale of their lands by order of Court, for ensuring that the land was not abandoned or left uncultivated, and for preventing the land ultimately becoming subject to multiple undivided ownership, were also laid down. The extent of each individual allotment was to be limited to five acres of paddy land besides two acres of high land for dwelling purposes, on which a cottage would be erected by Government.

As regards the middle class, it was decided that they should be offered much the same terms as those advocated for the peasants, except for the unit of land, which was raised to fifty acres.

The last class of applicant, in a broad sense, the large capitalist, was to be considered only if land was available after peasant or small-holder, and the middle-class were selected and accommodated. It was suggested that such lands should be leased for 99 years on terms which will ensure that the land will be opened up within a reasonable time and thereafter regularly cultivated. Alienation and mortgage were permissible, subject here again to the consent of the Government Agent.

It was by inspiring and implementing the forementioned recommendation that D. S. Senanayake not merely encouraged people to recognise the fact that Ceylon is not self-sufficing, but acted upon it and powerfully influenced agricultural development in Ceylon. This was also how he saw to it that land would be alienated in a manner most nicely calculated to promote the prosperity of the Island and the highest interests of its inhabitants. Based on this new system of tenure and colonisation, dovetailed into his overall policy, the Minister has been the architect who has brought into existence a means of promoting a prosperous self-supporting and self-respecting multitude of peasant proprietors. He had unbounded faith and optimism in the part he played, which bore, and is bearing such abundant fruit.

His adroitness in curbing disappointment while playing for high stakes was displayed at high level during the second world war, when an air field was sited on the open plains at Minneriya and caused a set-back to the work he had cherished and nursed for a decade. His magnaimity although perhaps not entirely altruistic, for he knew when to play trumps in the contest of international events, brought big returns. It connoted all out help to Great Britian, but also kept the country safe and the food-lines open. How far he made the fullest use of this war situation to persuade Great Britain to grant full responsible government to Ceylon, perhaps belongs to another story.

The successful and favourable start on the development of Minneriya loosened Government purse strings without which such schemes could not be achieved. Thus, two other colonies came to be started concurrently with Minneriya: the Kahagama Colony of 17-thousand acres which came under the Kalalu Wewa irrigation system, and the Minipe Colony irrigated by an ancient channel which for centuries lay out of use. These schemes were more or less based on the plan and programme of development drawn up for Minneriya. The requirement that soil reconnaissance

of proposed land schemes should precede colonization, was another policy initiated by D. S. Senanayake. It was a sequel to a soil reconnaissance at Minneriya which revealed that some of the areas allotted to colonists were not altogether suitable for the cultivation of paddy. When it is considered that the peasantry place all their hopes for the future on the productivity of their allotted share of land, and that the State should desire nothing better than that the greatest circumspection should be adopted in the selection and allotment of land for colonization, the wisdom of this policy will be appreciated. The Minister, nevertheless, struck another note of caution: that technique and manurial needs should be used to foster production of rice in good or fairly good crop yields, even when the classification of soil is imperfectly adapted to answer constant succession of seed and cereal crops.

D. S. Senanayake expatiated time and again on the possibilities of producing fruit and food-stuff in these colonies which the country was importing largely from abroad. "If an attempt is made," he said, "to analyse the causes of this extraordinary phenomenon, it will doubtless be found that they are mainly psychological. It is almost as if that sense of inferiority that is sometimes seen to overwhelm a Ceylonese in the presence of his European brother has also attached itself to his native products. Rice and other grains, eggs, onions, chillies and ginger are humble, though useful, commodities. Fruit has a status only a trifle higher than these. To be engaged in their production is forsooth, something to be ashamed of."

Such were the words he used in urging that national honour cannot be retained if a people's food supply is to remain dependent on a precarious foreign source. Indeed, he went on to lay it down that: "it should be the pride of every patriotic Ceylonese to augment, in so far as lies in his power, the source from which this supply can be drawn from home."

The crowning achievement by D. S. Senanayake in his role as rebuilder of ancient irrigation works and reclaimer of the dry zone, is the fourth large scheme he initiated in the plains around Lanka's ancient capital: Polonnaruwa. The scheme had the great advantage that it benefitted from the experience already gained. The primary requirement in this undertaking was the restoration of the Parakrama Samudra: the largest reservoir constructed in Ceylon during ancient times. The remarkable capabilities of the nine-mile long bund of the tank, its association with Parakrama Bahu the most prominent figure in Ceylon history, and its commemoration in the annals as the crowing achievement of a martial, enterprizing and glorious reign, had long exerted great interest and fascination on the mind of the public. This perhaps was

the reason why D. S. Senanayake permitted sentiment to stand in the way of practical utility, and proceed with the restoration despite the advice of his engineers that greater advantages would be achieved by damming the Amban Ganga at the Sudukanda Gap. Not only was this alternative scheme capable of storing three times as much water as the Parakrama Samudra would hold, and of irrigating a greater extent of land, but it would also have brought into cultivation 6,000 acres of richly alluvial land which are today sumberged by the waters of the restored ancient tank.

Discussing this very point with him while lounging in the open verandah of the quiet Polonnaruwa Rest House that was, he explained it in terms of the time saved by utilizing an existing bund and merely filling in a breach; but added: "some ready means should be left to posterity to solve the problems of a growing population and increasing unemployment which is sure to follow." He was convinced that this would only be solved by increasing the amount of land under cultivation and providing careers for much larger numbers on the land.

The conception of turning the barren acres of the Eastern Province to national use goes deeper for its origin than the food-crisis of the war years which beset the country. The magnificent effort: Galoya, which is symbolic of the New Lanka as visualized by D. S. Senanayake, which is obtaining fulfilment speedily and heralding the progress towards self-sufficiency in the fateful race between population and food, was the last colonization scheme he inspired as Minister of Agriculture and Lands. Should it have been possible for him to survey today the progress made below the site of the great dam which he saw in course of construction, the satisfaction he would have felt would have been manifest in no small measure. The thousands of acres of food-growing lands which four years have wrested from the jungle for a land-hungry peasantry numbering 4,500 families or nearly 40 thousand settlers, is a personal triumph to him. It is indeed his dream come true.

So far, an endeavour has been made to recognise two important factors in Senanayake's agricultural policy: water and the peasant colonist. Another factor which D. S. Senanayake brought prominently to notice was the complicated problem of agricultural credit. Hitherto, much of the business of supplying credit to agriculturalists had been left by Government in the hands of money-lenders. Large acreages opened up on borrowed capital, and even the lands and estates of many borrowers, had as a result, passed over to the lenders in satisfaction of debt. Stressing how idle it seemed to speculate what the position would have been in this country if the Government had in the past taken a more active

and sympathetic interest in the provision of credit facilities for the indigenous agriculturalist, D. S. Senanayake sought to afford a fair measure of aid which an agriculturalist in the country had a right to expect. The pressure be brought for intervention resulted in bestirring the State to take up agricultural financing in greater measure than the hitherto spasmodic efforts it was not unwilling to bestow on the Tea Research Institute, the Coconut Research Scheme and the State Mortgage Bank.

The advantages of "Land Redemption" and other forms of assistance to agriculturalists which the Minister sponsored, has by no means solved the problems of agricultural indebtedness, but we see it in other forms today: in the Rubber and Coconut re-planting schemes, in the short-term credits to the small-holder to assist him in growing, harvesting and marketing crops, which he did before by putting himself into the hands of the boutique-keeper and itinerant money lender on the security of crops yet to be raised. These emphasise, if properly used, that the advantages and benefits this state assistance confers on the people of the country in the development of their agricultural wealth are almost immeasurable.

The idea of the cause of agriculture being underlain by scientific principles was something novel before the Executive Committee of Agriculture through the far sighted policy of D. S. Senanayake made it a powerful ally. In the attempt to effect that radical change of outlook which seemed so necessary, agricultural demonstration stations were opened in nearly every district. New and advanced methods of cultivation to secure improved yields were thus brought home to the peasant cultivator. Seed-stations, pure line planting material, mainly of paddy; and agricultural propaganda, all of which were hitherto unheard of in Ceylon, contributed collectively to set a mark to agricultural efficiency. The most important service namely that of providing for a sound scientific and practical education in agriculture, was reflected by the re-organisation of the Central Farm School at Peradeniya and later by the establishment of the Kundasale Agricultural School for girls, in both of which the Minister showed abounding interest. His plans for helping to instil in the young an interest in agriculture and a proper regard for labour on the land, found expression in the establishment of several other farm schools where practical agriculture and practical animal husbandry formed the subjects of instruction.

It was doubtless a matter for satisfaction to D. S. Senanayake to see how the alleged conservatism of the Ceylon peasant was being speedily overcome. His efforts to advance the cause of agriculture showed that there was no ineradicable aversion to the adoption of new methods of cultivation, or new varieties of seed

or implements, although this meant discarding ancient and well-tried methods in favour of strange and unfamiliar ones.

Two other factors which loomed largely in the problems which beset the first Minister of Agriculture and Lands were the application of the idea of co-operation, and secondly, the need for an adjustment of the relations between the agricultural producer and the consumer, if agriculture was to produce an increase in the sum total of the wealth of the whole community. Both these movements have been carried to the remotest parts of the Island and have had a stabilizing effect on agricultural economy.

The Department of Marketing originated from the recommendation of a joint Committee of the Executive Committees of Agriculture and Industry and Commerce, appointed in 1932 to investigate and report on the problem of marketing of produce grown in Ceylon. The words which prefaced their report to the State Council, afford one of the strongest indications of political reaction to the Senanayake agricultural policy. The words used cannot therefore but find a place in this review: "The Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce, while chiefly concerning itself with the question of marketing *per se*, considered that, apart from the general desirability of providing adequate marketing facilities throughout the country, there was a special call for attention to the problem on account of the Peasant and Colonization Schemes initiated by the policy of the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands. The problem was approached by the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands itself from a further point of view, namely, the reactions of marketing on production. It was felt that the efforts of the Department of Agriculture to improve the quality and quantity of agricultural produce in the country could meet with but little success if the producer could not be assured of obtaining a satisfactory financial return for improved quality and increased out-turn. The conditions that exist today do not appear to provide an incentive to better or larger production. It is almost axiomatic that if the produce is disposed of in the village itself, rather than in a public market, the price for which it will exchange will be very poor inded. Even at such village fairs, as exist, the villager is compelled to part with such surplus produce as he brings into them at prices which he feels are too low a return for his labour qut which he has no alternative but to accept, if he is to dispose of it at all. Production, therefore, among the peasantry has remained at what may be termed subsistence production. The peasant seems content 'to scratch the soil' and obtain just sufficient to meet his family requirements. Such surplus, as a bountiful nature provides him with, is disposed of to the first stranger who comes to the village and makes an offer in cash for it, however

ridiculously low the price offered may be. It is not, therefore, surprising that a consequence of these depressingly unremunerative conditions, on which the villager disposes of his produce, should be that the new ideas and improved methods of cultivation which the Department of Agriculture seeks to disseminate should meet with but little response."

The report stimulated a systematic survey of the existing agricultural market conditions. This backed by the enthusiasm and practical advice of D. S. Senanayake, brought a department into being which has justified the expectation entertained on all sides, that it would prove really beneficial to the interests of the country. Incorporated with this was a later venture which provided the country with three substantial institutions for milling and par-boiling rice.

Few people realise the importance of animal husbandry in a policy which was to further agricultural economy. For paddy cultivation on the small-holder method cattle and buffaloes are a vital necessity. The additional nutriment which cattle manure would afford to the paddy fields of Ceylon where low yields are deplored, is yet not appreciated; nor has the vital food value of milk and eggs for the nutriment of children and adults yet suppressed the strange objections made in all seriousness by the agrarian populace to their use. No one has perhaps done more by precept and practice to bring home to the people of Ceylon the advantages of combining agriculture with animal husbandry and the lamentable neglect of live-stock in the Island, than D. S. Senanayake.

The love he had for all living animals, which his religion, the predominating religion in Ceylon inculcates, was nowhere manifested to greater degree than in his property, Koulwewa Estate, where he farmed poultry, ducks, pigs, turkeys, goats, sheep, deer, buffaloes and neat cattle of many breeds. Here, with pride he paraded his herd of Ongle, a beautiful, big, majestic breed of white cattle, which he himself imported and acclimatised. Outside his own domain, Senanayake educated the country in the methods of housing, breeding and feeding stock through country-wide live-stock farms which demonstrated various types of animals and poultry suitable for any one particular locality, and showed how they can be improved to stand up to local conditions by cross-breeding. Within reason, he also introduced protective measures for agriculture and animal husbandry produce, by prohibiting the importation of eggs, vegetables and animals, from time to time as necessary.

One point of great importance to Senanayake's efforts to bring into existence a prosperous, self-respecting, and self-supporting

ing multitude of peasant-proprietors, was the need to provide as far as possible for a systematic, rather than haphazard method of alienating land. Few people had a greater hand than he, in shaping the legislation for the development and alienation of Crown Land in Ceylon, as covered by the Land Development Ordinance which came into operation in October 1935. The principles embodied therein were generally in full accord with the views held by the bulk of intelligent opinion in the country at that time, Whether the new policy it introduced has continued to prove an efficient instrument for the purpose, is a matter which has to be measured with a different yard-stick. None will deny that it did accelerate alienation or that the Ordinance was indeed the *magna carta* of the peasantry of Ceylon.

This retrospection, on some aspects of the career of Don Stephen Senanayake in a span of officialdom from 1931 on 1947, sheds light on the capacity he had nursed to study human nature and the conduct of human affairs, to judge character and inspire loyalty. The story is told that whenever he had a big problem on hand, he broke away from his busy life in Colombo and sought self-expression in his hereditary home in the village of Botale, or in the quietness of Koulwewa Estate. With full understanding of his capabilities and limitations, he always thought broadly. He left details to be handled by other men of his staff whom he knew possessed greater erudition and greater experience than himself. Thus cultivating the great gift of appreciating his own capabilities he learnt to tactfully handle men of far greater brilliance than himself. Therein lay the key to the power, prestige and greatness he later achieved.

What has been written of his ambition to afford Ceylon's rural folk a better life, and to make the country self-supporting, has so far but touched the fringe of the ideal set up. The problem of improving the productivity of the Island to maintain the steadily growing population which is increasing at a rate rarely experienced in any part of the world, is becoming both urgent, and more difficult day by day. Much therefore remains to be done. In the doing of it, to use D. S. Senanayake's own words: "The people and the Government must all pull together."

D. S. SENANAYAKE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON

By

SIR NICHOLAS ATTYGALLE

Vice-Chancellor, University of Ceylon, and formerly President of the Ceylon Senate.

THE late Mr. D. S. Senanayake is best remembered as the architect of Ceylon's Independence. His long struggle, inspired leadership, and his singleness of purpose in achieving this end are well known. His political achievements in stabilising this independence have received due recognition. Mr. D. S. Senanayake's interests however were not confined to political development alone. His interests were wide and there was no aspect of national development which did not receive his support. He was vitally interested in every progressive scheme whether it was social, educational or religious. Of him it is said that in his greatest hour he did not lose the common touch, and this humanity in him made him a friend of the University.

The contribution made by Mr. D. S. Senanayake towards the establishment of a residential University is not so well known. The late Prime Minister was one of the members of the Legislative Council who accepted the recommendations of the University Site Committee in favour of a residential University in the Kandy District, and a member of the Board of Ministers when it decided to acquire the New Peradeniya Estate. As Minister of Agriculture and Lands he carried out the decision. In 1946, he decided to vest in the University the Golf Course, the School of Agriculture at Gannoruwa, and the Veterinary Research Laboratory. He was particularly interested in the University Sangharama and Vihare, for which his friend the late Mr. D. R. Wijewardena had provided the initial endowment; and his last formal inspection of the University Scheme occurred when he laid the foundation stone of the Vihare. As Minister of Health in the last few months of his life he pressed the need for a Second Medical School at Peradeniya and himself suggested the site for the hospital.

But for the late Prime Minister's assistance the University Scheme would perhaps still have been a part of the six-year plan. It was decided in 1948 that the Faculties of Oriental Studies and Arts should move to Peradeniya in 1950. Successive postponements had, however, to be made for various reasons. At a critical

moment steel was not forthcoming and mainly through the efforts of the late Prime Minister, the aid of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was invoked and the problem was solved. Whenever the University had difficulties with some Government Departments owing to unfortunate procedure, which was not designed for the creation of Universities, appeals to the late Prime Minister were never in vain.

In recognition of his services to the country at large and to the University in particular, the Degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa* was conferred on the Rt. Honourable Don Stephen Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon. By his sudden and untimely death in March, 1952, while still in harness, the nation lost its undisputed leader and the University one of its greatest benefactors.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

A SENANAYAKE FAMILY GROUP taken about 1904. D. S. Senanayake's father, Mudaliyar Don Spater Senanayake is seated at centre while the future Prime Minister is standing second from left. F. R. Senanayake one of the heroes of the national movement is standing on extreme right. Below an informal photograph of D. S. Senanayake with Mrs. Senanayake on the terrace at Temple Trees.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

By Courtesy of Dudley Senanayake

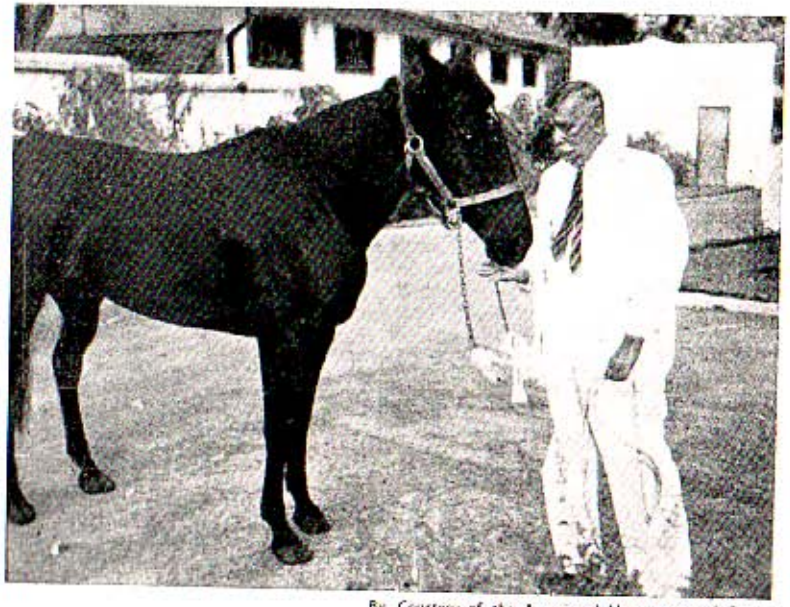
AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH.—One of the earliest photographs of D. S. Senanayake, taken before a wrestling contest, about the turn of the century. Senanayake was a wrestler of no mean prowess.

By Courtesy of Dudley Senanayake

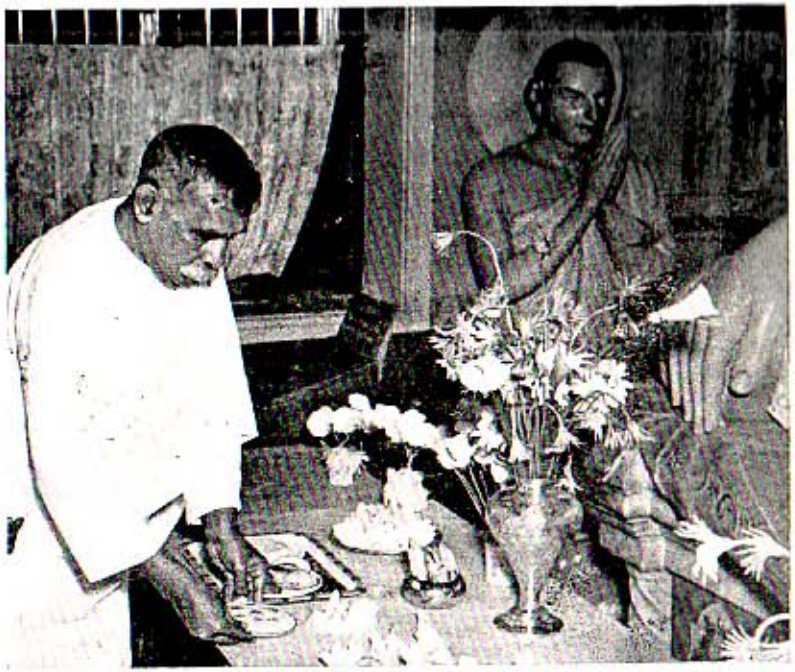
MRS. D. S. SENANAYAKE—In 1910, D. S. Senanayake married Miss. M. Dunuville, daughter of an aristocratic Kandyan family, her elder sister at the time being married to his brother D. C. Senanayake. The above is a portrait painting by Mudaliyar A. C. G. S. Amarasekera done in 1936.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

THE FARMER—Senanayake spent nearly 20 years of his life looking after his family estates and developed an interest in livestock which stood him in good stead as Minister of Agriculture. Above he is seen with a prize exhibit at a Cattle Show and below with one of his favourite horses. It will be recalled that the Premier met his death in a riding accident.



By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon



By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

THE BUDDHIST—Though D. S. Senanayake did not favour State interference to revive Buddhism in Ceylon, he was a good practising Buddhist. Above he is seen offering Buddha Pooja as a Dasa Sil Upasaka, and below he is seen at Weragantota in 1949, on the way to inaugurate the restoration of the Mahiyangana Dagaba, one of Ceylon's most ancient and hallowed shrines.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon.

By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

AT HIS OLD SCHOOL—Senanayake received his education at St. Thomas College from 1890 to 1901, and throughout his life never missed an occasion of visiting or helping his Alma Mater. He was undoubtedly the College's greatest son. He is here seen with Mrs. D. S. Senanayake at a College Prize Giving.

(*Below*) A WELCOME HOME—D. S. Senanayake inspects a guard of honour of the Ceylon Navy on his return from the Commonwealth Conference of 1948.

By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

THE FRIEND OF THE MINORITIES—Senanayake believed in a policy of co-operating with the minorities to create a Ceylonese nation. Above he is seen with Mr. S. Natesan on a visit to Jaffna and below with Mr. T. B. Jayah and Mr. A. E. M. Sulaman, two leaders of the Muslim community.

By Courtesy of Mr. A. M. Sulaman

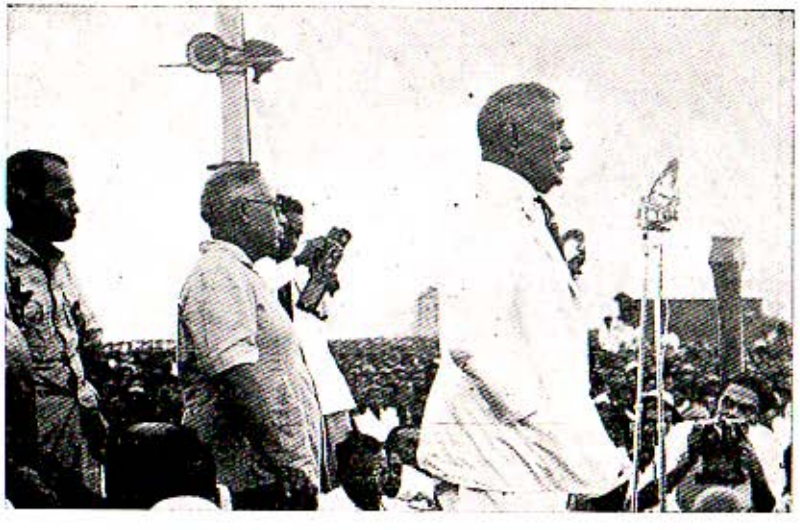
By Courtesy of the Pakistan High Commission

THE GOOD NEIGHBOUR—Ceylon's size and her proximity to India required that good relations be maintained with the two powerful states on the sub-continent. D. S. Senanayake was a personal friend of Jinnah while he knew Nehru well, ever since the Indo-Ceylon talks of 1940. These two pictures were taken on one of Senanayake's visits to India.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

THE POLITICIAN—As Prime Minister, Senanayake had to undertake extensive tours of the country to bring his policies to the people. Above he is seen on a tour of Buttala electorate with Sir John Kotelawala and Mr. Leo Fernando, while below he is speaking at the annual rally of the U. N. P. on Galle Face Green in 1949. Beside him is Sir Ukwatte Jayasundera, General Secretary of the Party.



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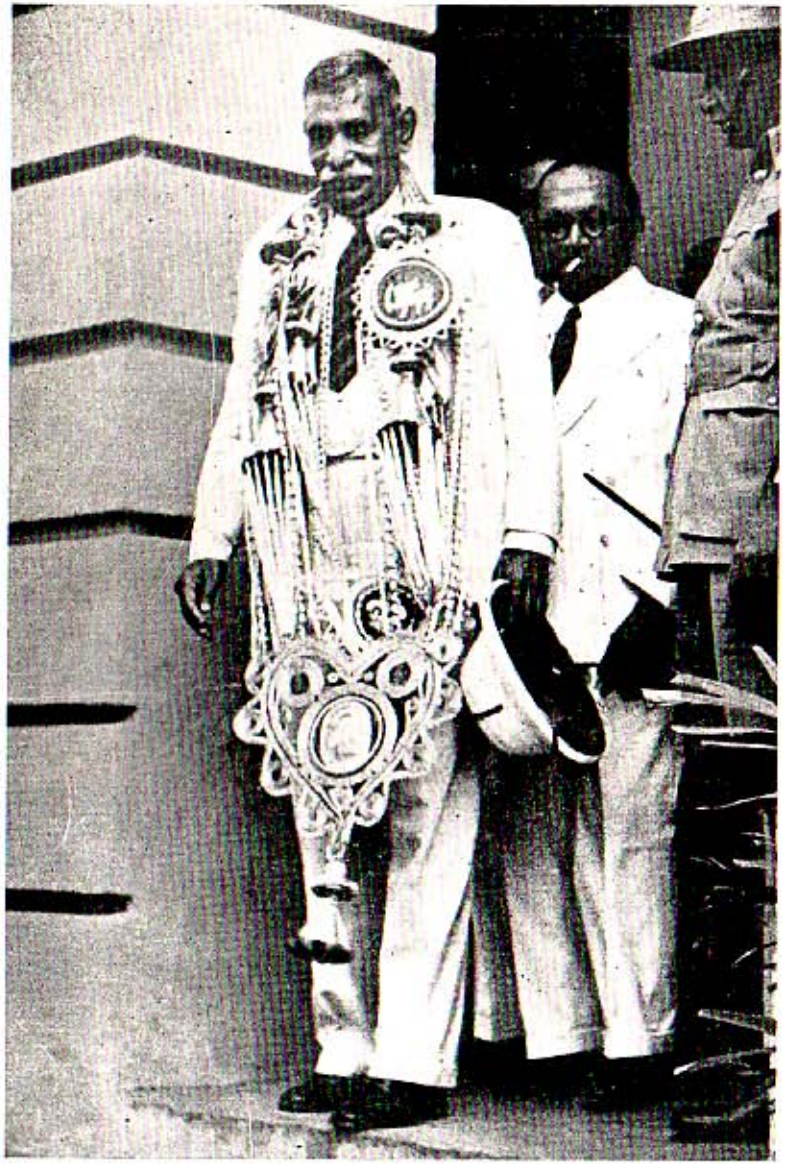


THE MEMBER FOR MIRIGAMA—In the General Election of 1947, Senanayake had to face a contest for the first time in his political career. In 1924 he had been elected uncontested for the Negombo Seat in the Legislative Council, and in 1931 and 1936 the Minuwangoda constituency too returned him unopposed. In 1947 though Senanayake was contested by a strong candidate is Mr. Edmund Samarakkody of the Bolshevik Leninist Party, he won by the convincing majority of over 16,000 votes. Above he is seen heavily garlanded after the results were announced at the Colombo Kachcheri.

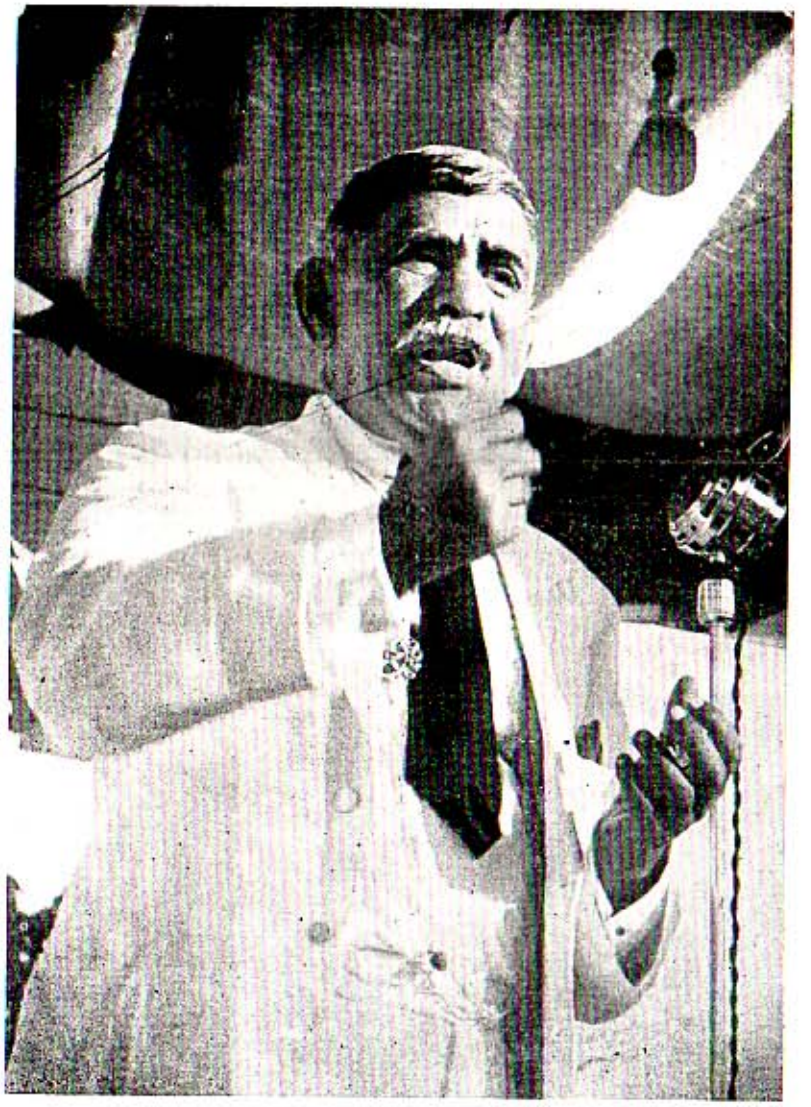
By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

THE PRIVY COUNCILLOR—Though Senanayake had consistently refused to accept any honours from the British Government, in 1950 he was prevailed upon to accept the title of a Privy Councillor. In view of his previous attitude, the decision was perhaps affected by the need for Ceylon's Premier to have the same rank as the other Commonwealth Premiers for ceremonial and formal occasions. The above painting by Egerton Cooper was commissioned by the Ceylon Government and hangs today in the House of Representatives.

By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

WITH MR. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE—One of Senanayake's closest collaborators in the fight for Dominion Status from 1936 to 1947, was Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, who also served as his chief lieutenant for four years after Independence. In July 1951 however, a few months before Senanayake's death, Mr. Bandaranaike crossed over to the Opposition on the Prime Minister's refusal to consider certain proposals put forward by the Sinhala Maha Sabha. Mr. Bandaranaike is today the Leader of the Opposition. On Mr. Senanayake's left is Mr. P. B. Bulankulame, now Minister for Lands and Land Development.



By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

ELECTIONEERING—Senanayake was an indefatigable election campaigner and here he is seen in a characteristic pose before the microphone. The above photograph became known throughout the country, after it was utilised for a widely distributed U. N. P. Election poster in the 1952 election.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

THE STATESMAN—In January 1950, Senanayake presided over the Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo, out of which the Colombo Plan of aid to underdeveloped countries in S. E. Asia was born. Above he is seen welcoming Ghulam Mohamed, Finance Minister and later Governor General of Pakistan at the Airport, and below he is seen with Pandit Nehru after the Conference.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

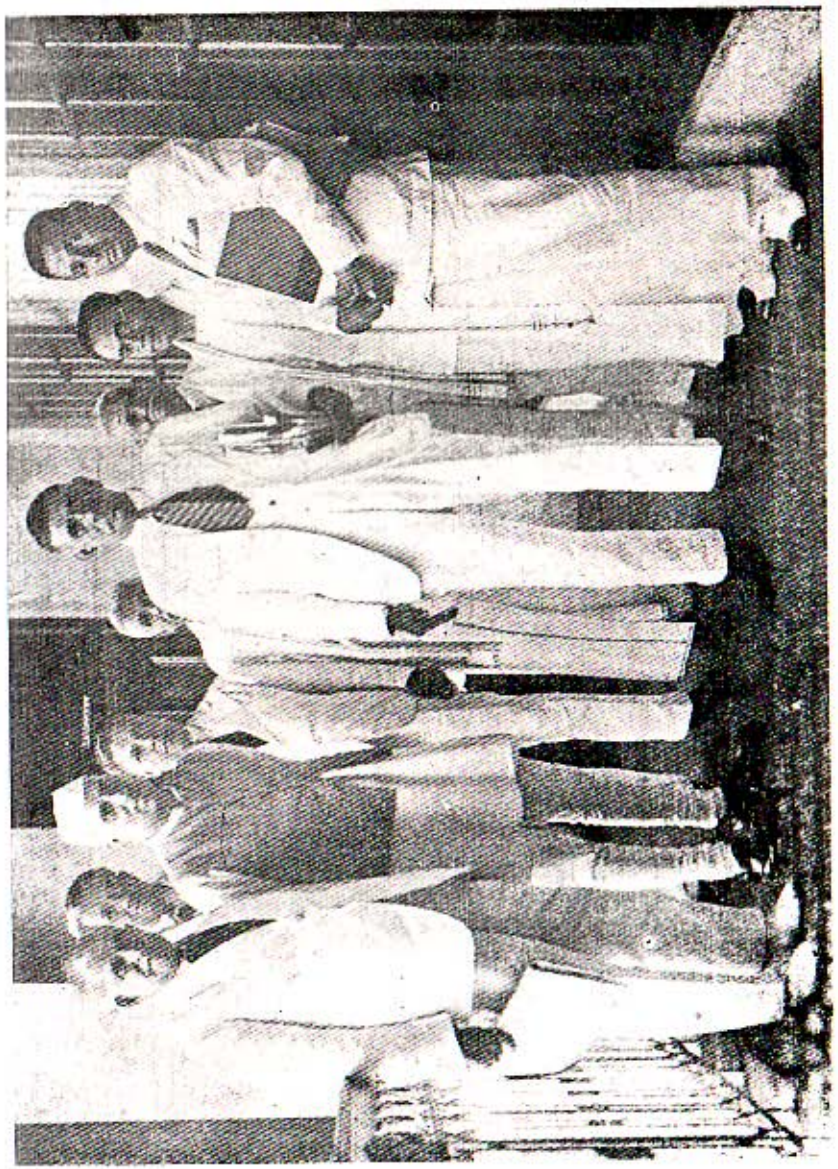
By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

THE TOUR OF SOUTH EAST ASIA AND AUSTRALIA — Senanayake believed strongly in furthering good relations with the S. E. Asian countries and with Australia. With this end in view he made a tour of these countries in 1951, accompanied by Mr. Dudley Senanayake. Above he is being greeted at Rangoon Airport by Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, who had shortly before been in Ceylon as his guest, and below he is seen at Jakarta with the Indonesian Foreign Minister and Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Ceylon's ambassador.

By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

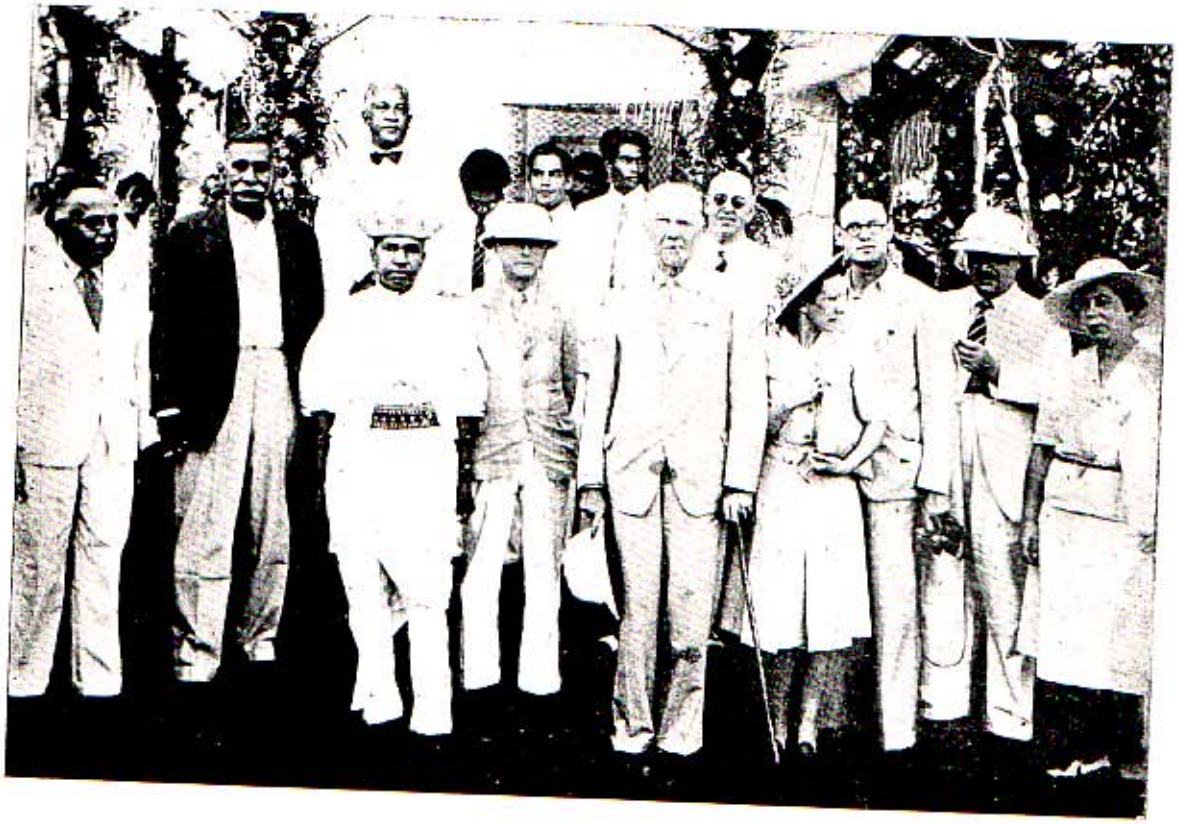
By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

A FAMILY GROUP—The above happy family group was photographed at Ratmalana Airport on Senanayake's return to Ceylon after his courtesy tour of Burma, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. Mr. Dudley Senanayake who accompanied the Premier is on the right.



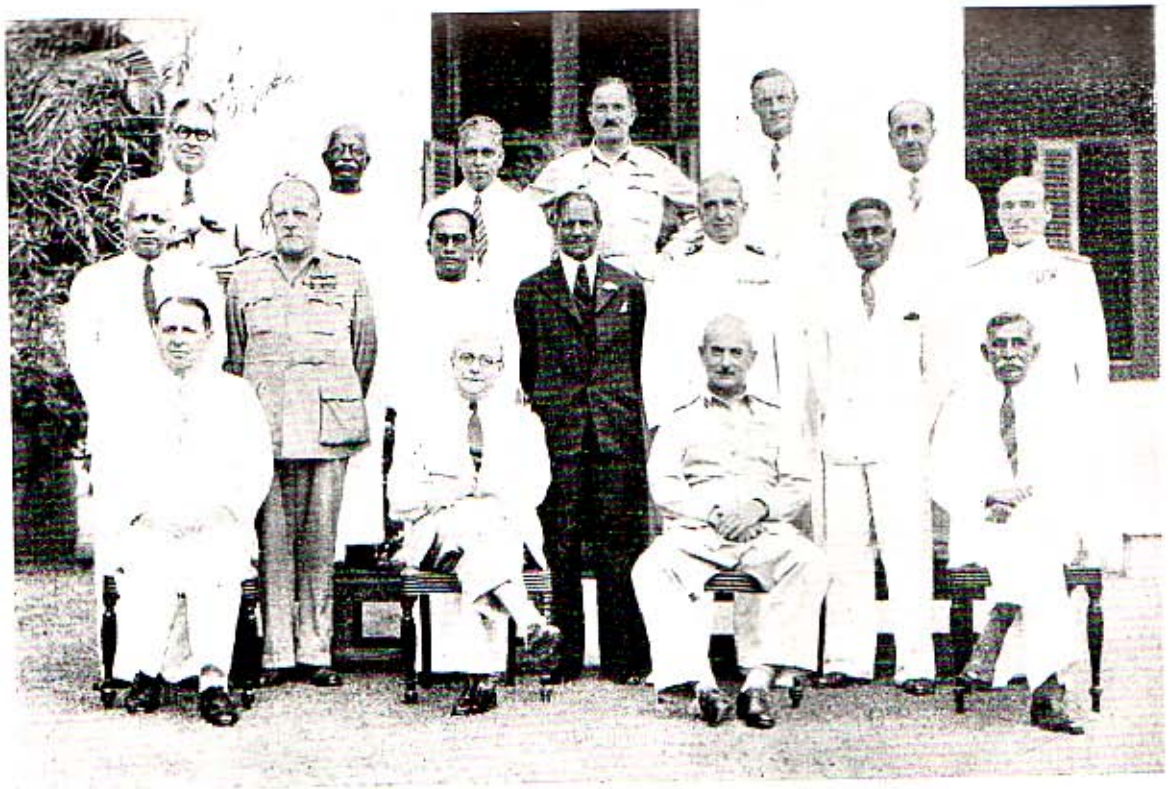
By Courtesy of the Times of Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON TALKS IN COLOMBO 1941—In September 1941, the second Indo-Ceylon talks on Indian immigrants in Ceylon was held in Colombo. The Ceylon delegation was led by D. S. Senanayake while the Indian delegation was led by Jawaharlal Nehru. Above Nehru is seen with the Board of Ministers. Reading left to right, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Nehru, G. C. S. Corea, C. W. Kannangara, Senanayake, W. A. de Silva, S.W. R. D. Bandaranaike and J. L. Kotelawala.



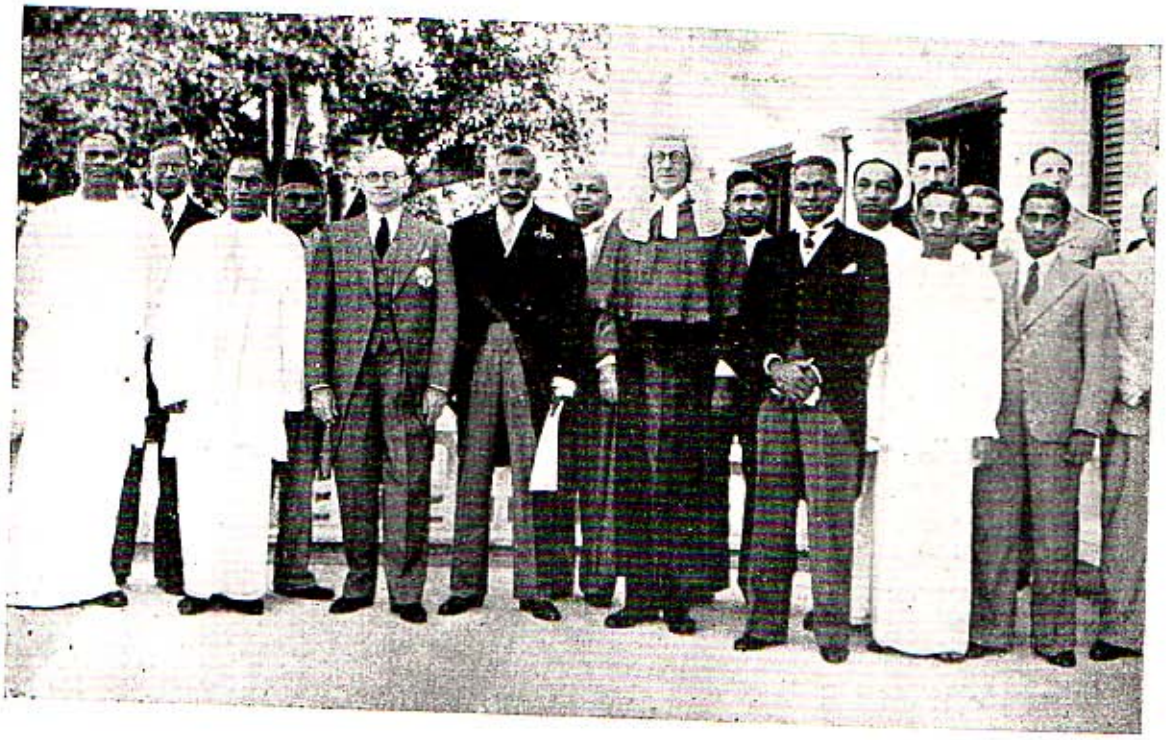
By Courtesy of Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

WITH THE SOULBURY COMMISSION—Though the Board of Ministers and the State Council decided in 1944 to boycott the Soulbury Commission, unofficially the Ministers and D. S. Senanayake met and explained their views to the Commissioners. The above photograph was taken at a reception at Pelmadulla. Senanayake is second from left while Mr. F. J. Burrows is fifth from right. Sir Frederick Rees and Lord Soulbury are in the centre of the group.



By Courtesy of Dudley Senanayake

THE WAR COUNCIL—In March 1942, the War Council was set up to co-ordinate defence measures in the Island, consisting of the Commander-in-chief as Chairman, the Board of Ministers, the Service Chiefs and the Civil Defence Commissioner. The above photograph was taken in 1945 after the 90th and last meeting of the War Council. D. S. Senanayake is seated on the extreme right while next to him is Sir Geoffrey Layton.



By Courtesy of the Information Dept.

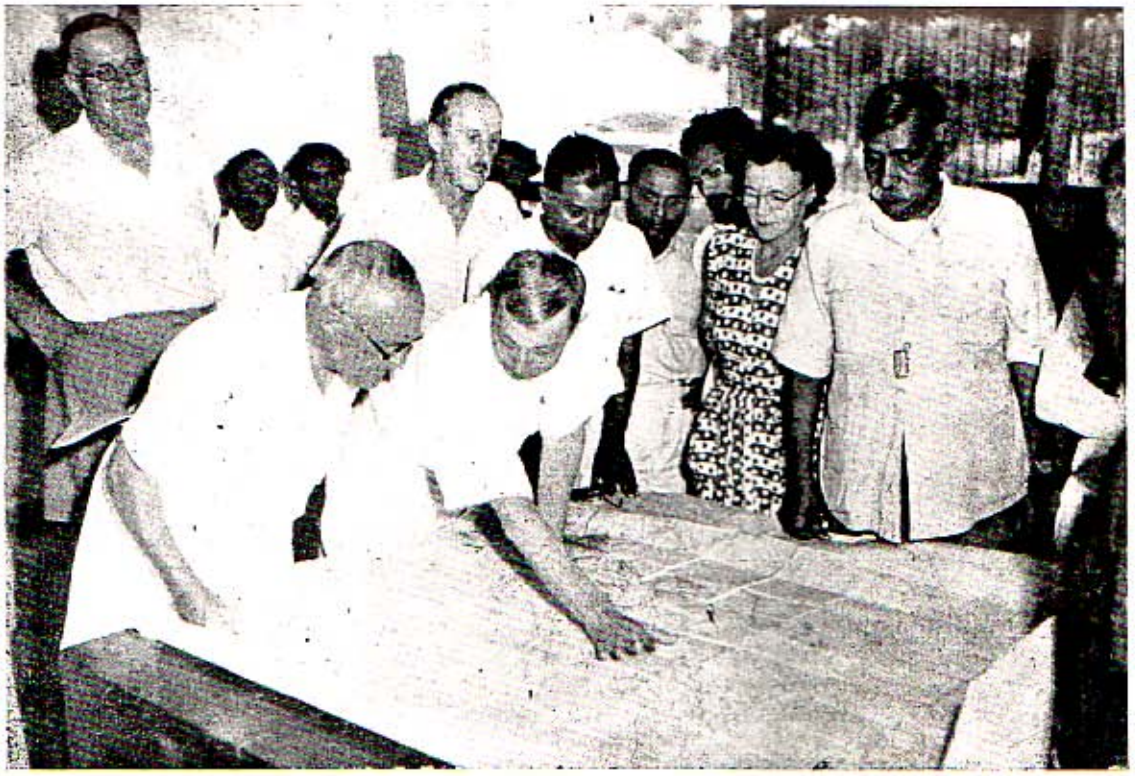
D. S. SENANAYAKE'S CABINET OF 1947—After the elections in September 1947, D. S. Senanayake formed Ceylon's first Cabinet. The above photograph was taken after the swearing-in ceremony at Queen's House. Reading left to right, C. Suntharalingam, Geo E. de Silva, S.W. R. D. Bandaranaike, T. B. Jayah, Sir Henry Moore, Governor General, D. S. Senanayake, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Sir John Howard, Chief Justice, Dudley Senanayake, Sir John Kotelawala, J. R. Jayewardene, A. Ratnayake, E. A. Nugawela and L. A. Rajapakse.

By Courtesy of the High Commissioner for the U. K.

AT THE FIRST COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE 1948—In October 1948, Senanayake attended his first Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London. The above informal group was taken in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace. Reading left to right, Godfrey Huggins (Rhodesia), Senanayake, Liaquat Ali Khan, Herbert Evatt, the King, C. R. Attlee, Dr. Robertson (Canada), Dr. Louw (S. Africa), Mr. Frazer (N. Zealand), and Pandit Nehru.

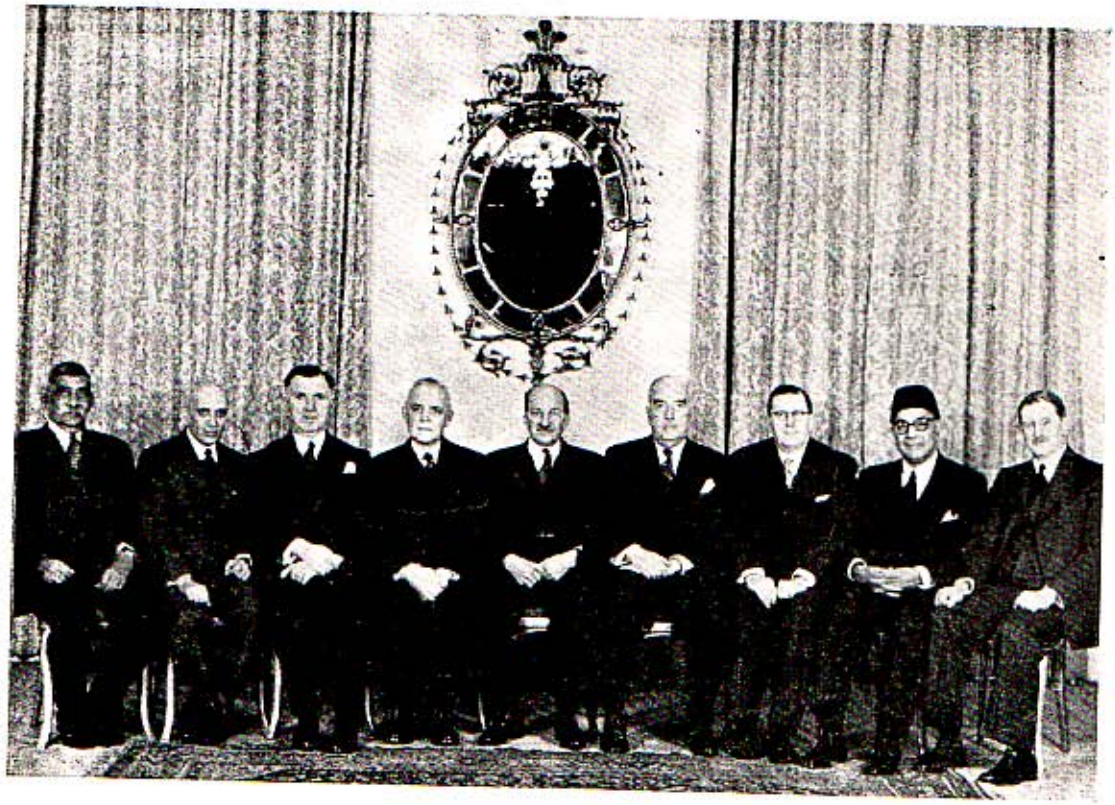
By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon.

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE—Photograph of the Prime Ministers and their staffs taken at 10, Downing Street, after the Conference of 1948. The Premiers are seated, with D. S. Senanayake second from left. Standing behind him is Sir Oliver Goonetilleke while Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan is second from left in the last row.



By Courtesy of R. L. Brohier

AN AGRICULTURAL PROJECT EXPLAINED—The scope of the Gal Oya development scheme is explained on a map of Ceylon by R. L. Brohier (centre) to Sir Geoffrey Layton, while D. S. Senanayake looks on at right. The Gal Oya scheme was among Senanayake's most far-sighted agricultural schemes, and will perpetuate his memory for all time. R. L. Brohier was closely associated with Senanayake in this sphere of work and contributes the article on Senanayake as Minister of Agriculture for the Memorial Number.

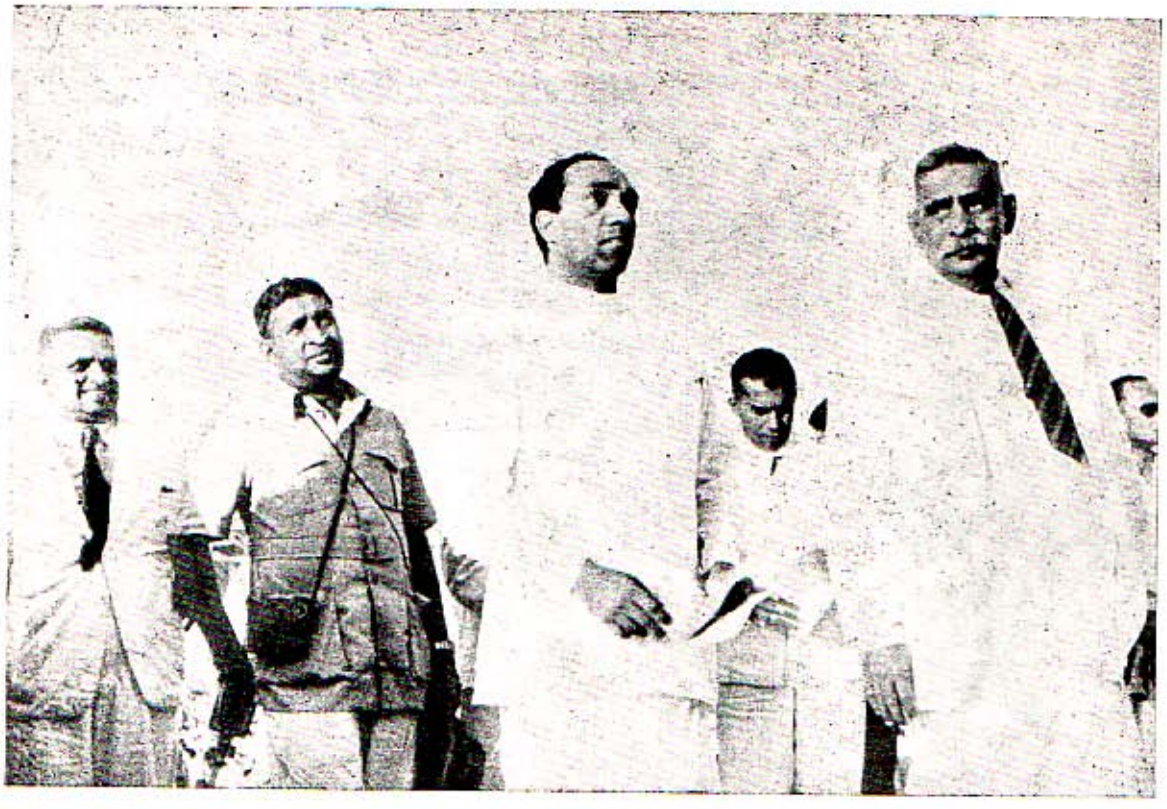


By Courtesy of the High Commissioner for the U. K.

THE SECOND COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE 1949—In April 1949, Senanayake attended his second Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London. Left to right D. S. Senanayake, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sidney Holland (N. Zealand), Louis St. Laurent, C. R. Attlee, R. G. Menzies, T. F. Donges (South Africa), Liaquat Ali Khan and Godfrey Huggins.

By Courtesy of the Information Dept.

COMMONWEALTH FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE—The highest pinnacle of Senanayake's achievement was the conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held in Colombo in January 1950, over which he presided. The "Colombo Plan" of economic aid to underdeveloped countries in S. E. Asia was born out of these talks. Standing left to right are Lester Pearson (Canada), Percy Spender (Australia), Ghulam Mohamed (Pakistan), Pundit Nehru (India), Senanayake, Ernest Bevin (United Kingdom) and the representatives of New Zealand and South Africa.

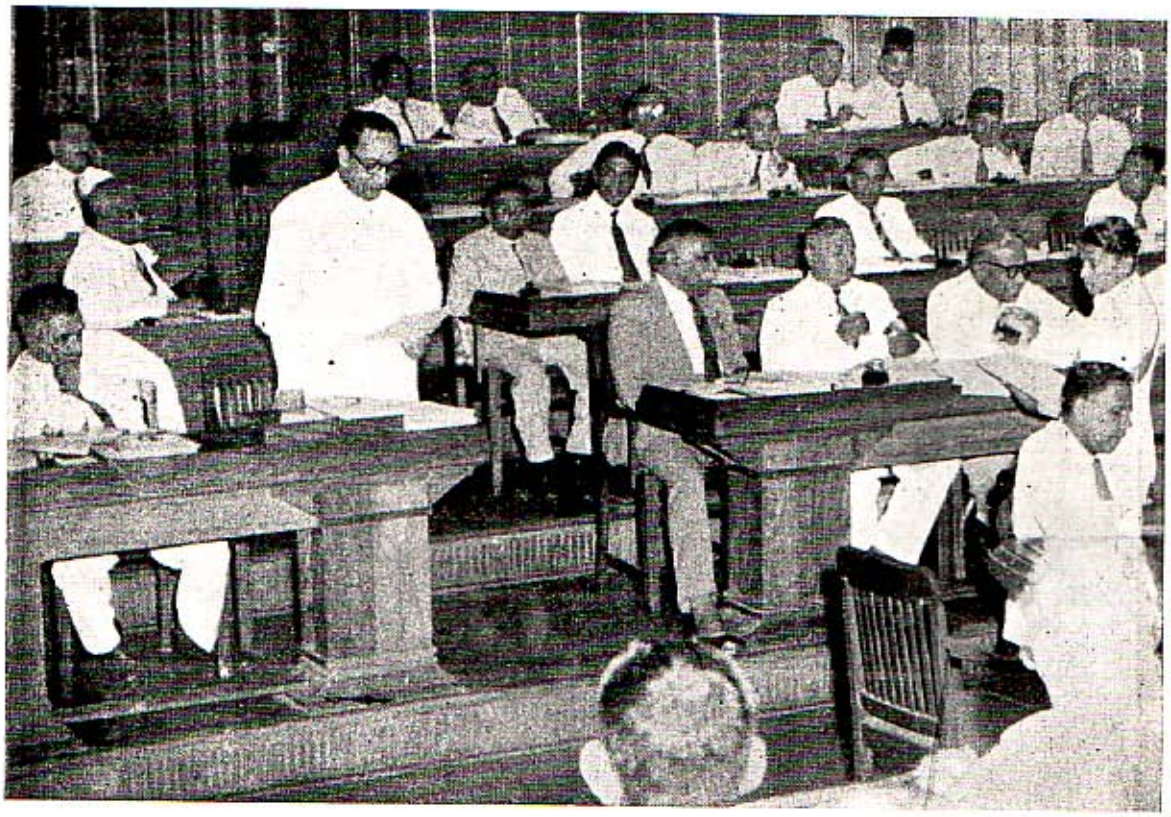


By Courtesy of J. R. Jayawardena

WITH MR. J. R. JAYAWARDENA AT KELANIYA—One of Senanayake's closest collaborators and followers was Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, presently Minister of Agriculture and Food and Leader of the House of Representatives, who served for 5 years as Senanayake's Minister of Finance. The above photograph was taken at the Independence celebrations held in Kelaniya on February 4th 1950. Mr. Jayawardena is on Senanayake's right while standing behind them are E. A. Nugawela and Dudley Senanayake.

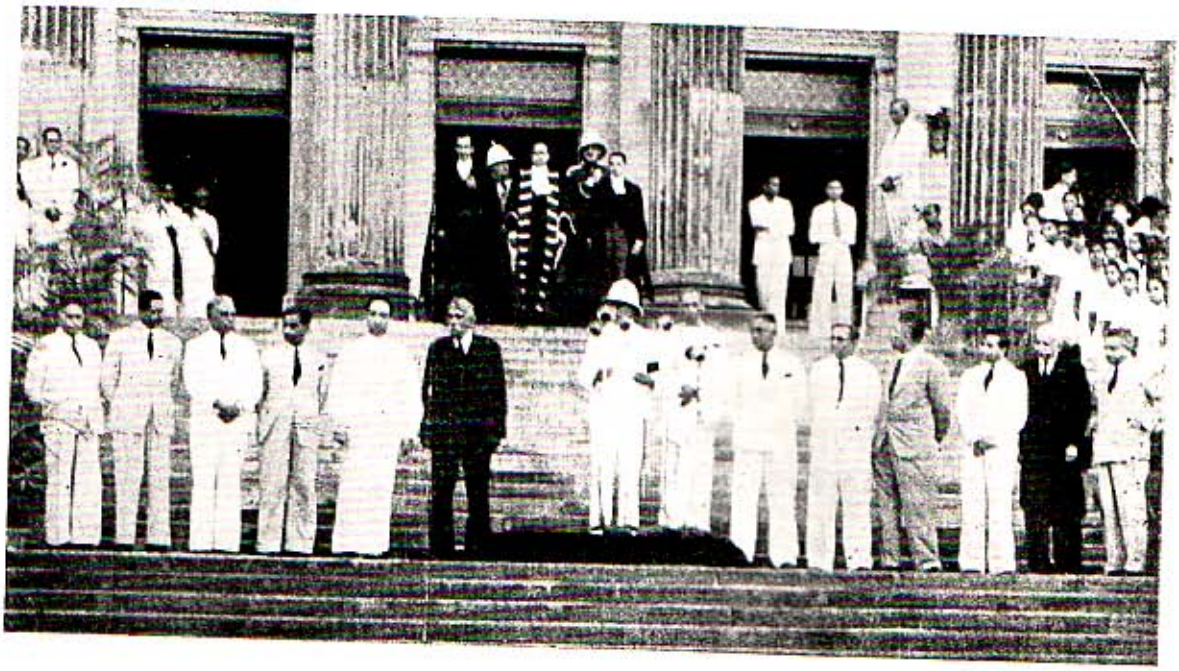
By Courtesy of the High Commissioner for the U. K.

THE THIRD COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE 1951.—In January 1951, D. S. Senanayake attended his third and last Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London. The above informal group was taken after the third day of the talks. Standing left to right are T. F. Donges (South Africa), Godfrey Huggins, C. R. Attlee, L. St. Laurent, Senanayake, R. G. Menzies, Sidney Holland and Pundit Nehru.



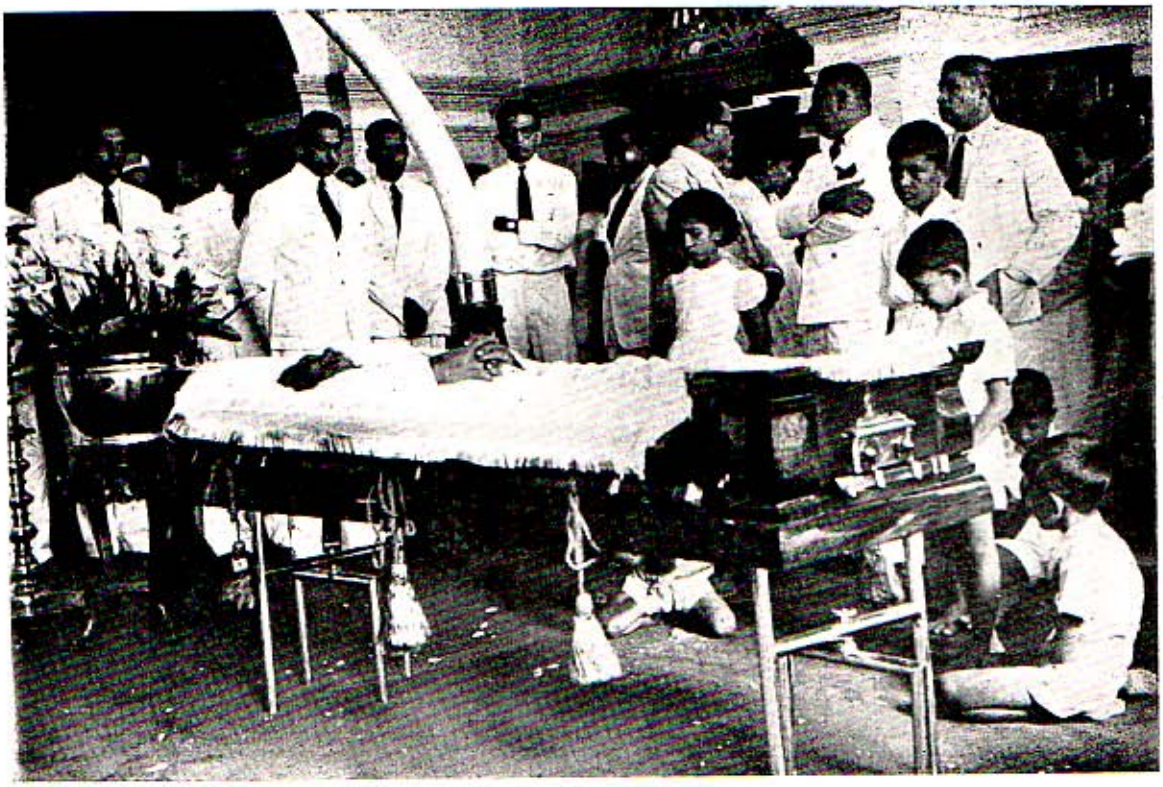
By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Photograph taken in the House of Representatives on Budget Day 1951. D. S. Senanayake is seen seated third from left in front row while next to him is Sir John Kotelawala, the then Leader of the House. The Minister of Finance, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena is speaking, while seated next to him is E. A. Nugawela.



By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN—In February 1952, King George VI died and his daughter Princess Elizabeth who was on her way to the Island, was proclaimed Queen Elizabeth II of Ceylon. The above was taken at the Proclamation Ceremony held on the steps of the House of Representatives. D. S. Senanayake is seen in dark suit with the cabinet members on either side of him. The Speaker of the House is at the top of the steps.

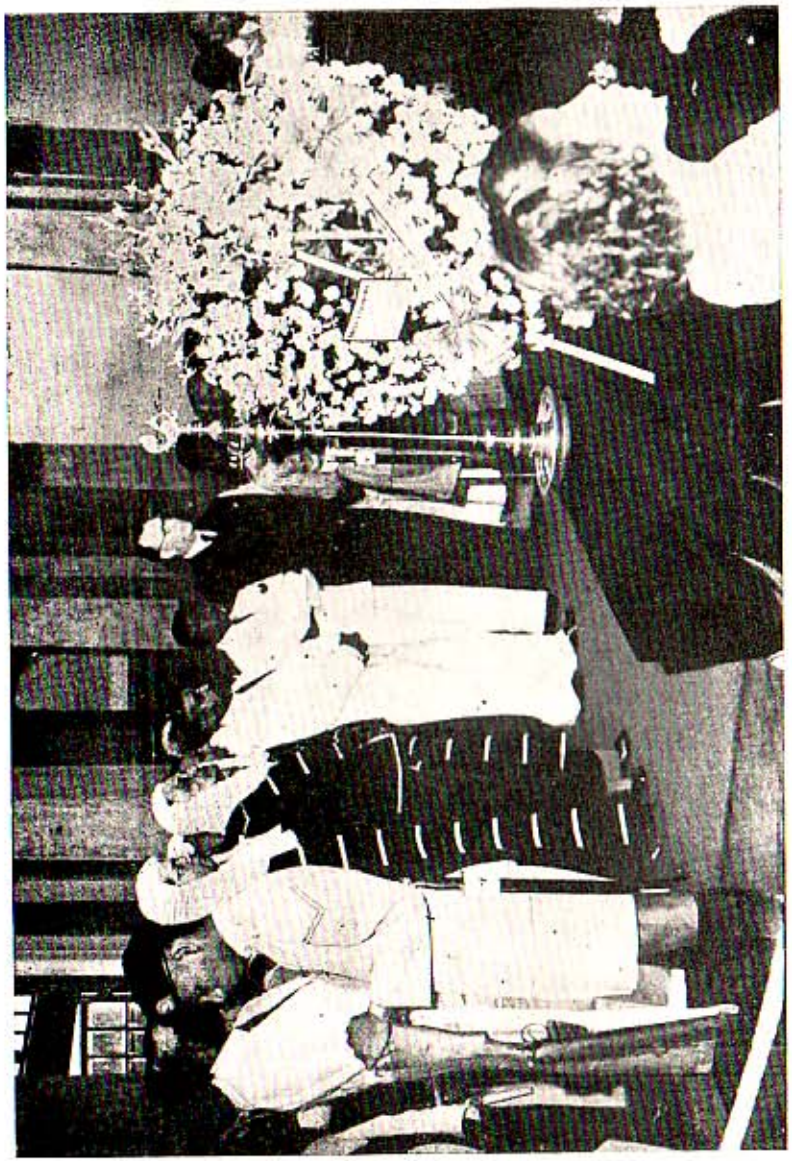


By Courtesy of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon

SENANAYAKE DEAD—On March 21st Senanayake fell from his horse while riding on Galle Face Green and was severely injured. The following day he died. The above photograph was taken at "Temple Trees" a few hours after his death. Senanayake's two sons, Dudley and Robert are seen first and third from right, while between them is Sir John Kotelawala.

By Courtesy of the Information Dept.

AT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—On March 23rd, Senanayake's body was borne to the House of Representatives where it lay in state for 5 days. Above the members of the opposition pay their last tribute to the Premier by carrying the casket up the steps of the House of Representatives. Dr. N. M. Perera, C. Suntharalingam, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Colvin R. de Silva are recognisable in the picture.



By Courtesy of the Information Dept.

THE LYING IN STATE—In the House of Representatives the body lay in State for 5 days while mourners estimated at half a million, filed past in a last tribute. Seen above just before the body was removed for cremation are the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Sir John Kotelawala and Sir Alan Rose, Chief Justice.

SOME NOTABLE PUBLIC SPEECHES OF D. S. SENANAYAKE

It is rarely that one finds the qualities of a man of action and a leader, together with an ability for brilliant public speaking. If D. S. Senanayake was not a brilliant speaker yet he was a good one. For him oratory, either in public or in the legislature was no end in itself, but only a means of making the country aware of his policies and the need for supporting them. Thus, his speeches were often commonplace and lacked the sparkle that made them interesting listening. He could not be as brilliant a speaker as most of his Parliamentary contemporaries, for he had not received the training which they had got, either in the Universities of England or in the Law Courts of Ceylon. There were many members in the legislatures in which Senanayake served, who could make a better speech, choose better words, and deliver them better, but few could hope to equal the sincerity with which his words were inspired.

The four speeches published here are considered to be among the best ever delivered by him. They also spotlight the four most notable aspects of his life's work, the regeneration of agriculture in Ceylon, the achievement of independence, the creation of a foreign policy for the country and the attempt to establish high standards of integrity and efficiency in the public services. The short introduction preceding each speech outlines the background in which the speech was made and its significance in the subsequent development of Ceylon.

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE STATE COUNCIL ON THE FIRST READING OF THE LAND DEVELOPMENT BILL IN MARCH 1933

Looking back on the legislation enacted by the State Council in the period 1931-47, it is doubtful if there is any single law, with the possible exception perhaps, of the Free Education Ordinance of 1944, which has contributed more to the progress of Ceylon than the Land Development Ordinance. This enactment was based mainly on the recommendations of the Land Commission appointed in 1927, but its creator in all senses of the word however, was D. S. Senanayake. He had served as a member of the Land Commission, and as Minister of Agriculture and Lands personally supervised the drafting of the Ordinance and saw it through his Executive Committee and the State Council. Besides

as Minister he was directly in charge of the implementation of the Ordinance for 14 years, not to mention the general supervision he exercised as Prime Minister for the last five years of his life. The Ordinance, or the "L. D. O" as it is popularly known, has been the basis of Ceylon's phenomenal agricultural expansion in the last twenty five years, specially in the peasant sector, and will remain a permanent memorial to D. S. Senanayake, even if his role in the achievement of independence for Ceylon should be forgotten.

Till the Ordinance, Ceylon did not have a definite policy for the alienation and development of Crown Land. Government policy in the colonial regime was that when land was to be alienated, applications were received and the land sold in perpetuity to the highest bidder. The result was that capitalists, mostly Europeans, bought up all the available land and converted them to estates. The effects of this on the people of Ceylon was disastrous. The peasant found that he could not get any new land, though his family increased and his land became hopelessly subdivided into uneconomic holdings; while the nascent middle class could not find the capital to buy or develop any land from the Crown, and continued to be largely a landless white-collar urban population. Thus colonial land policy impoverished the people of Ceylon by denying them land to suit their growing needs and concentrated this source of wealth in the hands of a few foreign capitalists.

With the achievement of responsible government in 1931, one of the first steps of the new Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, was to formulate a new land policy to secure a more equitable distribution of land. The Land Commission of which Mr. Senanayake was a member, had made certain recommendations and largely due to the initiative of the Minister, these proposals were embodied in the Land Development Ordinance. According to this enactment, all alienation of Crown land was to be strictly controlled by Government in future. Government first mapped out an area in which it was likely that Crown land could be alienated, and set aside land for future development, or for communal needs such as pasture and forests. The land remaining after these overall needs were satisfied were alienated. Here the peasant had first claim and if there was land yet remaining, then they could be alienated to "middle class" Ceylonese, who would get larger allotments, not however exceeding a specified amount. If there was still more land remaining, then only could it be alienated to capitalists, who could not however hold more than 200 acres.

The system as will be seen, ensured a more equitable distribution of land. It gave land to those who needed it most. Besides, certain other conditions were also included to safeguard the interests of the allottee. Thus for instance, land given to peasants could not be divided, ending at last for these lands the minute subdivision that usually made all private village lands uneconomic. Government also took a paternal interest in the L.D.O. allottees and helped them financially to get their lands in order. Similarly, the "middle class" Ceylonese was defined as one earning less than Rs 6,000/- a year, and the way was open to give land to a class of people who would otherwise never have had an opportunity of owning land. Today, 21 years after the Ordinance was passed, nearly half a million people have been settled on crown land under the Ordinance, opening to them a new and richer life which they could not otherwise have enjoyed.

The Ordinance in its scope and aims was one of the most comprehensive and progressive pieces of legislation passed by any legislature in Ceylon. The speech reproduced here was made by D. S. Senanayake on moving the first reading of the Ordinance in the State Council and ranks among his best speeches. The text is taken from the *Hansard* for 1933.

THE Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands to move:—That the Bill intituled "An Ordinance to provide for the systematic development of and alienation of Crown Land in Ceylon" be read a first time.

The Speaker: The Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Sir, the objects the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands have in presenting this Bill to this Council will be appreciated, I am sure, by the whole Council. This Bill is introduced with the idea of joining legal sanction to some of the decisions and recommendations made by the Land Commission and to some of the decisions arrived at by this Council itself. In the olden days, Sir, it used to be the practice that when Crown land was to be alienated, an applicant or whoever desired to have that land had to make an application and the land was alienated to the highest bidder. It was felt for a long time that, that method of procedure handicapped to a large extent the poor peasant as well as the middle-class Ceylonese. They felt that it would not be possible owing to financial reasons to compete with the wealthier persons with the result that the development of the country has been carried on to such an extent that it is more or less the capitalist class that has been able to buy the Crown land and develop the land.

Somewhere about 1919 when there was food shortage, when these capitalists did go in for food production, it was found necessary to encourage the peasant to go in for food cultivation. At that time, I believe, Government had instructed Government Agents (G.A) to give lands to peasants on easier terms. During that time the G. A. of the Eastern Province happened to be Mr. Brayne, who, as we all know, is a person who tries to take advantage of any position in which he is to improve the conditions of the people entrusted to his care.

So with that enthusiasm, he started his peasant proprietorship scheme, and that scheme to some extent was working very satisfactorily. At the same time or a little time later, Mr. Strong, who was A.G.A., Matara, started another scheme whereby he gave permits to peasants to cultivate land.

Well, the country was not quite satisfied with what has been done and I believe in the last Council it was you yourself who took the initiative to try to get land for landless villagers. I believe, you moved a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to secure land for landless villagers at the time that Committee was functioning, the late Mr. G. E. Madawala moved another resolution with regard to chenas. But before these two Committees made any recommendations, the honourable member for Horana who was representing the Kalutara District then moved the following resolution:—

That a Select Committee of this Council be appointed:—

(i) To report on the land laws of Ceylon with particular references to Ordinances No. 12 of 1840, No. 9 of 1841, No. 1 of 1877, and the Partition Ordinance, No. 10 of 1863, and to make recommendations for the amendment thereof; (ii) to report on the policy of Government regarding the alienation and reservation of Crown lands, and to make any recommendations which they may consider expedient with reference thereto; (iii) to make any recommendations which they may consider expedient and practicable for the establishment of a scheme whereby lands may be settled on villagers or small-holders and Crown land alienated or leased to villagers or small holders can be prevented from passing into the hands of persons other than villagers or small-holders.

This motion was accepted and a Committee was appointed. The Committee sat for 2 years and made recommendations and some of those recommendations were accepted by Government. Since those recommendations were accepted by Government, the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands came into existence and they made investigations and they submitted certain resolutions to this Council which were accepted. The Executive Committee then thought that the results of the efforts of the different people concerned who had taken part in trying to secure for the poor of the country some part of the Crown land without competition from people who were situated in a better position, should be codified and put into legal form. I can say, Sir, that what we are doing now in introducing this Ordinance is to secure that end. Now, Sir, as that is the object, I am sure we will have the sympathy of the whole Council. But before I go any further to achieve this object, it would be only proper on the part of the Committee—and I am sure I am speaking on behalf of the Committee when I say it—to acknowledge that we had during the last one year the useful assistance of that gentleman I had mentioned before. His never tiring energy and his enthusiasm was of great use to us. Mr. Brayne helped us all the time in drafting the Ordinance. At the same time I cannot but help expressing my appreciation to the Attorney-General for his kindness and the assistance he has given me, and also to the Solicitor-General, Mr. L. M. de Silva.

It is true that we very often hear that the Attorney-General's Dept. has delayed to bring forward many Ordinances. If any blame is due to the Attorney-General for the delays I am inclined to think that, that blame has become due because of his great desire to help our Committee to achieve the object we had in view. He, I, believe, considered that this Land Ordinance was a very important Ordinance and to bring it out into proper shape, it had become necessary for him to set apart an officer of his department to do the work.

I can tell you, Sir, that although the Ordinance brought forward is one of about 160 sections, to get these sections out many drafts had to be made and many points had to be considered, and it is because of the patience of the legal

draftsmen, Mr. Fonseka, that we have been able to achieve this object. Although very often we have just cause to complain about the officers of that department, I at the same time feel that our Committee cannot be too grateful for the amount of work put in by that office.

Hon. Sir, coming to the question of the Ordinance itself, I might say that we have two objects in view . One is to provide for a systematic development of Crown land by Ceylonese, and the other is to establish a suitable tenure for the alienation of Crown land. I might say that this Ordinance is not an Ordinance that is going to replace any other Ordinance.

This is a new Ordinance that will work quite independently of all existing Ordinances, so, alienation of Crown land is not to be restricted to the provisions of this Ordinance alone. What this Ordinance tries to do is to find a method of alienating land in a way that would be possible to achieve the two objects I have mentioned.

I make these remarks for the simple reason that in this Ordinance we have made provision for the protection of holdings that is, we have considered it necessary to give effect to the desire expressed by my honourable friend, the member for Horana, that when land is alienated to a class of people, to see that the land is possessed, and it is very necessary that protection should be continued for all time. It was necessary to see that not only in the first instance the person who got the land belonged to the class to which we want the lands to go but that the successes too belonged to that class. We felt that if we gave outright transfers, it would not be possible to protect such lands.

There is a great deal of objection especially in this country, to people having leases. At the same time we felt that transfers would not achieve the object we had in view. So we had to think of a system of grants which would achieve the object we had in view but at the same time secure the land for that person and for his successors for all time without any hindrance from Government. Although it is a lease, it is provided in that form. Since there is that objection, I would like to mention that merely because we have made provision for such leases, honourable members should not be under the impression that Government will only alienate land under this Ordinance and under no other Ordinance and that no other system of alienation except leases would be continued.

There is another provision made here and I would like to mention it just now. We felt that it was the normal practice to sell lands outright. Our Committee felt that it was not right for the Government which is in charge of these lands, to sell the capital of the people to some outsider and utilize that money, at the same time we felt that, especially, when we are alienating this land for the very purpose to see that land brings in a regular revenue to Government. We thought that what the Government was entitled to. The capital is there and the income is secured for all time. The practice in the past was to sell land with the result that when all the capital has been disposed of, Government would have lost the land, we in this generation would have received the money and posterity would have been deprived of the benefits from that land.

We thought that, that is not a good system. That is why we thought of the leases. There is another reason which made us adopt this system of leases. Very often at a sale it so happens that a person has to bid perhaps more than the value of the land and he has to put all his money down to purchase that land. Money in this country is not very cheap, especially to the peasant or to the middle-class person, with the result that if a man has to put all the money down, he has got to borrow money at a very high rate of interest, sometimes 16, 18, 20 or 30 per cent.

We considered that it would be very much better if we fixed the value of the land in such a way as to make it possible for the man to pay a certain rate of interest to Government, say 6%, which would be quite sufficient so far as the Government is concerned, for its capital. We thought that by doing that we would be making it easy for the peasant to develop the lands instead of putting all the money down and getting into debt and making the land liable to seizure and sale to outsiders. We thought that if the peasant did not put all the money down for purchasing the land, the money in his hands would enable him to develop it.

I just mention these two points in passing to show that there are these objections to leases. Although these objections are there, even if the house objects to these conditions provided here—they are done with a purpose, a very good purpose—and even if that purpose does not appeal to members of the Council, they need not oppose this Bill because this would be one method of alienation, and there will be other methods of alienation which will be provided in other cases.

Now, Sir, I will first give an outline of the scheme we have in view. The first thing we have provided for, here is mapping out. In the olden days, as I have mentioned before, when anyone found a bit of Crown land and he thought he would take it, he made an application, and if the Government Agent had no objection to the land being alienated he gave it away. It did not matter to the G. A. or to anyone else to what other needs the land could be put. The result is that very often we find members of the Council coming here and saying that villagers have no land to live on, no housing accommodation, no land for pasture, no reservation for their village forests, no reservation for preservation of streams and that many things are not being considered at all.

What we consider necessary, in the first instance, is to find out what extent of land is available in a district. The scheme is that when the extent of available land has been ascertained a Government official must map-out the area and he must take into consideration the local needs.

Three purposes have to be taken into consideration: (i) Village purposes (ii) Government purposes (iii) Alienation. You will find the purposes stated at page 6 of the Bill: they have to map-out land, for village expansion; village forest; village pasture; chena cultivation; village purposes not herein specified; colonization; protections of the sources or courses of streams; prevention of the erosion of the soil; forest reserves; Government purposes; including Government buildings, roads or works; preservation of objects of archaeological interest; the development of towns; alienation to middle-class Ceylonese; alienation to any persons whomsoever irrespective of the class to which they belong, and so on.

In mapping-out land, we will consider the claims in order of merit. The general needs of the village community are taken into consideration first. When they have been taken into consideration and have been satisfied, we will consider next the individual needs of the villager. Then we will consider the other needs, as they are shown herein.

In mapping-out what is being provided for is not going to be done in a very accurate way, but it will be accurate enough for all practical purposes. In mapping-out an area, they will find out what the population is, and what the needs are, and make a rough sketch of that area. There will be no detailed plans prepared, but that sketch will indicate the extent and the situation of the land. The mapping-out scheme will be notified to the public when it has been approved by the Land Commissioner. The public will then know for what purposes the land is reserved; and if it is reserved for any class under which

they may come, they can make application for land. Instead of each individual taking the initiative according to his likes and dislikes, he will make the choice after the whole general necessity has been considered and the mapping-out has been done. That is the first stage.

After the mapping-out comes the alienation, according to this scheme. We are providing for two kinds of grants being given. When I take up the Bill section by section, I shall give the details, but at the present moment, I shall give only a skeleton of the scheme. After the mapping-out has been done Land Kachcheries will be held and the people chosen to whom the lands are to be given, As I said, there are two kinds of permits provided for in this Bill. Provision is made for a permit being given to a person, in the first instance. That is being provided for because it may happen that we have to deal with a large number of persons who are not quite certain would stick to the land. So, we do not want to give a grant all at once. We want to see what use the man will make of the land, and when it has been proved that he is a person who could be given the land, he would be given it. Besides that, a permit will be given because very often lands are given before the survey is completed, we are sometimes in a hurry. The permit will be given, and it will be followed by the grant. Then, of course, the other conditions will follow after that.

We have made provision as regards succession. We find that it is necessary to prevent sub-division of lands into extents smaller than the extent which it is really worthwhile for a person to own. Each grant will show the minimum extent, on each grant it will be stated that the land cannot be divided into plots of less than a certain minimum extent. But at the same time we are providing in this Bill an opportunity for the successor being nominated by the person who buys or takes up the land. He can nominate any number of successors so long as the extents into which the land will have to be divided will not be less than the prescribed minimum extent. If no successor has been nominated the succession would be unity succession according to a certain scale.

There will be two types of land, the protected land and the unprotected land. We are providing for protected land in order that the land might not be seized for debt and in order to prevent the person to whom the land is given coming to some arrangement whereby a debt will be incurred and the land will be sold as a result. Unprotected land, of course, will be subject to all conditions.

That is practically the general scheme that we have in view. I might now draw attention to some of the sections of the Bill.

As I have mentioned already the Ordinance is called the Land Development Ordinance, and it is meant to encourage the development of Crown Land by Ceylonese. The alienation is to take place not only under this Ordinance but also under other Ordinances.

I would like to draw attention especially to three of the terms contained in Section 2.

I would draw attention to the term "Board." You will see, Sir, that under this Ordinance a great deal of power has been given to Government Agents in the matter of ensuring that the conditions laid down are adhered to by the parties; and there is an Appeal Board provided for. Here "Board" means the Board of Appeal established under Section II of "The Land Settlement Ordinance, 1931." Under this Ordinance an appeal lies to this Board, in important matters. It has been thought that the Board will necessarily

acquire considerable experience in regard to land matters in connection with the Settlement Ordinance and will be the most competent body to deal with cognate matters under the Ordinance.

Then there is the term "Ceylonese." This term has been so defined as to exclude any person who was not born in Ceylon.

There is another term, "middle-class Ceylonese." That is a term which has given us a great deal of trouble, and, in fact, we did not know how we were to define a middle-class Ceylonese. As you will remember, Sir, even when the report of the Committee was presented to this Council there was exception taken by a large number of members to the expression "middle-class Ceylonese." After a great deal of thought we have made a definition, and I hope the definition will appeal to the House. The definition is this: A middle-class Ceylonese is a Ceylonese whose statutory income, computed under the provisions of the Income Tax Ordinance, 1932, for the year of assessment ending on the 31st March preceding such date, does not exceed the sum of Rs. 6,000. The statutory income of a person, under the Income Tax Ordinance, 1932, means the full amount of the profits or income derived by such person during the year preceding the year of assessment. The Income Tax Ordinance, defines "year of assessment" as a period of twelve months commencing on the first day of April in any year. If therefore, this Bill becomes law, say, in the month of May this year, the statutory income of such person for the year of assessment April, 1932—March, 1933 or in other words, the full amount of the profits or income derived by him from any source during the year preceding the period of April, 1932—March, 1933, will be taken for the purpose of ascertaining whether he falls within the category of middle-class Ceylonese.

As Section 21 of the Income Tax Ordinance, 1932, provides that the income of a married woman who is not living apart from her husband under the decree of a competent court or under a duly executed deed of separation shall be deemed to be the income of her husband, a proviso has been introduced to the definition of "middle-class Ceylonese" in Section 174 of this Ordinance in order to make it clear that in the case of married persons the statutory income would be computed as though a separate assessment had been claimed and made for either spouse under Section 22 of the Income Tax Ordinance, 1932.

Then, cases which may have created difficulty in the interpretation of the term "middle-class Ceylonese" had to be provided for. Take the case of a rich husband with a wife not possessed of property in her own right, and the case of a rich wife with a husband not possessed of property in his own right. It was thought that a rich man should not be in a position to acquire land under the Ordinance by making application therefore in the name of his wife, or vice versa. Provision has accordingly been made that in the case of spouses neither shall be deemed to be middle-class Ceylonese in a case where the joint statutory income of both spouses exceeds in the aggregate a sum of Rs. 12,000, which is double the amount specified in the case of unmarried persons.

At one time we wanted to have a clause inserted that a person who possessed over 50 acres of land was not entitled to any land, but we found that 50 acres was not a satisfactory extent to be introduced into the Ordinance because 50 acres of land in certain districts was considered to be practically worthless. We thought, therefore, that it would be very much better to define the term "middle-class Ceylonese" according to the income that he derived.

Mr. G. K. W. Perera: Would you not run the risk of violating the secrecy of the Income Tax administration?

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: No. We consulted the Income Tax Department, and Mr. Huxham told us that there was not the slightest difficulty in his informing us as to who would come below that limit.

Mr. G. K. W. Perera: I do not agree with Mr. Huxham.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Let us take it for granted that as my honourable friend says, Mr. Huxham is not at liberty to give the information. But we must remember that the person who applies for land is the person who has to prove that he comes within the category of middle-class. So, if he goes to Mr. Huxham and asks Mr. Huxham to give him a certificate to say that his income was not more than the limit specified, what is there to prevent him from obtaining the certificate from Mr. Huxham and producing it before the authority concerned? There is no violation of secrecy. No disclosure of information made. The man has the right to prove he is a middle-class Ceylonese. I do not think we will have any difficulty with regard to that.

The next point is the question of the appointment of the Board. There is the Land Commissioner, and there are other officers who have to be appointed and who are to be appointed by His Excellency the Governor. You will see from the Bill that it is the Land Commissioner who will exercise authority over the Government Agents and the officers who are appointed under this Ordinance. The Government Agents have been given extensive powers, and it is the Land Commissioner who controls them. Although, under the Ordinance itself, the Land Commissioner is under the general control of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, we thought it necessary specifically to provide here in that he is under our control in the matter of guidance, so that we could guide the activities of not only the Land Commissioner himself, but also the other officers who will be subject to his direction.

Mr. E. W. Perera: Supervisory power.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Yes. Chapter II deals with the mapping-out of Crown land. The Government Agent is entrusted with the duty of mapping-out Crown land, subject to the general and special directions of the Land Commissioner. I have already mentioned the purposes for which land may be mapped-out.

An essential requirement of the mapping-out is that the scheme should be permanent and final. Section 13 accordingly provides that land which has been reserved for village purposes shall not be used for the purpose of alienation, and that land mapped-out for the purpose of alienation to middle-class Ceylonese should not be used for the purpose of alienation to any persons whomsoever irrespective of the class to which they belong.

Section 156 (7) enables rules to be made for the classification of persons to whom land may be alienated under this Ordinance. Provision has been made, however, that the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands may authorise the variation or modification of the scheme in regard to matters specially prohibited by this Section.

Although the Government Agent is the officer who has to do the mapping-out, when the mapping-out has been done the scheme has to be submitted to the Land Commissioner. The Land Commissioner can give directions according to the policy that has been laid down by the Ministry. When the mapping-out scheme has been approved, no variation from it can be made by the Government Agent or the Land Commissioner in regard to the three purposes for which the land is mapped-out.

Take the question of village purposes: land mapped-out for village purposes cannot be set apart for alienation to the middle-class. Likewise, land mapped-out for alienation to middle-class Ceylonese cannot be given over to capitalists. But when it so happens that land set apart for the middle-class is required for peasants, or land reserved for the capitalist class is required for the middle-class, there is nothing to prevent the land being so utilised, with the consent of the Land Commissioner.

At the same time, we realise that there may be occasions when this scheme will have to be altered. It may so happen that in a village the population may increase, and it may become necessary to provide a cemetery. Now, the cemetery may have to be provided for from land that has been set apart for alienation to peasants When that happens it will be necessary to vary the scheme, and such variation can be made only with the consent of the Executive Committee.

I believe there was some fear entertained at one time that when the mapping-out had been done the Government Agents would alter the scheme from time to time according to their own ideas or inclinations. But we do not want the scheme to be altered; we want it to be definite, and it is with that idea that we have made these provisions.

Then, there are Sections 14 and 15. Although it is intended that land which has not been mapped-out should not be alienated, it may become necessary, in the initial stages, to alienate such land. We have only a limited number of officers working at this, and it may be that the several areas all over the Island may not be mapped-out within the specified time, and it may become necessary to alienate land—of course, with the approval of the Committee—which has not been mapped-out. So, we have made provision that when such alienation has taken place, the land alienated should be considered as land mapped-out for the purpose for which it was alienated. The object of that provision is that if that land is considered as land mapped-out for the purpose for which it was alienated, the alienation will be subject to all the conditions specified in the grant and we want to preserve those conditions.

As I have already stated, before a land is alienated, the Government Agent has to give notice that a Land Kachcheri would be held on such and such a day, and he has to call for applications. I do not think it is necessary for me to go into the matter in further detail because, as you will see, every opportunity is given to the people not only of that locality but also round about it to make application and to put forward their claims when the Land Kachcheri is held. Everything has to be done in public.

Sections 16 to 19 of this Ordinance make provision accordingly.

Section 20 is a section to which I would like to draw attention as being very important. It provides that the material date for determining the qualification of an applicant for land is the date on which such person is selected to receive a permit or grant. This Section is important when read in conjunction with Section 174 which defines the term "middle-class Ceylonese."

It has been found impossible to make any practicable provision to meet the case of a person who was a middle-class Ceylonese on the date on which he was selected at a Land Kachcheri as a person entitled to receive a Crown grant but who might not be a middle-class Ceylonese on the day on which the grant is later issued to him. It is the statutory income for the year that is taken into consideration and it is quite possible that one year he may have a windfall and just on that date it may so happen that he does not come under the category of middle-class Ceylonese.

By Section 20 we want to fix the day on which a person is selected to receive a permit or grant as the date of qualification.

With regard to permits, I would like honourable members to notice the provision that we have made to ensure that the permit is not transferable. We have included a special clause in the Bill to the effect that a permit does not convey title to the successor. The permit is a temporary expedient, and it is to be followed by a grant. It has been stated that if a person acquires anything, according to the Roman Dutch Law his successors are entitled to what he has acquired. So, if he had acquired a right under the permit, his successors could claim that right. Of course, we are dispensing with and disregarding the usual law of succession, and we are providing a new mode of succession. So that, as a permit holder is a person who has established only a claim to a grant, we consider that it is just as well not to vest a right of succession—not to confer any right on the successor, on a descendant of or a claimant from a permit-holder.

At the same time we have made it possible for a permit-holder to nominate his successor, but the Government Agent will have to give a new permit to the nominee.

Sections 24 to 26 provide that only land that has been surveyed can be alienated by grant, and that every grant has to be registered by the Government Agent. The word "registered" is defined in the Interpretation Ordinance to mean registration under the corresponding Ordinances relating to the registration of documents.

The practice of attaching to a Crown grant a title plan has been a source of great expense to Government. In the case of mapped-out land it will not be necessary to attach a plan to every Crown grant. We have worked it out, and we find that each plan for a Crown grant costs about Rs. 17. We want to make the cost cheaper. A tracing attached to a Crown grant would cost very little money. But if anyone wants a plan there would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining a plan from the Surveyor-General.

Sir Henry de Mel: Provided he pays for it.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Yes. We do not want to make it obligatory on the people who get title to pay so much for plans; but at the same time we do not want to deprive them of the opportunity to get plans at their own expense.

Now I come to Sections 28 to 32. The conditions inserted in a Crown grant are divided into two groups. One group contains the essential conditions which are to be inserted in every Crown grant. These appear in the first schedule. One of these essential conditions is that the owner shall not dispose of an undivided share in the holdings which is not less than the minimum fraction specified in the grant. In other words we want to prevent sub-division. No person shall be the owner of a divided share of a holding less in extent than the unit of sub-divisions specified in the grant, and no person shall be the owner of an undivided share in a holding less than the minimum fraction specified in the grant. A holding of a specified portion or portions shall be regularly cultivated. For the purpose of this condition chena cultivation shall not deemed to be "regular cultivation." There shall be paid annually to the Crown on account of a holding a sum specified in the grant or such a sum as may be fixed on the revision made under this Ordinance.

There are altogether three essential conditions that we are trying to establish. The first essential condition is that land should not be sub-divided to a smaller extent than the minimum provided there; the second is that lands should be cultivated; and the third, that the annual payment that is due to Government would be secured. Those are the three essential conditions. But there are

other conditions that would be inserted when they are considered desirable in any locality or according to any scheme that has been decided by the Board, or by the Committee, or by the Government Agent, or by any one else, or by the people themselves. So it may be necessary sometimes to put down a condition to the effect that tea or rubber or something else should not be grown. But those conditions would not be essential conditions. There are other schedules which provide for the insertion of these conditions.

Next I would refer to Sections 34 and 35 which provide for the revision of the annual payment due to the Crown in respect of land alienated—holdings on permits. As I told you the object we have in view is to recover from each holder a certain rent which would represent the interest on the capital value at the beginning. But at the same time it may so happen that when a land is being cultivated for a number of years we may not be able to fix any rent. To meet such cases there is provision made for the Government Agent or any one else to waive that rent.

Then there may be years when the crops fail. When a crop fails it may be necessary to waive rent. So although the amount fixed for the period is based on the interest due on the capital value, these possible waivers may result in Government not getting the full interest. But we have made provision here to the effect that after a certain period the rent should be fixed in such a way as not to exceed 100 per cent of the income of the place. So that although there is the possibility of Government losing money during the time of development of a land, there is the possibility of Government gaining some benefit after a man is fully established on the land . I think it is a very reasonable provision and I am sure it will appeal to the House.

Another section provides that no land alienated on a permit or as a protected holding shall be seized or sold in execution of a decree of any court. Land is defined in section 2 to include any interest in the crops growing on the land or to be grown thereon. This definition precludes seizure or sale of any future crop. An unprotected holding however may be seized or sold in execution. Most holdings alienated under the Ordinance will be of the protected class, and ordinarily unprotected holdings will be alienated, where the land has been mapped-out, to any person whomsoever irrespective of the class to which they belong. The object of the protection afforded by this section is to preserve land in the class of the original alienee.

I would now come to Chapter 5 of the Bill. There the term "disposition" has been defined in wide terms, so as to include any transaction affecting land or the title thereto. The lease or mortgage of a protected holding is absolutely prohibited. Any other disposition may be affected with the written consent of the Government Agent. For instance in regard to the sale of such holdings the owner will have to obtain the permission of the Government Agent who, in granting such permission, will, inter alia, consider whether the proposed alienee is a person of the same class as the person to whom the land was originally mapped-out.

Now, Sir, I am sure there will be a good deal of criticism with regard to the section requiring a holder to obtain the permission of the Government Agent before he alienates his holding. We have considered the matter very carefully, we find that our local bodies are not developed to such an extent as to make it possible to allow such permission being obtained from the local authorities. The only authorities just now who are carrying on this work are the Government Agents and we feel that although this permission has to be obtained from the Government Agents, a Government Agent can only withhold permission where the object of the Ordinance would be defeated.

Supposing a person who holds land gets into debt and wants to transfer the land to someone else merely because of his debt, he must take the permission of the Government Agent to transfer that land. But if a person wants to transfer his land to a child or to his blood relations, no permission is necessary. Only when it is a question of an outsider obtaining the land is there the obligation cast on the holder to obtain the permission of the Government Agent.

Succession, of course, is defined in such a way that if a person does not name a successor there is provision here for the nomination of his successor. If a person holds some extent of land and if that land is capable of small divisions he can nominate a number of successors. If, for instance, a person is entitled to 50 acres he can nominate ten successors each to hold a portion of 5 acres in extent. Succession according to this section is in this order:—(1) sons, (2) daughters, (3) grandsons, (4) granddaughters, (5) father, (6) mother, (7) brothers, (8) sisters, (9) uncles, (10) aunts, (11) nephews and (12) nieces. That is the order we have provided according to the age of the person who succeeds. This too is a matter that could be further considered. If this order is not considered satisfactory we could in Select Committee make any alterations that would be considered necessary.

The Speaker: It is more or less the Kandyan order of succession.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Now, Sir, with regard to ejectment we have made provision to the effect that any sale of land or the recovery of money must be made under the provisions of this Ordinance. There may be sums due to local bodies or other parties and those will have to be recovered in the way provided in the Ordinance. First the movables will have to be sold. There is a summary procedure provided here which will save expense, and prevent Fiscals' sales which will enable anyone from outside to buy the land.

Then, there is ample provision for the purpose of making rules. This Ordinance is in the nature of an experiment and for some time it will be in an experimental stage. It may become very necessary to make new rules or to amend existing rules. It would be observed that none of the rules would be operative till they have been approved by His Excellency the Governor and then placed before this Council and approved by resolution of this Council. So you will find that this Council has the ultimate voice in regard to these rules.

I do not know whether it is necessary to go further into these sections, I am sure that considering that all the honourable members of this House are interested in the scheme and are also very much concerned in the development of land and the settling of people on the land, they must have read the Ordinance carefully. So that, I do not think any explanation from me is necessary. Most of the members of this House are lawyers and are able to understand better than I could explain the provisions of the Ordinance. I have explained the Bill as best as I possibly could, and I hope that it will be considered satisfactory. I move the first reading of the Bill.

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE STATE COUNCIL IN NOVEMBER 1945, RECOMMENDING THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE WHITE PAPER ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Though D.S. Senanayake spent the greater part of his political life as Minister of Agriculture, he will however be remembered by posterity as the leader under whom Ceylon achieved her independence after nearly 500 years of foreign rule. It is possilbe

however to detract from the prestige of his leadership, for one could say that our independence was necessarily motivated by larger world forces such as the struggle of India or the economic and military weakness of post-war Britain, but Senanayake's leadership was singular in that under him independence was achieved without bloodshed, and not by resistance, passive or active, but by co-operation. Under a less gifted or less shrewder man it is doubtful if this transition could have been effected so smoothly or so easily, if at all.

When D. S. Senanayake became leader of the State Council in 1942, the movement for independence was in the doldrums. The British Government always found an excuse for not considering Ceylon's claims and this was in a sense heightened, by the one might almost say uninspiring, leadership of Sir Baron Jayatilaka, who was responsible for such blunders as the Pan-Sinhalese ministry of 1936. Under D. S. Senanayake however, the agitation for constitutional reform took an entirely new line. His method was not so much to fight against the Imperial Government as to co-operate. He showed that Ceylon's goodwill was essential to Britain for the successful conduct of the war in Asia and he gave all possible aid to the Commander-in-Chief through the War Council. This policy of co-operation paid off in the Declaration of 1943, where it was promised that constitutional reforms would be granted after the war, and that the Ministers could in the meantime draft their own proposals. In July 1944, however, disregarding this mandate given to the Ministers, the British Government appointed a commission to inquire and report on reforms for Ceylon. To D. S. Senanayake this was a stab in the back. He had co-operated and helped the British in their war effort in the hour of need, and now after his own proposals were ready, a commission had been appointed. Accordingly the State Council decided by a large majority to boycott the Commission, and none of the Ministers gave evidence before the Commissioners.

But in October 1945, when the Soulbury Report was published, the Ministers had little to grumble about. The constitution proposed by the commissioners was a replica of the Ministers' Draft, with some minor and inconsequential changes. A short time after, a White Paper was issued, indicating that the British Government had accepted the recommendations in the Report, and laying down the outlines of the proposed new constitution. To Senanayake and the State Council a fateful decision had to be made, was the White Paper to be accepted or not. It is true the White Paper fell short of the aspirations to Dominion Status, but then it did away with the blind alley of the Donoughmore Constitution and established a parliamentary system of government which had been the goal of the Ceylonese national movement for over 75

years. What is more, as Senanayake showed in the very able speech he made on recommending the acceptance of the proposed reforms, once a parliamentary system of government was created, the path to Dominion Status was easier, for only the few restrictions on independence had to be removed while the constitution itself remained unchanged. It is here that Senanayake's greatness lies, for he had the wisdom and the shrewdness to see the benefits of the proposed scheme, and he had the courage to see it through the Council, through he had been opposed to the commission that recommended it. A comparision with the experience of India would make this clearer. The leaders of India had a similar decision to make when the Cripps Offer was made in 1942. They rejected the offer since it fell short of the goal of Dominion Status, and as a result had to wait five more years and also see the partition of their state. It is difficult to see today what India gained by her refusal of the offer. Senanayake's was a sounder view, in his own words "a man should not refuse bread because it is not cake."

The events that followed the acceptance of the White Paper are too well known to require lengthy mention. The Soulbury Constitution was proclaimed in November 1947 and Ceylon achieved Dominion Status 3 months later. No lengthy or difficult modifications were required in the constitution to mark the switch-over. Looking back today, the wisdom of accepting the Soulbury reforms is obvious, but it did not sound so in 1945 when Senanayake decided to accept them. The tradition of constitutional agitation in India and to some extent in Ceylon too, had been to reject "bread because it was not cake" and it required a man of the calibre of D. S. Senanayake to see through a hostile Council, a resolution accepting the Soulbury reforms, which to all intents was a "surrender" to Whitehall, since if fell short of the goal of Dominion Status.

The speech D. S. Senanayake made in the State Council recommending the acceptance of the White Paper in November 1945 is considered to be the best and most forceful speech he ever made. It shows a mature political wisdom and moderation, a mastery of detail, and a knowledge of constitutional niceties that would do honour to a pundit. The State Council accepted the Bill by a vote of 51 to 3. The text of the speech is from the *Hansard* for 1945.

After an absence of four months, I feel almost as if I were making a maiden speech. I am happy that my maiden speech should be on a subject so vital to the welfare of this country. I crave the indulgence of the House if it is unworthy of the occasion.

I was invited to London by Colonel Oliver Stanley, but my negotiations were conducted with the new Secretary of State, Mr. Hall. I should like at the outset to bear witness to the encouragement which I received from both of them. It has been a weakness in our case that we have had to correspond by telegrams. They have not known the depth of our feelings: we have been suspicious of their intentions. Colonel Stanley was Colonial Secretary for most of the war. He was aware of the importance of our co-operation in the war effort: he was anxious to secure our political advancement: in him, I am convinced, we have a true friend.

Mr. Hall—who is, if I may say so, a miner like myself—came fresh to the problems of Ceylon. It was inevitable that he, and the Government of which he was a member, should require time for the consideration of our problems. That he and they approached them with sympathy is proved by the result. For the declaration which I ask you to accept is better than the Declaration of 1943, better than the Ministers' draft, and better than the Soulbury Report.

I had a very full and fair hearing, not only from the Secretary of State himself but also from all the officials concerned with Ceylon in the Colonial Office. I put the case for Lanka in all its strength and with all my force. Possibly there might have been a better advocate; certainly there could not have been a fairer or more patient judge. I was, I fear, a bit of a nuisance.

The end of the European War had created a host of problems. The General Election produced a change of Government early in my stay. It was, no doubt, a useful lesson to see the British people exhibit their political maturity, their quiet jubilation over political victory, and their calm acceptance of political defeat. This surely is how democracy ought to be carried on. The people had spoken; one Government moved out and the other moved in; the machine went on turning under entirely new management. Still, every current problem, including our own, had to be thought out afresh. The officials knew the minds of one set of Ministers and knew how they would probably decide; they had first to instruct and then to study the minds of the successors. Then came the end of the Japanese War with a new set of problems, most of them affecting the Colonial Office itself. In this ocean of trouble Ceylon must have seemed but a speck. In spite of these difficulties our problems received priority, and we are indeed very grateful to Mr. Hall and His Majesty's Government for so speeding-up their decisions that we are able n the very first week of our meeting after the recess to consider them.

Before I explain why I recommend that the new proposals be accepted, I must pay a tribute to the Donoughmore Commission. Of the dead, nothing but good should be said: and, unless this motion is rejected, the Donoughmore Constitution is dead. We were not much in love with it, and we could see it die without a murmur. We must not forget though, that it was the Donoughmore Constitution which first gave us a measure of responsibility, which enabled us to show that we were capable of self-government, and which gave us power to tackle some of the social and economic problems of the country. For these things we are most grateful.

The motion which I have the honour and the privilege to propose is the culmination of a long development. For forty years the men of two generations have fought for freedom. Now, freedom is within our grasp. Since the first steps are always the most difficult, our gratitude must be accorded especially

to those of the past generation who saw the vision of Free Lanka far off among the hills, who strove to make the first breaches in the bureaucratic wall that surrounded us, and who died ignorant of the fact that before the turn of the century there could be a Ceylonese Government responsible to a Ceylonese Parliament. Their names will always be honoured among us: Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, the father of the Ceylon National Congress to whom we owe a great deal for our political progress,—it is a source of very great pleasure to me to see, seated alongside of me to-day, the worthy son of that distinguished patriot; Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Sir James Peiris, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Mr. E. J. Samarawickrama and, I hope I may add, Mr. F. R. Senanayake. To the names of those whose memory we honour, I should like to add among others the names of my colleague, Mr. George E. de Silva, the President of the Ceylon National Congress, and my good friend, Mr. G. A. Wille, both of whom I am happy to find present here to-day. No doubt, many of us have made mistakes; no doubt, there are episodes that we would rather ignore; no doubt, there have been controversies among us; but today, when we see their efforts about to be crowned with success, we forget all that and remember only the breadth of their vision, the depth of their feeling, and the height of their ambition for their country which led them, day in and day out, through droughts and depressions, through dangers and difficulties, to press on to the distant goal that we are now approaching. It is our duty to-day to be worthy of their memory.

The history of the present agitation begins with the resolution passed by this House in 1942, demanding Dominion Status. The response was disappointing, but the Ministers pressed on and in 1943 secured the Declaration of that year. It did not contain all that we wanted; it contained reservations that we dislike: but it offered us a Constitution framed by ourselves which would have enabled us to take the next step without further constitutional amendment. So long as the Donoughmore Constitution was in operation we were stopped from further advancement. We had to replace it by something which could be developed into Dominion Status.

Let me say at this point that throughout this period the Ministers have had in view one objective, and one objective only, the attainment of the maximum of freedom. Accusations about Sinhalese domination have been bandied about. We can afford to ignore them, for it must be plain to everyone that what we sought was not Sinhalese domination but Ceylonese domination.

The road to freedom was by no means straight. That we were correct in our procedure is proved by paragraph 12 of the White Paper, and I am glad that His Majesty's Government has had the courage and the generosity to admit that we were right. We did all that we were asked to do and with a speed which, I think, surprised Whitehall. The procedure was changed not by us but by His Majesty's Government, and the change was due solely to the representations of the minorities. After those representations His Majesty's Government felt that the whole question should be examined by a Commission. We protested, as we were bound to do, at what we regarded as a breach of an undertaking. I am convinced, after hearing the case put in London, that the change was due to an excess of caution. It was felt that the minorities should be given every opportunity of proving their case, if they could. They were given every opportunity, and they took it. The Ministers allowed their draft to speak for itself. If the Commission wanted to see anything, we showed it to them, but we gave no evidence. The fact that we gave no evidence has had two excellent results. First, the minorities said what they pleased and how they pleased. The Ministers were relieved of the temptation to retaliate. In his way we were, I hope, able to avoid adding to the bitterness and ill-will that we so correctly prophesied in 1941. If anybody ought to feel aggrieved it was those who were so bitterly attacked: but we do not feel aggrieved because

the verdict has been in our favour. Secondly, that verdict is the more impressive because we left our proposals to speak for themselves. No reasonable person can now doubt the honesty of our intentions. We devised a scheme which gave heavy weightage to the minorities; we deliberately protected them against discriminatory legislation; we vested important powers in the Governor-General because we thought that the minorities would regard him as impartial; we decided upon an independent Public Services Commission so as to give an assurance that there should be no communalism in the Public Service. All these have been accepted by the Soulbury Commission and quoted by them as devices to protect the minorities. The accusation of Sinhalese domination has thus been shown to be false. I hope that the verdict will be accepted by all sections of the community, and that we can now go forward with the trust and mutual confidence upon which the welfare of this Island depends. I do not normally speak as a Sinhalese, and I do not think that the Leader of this Council ought to think of himself as a Sinhalese representative: but for once I should like to speak as a Sinhalese and to assert with all the force at my command that the interests of one community are the interests of all. We are one of another, whatever our race or creed. These accusations of rabid communalism were no doubt inevitable, but they hurt because they seemed to us to be so manifestly untrue. The recommendations of the Soulbury Commission show that, in the opinion of three eminent and disinterested persons from outside, they were untrue.

I hope that, if I pay my tribute to the members of the Commission, I shall not be thought to be doing so because they approved of our proposals. I am sure that those who gave evidence before them will agree with those who did not that they listened carefully and courteously to every point that was made and tried honestly to ascertain its value and importance. In Lord Soulbury we had that unique combinations so characteristic of English politics at its best, a scholar who was also a statesman. In Sir Frederick Rees we had a scholar who showed that he could master administrative details. Mr. Burrows showed us a type badly needed in this country. A labour leader who came from the people, who knew the people, and who had acquired a vast experience and a ripe judgment in fighting for the people. I am sure that all sections of this House will wish to join in congratulating him on his appointment as Governor of Bengal; Bengal with all her difficult problems is fortunate in having secured the assistance of his wide experience. We have acquired not only a Constitution, but also three friends in Great Britain who will not only follow our progress but who will, when the question arises as it soon will do, help us to attain our goal.

I come now to the proposals themselves. To determine the value of the Declaration of 1945 it is necessary to compare it with the Declaration of 1943. The Declaration of 1943 had merits, but it also had limitations. In very large measure those limitations have been swept away. I would summarise the changes as follows:—

Firstly —We have a specific promise of Dominion Status.
Secondly —The limitation of self-government to matters of internal civil administration has been removed.
Thirdly —The dyarchy implicit in the Governor-General's powers of legislation is swept away.
Fourthly —The Imperial control over defence and external affairs can be made effective only by Order in Council and by reservation of Bills.
Fifthly —The Imperial control does not extend to immigration, franchise, tariffs or shipping.
Sixthly —We have gained a power of amending our own Constitution, though subject to reservation.

Of these, the first four and partly the fifth were due to my visit to London. The fifth and sixth were claimed by the Ministers and accepted by the Soulbury Report.

The great advantage of the White Paper is that it gives us complete self-government and puts an end to Commissions. If honourable members study the White Paper alone they will obtain a false picture. It emphasises the restrictions and precautions. What they should study is the new Constitution. I have had a new draft prepared and I have compared it with the Constitutions of the Dominions. I can assure the House that there is nothing in it that might not be in the Constitution of a Dominion. In fact, in one respect it goes much further than any Dominion Constitution except that of Eire. It provides specifically and positively for responsible government; and this means responsible government in all matters of administration, civil and military, internal and external. The Declaration of 1945 provides for responsible government in matters of internal civil administration. We said in our interpretation that this could not mean that Ceylon Ministers were to be entirely deprived of functions relating to defence and external affairs. Accordingly, we included them among the ministerial functions, but at the same time we had to give legislative functions to the Governor or Governor-General, thus establishing a system of dyarchy. The Soulbury Commission strengthened these provisions by giving the Governor-General additional power to issue orders to Government servants and levy taxation. They also wanted full power to be reserved to the King-in-Council. In London I urged strongly that dyarchy would not work and that it would break down whenever the Governor-General tried to use his powers. I said that no controls at all were necessary but that if they were insisted upon the only workable scheme was to do as the Soulbury Commission suggested and reserve legislative power to the King-in-Council. His Majesty's Government have accepted this argument and have swept dyarchy out of the way. This means that all functions of government are vested in the Parliament and Government of Ceylon. Unless the King-in-Council steps in, we shall have complete control of our own affairs.

There will be, it is true, the power of the Crown to legislate by Order-in-Council. The actual provision is in Article 98 of the present Order-in-Council. That was not in our draft, but it was implicit in the Sri Lanka Bill. If that Bill had been assented to, it would not have taken away the power of the King-in-Council to legislate for Sri Lanka; for it would have been only an Ordinance enacted under an Order-in-Council which itself reserved in Article 98 full power to the King to legislate for Ceylon. No Ordinance could take that power away. It can be taken away only by another Order-in-Council.

It is true that there is no such provision in any Dominion Constitution, but the House must remember that for legal and historical reasons the Dominion Constitutions, except that of Newfoundland, were in Acts of Parliament. Accordingly, they could be amended only by Act of Parliament. It is, of course, easier to legislate by Order-in-Council than by Act of Parliament; but owing to the British party system a government can get its legislation through Parliament by using its party majority. Actually, the British Parliament suspended the Constitution of Newfoundland in 1933, it legislated for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in 1937, and it amended the Constitution of Canada in 1940. I know that in each case this was done at the request of the Dominion concerned, but I am coming to that point presently. What I am emphasising is that, in Ceylon, the King-in-Council will be able to legislate, while in the Dominions the King-in-Parliament can legislate. That is the only difference between our new Constitution and that of a Dominion.

While I am on this point, I had better explain the rather obscure reference in the White Paper to the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act of 1939. The Legal Secretary can explain this better than I, but my understanding of it is

this. His Majesty's Government wishes to make certain that if any grave emergency arises in the Island, such as a war or a complete breakdown of civil administration, there will be adequate powers to deal with it. The actual phrase used in the Act is: "the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty's Government may be engaged, and for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community." What is proposed is that a sort of dormant Order-in-Council shall be passed, which the Governor can bring into operation by Proclamation, and which will then enable him to make Defence Regulations. It is obviously a power to be used in case of grave emergency only, and the possibility of its use during the interim period is remote.

Besides the power to enact Orders-in-Council for the Island, there will be only one restriction on full self-government in the Constitution. It will be a power to reserve Bills relating to certain classes of matters. There will be six such classes, including Defence, External Affairs, Currency, Extraordinary Measures, Minority Discrimination and Constitutional Amendments. The House will not expect me to give a disquisition on these classes, which have been the subject of much discussion and much careful drafting. I will mention only that, subject to minor qualifications, they do not apply to Immigration, the Franchise, Trade Agreements within the Commonwealth, Tariffs or Shipping. We shall have to watch the drafting very carefully and see that the powers are not abused when they come into operation. What I would like to emphasise is that they are powers only to reserve Bills. Under the Declaration of 1943 the Governor was to have powers of legislation also. Those have been swept away. What is more, it was on our insistence that Immigration, the Franchise, Tariffs and Shipping were expressly excluded. In relation to shipping, in fact, the White Paper goes beyond the Ministers' draft.

I would also like to emphasise that these powers of reservation are actually less than those in most of the Dominion Constitutions. In Canada, Australia and New Zealand the Governor-General still has power to reserve any Bill whatsoever. In South Africa he had the same power until 1934. Even in the Irish Free State there was such a power until 1937. In New Zealand and the Australian States certain classes of Bills must be reserved: and until the Constitution of Newfoundland was suspended in 1933, the Governor was instructed to reserve eight classes of Bills, including some of those in our list. Further, the present Constitutions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand authorise the King-in-Council to DISALLOW any legislation. There was a similar power in Newfoundland under its old Constitution and in South Africa before 1934. There will be no such power in the Ceylon Constitution, though, of course, the same result can be achieved under the reserved power to legislate by Order-in-Council.

These two, the reserved power of legislation and the power to reserve Bills for the Royal Assent, will be the only limitations on complete self-government in our Constitution, and I think I have proved to the House that they are not essentially different from those still in operation in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The difference will be, if there is a difference, in the extent to which the powers are exercised. These powers exist in the Dominions, but they have fallen into disuse, and, in fact, it has been agreed at Imperial Conferences that they can be used only at the request of the Dominion Government concerned. This is where the evolutionary theory of the White Paper becomes important. Dominion Status was the product of a slow development. When Lord Durham recommended responsible government for Canada in 1840, he expressly excluded defence, external affairs, trade, immigration and Crown lands. By 1860 self-government included trade, immigration and Crown lands. Defence and external affairs were included much more slowly, and it was not until 1919 that the Dominions could be said to be really autonomous in defence and external affairs, and by this time the Dominions had voluntarily raised large

Armies and even Navies. With the exception of Canada, they still depend on Great Britain for assistance in their defence. They help Great Britain and Great Britain helps them. It was on such a basis that I requested Dominion Status with an agreement about defence; for it must be obvious to everyone who witnessed Japanese aggression that we are not at present capable of defending ourselves. Besides, I knew that if Great Britain maintained Naval and Air Bases in Ceylon we should profit considerably from Imperial expenditure. However, Great Britain is not at present prepared to go so far. They have offered us something like the Dominion Status of 1914 or the Dominion Status which Newfoundland had before 1933. It is full self-government, internal and external, subject to two restrictions.

To get full Dominion Status, four steps are necessary. First, we must make certain that the restrictive powers are not used. They are obviously intended to be used only in exceptional cases. If they are abused, we may rely on any Government of Ceylon to protest, and to protest vigorously. What we have to do is to cause these powers to decay through disuse. We knew that once we had responsible government we could extend it in that way. The House will remember that as long ago as June, 1943, we used the phrase "decay through disuse." Secondly, we must secure admission to Imperial Conferences. I have already asked for this, and I think we should press for it at the next Imperial Conference. We shall be as autonomous as Canada and Australia were in 1911, and as Newfoundland was in 1930. We have a point of view to express which differs fundamentally from those of the White Dominions, and we should be allowed to express it. Thirdly, Ceylon must be transferred to the Dominions Office. I asked for this in London, but it has been refused. Finally, we must get the Statute of Westminster extended to Ceylon. I asked for this too, though I knew it was a complicated matter, and I did not want self-government held up while it was being discussed and time found for it in the House of Commons.

None of these four steps depends primarily on the people of Ceylon, and in this sense the theory that Dominion Status can come by evolution is a fiction. What the White Paper really means is that if the new Constitution works well and it proves unnecessary to use the restrictive powers, full equality of status will be accorded to us. "His Majesty's Government" says the White Paper, "are in sympathy with the desire of the people of Ceylon to advance towards Dominion Status and they are anxious to co-operate with them to that end." Further, His Majesty's Government hope "that the new Constitution will be accepted by the people of Ceylon with a determination so to work it that in a comparatively short space of time such Dominion Status will be evolved."

I did not get all that I asked. I wanted Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster and I asked that the question of a Second Chamber be left to the new legislature. What I did get was a great advance on the Declaration of 1943, the Ministers' draft, and the Soulbury Report. But the question for this House is not whether this offer is all that we deserve or desire. The question is whether to keep the Donoughmore Constitution and start the agitation again from the point that we reached in 1941 or whether to jump nine-tenths of the way and put ourselves in a favourable position to take the last step forward. The fundamental difference between the White Paper and the Donoughmore Constitution is that it does enable us to achieve Dominion Status without a constitutional amendment of any kind and meanwhile gives us complete responsible government. We shall not need another Commission or another Constitution. All we shall need is a series of decisions by His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Government affirm quite positively that they are anxious to co-operate in our advance towards Dominion Status.

More than three years ago the Cripps offer was made to India and was rejected because it did not go far enough. Can anyone doubt that India would be in a far better position to-day if it had been accepted? A man should not refuse bread merely because it is not cake.

So far as I can see, the only people against accepting the White Paper are the various communist parties and the rump of the All-Ceylon Union of Tamils. Of the communist parties I need say nothing. They agree only in not being able to agree. Nor is there much to be said of the Tamil Congress. They submitted a Constitution which would have given less freedom than the Donoughmore Constitution. They have learned nothing since 1928.

I have no doubt that every member of this House could improve the White Paper if he were given the opportunity. We are not being asked to amend it. We are asked to accept or reject it. A vote for an amendment is, in fact, a vote of rejection. I hope, therefore, that every member of this House who desires our freedom will support the motion, which states emphatically that we want more and which makes it plain that we accept the White Paper for an interim period only.

I would like to appeal especially to my minority friends. I appeal first to the Europeans. No people in the world are so loyal to their own Government. Their Government has decided and we are offering to accept the decision. It is true that their own case has been rejected. But my friends come from a nation of sportsmen accustomed to accept defeat with good-humoured resignation. I saw one of their greatest Prime Ministers accept a defeat with a joke on his lips. No man has ever had so great a rebuff after so great a triumph: but there he was on the Front Opposition Bench playing the game as it ought to be played. I have not the slightest doubt that the European members will follow his excellent example and help us to carry out the policy of His Majesty's Government.

I appeal secondly to the Indians. In no country in the world have the struggles of the Indian leaders for freedom been followed with such sympathy as in Ceylon. We admire the sacrifices which these leaders have made. The religions of the great mass of our people came from India. The cultural revival in India has been an inspiration to us. There have certainly been difficulties between India and Ceylon, but they were differences between alien Governments and not between free peoples. There is one way to solve those difficulties, to get rid of what Mahatma Gandhi once called "the third party" and to have a free India and a free Ceylon. I am sure that our Indian friends, who are so anxious for freedom for India, will not obstruct freedom for Ceylon. A vote against this motion is a vote not only for the servitude of Ceylon, but for the servitude of India also, for the problem of India is only the problem of Ceylon on a vaster scale.

I come next to the Burghers. Their future is bound up with the future of the Ceylonese as a whole. In the new Constitution they will find the place to which their energy, their initiative and their high standard of education entitled them. They have only one representative under the Donoughmore Constitution, but he has been in the forefront of the political agitation from the beginning. The Constitution which we are proposing to accept is based on a model which he admires and has studied deeply. I am sure that he will not vote against us.

We all admire the moderation with which the Muslims have stated their case. They did not produce a fictitious story of Sinhalese oppression. All they asked for was adequate representation. We tried to meet their needs in our scheme, and the Soulbury Commission has improved upon it. The Muslims supported the Sri Lanka Bill and I am sure they will support this, which is even more favourable to them.

There remain only the Tamils. I would that I could be equally complimentary to their leadership. They have asked for the moon and have received only what we offered without any asking. I am sure that their great men of the last generation would have been with us in this great struggle for freedom. For centuries the Sinhalese and the Tamils have lived together in peace and amity. We have been governed by their kings and they by ours. I cannot believe that they are solidly behind the reactionary elements which have seized the headlines. What is the good of six pages of long-winded resolutions at this stage of our history? I put this question bluntly to my Tamil friends. Do you want to be governed from London or do you want, as Ceylonese, to help govern Ceylon? I appeal to them not to let the ambition of a few politicians stand in the way of the freedom of our dear Lanka. Shall the most ancient of our civilisations sink to the level of dull and dreary negation? We all know and admire their special qualities. They are essential to the welfare of this Island, and I ask them to come over and help us.

The question before the House is whether it wants the White Paper, with its promise of Dominion Status in a comparatively short space of time or the Donoughmore Constitution and another long period of political agitation. It is not a question of amending or improving. A vote for an amendment is a vote for the Donoughmore Constitution. It is a specific offer to which there are only two answers: Yes and No. We are asked to vote for a composite scheme to which every member of this Council has contributed. The Soulbury Commissioners have testified to the good work done in this House, which has now lasted ten years. We are offered this new scheme because of the success with which this Council has worked a most difficult Constitution for the past ten years. What impressed His Majesty's Government was not the details of the Ministers' scheme but the favourable verdict in the first three chapters of the Soulbury Report. They have said in effect that if we could do so well under the Donoughmore Constitution we could do even better under a Constitution of our own devising. There is no legislature in the world where the members have been so actively associated with the social and economic development of the country. The Soulbury Report and the White Paper are a verdict in favour of this Council.

The present proposal is for an interim period. We want Dominion Status in the shortest possible space of time. To achieve it we must show not only that we have successfully worked the self-government that the White Paper promises but also that we are fundamentally agreed no matter what may be our politics of our communities. In a short time the Cabinet will demand the fulfilment of the promise in the White Paper. Their hands can be immensely strengthened by this House and NOW. Every time we ask for a constitutional advance we are met by the argument that we are not agreed. Let us show that we are agreed by accepting this motion with a majority so overwhelming that nobody dares to use the argument against us again. I am not asking for a majority: I am asking for an unanimous vote.

And for what are you being asked to vote? It is a motion to wipe out the Donoughmore Constitution with all its qualifications and limitations, and to place the destinies of this country in the hands of its people. It is a motion to end our political subjection and to enable us to devote ourselves to the welfare of the Island freed from these interminable constitutional disputes. A vote for this motion is a vote for Lanka, and it is a pleasure and a privilege to move it.

Mr. Speaker, I move that—

> "This House expresses its disappointment that His Majesty's Government have deferred the admission of Ceylon to full Dominion Status but in view of the assurance contained in the White Paper of October 31 .

1945, that His Majesty's Government will co-operate with the people of Ceylon so that such status may be attained by this country in a comparatively short time, this House resolves that the Constitution offered in the said White Paper be accepted during the interim period."

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (Minister of Local Administration) seconded the motion.

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON ON THE QUALITIES REQUIRED OF PUBLIC SERVANTS, OCTOBER 1947

The establishment of a disciplined, efficient and contented public service was a goal which D. S. Senanayake cherished very highly. This was the more necessary after the achievement of independence, for now the variety and content of administrative functions became wider while Ceylon could no longer look up to Englishmen to continue the high standards of administration that had been set up by the Colonial Government. Senanayake had served in the legislatures of Ceylon for over 25 years and could speak on the need for a good public service with an experience that few else could command. He knew that without a sound administrative system the achievement of self-government could mean nothing. It was with these views in mind that Senanayake delivered his Convocation Address on the "Qualities Required of Public Servants" at the University of Ceylon in 1947.

The public servant whom Ceylon would appreciate most was the one who had an interest in the country and in his job and who was willing to make personal sacrifices for the public benefit. No graduate could be a good public servant unless he could be really interested in the people with whom he worked, converse in their language, be willing to endure hardships, have a general knowledge of the Island and her needs, and use their intelligence in thinking out how conditions could be improved.

It was specially with a view to creating public servants of this calibre that the residential University of Ceylon was established at Peradeniya. Education was not only that which could be got from books, but that which one acquired through games, general reading, the intimate contact with other minds which a residential University affords, and from many other sources. The good public servant was born out of education in its broadest sense. In concluding his address D. S. Senanayake pointed out the dangers of the University segregating itself in Peradeniya, cut away from the life and problems of the people of Ceylon, a warning which the University could do well to recall today.

The Convocation Address was delivered on October 17, 1947 at King George's Hall, Colombo and is here reproduced from the *University of Ceylon Review* for the same year.

THE QUALITIES REQUIRED OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

I think I should begin this address to you with a confession. I have hitherto had the belief that a Convocation Address at a University must be delivered by one who has achieved a high reputation for scholarship. I confess that, when the Vice-Chancellor pressed his invitation on me to address you today, I was much perturbed. As you know, it has taken me a much longer time to reach this platform than those of you who have just graduated. Yet I felt I ought not to refuse the Vice-Chancellor's invitation to speak to you at this, your fifth General Convocation, for I believe that I may speak with some experience but much sincerity on a theme that seems to need expression on public occasions like this.

I wish, however, in the first place to congratulate the University on it's progress. It's popularity is witnessed by it's numbers. In 1942 it had 900 students; today it has 1,550, and I am told that 1,500 students are trying to secure admission through this year's Entrance Examination. That your academic standards are being maintained I have no doubt whatever. It is obvious that, if standards are equal, an education which is adapted to local conditions is better than one which is not. It is said that it is a common failing with us Ceylonese that we do not appreciate local products. We tend to think that the imported article must necessarily be better. And it says much for the quality of our University that its graduates can more than hold their own with others in almost every sphere of our public life.

This brings me to my subject, the qualities required of graduates who wish to enter the Public Service. I have not been a Minister for sixteen years without forming views about the qualities of Public Servants, and perhaps you will allow me to express some of them. I do not think it is out of place to state here that I consider that we have been very fortunate in having a body of Public Servants whose standards of efficiency and integrity and devotion to the general public interest are no whit inferior to similar standards elsewhere in the world. But this does not mean that there is no room to improvement, or that we need not dispassionately appraise their qualities.

As you know, there are certain cases in which high technical qualifications are required. This applies especially to Lawyers, Doctors, Dental Surgeons, Engineers, Scientists, and Veterinary Surgeons. There are, however, a good many things that cannot be learned from books. Nobody in this Hall would allow himself to be operated on by a surgeon whose only qualification was that he had obtained a First Class in the Final Examination. To academic knowledge must be added experience and certain personal qualities which I will presently mention. In other cases, notably the Civil Service, we ask for no technical knowledge at all, but expect a high academic standard which is evidence of ability and power of concentration. But once the graduate enters the service we forget what sort of degree he has and judge him by what he does. Finally, there are many cases where we require only the minimum academic qualification and are more concerned with other qualifications. Candidates for such posts often think that they should be selected according to their degrees, a First Class being preferred to a Second Class and a Second Class to a Pass. This ignores the fact that academic qualifications are for this purpose far less important than other qualifications.

One qualification which an officer must possess is interest in his job. He is of no great use to the community if he merely carries through the routine and escapes as soon as possible to his bridge or tennis. We have officials of that type, the sort of official who regards the Public Service as a means for getting a salary, a dowry and a pension of sufficient amount to enable him to keep a wife and a car, educate his children in the best schools, maintain a large house, join a club, and generally spend his leisure in comfort. The leisure

of such a man provides his real life. His job merely provides the means for enjoying his leisure. There are, on the other hand, officials whose life is in the job and whose leisure is a means for keeping than fit for the job. They do this work with enthusiasm even when it consists largely of routine. They do everything possible to get to know their job better, either by reading about it or by going into the field and learning about it. They develop ideas which they put into practice. They try experiments. And very soon, you will find, they are noted for early promotion.

No employer is satisfied with the sort of employee who merely does with bare efficiency what he is told to do but no more. The Government, especially a democratic Government elected from and by the people, is entitled to ask for energy and enthusiasm. It is often said that the Government ought to be the model employer and the statement can perhaps be justified. But in that case the Government Servant should be the model employee. Patriotic sentiment alone should require a high sense of duty. To live for the sake of one's leisure is a poor sort of life. It is even poorer when the leisure is used for purely selfish ends. A democratic Government is entitled at all times to ask for the willing service of its citizens. The Government Servant ought to set the standard in patriotic zeal. You will, in fact, find that our best officials have very little leisure. When their offices are closed they are reading papers at home, or learning more of the technical aspects of the service in which they are engaged, or serving on committees, or going out among the people, or otherwise helping the advancement of the country.

It has often come to my notice that graduates simultaneously apply for posts in several departments of Government. They apparently had no very strong preference because, after all, they were all Government jobs. Other things being equal, they seemed to prefer the one which kept them in Colombo. They had not thought which job was the more interesting, or the more useful to the community. In fact, very often they knew nothing about the job expect the title. They had not even taken the trouble to find out what they would have to do if they were appointed. You will no doubt appreciate that from the point of view of Government this was the wrong sort of approach. It is a justifiable presumption that a graduate who sought a post because of it's salary and prospects alone and who was not sufficiently interested to find out what sort of post it was would probably display the same lackadaisical attitude if he were appointed.

This presumption, can of course, be rebutted. And a person who has read the appropriate Ordinance is not necessarily the sort of officer we want. He must have character and personality. I do not know whether the educationists consider that character is innate or inherited. I should myself conclude from observation that in large measure. It is acquired by education. Certainly what we seek to ascertain is whether the candidates have displayed character in their schools and at the University. High academic qualifications are in themselves some evidence, for we know that such qualifications are not obtained without concentration and consistent application. But the student who shuts himself up with his books is unlikely to be of much use to us, except perhaps in the Archives. Practically every job in the Government Service requires energy and initiative, leadership, ability to work with superiors and control subordinates, and other qualities that no examination can test. It is useful to know which candidates play games. What is important is not that a candidate has run the hundred yards in ten seconds or hit a century in the Royal-Thomian Match, but the self-discipline which must arise from playing games, especially team games. Success in organising societies is another useful quality. I do too much talking myself to have much faith in talkers. But administration is a very difficult art and those who have acquired some experience of it in University committees are likely to be useful afterwards.

There is one aspect of games which I would like to mention specially. An official who goes down with influenza every time the wind blows is not of much use to the Government. Nor must he have been so coddled by his family that he dare not go into the jungle in case he meets a mosquito. The town-bred student suffers in any event under a serious handicap; it is made more serious if he has never been at the bottom of a disorganised scrum or torn out the last effort in the three miles or shown by some other means that he is physically fit. In fact, I have been distressed by the poor physique of many of our graduates. Few of them seem to realise that physical fitness is one of the necessities. The Vice-Chancellor tells me that a system of Medical Examination is being organised, but I think you need more than, that muscle and brawn are no substitute for intelligence, but there is no need to ignore the claims of physical education. I hope that when you go to Peradeniya, if not before, something more will be done to encourage physical fitness.

I wish also to say a few words to the women graduates. There are many avenues of employment in the Public Services of this Island where the special qualities that we associate with the sex, gentleness and tenderness, can be made use of to the best advantage of the community. The benefit of the high general education that you receive at this University can never be altogether lost, whether you decide on home-making or on a vocational career. In both cases that education can be applied to purpose. For instance, I suggest that the manner in which you react to the transfer to a remote outstation of your husband or other close male relation may be regarded as a test of the education you have received. The best men are often required to serve in the most backward areas, for it is those areas that most need to be developed. It is surely you patriotic duty to encourage and sustain the officers engaged in this important task rather than embarrass them and the authorities by sighing aloud for a return to the amenities of civilization.

Indeed to all graduates, men and women alike, I should like to emphasise the importance of a knowledge of the people of the Island. One of the most important features of the University is that it knows no barriers of race, religion or caste. In this respect it has given a lead to the rest of the country, which, I hope, the rest will follow. Even so, you must remember that most graduates come from the English educated classes in a few provinces—the Western, the Southern, the Central and the Northern. Our educational system has not yet progressed so far that the University can skim the cream of intellect from every part of the country. In fact, most graduates come from the schools in Colombo, Kandy, Galle and Jaffna. Those are important towns, but they contain only a small section of the people. Most of the problems of Government relate to the people of the villages and the estates. They have needs and aspirations which are remote from those of the town-dwellers and which town-bred students will not understand unless they make an effort to understand. The first steps towards understanding is interest. If you go into the villages as a condescending Public Servant you will never learn anything. You must be able to talk to the villagers in their own language, and this means not merely that you must learn colloquial Sinhalese or Tamil—or better still both of them—but the set of ideas which the villager possesses. You may have obtained a First Class Honours Degree in Sinhalese, and yet know nothing whatever of village lore about paddy; and until you do you will be of little use in the Departments of Agriculture, Irrigation, Land Settlement, Co-operatives, Agricultural Marketing, and so on—in fact, all the Departments in the Ministries of Agriculture and Food.

There is, in fact, a gulf between the English-educated classes and the mass of the people that the Government Servant must attempt to bridge before his work can have any success. Moreover, the close relationship between Ministers and officials implied in the cabinet system cannot be attained if the official does not understand why the Ministers and other Members of Parliament

are so insistent on the needs of the people of the countryside. I do not for one moment deny the importance of the major economic problems of the country; but it has to be remembered that our objective is not to raise the standard of living in Cinnamon Gardens but to secure as high a standard of life as we can for the great mass of the people who are barely at subsistence level. The great majority of our problems in relation to production, health, education, social services, and so on, are village problems and the segregation of the intelligenzia in the towns is a great misfortune. It will be a little better, but only a little better, to be segregated in Peradeniya. I know that most of the time of University students must be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge from books; but there is also a knowledge to be acquired in the country, a knowledge not only of people and ways of life but also of cultivation, plants, insects, birds and animals. I wish it were possible to compel every student to spend a year in a village as a villager. Since it is not, I suggest that you should spend some part of your vacations in tramping through the jungles or cycling through the villages. Some of you go on picnics to Anuradhapura, Sigiriya and some of the historic shrines. I do not want to discourage you from obtaining inspiration from our ancient glories; but you will learn little of the North Central Province by going to and from Anuradhapura in a bus. If you join the Public Service you may have to spend days in jungle villages camping out and never talking to people who can speak English. In making appointments, therefore, we have to ascertain which are the candidates suited to this kind of life. The town-dweller whose greatest adventure is to drive to Nuwara Eliya is fitted for few of the posts in the Public Service.

What is wanted is an education in the broadest sense, an education which has given not only intellectual qualities of a high order but also integrity, physical fitness, personality, and a knowledge of the country, its people and its problems. Local knowledge cannot be acquired by residence at an English University, or by working for an external degree of an English University. It may however be obtained through the University of Ceylon. I am glad to find that the University is branching out into new fields where practical experience is required—Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Engineering. As Minister of Agriculture and Lands under the Donoughmore Constitution I did my best to help. I shall be no less ready to help, now that the broader responsibilities of Prime Minister have fallen to my lot.

The future of the country lies not with the birds of passage who have been elected to Parliament but with the young men and women of the country of whom you are a highly selected example. For the great part of two years you have had free University education at the public expense and even before then your education was highly subsidised. Whether you enter the Public Service or not it is your duty to devote your talents to the public benefit. In whatever career you chose I wish you success, and trust you will not be found wanting.

SPEECH DELIVERED OVER THE B. B. C. ON THE "MIDDLE WAY" OF MODERATION AS A PATH TO PEACE, JANUARY 1951

In January 1951 when D. S. Senanayake was in London to attend his third Commonwealth Conference, he delivered an address over the B. B. C. which evoked much interest in both England and Ceylon. The speech is notable for several reasons, it treats of the unity of South-East Asia and the need for these countries to act in concert in world affairs, in a sense anticipating the Colombo Powers and Bandung, it speaks of the need to mobilise the moral

power of the world for establishing peace, and the adoption of the Buddhist "middle way" in the settlement of international disputes, and finally it was a call for neutralism in international affairs at a time when neutralism was by no means the fashion among the countries of the world.

The speech outlines the importance of South-East Asia to the world economy and shows its strategic value to both the opposing camps in the cold war. It also envisages these newly independent countries acting together in world affairs and thus anticipates the Colombo Powers and the Bandung conference. World peace however can not be born out of power politics and the methods of preserving peace hitherto adopted such as through the international aristocracy of states maintaining a balance of power, or by an assembly of states such as the League of Nations or the U. N. O., have not been successful. They have all sought to mobilise the physical power of the world not its moral power. Asia, which is the birth place of the great religions cannot accept force as the only way to peace. Their philosophy of life has a solution for conflict, namely the adoption of the "middle way" of moderation, in politics and world affairs.

The speech could also be classed among D. S. Senanayake's best known speeches and is here reproduced form *The Listener* of Jan 18th 1951.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE FUTURE

MY own country, Ceylon, is the smallest single entity in the vast region of South-East Asia. Today, South-East Asia, weak and somewhat dazed, finds herself launched into a world of troubles and cross-currents. The region is the home of some 500,000,000 people of different races and religions, but they all share a common background of oriental culture. They are cut off by high mountains and stretches of ocean from the rest of the world, and they are cut off from each other also because they have been under different foreign dominations.

So these countries of South-East Asia only awoke to the idea that they made a cohesive whole, as a region, a little while before the Second World War. By South-East Asia I mean the group of countries comprising India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Siam and the Philippines. I am not going to talk a great deal about the economic importance of this region, but here is a fantasy of mine which may suggest its importance to you: it is that if the countries of this region, weak and disjointed though it be, should ever feel obliged to agree that they should impose an economic sanction against the rest of the world, there would have to be a world conference to solve the deadlock. And this conference could not be held in Washington or London, Paris or Moscow, or Peking; it would have to be held in some central spot in South-East Asia itself.

If South-East Asia is a problem today, both for its own countries and for the rest of the world, it is largely because all the countries there were subject to colonial rule by Western Powers for several centuries. Nearly all of them

have become Independent Sovereign States since the last war. In ancient times they had highly developed civilisations, but under western colonial rule they have remained at an inferior level as far as material civilisation was concerned, while the West itself made rapid advances in scientific and industrial development. But the South-East Asian countries were not in a position to develop their own resources, they had to be content with supplying raw materials to feed the industries of the powers which dominated them. Those which were occupied by the Japanese had to pay a heavy toll in their resources, and the others also suffered from having to strain their economies to support the allied war effort.

In the past, national self-expression in these countries took the form of political agitation and discontent against the existing governments, for the people wanted their political freedom. Today they may not all be equally well-prepared—politically, administratively or economically—to exercise their new independence in the most wise or efficient way, but they have all absorbed the principles of democracy and they are all anxious to grow strong and healthy on democratic lines. What South-East Asia needs most today is a little breathing time. She wants to collect her thoughts, estimate her resources, both human and material, and plan her reconstruction.

There is a lot of talk nowadays about help from the greater Powers. It is natural, of course, for an under-developed country to expect assistance from her more developed neighbours, to whom she herself is of some value as a source of raw material, a market for industrial goods, or even a source of strength in friendly man power. But such help, whether it is technical, material or financial, is not the first need for the reconstruction of a nation. In fact, too much of that kind of help may reduce an under-developed country to a new kind of dependence, from which she might again have to struggle to escape. Some support in time of distress, or a grasp of a friendly hand on the hard road to progress is welcome. But it is part of our oriental philosophy that, for the salvation of the individual, he should be completely self-reliant, and that his personal effort alone can lead him to perfection.

What is good for the individual, we think, should be good for the nations. So what the nations of South-East Asia need first of all now are conditions which will make it possible for them to reconstruct their political, social and economic structure largely by their own efforts. A world at peace is, therefore, her first ar J foremost need, the world's goodwill next, and then some timely and appropriate assistance, if it can get it. When I say ' peace ' I am not referring to the sort of peace which is so much publicised by world peace congresses and the peace petitions. Their objective seems questionable. I mean a genuine settled peace among the nations of the world, big and small.

Now that the group of countries in South-East Asia have become independent, the question arises about their political relationship with the Powers and about their attitude in a divided world. For these countries not only command rich natural resources which the modern world urgently needs, they also command strategic positions which lie across the sea and land routes from the East to the West.

As peace is so vital to them at this point in their existence, they naturally incline to range themselves on the side of the Powers which are generally working towards peace. But the people of South-East Asia are very much puzzled by the ease and speed with which the Allies, who yesterday were fighting together against intolerance and violence, have now divided into two uncompromisingly hostile camps. Both camps declare from the United Nations, in their national assemblies, and on every conceivable occasion that each is working to safeguard the peace of the world. I cannot analyse their objective in a short talk like this. I can only deal with generalisations. But I am happy that I am speaking to the

understanding British public who, as shown by their Commonwealth idea, have an unrivalled genius for compromise and for discovering harmonising factors in what looks like conflicting ideas and interests.

The present world situation is rooted in the old, old play of power politics —a system which the nations of the world fought two world wars to immunise, and apparently in vain. From the sixteenth century to the outbreak of the First World War, Europe held sway in the world and at the beginning of the Twentieth Century her sway seemed unassailable and eternal. An oligarchy of the major European Powers assumed the function of regulating the conduct of international affairs and were capable of intervening effectually in any quarter of the globe, whether the scene affected them directly or not.

The international aristocracy of Sovereign States, jealous of their special positions, carefully chose their colleagues in the charmed circle. International peace was necessary *not* for the greater happiness of humanity, but to impose their own domination of the world, and it was maintained by a balance of power among themselves. When peace was disturbed by one or more of the group coveting world domination the oligarchy proceeded to restore the balance of power by force. After the war that ensued, the victor and vanquished would emerge bleeding and impoverished, and this meant that the composition of the oligarchy had to be re-arranged with due regard to the prestige of the great. Consideration for the happiness of humanity as a whole took second place, and the welfare of the oligarchy came first. Equality among Sovereign States was only in name. So other powers, whether middle-class or small, remained on the periphery and were powerless either to influence the delicate mechanism of the balance of power or to bring about greater stability in international affairs.

In the League of Nations and the United Nations organisation an attempt was, no doubt, made to base international authority more broadly, but those who could speak the language of the balance of power, with its war-making potential, still seemed to have it all their own way. The United Nations Organisation has now become an arena for power manoeuvres. The older among the Great Powers now realise the need to mobilise the moral power of the world in search of lasting peace in preference to mobilising the physical power, but some of the newcomers into the top rank have got to learn wisdom by experience. Though none of the major Powers genuinely desires the consequences of modern war, they seem unable to prevent the slow drift into arbitration by force. It is not as if they were not aware that a Third World War would reduce the world to barbarism—the greatest tragedy that civilisation may yet be called upon to face.

South-East Asia, which breaks into new life in this situation of the world, has naturally her own views about the problem, particularly as, should a conflict arise, every Sovereign State must sooner or later make a choice in sympathy with one or other of the contending parties. Besides the play of power politics we are also told of the existence in the world of two ways of life to choose from. But we have to be satisfied that there is no other way of life which is even better than the two ways now in conflict. The oriental mind will not be satisfied with political philosophy, whether of the right or left wing of the world oligarchy, which denies the higher values of mind and soul of man and seeks to clamp him down to a materialistic ideology which limits and stunts the growth of the individual.

Asia, which is the land of birth of all great religions and of high idealism, wonders whether humanity is really progressing towards realisation of ultimate truth and perfection, which is its goal, and whether the Great Powers are not placing too great an emphasis on the form of the machinery of government and improvement of the social and economic organisation of a nation as a means

of greater human happiness. We in the East, throughout long periods of struggle towards the light, have learned the bitter lessons of suspicion and fear, of greed and aggrandizement, of lust for power and exploitation of the weak, and we are convinced that only through clearer knowledge of the fundamental spiritual values of existence can international understanding be reached. We believe in a way of life which I may be permitted to call the middle way and in which the rule of the moral law founded on a firm faith in the 'one-ness' of human life would hold sway, where 'power-politics' or 'power-economics' would not find place in the conduct of international affairs, where there will be no armament race as a direct result of a fear of insecurity, and where, instead of force as arbiter in international disputes, there would arise mutual confidence and co-operation as a pre-requisite of lasting peace. If, therefore, the world wants peace, its way of life must break the vicious circle of balance of power, fear of insecurity, and armament race.

This can only be brought about by a change in the attitude of the international aristocracy of the Great Powers, as it calls for some sacrifice of prestige and privilege on their part. I hope and believe that there are a sufficient number of influential men of goodwill among them who could find peace on this basis.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN D. S. SENANAYAKE'S LIFE AND POLITICAL CAREER.

1884—Born on October 20, at Botale near Mirigama. Third Son of Mudaliyar Don Spater Senanayake, land owner and plumbago merchant.

1890—Entered St. Thomas' College, Mt. Lavinia.

1901—Played for St. Thomas College in the annual cricket match against Royal College.

1902—Takes charge of family properties.

1903—Don Spater Senanayake appointed a Mudaliyar by Governor West Ridgeway.

1910—D. S. Senanayake marries Miss M. Dunuvilla.

1911—Eldest son Dudley born in July.

1912—Enters public life as a worker in the Temperance movement.

1915—Riots between Sinhalese and Muslims break out at Gampola and spread throughout the Sinhalese areas. D. S. Senanayake arrested with others and imprisoned. Released after 40 days without any charges being framed against him.

1916—D. S. Senanayake travels through the riot areas collecting evidence on the misconduct of the Colonial Government during the upheavals.

1919—Becomes a founder member of the Ceylon National Congress.

1921—Comes to the forefront of national politics in the agitation for constitutional reforms.

1924—Elected as member for Negombo District to the Legislative Council. Becomes secretary to the Unofficial members in Council.

1926—Death of F. R. Senanayake in Calcutta.

1927—Land Commission appointed by Governor. D. S. Senanayake a member.

1928—Donoughmore Commission appointed.

1930—The Legislative Council approves of the Donoughmore Constitution by 2 votes. D. S. Senanayake voting for it.

1931—First General Elections to the State Council. D. S. Senanayake elected uncontested as member for Minuwangoda.

1931—Unanimously elected Chairman of the Executive Committee, and appointed Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

1933—D. S. Senanayake moves the Land Development Bill in the State Council.

1934—Mineriya Scheme inaugurated

1935—State Council dissolved.

1936—Second General Election to State Council. D. S. Senanayake returned uncontested as member for Minuwangoda for the second time.

1936—Acted as Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers and Leader of the state Council during the absence abroad of Sir Baron Jayatilaka. First recognition that D. S. Senanayake would succeed Sir Baron.

1940

February 27—Board of Ministers resigns in protest against the Governor's attitude in regard to the refusal of the I.G.P. to carry out the instructions issued to him by the Minister of Home Affairs on the Mooloya prosecutions.

March 13—Constitutional crisis settled and Ministers resume office.

November 4—Exploratory talks begin at New Delhi between delegations from the Governments of India and Ceylon on the question of Indian immigrants in Ceylon. Ceylon delegation led by D. S. Senanayake, the other members being S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, A. J. Huxham and G. C. S. Corea. Visits Madras and Mysore in the same convenction.

1941

February 22—D. S. Senanayake inaugurates the Minipe Ela Irrigation Scheme.

September 4—Indo-Ceylon talks in Colombo. Ceylon delegation led by D. S. Senanayake. The sittings last for 20 days. Jawaharlal Nehru leads Indian delegation.

October 28—The Secretary of State for the Colonies informs the State Council that the question of constitutional reform will be further examined by a commission after the war.

1942

February 25—D. S. Senanayake leaves for India for negotiations on obtaining food supplies.

March 24—War Council formed in Ceylon to co-ordinate defence measures, consisting of the Commander-in-Chief, the Civil Defence Commissioner, the Board of Ministers and the Service Chiefs.

December 2—D. S. Senanayake elected Leader of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers in succession to Sir Baron Jayatilaka.

1943

May 26—Declaration on Constitutional reform by the British Government. Secretary of State outlines what form future reforms will take, and asks Board of Ministers to submit their proposals.

June 8—D. S. Senanayake makes a statement in the State Council on the Ministers' attitude to the Declaration of May 26th and announces their decision to draft a constitution.

August —D. S. Senanayake resigns from the Ceylon National Congress after that body decides to admit members of the Communist Party.

1944

July 5—A commission appointed by His Majesty's Government to inquire into and suggest proposals for constitutional reform. Chairman Lord Soulbury with Sir Frederick Rees and F. J. Burrows as members.

July —The Ministers withdraw their proposals and decide not to collaborate with the Commission.

September —The Ministers draft constitution is published as Sessional Paper XIV of 1944.

December 22—The Soulbury Commission arrives in Ceylon.

1945

January 22—The Soulbury Commission begins it's sittings.

March 13—The commission concludes its sittings.

March —The Dominion Status Bill passed by the State Council.

July 11—D. S. Senanayake leaves for London on an invitation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for personal consultations on the subject of constitutional reform.

July 30—Conservatives defeated in the General Election and a Labour Government takes office in Gt. Britain.

October —Publication of D. S. Senanayake's Memorandum on the subject of Ceylon's claims for Dominion Status.

October 9—The Report of the Soulbury Commission published.

October 31—A White Paper embodying the decisions of the British Government on a new constitution for Ceylon published.

November 8—Motion by D. S. Senanayake in the State Council for acceptance of the White Paper on Constitutional Reform passed by 51 votes to 3.

1946

April 13—The Governor, Sir Henry Moore and D. S. Senanayake leave for Singapore as delegates to the South East Asia Food Conference.

May 17—Order-in-Council promulgating the new constitution published in Gazette Extraordinary.

July 18—D. S. Senanayake, as leader of the House introduces the last Budget under the Donoughmore Constitution.

September —D. S. Senanayake founds the United National Party to contest the forthcoming elections.

1947

June 18—At a special meeting of the State Council an announcement is made by the Governor of the British Government's decision to make Ceylon a Dominion.

July 1—The State Council comes to an end. Last meeting concludes.

August 15—Polling for the General Elections commence. D. S. Senanayake elected Member for Mirigama with a majority of 16,000 votes over his opponent Mr. Edmund Samarakkody of the Bolshevik Leninist Party.

September 20—Polling concludes. 42 members elected from the United National Party, making it the strongest party in the new Parliament.

September 24—D.S. Senanayake appointed the first Prime Minister under the Soulbury Constitution.

October 8—Formal meeting of the first cabinet.

October 17—D. S. Senanayake delivers his address on "Qualities Required of Public Servants" at a convocation held at the University of Ceylon.

November 21—Second reading of the Ceylon Independence Bill carried unanimously in the House of Commons.

November 25—Ceremonial opening of Ceylon's first Parliament.

December 1—The Prime Minister moves the Independence Bill in the House of Representatives.

December 3—The Independence Bill passed by a vote of 59 to 11.

December 10—The Ceylon Independence Bill receives the Royal Assent.

1948

February 4—Ceylon becomes an Independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

February 10—Ceremonial opening of Parliament in the Assembly Hall, Torrington Square, by the Duke of Gloucester.

August 4—The Prime Minister presents the Ceylon Citizenship Bill at a meeting of the House of Representatives.

October 18—D. S. Senanayake attends the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

1949

February 4—Birth of the New City of Anuradhapura. Prime Minister unveils a memorial pillar.

March 3—D. S. Senanayake moves the Army Bill in the House of Representatives for the creation of a Ceylon Army.

April 20—D. S. Senanayake attends his second conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

August 27—D. S. Senanayake inaugurates the Gal Oya Valley Development Scheme by unveiling a memorial pillar at Inginiyagala.

September 7—Prime Minister ceremonially inaugurates the restoration of the Mahiyangana Dagaba.

1950

January 1—D. S. Senanayake appointed a Privy Councillor by His Majesty the King.

January 9—Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers opens at Colombo with D. S. Senanayake as Chairman. Delegates include Nehru, Ernest Bevin, Ghulam Mohamed, Lester Pearson and Percy Spender.

January 13—The Conference concludes and announces decision to give aid to underdeveloped countries in South East Asia. Colombo Plan born.

November 23—D. S. Senanayake moves the Indian and Pakistan Residents Bill in the House of Representatives.

1951

January 3—D. S. Senanayake represents Ceylon for the third time at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London.

July 12—Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Minister of Health and Leader of the House of Representatives resigns from the Cabinet on D. S. Senanayake's refusal to consider certain resolutions passed by Mr. Bandaranaike's Party, the Sinhala Maha Sabha.

October 8—Prime Minister accompanied by Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture leaves on a tour of Burma, Indonesia and Australia.

December 7—D. S. Senanayake moves the Health Services Bill in capacity of Minister of Health and Local Government. The Bill embodies the recommendations of the Cumpston Report.

1952

February 23—The Colombo Plan Exhibition opened by the Governor General.

March 21—The Prime Minister falls from his horse while riding on Galle Face Green and is severely injured.

March 22—Prime Minister dies. Colombo Plan Exhibition closes as a mark of respect.

March 23—The body of the Prime Minister lies in state in the House Representatives.

March 26—Dudley Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands appointed Prime Minister by the Governor-General.

March 29—The late Prime Minister's body cremated at Independence Square. A gathering estimated at over one million turn out for the funeral procession.

BOOK REVIEWS

Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, 1762. Edited and Translated by J. H. O. Paulusz, B.A. Lond., Oxon., Government Archivist, Colombo. 1954. Price Rs. 25/-.

The work under review is (according to its introduction) the first of a series of translations of the various volumes of Secret Minutes (of the Dutch Political Council in Ceylon) pertaining to the years 1762—66. The present volume[1] covers the period from 5 Jan. 1762 to 27 Nov. 1762.

It is in two main parts. Part I contains (*a*) an Introduction, which explains something about the nature and value of the Secret Minutes and—more important—explains the background to the events of 1762; (*b*) the translation of the Secret Minutes; (*c*) an Appendix on the nobles of the Kandyan Court; (*d*) a Glossary. Part II contains the Dutch Text. There is also an index to the Translation.

The planning and the execution of this work leave little to be desired. The few shortcomings noted in this review should not detract from the general value of the work.

As regards the entire project, one would wish that the translation was begun, with the volumes from 1757 onwards and not from 1762. It is true that the period 1762—66 (the volumes on which it is proposed to translate) constituted "a stirring term covering the war between the King of Kandy and the Dutch"[2] but for a proper understanding of the events of these stirring times one must at least go back to the early years of Schreuder's Governorship, when important indications of the troubles ahead appeared.

With regard to the Introduction, one feels that too much is claimed for these Minutes when it is said: "Thus *all* the inner workings of the government mind and the motives underlying its actions were clearly revealed."[3] The fact that the discussions were confidential and secret does not necessarily mean that the full truth is revealed. To obtain a clear revelation of all the inner workings of the government mind and the motives underlying its actions one has to have, among other things, a proper understanding of Kandyan-Dutch relations from the beginning.

The accusation[4] against the State Adigar Galegoda Rala of being "another forward agent in sowing dissension," puts the case entirely from the Dutch point of view. Galegoda and most of the other Kandyan Chiefs were undoubtedly—from the Sinhalese point of view—not mischief-makers but patriotss naturally hostile to the enemy who surrounded the Kingdom; whereas the Disava of the 3 and 4 Korales, who was in Dutch pay, and other "friends of the Company" were traitors acting in an unnatural manner. Also, the significance of the rebellion in Company territory is not fully brought out. The rebellion preceded the Kandyan invasion and provided the justification or pretext for the invasion.

1. No. 748 of the Dutch Records, c.f.M.W. Jurraanse *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon*, 1640-1796 p. 55.
2. P. 1.
3. Italics are mine. (p. 1).
4. p. 5.
   C.f. also *Memoir of Schreuder* (*Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government*, No. 5). Ch. 4. pp. 32-33 of Translation

In the Dutch Text and the Translation of it, there are certain omissions and errors, some of which I shall now indicate.

The text of the Resolution of 26 March 1762 (p. 229) does not give the date of the resolution, which, it is said, mentions a letter sent to the King. But the translation (P. 61) gives the date as the 3rd instant. There is no translation of: *Absent—Den. E. Z. oldy Bockhonder Adriaan Moens, als zijnde voor een springtogt na Tutucorijn vertrocken.*" (cf. p p. 287 and 115).

The word *verzoeke* (p. 228 line 28) is wrongly translated (p.60) as "invite" instead of as "request." The phrase *dog's anderen daags dan wel* (p.229 line 29) which means "but not the following day" is rendered inaccurately (p.61). The sentence: *By het geval van de Siamse Prins te Candia is de Eerste Rijks Adigaar vermoord* (p.259 line 22) is translated (p.90) as "On the occasion of the Siamese prince's visit to Kandy the First State Adigar was murdered." The meaning is more accurately rendered by the translation: "In the affair (incident) of the Siamese prince at Kandy, the First State Adigar was murdered." It would also have been much better if Mr. Paulusz gave his own translation of the letters of protest sent by the Dutch to Admiral Cornish and the Governor of Madras, Pigot, instead of merely utilising the original translation in the Madras Record Office (c f. pp. 276—78 and pp. 105—06). If he had done so a number of mistranslations could have been avoided. In Note 1 on p.90, one would prefer to see the more usual title "Nawab" used instead of the very anglicized "Nabob."

The Glossary (pp. 172—76) is a very useful one. Considering the fact that Valentyn's *Oud in Nieuw Oost—Indien* consists of so many parts, more precise references to it would have been helpful. The word "lascorin" does not refer to all soldiers, but only to Asian soldiers. That should have been made clear. The explanation of the term "Mohottiyar" as being "a rank between a Mudaliyar and Muhandiram" is inadequate. Mohottiyars were primarily civil and judicial officers, who originally seem to have performed duties of a secretarial nature only. *Lord Seventeen* (p. 174). The 17th Director was not "nominated in succession by the other members of the United Netherlands." The 17th Director was chosen in rotation from amongst each of the Chambers other than that of Amsterdam. (The idea behind this was to see that the Chamber of Amsterdam by itself never had an outright majority on the Board of Directors). It would have been very useful if the number of words explained in the Glossary had been more. For instance, on p. 57 along with the word *gingals*, which is explained in the Glossary, is another word *snaphances*, the meaning of which is at least as unknown to the ordinary reader as the meaning of the other word.

About the Index, there is nothing to be said except that it could have been made more comprehensive by the inclusion of more words and fuller references to the words already given. For instance, there seem to have been two Muhandirams by the name of Domingo de Saram (cf. pp. 80, 81, 248, 249) but only one is referred to in the Index and the reference is only to p.81.

But perhaps these comments asking for more are not fair by a scholar, most of whose time is occupied by the day to day routine of running a government department. And, as remarked earlier the few shortcoming noted in this review should not detract from the general value of the work. That he should have turned out such a valuable work in the midst of all his other duties, is, I think, an achievement which Mr. Paulusz can well be proud of. Of all the editions and translations of Dutch Documents done for the Ceylon Government, this is easily the best.

K. W. G.

Art and Social life—By G. N. Plekhanov (*Lawrence and Wishart*—21 *sh*).

The name of Plekhanov is little known in this country, though he was an outstanding Marxist whose writings were of fundamental importance in Russia. He was also a literary and art critic and made an original and invaluable contribution to the Marxist theory of literature.

Art and Social Life is an English translation of three of Plekhanov's outstanding contributions to the study of aesthetics. Together, they represent the most fundamental research which he conducted into the origins of art, and the relationship of art and literature to Society. He differed in his criticism —"Scientific criticism," as he termed it—from his predecessors like Belinsky, the first great Russian literary critic, and Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov —and he placed in the forefront an analysis of the relationship between men's mode of life and their aesthetic tastes, between Social classes and the creation of works of art.

In the first of the three works, *Letters Without Address*, Plekhanov deals with the origins of art. He shows how the paintings, songs and dances of primitive peoples as well as the ornaments with which they adorned their bodies arose from their communal system of production. Aesthetic standards are conditioned by economic activity.

In class divided society, art reflects the social position and interests of different classes. Plekhanov's essay on *French Dramatic Art and French 18th Century Painting* is a masterly study of French drama and painting in the period leading up to and including the Great Revolution. He traces the rise and fall of aristocratic "classicism", and then shows how the radical bourgeoisie once more revived the classical tradition in art, giving it an entirely new, revolutionary content. Full of interest are the passages dealing with the attack on Boucher's School of painting by Denis Diderot, and then with the artistic views of the *Sans culottes* during the revolutionary dictatorship.

The subject of the last essay in this volume, *Art and Social life* is "art for art's sake." Here will be found a brilliant analysis of the views of the 19th century "Romantics." Plekhanov shows that "art for art's sake" arises when the re exists "a hopeless disaccord" between the Artist and Society, While the opposite conception of political, moral or utilitarian art is favoured both by reactionaries and revolutionaries, being given by each a completely different content.

M. T.

The Teach Yourself History of Painting Series (in ten volumes) Edited by W. Gaunt from the original work of Schmidt Degener. (*English Universities Press*)

The Flemish School Vol. III (10sh. 6d.)
The German School Vol. V (10sh. 6d.)
The Dutch School Vol. VI (10sh. 6d.)
The British School Vol. VIII (10sh. 6d.)
The Nineteenth Century Vol. IX. (10 sh.6d.)
The Twentieth Century Vol. X (10sh. 6d.)

In the last issue of this journal we brought to the notice of our readers, four volumes in the *Teach Yourself History of Painting* series, being an illustrated history of European painting in ten volumes. We are now glad to review the remaining six volumes, dealing with the Flemish, German, Dutch and British Schools and the 19th and 20th Centuries. Each of the books deals

with an outstanding epoch in European painting, and includes pictures carefully selected and reproduced from the galleries of the world. The text is based on the work of a noted European Scholar, Dr. Schmidt Degener, and is edited for English readers by William Gaunt, the eminent art historian.

Volume III deals with *The Flemish School* and the author describes the swift and astonishing rise of painting in the Netherlands in the early fifteenth century, when it had an influence on Europe hardly second to that of Italy; and the great succession of Flemish masters until the period of decline during the 17th century. He distinguishes two "golden ages", the first superbly represented by the brothers Van Eyck, the second by Rubens. He treats the work of Dutch and Flemish as a united and harmonious effect until the period when Holland becomes independent and claims it's own great school; doing justice not only to the universal genius of Van Eyck and Rubens but also to the fascinating gifts of such masters as Jerome Bosch, Breughel and Teniers.

The fact that German painting has long been comparatively little known outside Germany need be no bar to the enjoyment of the volume on *The German School* (Vol. V). Here is a remarkable field of discovery: the author does justice to the greatness of Grunewald, that strange genius whom the world has only recently come to appreciate: as well as of Albrecht Durer and a great number of other interesting artists who make up Germany's "golden age"; concluding with an account of its Romantic revival.

In *The Dutch School* (Vol. VI) we follow the stages by which Dutch painting gradually but inevitably became distinct from painting in the South Netherlands: its progress being parallel with the prolonged struggle for independence. We see how the Dutch genius reached it's individuality and splendid expression in the 17th century, that great period being dealt with at length. The Dutch achievement in landscape, portraiture, scenes of everyday life, animal, flower and still life painting is discussed and explained, and a special analysis is given of that unique and universal master Rembrandt.

The British School (Vol. VIII) was a comparatively late development but it came to fruition with masters of great interest and importance in the development of European painting. This volume gives adequate reference to painting in the Middle Ages; shows what effect various foreign influences had in the Tudor and Stuart periods and treats fully the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when British painting reached its vigorous maturity. It appraises the greatness of such masters as Hogarth and Gainsborough and explains the European eminence of Constable and Turner.

Volume IX deals with *The Nineteenth Century*. It traces a clear path through the complex period which began towards 1850, showing how painters reacted to its social, industrial and scientific developments. Necessarily painting in France which then so decisively took the lead receives main attention. The book begins with Courbet; shows how Impressionism followed and where it departed from his realism, and ends with Cezanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh as the precursors of modern painting. The Art of the other countries however is set in due relation. The importance of colour in this period is reflected in the colour plates after Corot, Renoir, Manet, Monet, Whistler and Van Gogh.

The final volume on *the Twentieth Century* should be studied in conjunction with that on 19th century painting; for modern art is not regarded as a sudden departure but as a logical growth which has its origin in the main trend of ideas in art since the middle of the last century. The lay reader, who, perhaps, has been puzzled by modern painting in some of its aspects, should gain from this method of treatment, a firmer basis for appreciation and is enabled to understand how and why the main and distinctively "twentieth

century" tendencies came into being. The special value that colour has come to have in the art of our time is well demonstrated by the colour reproductions of paintings by Modigliani, Picasso, Roualt and other artists of international fame.

As in the volumes reviewed earlier, the books are all uniformly well got up and the quality of the reproductions of the paintings is very good.

S. D. W.

The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba by Hermann Goetz. Memoirs of the Kern Institute No. 1. (*E. J. Brill, Leiden*)

The Kern Institute needs no introduction to students of Indian or Ceylon History, and it is with pleasure that we note here the first publication in the new series of monographs on Indian Art and Archaeology that is being published by the Institute. The new series has been inaugurated partly to compensate for the delay in issuing the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, but considering the superior quality of its first publication we are sure the series will render as valuable a service to the study of Indian history as has the *Bibliography* itself. Volume XVI of the *Bibliography* however we are happy to note, dealing with the years 1948—53, will be issued this year.

The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba deal with the three earliest temples of Chamba, which are remarkable both as rare examples of timber architecture and on account of their sculptural decoration. The importance of these Chamba temples to Indian archaeology however springs from certain broader historical considerations. Firstly, Chamba represents one of the few comparatively undisturbed areas where we can follow the course of cultural and political events, with few interruptions from the Golden Age of the Guptas, through the Middle Ages and the Muslim conquest to Mughal rule and our own times. Secondly, Chamba gives, for the same reason, revealing glimpses into the otherwise almost unknown barbarian frontier civilisations imported by the Huna Gurjara invasion. Thirdly, the area has unique remnants of later Gupta and Kashmiri art, otherwise almost lost.

An introduction giving the geographical background is followed by chapters on the Brahmapura Kingdom and the beginning of the Chamba state, Gurjara civilisation, and the coming of Hindu art in the Himalaya. The two concluding chapters deal with the temples and the images, their style and artistic history been placed in the context of contemporary medieval Indian art.

Dr. Hermann Goetz the author is well known as an Indian archaeologist and writer. He has been in India for the last twenty years and was for considerable time Director of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery one of the model institutions of its kind in India. He is presently Curator of the National Gallery of Modern Art at New Delhi. The memoir includes an introduction by J. Ph. Vogel who first explored the antiquities in Chamba state, and 16 uncommonly well printed plates illustrating the text, and a map of Chamba State. The book should definitely be a collectors item for all interested in Indian archaeology.

S. D. W.

Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Volumes II and III. (*Lawrence and Wishart —6sh. per volume*).

Readers will recall the review in the October 1953 issue of our journal of the first volume in the new five volume *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* that is being published by Messrs Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. of London. As we mentioned there, the student of communism, and specially Chinese commu-

nism is greatly handicapped by the absence of an authoritative edition of Mao's writings. This five volume selection sets right this omission. The edition in fact, is doubly valuable as it is based on the "authorised" four volume Chinese edition, that was compiled by a commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1952. It besides has the distinction of having been gone through by Mao personally who "went over all the articles, making certain verbal changes here and there, and in a few cases, revising or amplifying certain passages." The edition is thus the most reliable of the published texts of Mao's writings, and deserves the greatest attention of scholars.

The writings are arranged in chronological order and the first volume dealt with the period of the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars from 1926 to 1936. Volume Two opens with a philosophical work *On Contradiction* and the rest of the book covers the first two years of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression 1937—38. The essay *On Contradiction* is really the conclusion of the writings of the Second Revolutionary Civil War and is among the more interesting writings in the volume. The essay had the object of combating the serious mistakes of doctrinairism existing in the party at the time. The rest of the volume deals with Mao's writings during the period of the war of resistance against Japan. The writings here deal with immediate problems, e.g. policies for combating Japanese invasion, the needs for mobilisation and strategic problems in the guerilla war, etc. These writings are necessarily of lesser importance and are more valuable to a historian than to the student of Marxism, though they do reveal a profound insight into the Communist "tactics" of resistance. The section on the role of the Communist Party in the National War is likewise interesting in this respect.

Volume III continues the writings from the beginning of the war against Japan to about the end of the year 1941. Here again the writings deal with the immediate problems, i.e. of resisting the Japanese, a stronger emphasis on the unity of interests with the Soviet Union and the need to overcome the danger of capitalation. The most interesting section in Volume III is however that entitled *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*. Here the evolution of Chinese Society is traced from ancient feudal Society to the present day colonial semi-feudal society. The revolutionary movement in the last hundred years and the targets and tasks of a Chinese revolution are studied. The forces motivating the revolution—the landlords, bourgeoisie, peasantry, proletariat, etc., are analysed and the section ends with a statement of the role the Communist Party has to play in it.

Both volumes do not have much original contribution to the development of Marxist theory as such, since most of the problems faced by Mao were, in general, similar to those faced and solved by Lenin in Russia. Mao however is able in these writings to show the application and working of Marxism in Chinese society. The writings of course, are invaluable as source material to the student of the history of China in the last fifty years.

R. K. P.

The Civilisation of Ancient India by Louis Renou (*Susil Gupta (India) Ltd.*)

Renou's *Civilisation of Ancient India* is a book that could be strongly recommended to students wishing to acquire a general background for a detailed study of ancient Indian history. The book deals with the history of India from the arrival of the Aryans (from when records are available) upto the time of Harsha in the 7th Century. The sources for the history of the period are plentiful, but the author has relied mainly on the Sanskrit sources which could themselves be divided into three groups—Dhamasastras, Arthasastra and

Kamasastra, substantiated with epigraphical and literary works. The Sanskrit sources however are strongly biassed in favour of Brahmanism and hence Pali works, the Pali canon and the Jatakas have also been used where necessary, particularly in dealing with Buddhism.

The book has a comprehensive introduction of four parts dealing with history, literature, religion and philosophical speculations which helps to place the civilisation in a broader framework. The different aspects of the civilisation are then taken separately and their origin and growth traced down to the 7th century. Here there are chapters on caste, the family, civil and penal law, the state, politics, economics and everyday life. The book also has a useful chronological chart and a comprehensive bibliography which should help to guide the student in his further reading.

M. A. L.

India by Richard Lannoy (*Thames and Hudson*, London—42 *sh*).

It is not often that, looking at a book of photographs, one feels that one has been drawn into the very heart of a subject. Yet in these pages, India—which the Western mind still tends to regard as a fabulous dream-world—becomes a vivid reality through Mr. Lannoy's artistry with the camera.

During the eighteen months he recently spent in India, the author travelled over most of the country, living and working with Indians and attending their festivals and ceremonies. In this book he builds up from many different fragments—a ceiling carved in a cave at Badami, a group of religious mendicants, the profile of a young South Indian fisher girl, a scene on a burning ghat at Benares—an impression of the incredibly rich and complex face of a country whose present day life is till inextricably bound up with ancient traditions and belief.

The 182 photographs, preceded by six superb colour plates, follow the pattern of Mr. Lannoy's own journey. They take us first through the villages and old temple cities of South India, to the magnificient caves of Ajanta and Ellora, along the fabled western shore and round Cape Comorin to Mamallapuram and Madras; then North through the romantic medieval warrior region of Rajputana with its gigantic fortified palaces and walled cities, to Agra and Delhi and into Bengal; finally to Benares, Sacred Hindu city on the Ganges and into the Himalayan foothills for a glimpse of the snow covered peaks, abode of the Hindu Gods and final goal of the pilgrim.

In his introductory text Mr. Lannoy records the impression of his journey and creates a highly evocative background to the pictures, which are fully described and explained in the notes. There is also a chronological table and a map.

R. K.

Modern Historians and the Study of History by F. M. Powicke (*Odhams Press Ltd.*—16*sh*)

Few historians can be better placed than Sir Maurice Powicke to interpret the trends of historical study since the turn of the century. He has taught and written history for over fifty years and has been Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1929 to 1947. He is known throughout the world of scholarship as an authority on the Middle Ages.

The present volume consists of essays and addresses illustrating the development of historical studies during the last seventy years. Some of the papers have been printed earlier, but the scholar will appreciate their collection and republication now in this permanent form.

The first of the two main sections into which the author has divided the present work is biographical and provides in the author's own words "appreciations of some of the scholars who gave the study of history its present 'professional' character." It includes memoirs and notices of Sir Paul Vinogradoff to whom the study of English medieval history owes so much, the Manchester History School whose stalwarts were T. F. Tout, James Tait and A. G. Little Henri Pirenne author of the monumental *Histoire de Belgique*, C. H. Haskins another medieval scholar, Previte Orton, Z. N. Brooke and C. G. Coulton, each of whom held in succession the chair of Medieval History at Cambridge and Leopold Dehisle the historian of Anglo-French relations. Three shorter essays on Sir Charles Firth, Reginald Lane Poole and J. F. Willard complete the first part.

The second section of the book comprises nine papers on methods of study and research. Here Sir Maurice provides illustrations of the problems of historical study which have been discussed within his own experience as a teacher of history, as President of the Royal Historical Society and as a participant in various other historical enterprises. Some of the more valuable essays in this section deal with the collection and criticism of original texts, modern methods of medieval research and the economic motive in politics.

S. D. W.

The Golden Century of Spain by R. Trevor Davies (*Macmillan and Co. Ltd.*—21*sh*)

During her short lived ascendancy in the sixteenth century, Spain was the fountainhead of some of the great movements of the modern world. This period is therefore of remarkable interest and importance, and historians have always found in it an absorbing study. Recent historical research however has tended to modify, and often to overturn the conclusions of the older historians about Spain in her heyday, not a few of which seriously affect the interpretation of Modern European history. These studies are however found mostly in foreign monographs or learned periodicals intended for specialists, and hence Mr. Trevor Davies' work is very welcome, being a book of moderate size, suitable for reading by the non-specialist reader and incorporating the most recent research. It deals with economic, social and cultural issues in preference to "drum and trumpet" narrative of the nineteenth century kind, it steers an even course between Protestant, liberal and anti-clerical elements and the Roman Catholic church and it gives definite facts and figures, instead of the wild surmise that often supplants them in generalizations about Spanish history.

The book is divided into ten chapters dealing with the condition of Spain at the beginning of the century, the era of revolts (1504—25), Castille after the Revolt, the foreign affairs of Spain from 1519—59, Phillip II, the Protestant and Muhammadan perils, the unification of the Peninsula, Phillip's foreign politics, Phillip III, and economic and cultural conditions. The book is throughout supplied with copious foot notes together with a select Bibliography of modern works which should help to guide the beginner who wishes to delve deeper into the subject. Two interesting appendices are also included on "The Spanish Coinage" and "The Total Bullion Imports from America from 1503—1660" while several plates illustrate the text.

M. W

Golden Interlude by Janet Dunbar (*John Murray*—18*sh*)

In the year 1835, George Eden, 2nd Lord Auckland was appointed Governor-General of India. A bachelor, Auckland was accompanied to his new post by his two unmarried sisters Emily and Fanny Eden, who stayed with him throughout the six years of his rule as the "two first ladies in Indian society." Both Fanny and Emily were cultivated women, who had moved in the highest social and cultural circles in England, and naturally the strange and romantic new world they found in India appealed to them immensely. Both wrote prolifically on events in India and on their stay, to friends and relatives in England and their letters are today a very valuable source for reconstructing Indian social life, and for building background for a study of the administration of Lord Auckland. Emily Eden's letters are well known, several selections having been published by the author herself in the 1860's, and by her grand neice in 1919. The present work however is based on a collection of unpublished private letters, recently come to light, from Fanny Eden, to an intimate friend in England, the account of course being substantiated where necessary by other contemporary material.

Golden Interlude begins with a short chapter on the early years of the Edens. The Voyage to India is graphically described as well as the social life of the city of Calcutta where the Governor-General's capital then was. A tiger hunt in Rajmahal, journeys in the United Provinces and a trip to Delhi are also included. One of Aucklands chief problems in India had to do with meeting the threat of Russian expansion and hence he made a trip, accompanied by his sisters, to the North West Frontier areas and paid a visit on the way to the greatest Indian warrior of the time, Ranjit Singhji of the Punjab. The account of these interesting events fill the concluding chapters of the work.

Both Emily and Fanny Eden were quite good artists and their letters and Fanny's journal were profusely illustrated with scores of drawings. Several of these are reproduced and considerably add to the enchantment of the book. A comprehensive bibliography is also given.

A. De S.

A People's History of England by A. L. Morton (*Lawrence and Wishart*—15*sh*)

A. L. Morton's *People History of England* is too well known to need a lengthy introduction. The fact that this is the seventh reprinting of the book, since it's first publication in 1938, is sufficient indication of it's value and popularity. Written from a strictly Marxist point of view the book emphasises, and at times would even seem to over-emphasize, the economic and social motivants of history; but in this form it is doubly valuable to the student in that it focusses attention on aspects that are normally forgotten in the usual "drum and trumpet" narrative one often finds in the English history texts. The work is indeed refreshing reading.

"The book is" as the publisher's note says, "not only a history for the people of England but is a history of the people of England." It shows the main lines of development which have in turn contributed towards the structure of society as it exists today. "Great men" are only dealt with as part of these larger movements and the reader will not find needless details of the private lives of kings and queens. He will, however, find discussion of such subjects as the causes of the peasant revolts in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the economic basis for the growing power of the new bourgeoisie in the 16th century, the economic and political causes of the revolution of 1640 and the class forces involved; the industrial revolution and the triumph of industrial capitalism, and it's effects on the workers; their struggles for organization and a political party; the origin of the first world war and the world economic crisis.

B. K.

The Central Philosophy of Buddhism by T. R. V. Murti (*George Allen and Unwin —30sh*)

Although nearly hundred years have elapsed since the scientific study of Buddhism was initiated in Europe, we are nevertheless in the dark about the fundamental teachings of this religion and its philosophy. This ignorance is as much due to the vastness of Buddhism—its varied literature, scattered in a score of languages and covering a period of over fifteen centuries, as well as to its complexity, its numerous schools and sub schools and the absence of an accredited tradition of interpretation. An understanding of Buddhism however is essential, as it has exercised a profound influence on Indian philosophy, and as it forms the staple culture of the South, South-East and Far East Asian countries.

The Madhyamika philosophy claims our attention as the system which created a revolution in Buddhism and through that in the whole range of Indian Philosophy. The entire Buddhist thought turned on the Sunyata doctrine of the Madhyamika which supplanted the early pluralistic phase of Buddhism, its rejection of substance and the uncritical erection of a theory of elements. Both the Yogacara—Vijnanavada idealism and the critical and absolutist trend in Brahmanical thought is traceable to the Madhyamika, which considering its role and importance, could be aptly titled the Central Philosophy of Buddhism.

The book falls into three well defined but connected parts of unequal length. The first is mainly historical: it traces the origin and development of the Madhyamika philosophy, its dialectic, as the attempt to resolve the conflict that was endangered by the two main traditions of Indian philosophy, the atmavada (substance view of reality) and the anatmavada (modal view of reality). The anticipations of the dialectic are to be found in the celebrated 'silence' of Buddha, in his refusal to speculate and to predicate empirical categories of the transcendent reality. The development of the Madhyamika stages and schools of thought and their literature is dealt with at considerable length. The possible influence of the Madhyamika on later philosophy, especially on the Vijnanavada and the Vedanta is also indicated. The second and main part is devoted to a full and critical exposition of the Madhyamika philosophy the structure of its dialectic, the application of the dialectic to categories of thought, its conception of the absolute, and its ethics and religion. The chapter on the application of the Dialectic is chiefly of historical interest and is somewhat technical; it may be omitted on the first reading. The last part of the book compares the Madhyamika with some of the well known dialectical systems of the west (Kant, Hegel and Bradley), and undertakes a short study of the different absolutisms (Madhyamika, Vijnanavada and the Vedanta) whose different standpoints are not generally appreciated.

The present work which is a full study of the Madhyamika philosophy in all its aspects, will, we are sure, prove to be the standard work on the subject. This being specially so since modern literature on it is neither too plentiful nor free from misunderstanding. The author Dr. T. R. V. Murti is Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Professor of Indian Civilisation and Culture at the University of Benares, while Ceylon readers will know him better as a former Professor of Philosophy in the University of Ceylon. The book was first submitted as a doctoral thesis for the D. Litt degree of the Benares Hindu University.

S. D. S.

The Life of the Buddha by Anil de Silva—Vigier (*Phaidon Press—47sh. 6d*).

The visual art of the Asian countries are on the whole, known only to specialists, and have frequently been treated in a scholarly manner: this however, has left the West as well as the East, ignorant of the rich and varied material

which is part of the art history of the world. The present work tries to give the moving and tender story of the Buddha's life with its universal appeal, alongside the art that grew around it throughout Asia.

The work comprises two parts, text and plates, the text being the story of the Buddha's life from the Birth to the Parinirvana compiled from translations from classical sources; and a well written epilogue summing up the history of Buddhism, how and why it spread throughout Asia, and the art which it provoked.

The plates total over 150 of which eleven are in colour, and have been well selected from among the numerous works of Buddhist art in Asia. They show the different ways in which the Buddha's life has been interpreted in the art of India, China, Japan, Siam, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Central Asia and Afghanistan—the Buddha being portrayed in stone, wood, bronze and in paint. The plates have been uniformly well reproduced and bear the impress of quality of the Phaidon Press which has published several excellent books on Asian art, of which Stella Kramrisch's *The Art of India* is best known.

The titling of plate 115, of the Gal Vihara, Polonnaruwa, Ceylon, as "Ananda Attending the Parinirvana of the Buddha" is however, somewhat unfortunate, since the latest research tends to show conclusively that the standing figure is another Buddha and not Ananda.

The author, Dr. Anil de Silva-Vigier is a Ceylonese, being the daughter of a well known public figure of the last decade, to whom incidentally the book is dedicated. The publishers note claims that she is "the first Asian woman to specialize in Archaeology and Art History" and one who has "spent many years of study and research on Buddhist painting and sculpture."

S. D. W.

A Concise Economic History of Britain by W. H. B. Court (*Cambridge University Press—21sh.*).

Students of British economic history will recall Sir John Clapham's *Concise Economic History of Britain, Volume I* which dealt with the period from earliest times to 1750. Sir John could not, however, complete the work due to his untimely death, and the present book by Dr. W. H. B. Court, Professor of Economic History at Birmingham University has been brought out by his publishers to serve as a companion volume. Professor Court carries the story of the economic life of Britain from 1750 to the beginning of the war of 1939. He describes the growth of the first industrial State, its' days of prosperity and the grimmer features that came with it and lasted longer.

The first part of the book titled *The Growth of the Industrial State* has chapters on population, agriculture and the land system; the path of innovation in mining and manufacture; transport and overseas trade; investment, banking, the instability of the economy; the state and the foreign balance; the social setting and the influence of the war. The second part, *The Victorian Economy and After*, describes economic life in the Victorian age to 1880; the vicissitudes of an industrial state; industry and the social order; the origins of the welfare state; Britain as the leader of the world's economy, and the challenge to that leadership between 1880 and 1939.

The book has been written not for professional economists but for the general reader, and footnotes and statistical material have been subordinated throughout to a narrative and analysis of events. Britain's life is still deeply

affected for good and ill by the processes and events Professor Court describes. His book will help a reader to understand today by showing what happened in a past still near to us, and in that daily life which we all live.

S. De S.

Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and the Phillippines by Charles Robequain trans by E. D. Laborde (*Longmans Green and Co.*—30*sh*)

Readers will recall the review in Volume III No. 2 of this journal of Pierre Gourou's *Tropical World*. The present volume is a work similar to it and deals with the geographical, economic and political structure of Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and the Phillippines. The author Dr. Charles Robequain is Professor of Tropical Geography in the University of Paris, while the translation from the French is by Dr. E. D. Laborde who also translated Gourou's *Tropical World* mentioned earlier. The publication has been sponsored by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

For centuries the East Indies have attracted interest in Europe as a source of economic products, as a kind of fairyland to the romantic, and as a field of investigation for the naturalist. The last seventy years have seen the Islands become the most important of the tropical and equatorial world and assume a leading role in the production of rubber, tin, sugar, tobacco, vegetable oil, fibres and other valuable commodities. The rising tide of Japanese ambition brought the region into the political arena, and the war of 1941—45 together with subsequent Communist activities has made it one of the danger spots to world peace. Yet the East Indies has not received the attention that is its due and many are ignorant of even the most basic facts relating to the region. This volume bridges the gap. It contains a comprehensive account of the natural layout of the area, its economic and cultural developments and the political setting and trends.

The book is divided into four sections and between them account for a full treatment of the geographical, economic and political conditions of the area. Part I deals with the general features of the area as a whole. The discovery by the West and the partition, the land and sea, climate, vegetation and fauna, the peoples and their civilization and the distribution of population and their modes of life are all considered. Part II deals with each of the separate regions into which the area could be sub-divided—Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, East Indonesia and the Phillippines. The most useful parts of the book however are the two concluding sections on colonial expansion and its effect on the economic system and the evaluation of the achievement of the colonial powers. The former section deals with such cogent problems as population and exports, opening to world trade, plantations and the introduction of scientific agriculture and the problem of industrialization. The achievement of the colonial powers is stated frankly and objectively; they are mostly social and cultural changes, extension of medical facilities and hygiene, Christian missions, education, and last but not least, political development.

The value of the book is enhanced by several well printed photographs and by a series of maps and diagrams to illustrate the text. A comprehensive bibliography is also given to guide the student in the further reading that this book is sure to provoke him to undertaking.

S. D.

England and the English by Charles Duff (*T. V. Boardman and Co., Ltd.*—18*sh*).

The above is an interesting and informative book that those wishing to know something of the background of England and English history world do well to read. The book is in two parts, a brief historical sketch and an account of present day England titled "Seeing England."

The first part is an entirely new account and interpretation of the English people and their history from the distant Ice Ages to the coronation of Elizabeth II. To this selected historical material is added important and relevant information from authropological and archaeological sources with a brief note on physical geography and climate. It is all intended for the general reader. Thus a picture of the background to England and the English is provided as a preliminary to Part II which is an "informal and informative tour of England showing cross sections of the country, and people in the contemporary scene." Some of the chapters in Part II deal with "London and the Londoners", the South West and West country, the West Midlands, etc. The book is also provided with several illustrations and maps and a bibliography. It will be a boon to the schoolboy wishing to acquire a background knowledge of England and should serve as a model on which similar books could be written on Ceylon.

H. C. S.

The Colas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*University of Madras Historical Series No.* 9—Rs. 15/-)

It is happy to note a new revised edition of the well known book on the Colas by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, which has been out of print for many years. Though originally published in two volumes in 1935—37, the work has been reduced now to one volume, by leaving out the appendix of abstracts of select inscriptions that accompanied each of the earlier books. This is quite understandable as these inscriptions are well known now, many having being since published or in course of publication. The reduction to one volume brings the work within the reach of the average reader and student, who might not have been able to purchase the earlier edition.

In the age of the Colas, the most creative period of South Indian history, the whole of South India, was for the first time brought under the sway of a single government, and a serious attempt made to face and solve the problems of public administration arising from the new conditions. In local government, in art, religion and letters, the Tamil country reached heights of excellence never reached again in succeeding ages, while foreign trade expanded together with an unprecedented growth in maritime activity. The Colas were undoubtedly the greatest South Indian power in Indian history and could make a good claim to being one of the greatest empires ever founded in India.

The Colas has since its first publication in the 1930's, been the standard work on the subject and is not only considered in the highest regard by scholars but is possibly one of the best books written on any Indian imperial power. The work indeed, is so well known as not to require a detailed and complete review of it's contents. Suffice it to say that the book fully deals with the early history of the Colas, going back to the Sangam age, the rise to power under Vijayalaya and Parantaka, the consolidation and expansion under Rajaraja the Great and his immediate successors, and the decline after the reign of Kulottunga II. Separate chapters are given on the government of the Chola Empire, local government, taxation, finance, population, social divisions, standard of life, agriculture and land tenures, industry and trade, coins, weights and measures, education and learning and religion and literature. The present

volume also contains an additional chapter giving a summary account of the main features in the history of Cola art with adequate illustrations. This has been included in lieu of the separate work on Cola art that Professor Nilakanta Sastri had planned to write as a supplement to the first edition of *the Colas*. The whole text of the book has been completely revised, and in part rewritten in the light of recent discoveries and interpretations. Some ancillary matter on feudatory dynasties, which seemed to hamper unduly the narrative in the first edition has been omitted.

Students need hardly be recommended to this magnificient work. Research students will find in it a model of what a scholarly publication should be.

S. K. D.

Education in the New Poland by Brian Simon. (*Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.* —2sh. 6d.)

In 1952 Brian Simon and his wife were invited—in what capacity we are not told—by the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign countries, to visit Polish Schools and Universities. This little book is a record of his impressions of the new system of education now being established in the new Poland.

The Simons' visit was not a conducted tour and a cursory glance at Poland's model schools and University, nor were the details of their tour outlined by Polish officials or the said committee. They were free to draw up their own programme, extend it as they wished, and pursue their own inquiries. In consequence they were able to visit all kinds of institutions, and discuss points of interest with teachers and University lecturers and the administrators responsible for the various systems of education.

Poland emerged from the war, her cities in ruins, her population decimated and her system of education virtually destroyed. The Schools and Universities were bombed, the books destroyed and the teachers dead or in exile. Therefore the Poles had to begin at the beginning, to build their educational system; and like pioneers, the Poles were fired with the enthusiasm born of a love for their nation.

Mr. Simon has been very favourably impressed both by the new system and the way the blue-prints drawn up by the educationists are being turned into "brick and mortar.' While in pre-war Poland, only the middle and upper classes were able to benefit by the grammar school and University education, the new system aims at making the same education available to all classes of people, and with no differences between town and rural schools.

Great stress is laid on practical education in every phase of schooling. Speaking of a basic school in a small country town, Mr. Simon says, "This school, built before the war, has a large garden which used to be cultivated by the teachers, this was formerly one of the accepted means of supplementing teachers' salaries. To-day the garden is at the children's disposal. There is a small orchard, and the children learn the properties of different kinds of soil and how to fight disease and pests" (p.49) This extract is of two fold interest to us in Ceylon. It points out methods of practical teaching which our schools would do well to follow; the corruption in the earlier pre-war system in Poland offers a striking parallel to conditions here.

Mr. Simon's observations on the new system of educaton which the Poles are attempting to develop, should be of great value and interest to educationists in Ceylon.

S. K.

South Indian Polity by T. V. Mahalingam (*Madras University Historical Series No.* 20.—Rs. 13/-)

The few books that we have on ancient Hindu Polity confine themselves mainly to a study of the political and administrative institutions of North India. They do not treat adequately the polity of South India in spite of the existence of a large volume of material bearing on it. Except for the treatment of the subject for certain periods by scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and articles by others, we do not have in one handy volume, a comprehensive and descriptive survey of the whole subject laying emphasis on its historical evolution. The need for such a book on the polity of South India (regions South of the Vindhyas) is therefore genuine and real. The above is a work that satisfies this need fully.

It is true that South Indian Polity does not quite differ from the North Indian pattern in theory. Still in it's actual working the polity of South India has exhibited many features distinctly its own. The account attempted in this work covers the period from the earliest historical times to the fall of Vijayanagar (circa 1650), when the indigenous institutions which had passed through various phases in the course of their history, finally began to break up and lose much of their individuality and vitality.

The work is divided into eight sections, comprising the most important aspects of political life. Thus the chapter on Kingship deals with, among other aspects, its origin and development, duties and rights of kings, succession, coronation, abdication, the Court and the Yuvaraja. The Imperial Council and the Secretariat, two of the more important bodies close to the king are dealt with as is the revenue and expenditure of the state, which includes sources of income, methods of collection, distribution of taxation and expenditure. The chapter on "Law Justice and Police" deal with law, courts, judicial procedure, punishment and police organisation while the section "Military Organisation" studies the army, methods of fighting, fort and seige warfare, the navy and foreign policy. Provincial government is separately treated and the concluding chapter analyses local government, its origin and development, organisation and working of the *Sabha*, the temple, the guild and professional organisations.

The source material used in the preperation of the book comprises inscriptions and literature both indigenous and foreign. The sources are always pointed out in the footnotes throughout the book, while a comprehensive bibliography is also included. Both methods are invaluable since the present work is the first of it's kind. The author Dr. T. V. Mahalingam is Reader in Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras and has several other works on Indology to his credit. The book is very objectively written and is free from the exaggerations that all too often creep into texts on Dravidian history and culture. We are certain that *South Indian Polity* will remain the standard work on this subject for many years to come.

A. R.

Jesuit Letters and Indian History by John Correia—Afonso S. J. (*Indian Historical Research Institute*—Rs. 7.50)

Here is a valuable source book for the history of India in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The Portuguese Archives are a valuable source of information for historians and students of Indian history, and amongst the Portuguese sources, the letters the Jesuit fathers wrote to their superiors and colleagues, or relatives and friends, are of special importance.

These missionaries were as a rule well educated and many were well acquainted with the language and customs of the districts they worked in. To name only a few—there was De Nobili who had studied Sanskrit at the Hindu University of Madras, while Beschi was a Tamil scholar and the author of a Tamil work.

In their Annual Letters these missionaries, gave not only an account of the religious events of each year, but also a detailed account of the political situation. Beschi in his Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1731, paints "a dark picture of the Maratha invasion of Tanjore." his letter therefore throws much light on "the reaction of the Southerners to the new power that was rising in Western India."

Some writers had according to the author of the work under review,an extraordinary passion for detail. One of them for example gave the exact number of baptisms in Goa, for each month and enumerated the various villages in which they took place. The letters contain information on a variety of subjects like life on the Fishery coast, the Dutch Power in India, robbery, persecutions etc.

The existence of these letters was known to historians, but they were "never studied in detail nor submitted to a process of critical evaluation." Fr. Afonso thinks that the scant attention paid to these sources was due partly to linguistic difficulties; very few were able to read the Portuguese, Spanish and Latin originals and English translations were not always available. He also feels that there is a bias against foreign sources.

Fr. Aponso's aim is to evaluate these letters, give a general idea of the nature of their contents and of their territorial range and "point out the present whereabouts of the original Jesuit Letters and the scope for further action with regard to their utilization." With the present tendency to emphasise the importance of original documents, the study of details, and the widening range of history, this critical study of the Jesuit Letters should be of great value to Indian Historians.

S. D. S.

The Origins of the Labour Party by Henry Pelling (*Macmillan and Co.*—21*sh*).

The most striking feature in the British political structure during the last seventy five years has been the rise of the Labour Party. From small beginnings in the final quarter of the last century, the party has expanded to the extent of being able to form several governments. This phenomenal rise is due to certain obvious historical and economic developments with their accompanying intellectual changes. Though these background factors have been well studied, the history of the origins of the Labour Party itself, as a political organisation has not received the attention it deserves. It is true that there have been several such studies published, but most of them were written too near to the time and so lacked perspective, or were written by persons who actually took part, and hence not sufficiently objective. The present book could in this sense be termed a pioneer work, while it has been based on many scattered and hitherto untapped sources of early labour history, and comes in a handy form within the reach and scope of the average reader.

The work is an attempt to set the most crucial period of labour political history—the last two decades of the nineteenth century—in the perspective provided by modern historical methods. The author has made a detailed examination of the origins, growth and structure of the socialist societies in this period, and of the political role of the individual trade unions and their

leaders. He also takes account of the many important external factors which had a part in the creation of the new party. His discussion of the attitude of the liberals, of the influence of the Irish Nationalists, and of the effects of economic changes in the United States, provides an interpretation which is both fresh and scholarly. Special attention is paid to the religious associations of the labour movement, and the numerous Labour Churches founded in these years at last receive the notice they deserve.

The obvious general interest of the book is enhanced by the lucidity of its style and by the carefully chosen contemporary photographs and drawings which illustrate the text. A bibliography of published and unpublished sources is also given, together with several appendices of statistical material relating to the subject. The author, Henry Pelling, is a fellow and Tutor of Queens College, Oxford.

S. K. D.

Forerunners of Drake by Gordon Connel—Smith (*Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.*—30*sh*).

Forerunners of Drake deals with the merchants and their trade with spain and the Spanish Indies in the early Tudor period. The subject is important, though little dealt with earlier since the contact of these early traders with the foremost colonial power of the time proved of great importance in the development of the struggle against Spain in Elizabeth's reign. This was specially so in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. When religious and political difficulties had greatly impaired their legitimate trade, the English merchant seamen took to privateering and piracy against the Spaniards and revealed for Drake and his contemporaries the essential weakness of their enemy.

Apart from this aspect however, the book serves another purpose. It attempts to give an account of the general character of the trade and its significance in the economies of spain and England. The work deals with the character of the trade, diplomacy and trade in the reign of Henry VII, the years of prosperity which began with the alliance at Medina del Campo between Spain and England, the break up of the alliance with religious and political difficulties and the widespread privateering and piracy that took its place.

In substance the book is a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of London and draws heavily on the little used early records of the Admiralty Court and on the numerous relevant material available in the Spanish archives. This work should help to forcus attention on both these sources which remain as yet, largely untapped. The book has four useful appendices, a select bibliography and several maps and plates which add to the interest and value of the work.

M. R.

The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma by Hugh Tinker (*University of London, Athlone Press*—35sh).

It is likely that when the history of British rule in India is written, the role played by Local Government, or Local Self-Government as it was termed, will certainly be given a higher place than it is conceded now. As the emphasis on higher politics grows fainter, it becomes easier to discern the significance of Local Government institutions in the national development of India. In the present work, Dr. Tinker has given a balanced and well documented history of the evolution of the system in India from the earliest days when it worked under the close tutelage of the official administration up to the time when charge of the working of the system was transferred to the care of Indian ministers.

Local government institutions were a direct importation from the West, owing nothing to indigenous custom. It was deliberately introduced in 1882 for a variety of reasons, foremost among which were the need to secure the increased assistance of Indians in the administration of the country and to serve as a political education in self government. In its working, though local government did not count for as much in Indian life, as say in Great Britain, yet it was the only specifically Indian field of political activity, and as such acted as a kind of counterpoise to the apparently all pervading influence of the official administration.

The value of local government institutions in India can be assessed from two standpoints. How far did it provide the public with the services that it was meant to cater for and how far did it afford an education in the principles of self-government. Dr. Tinker deals fully with these two questions in Parts II and III of the work. He analyses fully the public services provided, such as education, highways, health, water supplies, etc., and gives an account of the economic factors such as local revenues and expenditure and financing. A separate chapter on the "Place of local Government in National Development" deals with the latter question. Part I of the work is historical and deals with the Indian and Burmese systems of local government, the foundations of the modern system 1687—1880, Lord Ripon's reforms, the Royal Commission on Decentralisation and the Montagu reforms.

The book is certainly a welcome addition to the limited literature on the history of local government institutions in India, and will, we are sure prove a standard work on the subject. A comprehensive bibliography is given together with an appendix and a Foreword by Lord Hailey. The author, Dr. Hugh Tuker is a lecturer in the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

H. A. R.

Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire by J. M. Thompson (*Blackwell*—32s. 6d).

Louis Napoleon has provoked as much biographical and historical writing on himself, and as many interpretations, as has his illustrious uncle, the first Buonaparte. Several excellent studies of his life and work exist, notably those of Jerrold, Simpson, Guedella and more recently Guerard. Most of these works however are fairly old and have not incorporated the latest research, especially the recent work of French scholars on the period. J. M. Thompson's present work will thus be appreciated. The author has besides a claim to being an authority on French history having already written two standard books *The French Revolution* in 1943 and *Napoleon Buonaparte* in 1952.

Louis Napoleon's mission in life was to carry on the work of his uncle from the point at which it had been dropped in 1815; to restore and liberalise the empire; to revise the Vienna settlement; and to make France once more the predominant power in Europe. How far he succeeded, and why he failed; how the country prospered under his regime, and what part was played in it all by his own character and conduct of affairs; these are some of the obvious questions that arise and which are ably dealt with in this book.

The work deals with the early life of Louis Napoleon, 1808—1831, with the period spent as pretender to the throne, 1831—40, and as an outlaw from France, 1840—48. The four years as President are next treated followed by the years as Emperor. The latter is conveniently divided into five periods, firstly the period 1856—59 spent as the "Liberator" of Italy, the period 1859—69 into which the colonial and Mexican advertures fall, the age of liberalism at home, and finaly the concluding period under the shadow of Bismarck and the new Germany.

The book throughout shows the scholarship and lucidity of expression which one finds in Dr. Thompson's other writings on French history, and one has no hesitation in recommending it for both the student and the genera reader.

S. D. K.

Joseph Stalin, Complete Works Volumes 10, 11, 12 and 13 (*Foreign Languages Publishing House*, Moscow—?).

Joseph Stalin has not lacked either biographers or interpreters of his life and work. His own writings have been published and republished in hundreds of languages, and the student of Marxism does not lack handy selections of his works. The present volumes are, however, noteworthy. They can claim completeness in the sense that here is a *corpus* of everything that Stalin ever wrote. They form, besides, the edition "authorised" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The collected writings appearing in these volumes, are therefore, valuable for students of Marxism, as they outline the thoughts of the man, who next to Lenin, contributed most to the development of Marxist theory and practice.

The writings are arranged in chronological order and volume 10 deals with the period August—December 1927, Volume 11 from January 1928 to March 1929, Volume 12 from April 1929 to June 1930 and Volume 13 from July 1930 to January 1934. The difficulties in compiling a writer's collected works are obvious, specially if the writings are to be arranged in chronological order. It is natural that important writings should be juxtaposed with minor ones and that major statements on theory should go side by side with statements on immediate and more practical problems. The latter, which is bound to predominate in the collected works of a man of action like Stalin, should not however, be lightly set aside, for they provide extremely useful source material for interpreting the history of the time.

The most important writings in the books are the reports and speeches delivered either to the Central Committee of the Communist Party or to the Annual Party congress. These outline policy and the work done for the previous year and thus constitute useful historical records. Of the major "theoretical" articles, Volume 10 contains one on the "Trotskyist opposition", Volume 11 on "The Right Danger in the German Communist Party", Volume 12 on "Agrarian Policy" and Volume 13 on "New Tasks in Economic Reconstruction."

S. D. W.

The Mind of Man by Gilbert Highet (*Oxford University Press*—16 sh).

The Mind of Man brings together two individual but related works — *Man's Unconquerable Mind* and *The Migration of Ideas*. The first of these surveys the growth of culture from savagery to the present day and symbolises aspects of the thinking mind drawn from myth and history: Job; Antigone Prometheus. It outlines the powers of knowledge and also its necessary limits, forecasting it as a power capable of developing in three different ways, with three possible destinies for mankind. *The Migration of Ideas* which originated in the author's reading of Spengler and Toynbee, describes an approach to history which is relatively new inasmuch as it concentrates on the influence of ideas and the interpretation of events in the light of movements of fertilising and challenging thoughts.

Dr. Gilbert Highet is Professor of Latin Language and Literature at Columbia University, and as such is eminently qualified to work on the subject he bas undertaken. His writings show an exceptional skill in clarification furthered by an engaging literary style which should give pleasure to the reader while imparting a wealth of sound knowledge.

S. D. B.

The Origins of Christianity by Archibald Robertson (*Lawrence and Wishart* —21sh).

This book is an nvestigation by a well-known authority on Christian origins, of the social roots of early Christianity and of the forces which contributed to the foundation of the Christian church. Archibald Robertson traces the development of messianic ideas among the Jews of the Roman Empire; discusses the so-called "myth theory" about Jesus and maintains that the Christ story did originate from definite historical events; and analyses the different tendencies which arose within the early Christian Communities. This is a scholarly and stimulating book about a subject of universal interest.

G. D. S.

Sinhala Verse (Kavi) Collected by the late Hugh Nevill, F. Z. S., 1869—1886·

Edited by P. E. P. Deraniyagala. Parts II and III. *Ceylon National Museums Manuscript Series.* Vol.s V and VI. (*Government Press,* Colombo, 1954, 1955. Price Rs. 6/- each.)

We had occasion to review at length the first part of this important publication, in the January—April, 1954, issue of our *Journal.* We now welcome the two remaining parts. Part II contains another 300 poems covering a range of epic, narrative, lyrical, didactic, panygeric, elegiac, ballad and popular poetry—both classical and modern. Part III consists of 311 poems, several of which deals with domestic and artisans' rituals that are of ethnic interest, for little or nothing is known of these to-day. This concludes the publication of the 911 poems.

Some of the poems mentioned by Nevill, which have been printed, are not readily available to students at all, and the importance of these three publications cannot be estimated. They are useful works of reference for research students, who will find them valuable guides to select works, which are not available in this country. The books are well printed, and the National Museums Department has done a great service to the country by publishing them, which was made possible through the generosity of Sir Paul Pieris, C.M.G.

D.

Chinese History and World History by E. G. Pulleybank (*Cambridge University Press*—2sh. 6d.).

The above is the Inaugural Lecture delivered by Dr. E. G. Pulleybank on succeeding to the Chair of Chinese at the University of Cambridge. The paper shows that China has always been regarded as a nonentity and outside the mainstream of human history. This has been due to both ignorance of Chinese civilisation as well as to the "difficulty of fitting the vast mass of detail of Chinese history into the familiar patterns of Western history." Professor Pulleybank however shows that China did contribute directly to the development of modern Europe and gives for example the Chinese discovery of printing, gunpowder, the mariners compass, and even paper currency!

S. D. W.

Studies in English Social History—Ed. J. H. Plumb (*Longmans,*—21*sh*)

Studies in Social History is a presentation volume given to one of the greatest historians of our time, G. M. Trevelyan on his eightieth birthday. The work differs from the usual festerschrift by not being extra academic, and thus of use only to the specialist. As the editor J. H. Plumb says in his preface, "to have presented our most readable historian with a massive monument of unreadability would have been indeed graceless". The very readability of the book is "a tribute to Trevelyan".

Trevelyan's greatest work and his best known is, perhaps, the social history of England and the editor has wisely decided to confine the presentation volume to this limited theme, instead of including articles on all the various subjects on which Tevelyan wrote with such excellence. The book consists of 8 essays on the social history of England in the last four centuries written by acknowledged authorities. A. L. Rowse writes on Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints, W. G. Hoskins on the Elizabethan Provincial Town of Leicester, Wallace Notestein on the Englishwoman 1580 to 1650, C. V. Wedgwood on Comedy in the Reign of Charles I, Habakkuk on Deniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, J. H. Plumb on the Walpoles, Father and Son, Kitson Clark on the Romantic Element 1830—50, and N. G. Annon on the Intellectual Aristocracy.

Each of the essays is an entity by itself though bound together by the general theme. Each is besides followed by a section of notes which also includes a select bibliography that the reader will find useful, while nearly twenty well reproduced illustrations supplement the text. Enthusiasts of social history, most of whom have been brought up on the accurate though readable works of G. M. Trevelyan will have nothing to complain of in the present work.

S. B.

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CORRESPONDENCE

BORNEO TO BATUTA

A classic figure of Borneo, Wang Alak Ber Tata, subsequently the first Sultan of the one-time great and still strong state of Brunei, Sultan Mohamed, is clearly in the same category of historical and legendary figure as the great missionary of the period Datu Pati (Merpati) and the latter Sultan Nakoda Ragam. Both the latter occur very widely in the legends of South-East Asia, as I have shown elsewhere [1].

Merpati and Ragam feature dramatically in Borneo story and song. But they were entirely overshadowed by Wang Alak Ber Tata, first Sultan.

I use the Murut pronunciation of Bertata because it is in the stories of the Murut-Belabits [2] that he attains his greatest stature. In Brunei versions this aspect is underplayed and sometimes ignored; it is naturally not pleasant for a great royal house to admit an apparently pagan and "hill-tribe" ancestry.

I am going to suggest that they do not need to worry. At least, that they can put up a very good argument, right or wrong—but as hard to refute as Braddell or Coedes placing Ptolemy's names around the Asian landscape *au choix*.

For it has occurred to me that there is a striking coincidence in the nomenclature. The term Wang (malayanised to Awang) Alak Ber Tata has long puzzled me in the Borneo context. It is not *like* any other Borneo name. Many a long equatorial evening it has bobbed into my mind as an uneasy misfit. And there is something, after all, to be said for these little sores in the mind—an apparatus only too ready to accept its own conveniences, forget and go on.

Then the other day I got the latest issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* (III,2) with a stimulating paper on "Jews in Medieval Ceylon" by H. G. Reissner of New York. He there tells of "The 14th century visitor Ibn. Batuta."

This clicked. Of course, I knew of Ibn. Batuta. Now I suddenly realised that he *fitted* my pattern. The same pattern where Datu Pati and Nakoda Ragam, under varying names, were outside figures as well as inside (inside Borneo).

This made me turn to H. A. R. Gibb's and more specifically to Professor Coedes [3].

Coedes dates Ibn. Batuta visiting the area 1345—6 on behalf of the "Sultan of Delhi." His exact movements are far from clear.

I am *not*, of course, suggesting that Wang Alak Ber Tata *was* Ibn. Batuta. I am suggesting the echo of one's importance could have sounded upon the other; that the projection of one pioneer—who caused indeed a considerable clamour—fell upon another, as is so very commonly the case in folklore, east or west.

Anyway, the possibilities are tempting, if speculative. I believe such clues are always worth recording for follow-ups elsewhere. It is for this reason I offer this note.

TOM HARRISSON,
Curator,
Sarawak Museum,
BORNEO.

1. Paper in the hands of *Malayan Historical Society*, July, 1954. See also *Sarawak Museum Journal V*, 1951, pp. 417—441; and *Journal Malayan Branch*, R. A. S. XXII, 1949, pp. 33—110.
2. As defined in T. Harrisson and A. Bolang, *Sarawak Museum Journal, V* 1951, pp. 116—124.
3. H. A. R. Gibb: "Ibn. Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa" London; G. Coedes "Les Etats Hindonises d'Indochine et d' Indonesie," Paris.

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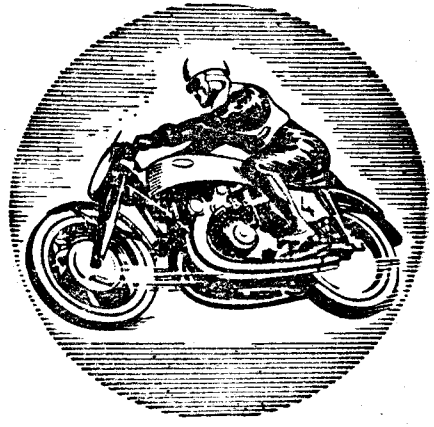

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