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JNL. GETS RIGHTS FOR CRANKSHAW BOOK

Challenging New Book on Stalin's Russianism Exclusive Publication Beginning Next Week

THE U.N.P. Journal is glad to announce the serialization, beginning next week, of a new and compelling book, "Russia by Daylight," by Edward Crankshaw. In announcing this we acknowledge our grateful thanks to the author, the publishers, Messrs. Michael Joseph, London, and to the good offices of the Public Relations Division of the U.K. High Commissioner's Office in Colombo.

EDWARD CRANKSHAW knows his Russia well and has a profound sympathy for the Russian people

He was attached to the British Military Mission to Moscow from 1941-1943. He was the London Observer Russian correspondent since 1947 and has written a number of books on the subject. This new book is a noteworthy and important attempt to assess the real nature of the Cold War and our chances of survival short of total war. While he offers no optimism Edward Crankshaw concludes that the future is for us provided we are ready to shoulder its burdens. He does not minimise the strength of the Kremlin's position, but he is not afraid of emphasising its weaknesses too often ignored. In particular, his argument brings out very strongly the way in which so much of Stalin's policy, at first sight cal-

culated and deliberate, has in fact been the main cause of severe internal pressure.

"We are so afraid of wishful thinking," he remarks, "that many of us have stopped thinking altogether. It is useless to make an appreciation of the enemy's strength while leaving his weaknesses out of account; but that is just what our fear of wishful thinking is always making us do."

The field covered by his book is extensive and full of complexities, the treatment is as simple as it can be made. The definition of the enemy's motives not only attempts to disentangle Leninism from eter-

nal Revolution, but also in the large world to sort out the spirit of Leninism from the universal struggle of the under-dog.

Having isolated the Soviet Government as the sole conscious and deliberate trouble-maker and demonstrated the extent to which Lenin brought Russia into Marxism, Edward Crankshaw goes on first to examine the aims and motives of the Kremlin in the light of past Russian history, its own declarations and its current activities and then to estimate its resources, its strength and weakness, its particular reference to the material and moral strength of Russia. This sums up the examination of the relationship between the Russian people and the Stalin regime and brings out the progressive and perhaps inevitable motive of the original revolutionary idea.

YOUTH LEAGUE ELECTS OFFICE BEARERS

Sumanasinghe & Wijesiriwardene
 Jt. Secretaries

Dodampegama Tops Poll for Vice-Presidents

MESSRS. Tudor Wijesiriwardena and K. D. Sumanasinghe were unanimously elected Joint Secretaries of the All-Ceylon U.N.P. Youth League at the first meeting of the Council held at the U.N.P. Youth League Headquarters, Colpetty, on Sunday.

Mr. T. Wijepala H. Mendis was unanimously elected Hony. Treasurer.

There were 14 candidates for four posts as Vice-Presidents and after secret ballot the following were elected to office: Messrs. Somadeva Amarasinghe, P. A. Jinadasa Niyanthapala, Chandra Sahabandu, Bandula Dodampegama. The last-named topped the poll.

Out of 36 names for the working committee of 20 the following were elected by secret ballot: Messrs. S. Sivarajah, D. Kamal Wijesinghe, M.

R. Rupasinghe, T. H. Sirisena, M. Wimalanatha Dissanayake, T. S. W. Ranaweera, H. M. K. Lazarus, Kulasiri Amaratunge, H. A. Sirisena, Percy Wickremanayake, W. J. F. Rodrigo, Chandra Karunaratne, A. N. de Silva, A. W. H. Dayaratne, Bernard Jayaratne, K. Kanattage, T. W. Karunaratne, Jayaratne, Chandra D. Perumal, G. H. Wilbert de Silva and Nimal Rohana.

Sir John Kotelawala who had earlier explained the provisions of the constitution which were read in Sinhalese and English by the protem Joint Secretaries, Messrs. Wijesiriwardena and Dodampegama, appealed to Youth Leaguers to realise the importance of the elections to be held and to select their men with care because the future of the All-Ceylon Youth League depended a great deal on those office-bearers who would undertake the task of organisation for the coming year.

THE SOVIET PATTERN OF PEACE-III

WHEN a village chandiyas suddenly becomes addicted to peaceful ways it means one of two things. Either he has received a thrashing from some one of greater prowess than himself or he is plotting some diabolical act of mischief or carnage. One is reminded of the village bully when one ponders over the new turn of events in Korea. The Communist armies there seem to be all out for an end to the conflict by peaceful means. Of course, it means that Russia has shown them the green light. Perhaps, even the blood-thirsty wolves in the Kremlin are tired of seeing North Koreans and Chinese being slaughtered while

members of the Russian General Staff watch the show from ringside seats.

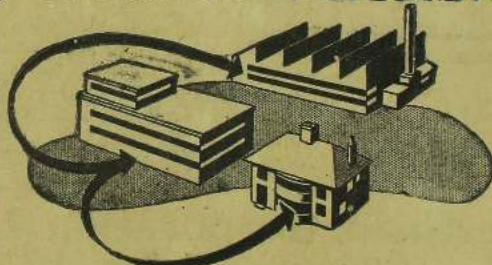
Or, perhaps, it is not so simple as that. The village bully (the Kremlin) is plotting some diabolical act of mischief in some other part of the

By A. S. M.

world. Is it the turn of the Middle East which is now simmering like a witches' cauldron? Who can tell whether the Kremlin at last wants peace in the Far East in order that it might stir a witches' brow on the southern borders of Russia? It may

(Continued on page 6)

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Concluding article in series by **BERYL ARIARATAM**

MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES



WHEN I first knew that I was to come to the States, I was filled with great happiness—but this happiness was tinged with a feeling of doubt, because I did not know how I would fit into a land of millionaires, gangsters, cowboys, film stars and skyscrapers! Once I was here, I was both relieved and disappointed. America is a country not so very different from mine (except in the amenities that a rich country can afford), peopled with citizens, whose generosity and kindness astounds a stranger. The average American is never too busy to point out the sights worth seeing, nor to direct you, should you not know your way about. If you look puzzled and lost some one of those scurrying by would stop and ask if there is any-

way in which he could help. This is the characteristic that has won my deepest admiration.

The people here are very independent. Once a girl has finished her schooling, she tries as far as possible to find some employment and get away from her parents' home. She likes to be independent and live her own life without parental control. This does not always work well, and I have seen American girls in their teens, keeping very late hours, smoking and drinking and trying their best to appear sophisticated women of the world. Yet, on the whole, American youth are more fitted to face life's problems than their sheltered contemporaries in most of the other countries.

From what little I have seen of the educational system of this country, I have got the impression that learning is made too easy for the children, and anything that is received without much effort on the part of the receiver is not as appreciated as if he had to work hard for it. Too little emphasis is put on spelling and notices such as "driv ur self," "while u wait," "your wate and fate," "every nite," "thorofare" and "thru" do not seem to disturb anyone. A girl, who would be receiving her Bachelor's degree next June, wrote to me, and in her letter she wrote "certainly" for "certainly" and "verry" for "very." This surprised me quite a lot, as even a high-school girl should know how to spell those words.

In speech the American child is really excellent. I have listened to the Quiz Kids on television and I am astonished at their knowledge and ability to speak. They are never at a loss as for something to say, devices such as motion pictures, radio, television and recordings have aided the teacher greatly in her task of teaching the children how to speak correctly.

American College students know very little about Geography. They do not know even the geography of their own country. We, foreigners, have had very many opportunities to test their knowledge of the location of our various countries. We would be asked where we came from, and on replying, a puzzled look would come over the face of the inquirer, and the next inevitable question is, "Where is that?" Some educators here believe that geography is not needed on the college level, asserting that the high schools did an adequate job. But the lack of geographical knowledge of the college students indicates that there is a serious deficiency in their education.

One thing that I have noticed in American schools is that the pupils are guided to practice and cherish their American citizenship, and to learn to use and appreciate the rights and liberties maintained through the sacrifice of pioneers and patriots. The pupils are given real training in democratic practice. The teachers and pupils plan their work together instead of the former assignment method, where the teacher plans the work and the pupils carry out her orders. The students study civics and appreciate the American pattern of living, and develop an understanding, not only of their government, but also of the major problems with which their government must deal. They learn to work with others, share responsibilities, to give unselfish service, and to develop self-discipline—all so necessary in the democratic American way of life.

The schools are also improving the quality of home and family life. The students are taught the importance of courtesy, kindness and understanding at home. They begin to see that, just as in other co-operative enterprise, each person has his particular work to do, if the family is to live harmoniously together. Soon the pupil comes to see the need of and to accept this division of work and responsibility in the family circle. Some schools teach courses such as foods, clothing, home mechanics and industrial arts, as well as instruction in home management, budgeting, marketing and home nursing, which contributes much to successful home living.

A very important task of the public schools is to train the boys and girls to get along well with others—to appreciate and practise the American way to life, which emphasises fair play, teamwork and ready acceptance of all fellow human beings as equals. We have felt the outcome of this training wherever we went, for we were received by individuals and families as if we were fellow Americans.

While in Texas we visited the Casis Elementary Schools in Austin. Here we found a section of the school being devoted to the education of the physically handicapped children. There were classes for the crippled children and rooms containing swimming baths, where they were massaged by trained nurses. Another room was fitted with a microphone and hearing aids for the benefit of those children, who were short of hearing, but not completely deaf. Yet another room has extra bright lights, and here were taught children, whose eyesight was poor. These physically handicapped children had periods of work followed by periods of rest. They took the same courses as the other children of their grades, except those like physical training and games, and at the end of the school year they took the same tests as the others, who were

physically fit. America is really a land of hope for them.

America can set a very good example to the world as regards her outlook on work. No one considers it beneath his dignity to work, whether it be in the office or making roads. The dignity of labour here is very great. College students may serve as waiters in a restaurant to pay for their education. They are admired, rather than looked down upon, for their diligence.

METHODS, MATERIALS, TECHNIQUES AND IDEAS TO BE ADOPTED

From my observations on the teaching of English in the United States I gathered much that would be helpful in teaching English at home. I have seen that much more emphasis should be laid on speaking. The ideal way to achieve this is to let the pupils speak the language for about one year before a single written word is shown them. In this year they would learn the correct pronunciation of the words and not confuse the sound of the word with the way it is written. When a child is taught the sound for the written letter "a", he pronounces that sound in all instances when that vowel appears, e.g., in "man" "American," "gate" and "always." If he has already learned how to pronounce these words, when he comes across the written word it could be explained then that it is the conventional spelling of it. A tape or wire recorder too would be of great help in teaching the language, especially when the classes are very big. The teacher could prepare the recording beforehand and the class could hear it over and over again until the children familiarize themselves with the pronunciation rhythm, intonation and stress. If the teacher herself speaks English with a foreign accent, she could get the recording made by a person who speaks well, and the children would greatly benefit by hearing the language spoken as it should be. Recording the children's voices would show them their mistakes. To aid me in the teaching of correct pronunciation, I made, while in Texas, a complete chart showing the positions of the tongue while making different sounds. If the students are not able to imitate a sound when I make it, the chart would show them in what positions their tongues should be, and whether the sound is voiced or voiceless. With this information and a hand-mirror they would find it easy to diagnose their mistakes in making that particular sound. The Phonetic System should be used before conventional writing.

I have seen the different ways in which pictures could be utilized in teaching a language. The children, who cannot read at all, are shown pictures without captions and they recognize what the picture is. The older children, who can read, are shown the pictures with the captions. After a while the pictures are separated from the captions and then the children match them.

If children are taught by the play method there is much more interest and subconscious learning. The class should be divided into two and letters of the alphabet given out to the groups, one to each child. The teacher calls out a word and the children, who have the letters contained in the word, run out and form it before the teacher. The team that finishes making the word first, scores a point. If the class is small, the teacher could give out only those letters which would be needed to make the words she has in mind.

An audio-visual aid which I think would be very helpful is the one where a picture is projected on to a screen and a moveable arrow points to various objects and the teacher names them. Small children would be very interested in this

(Continued on page 10)

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Serial Story

THE NEW MACHIAVELLI or the MEGALOMANIAC POWER SEEKER

THE STORY SO FAR: The descendants of a long line of opportunists who had enriched themselves by serving the foreign conquerors of his country, Dompesinghe, an ambitious young man, newly returned from England after completing his education there, realises that the path pursued by his forebears no longer offers a satisfactory career for his talents since the era of empires was coming to an end the scope for native stooges of the foreigner was severely limited in the new context of things. He, therefore, embarked upon a political career. After a long apprenticeship, he began to feel that he was more fitted to be Premier than anyone else in his country. On his country gaining independence, his ambitions received a fresh fillip. For a brief period he consented to serve as the second-in-command to a real national leader who became Premier after the formation of a party which represented all nationalities. But the aristocrat soon resented the subordinate position in which he was placed and seceded from the Government after having first struck a bargain with the Opposition leaders. At the elections which followed his party was betrayed by the other Opposition parties (who really had good reasons for distrusting him) and the man who hoped to become Premier was left with only fourteen electoral followers, five of whom soon afterwards abandoned him to join the ruling party, which thus secured an over-all majority of sixteen. The elections were scarcely over when the rubber crisis deepened into a ruinous depression.

THE relief measure of the President of the U.S.A. had proposed was merely a drastic reduction in the output of the U.S.A. synthetic rubber industry. He pointed out that this step alone would restore the price level of natural rubber to a point where the production of natural rubber would again become an economic proposition. He warned Congress that if it refused to come to the help of the natural rubber industry, it would become impossible to contain Communism in South-East Asia by military means alone. But all his importunities were in vain. The Congress would not budge from its position that the natural rubber industry must adjust itself to the new situation by restricting its own production.

At the height of the crisis Red China and Russia seized the opportunity to fish in troubled waters and between them offered to purchase half the total annual natural rubber output of Ceylon and South-East Asia at double the then ruling price which was only 80 Ceylon cents. The Malayan Government rejected the offer, but both Ceylon and Indonesia stated they would close with it and sent representatives to Sweden to meet delegates from Russia and China to arrange terms. Thereupon the U.S. Congress threatened to cut off all trade relations with Ceylon and Indonesia. The hearts of many politicians here quailed at the mere mention of this American resolve and representatives of the tea and coconut interests advised the Government that it would be better to let the rubber industry go to the dogs than incur American displeasure. Dompesinghe himself feared the economic consequences to Ceylon of American anger, and offered to support the Government if it decided to change its mind and withdraw its acceptance of the Russian and Chinese offer.

However, the Premier, Diya Sena, was made of sterner stuff. He had not risked his life in the past oppos-

ing British rule in order now to sacrifice his country's independence to the economic policies of even the richest country in the world. In a carefully worded statement in Parliament he made it clear that his acceptance of the Red offer would stand unless rubber was given an equitable market in the West by the reduction of the synthetic output.

Meanwhile, however, unknown to him, Britain, after prompt consultation with Canada, Australia and New Zealand, had begun to use her good offices with the American Congress. India and Pakistan warned the U.S.A. that the action of its Congress, if persisted in, would anta-

By A. S. Morrison

gonise the whole of non-Communist Asia. And the unequivocal terms in which the Prime Minister of Ceylon had couched his message to his own Parliament when he affirmed his determination to ignore the threat of the U.S. Congress made it clear that he would prefer to encompass the ruin of his country rather than give in to such menaces. He thus displayed the same intrepid spirit with which in the past he defied the risk (the very real risk) of a firing squad.

In a fortnight's time, however, the crisis blew over. Faced by a united Commonwealth and an uproar in the Press of their own country, the U.S. Congress began to see reason, and it now accepted, by a majority of 30 votes, the advice of the President to curtail the activities of the synthetic industry—a measure which it earlier rejected by a bare margin of eleven votes. Thus, one of the anomalies of the American Constitution was thrown into rather lurid relief. It was the kind of thing the 19th century British political philosopher, Bagehot, predicted might happen some day—an American President elected on a Democrat ticket having to face a predominantly Republican Congress or vice versa.

From another point of view, too, the maladroit conduct of Congress served a useful and valuable purpose. It demonstrated to the whole world the solidarity of a great political organisation knit together only by the ties of freedom and from whose relations with each other the very idea of coercion of any kind was absent. This political organisation was the Commonwealth. Its unity of action on this occasion—in defence of one of its least powerful members—was a lesson that was not lost on the Kremlin (as we shall see).

(To be continued).

FLOOD WARNING INVENTION BY A CEYLONESE

AN automatic flood warning has been invented by a Ceylonese Research Assistant in the Irrigation Department, Mr. Albert Makalande, which enables immediate warning to be received at the headquarters of any rise of water level above safety point in a river or tank however remote their location may be.

The invention known as GLADI (Gauge Level and Danger Indicator) consists of an electric gauge-post which could be installed at key points and immediately a rise occurs a series of warning sirens sets off. Readings by Gladi will reach headquarters instantaneously. The Director of Irrigation is of opinion that the invention turns out a real success, the tests made being described as encouraging as well as accurate, it will be a wonderful thing. Water levels of tanks and rivers in remote places will be read off with no delay.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT "AGNES NONA"

How Leftists made Vile Propaganda out of the Misery of a Hapless Woman

IT would seem that the facts or the circumstances relating to the Agnes Nona case, are not known, and by the simple process of repeating the phrase "Agnes Nona," the Leftists have made vile propaganda out of it. There has been no abuse of the powers of the Government nor has there been any utilisation of the machinery of the Government for any political ends in this case. No semblance of such a suggestion has ever been made by the Supreme Court.

There would thus appear to be a complete misapprehension in the minds of the movers of the "No Confidence" motion as to the question that was actually agitated in the Supreme Court judgment. The

allegation made was not that the Minister had interfered in any political sense in the administration of justice but only that a junior official in the Ministry had communicated a lawful order of the Governor-General to the wrong authority. Whether or not the official in question was guilty of a technical administrative error cannot affect the Parliamentary position, namely, that no question of Ministerial interference had arisen.

Justice Dias himself in his judgment states that the order of His Excellency the Governor-General granting a commutation of the sentence upon the advice tendered by the Minister of Justice is a lawful one. The only question that he proceeded to consider was whether the lawful order of His Excellency upon the advice of the Minister of Justice had been illegally carried out.

The facts of the case which have never been questioned are as follows:—

Rita, the daughter of a riding boy, was living with her parents in a tenement in a garden in Wellawatte. She was a professional dancing girl who used to appear on the stage in outstations. The accused Agnes Nona lived close by; and her young nephew Piyadasa who was living in her house, had formed a friendship with Rita. The young couple were in love with each other, and Rita's parents were well aware of it. A proposal that the young couple should get married had been made but Rita's parents were not in favour of it. One morning the accused had beckoned to Rita to come to her house. Rita did not respond immediately but came to the accused's house a short while later. The accused then proceeded with Rita to the Police Station at Wellawatte and made statements there. Rita who gave her age as 18, said that she was in love with Piyadasa and was leaving her home where she was harassed by her parents to get married to him. She was then taken by Agnes Nona to her brother's (Agnes Nona's) house where she was carefully looked after by that family.

Rita's parents were aware that the girl had gone with the accused but took no action until arrangements were made to get the young couple married two days later. It was only then that Rita's mother complained to the Police. It was discovered that the girl was just under 16 years of age, namely, 15 years and some months; and therefore steps were taken to prosecute Agnes Nona for kidnapping Rita from the lawful custody of her mother.

Agnes was arrested and she was apparently so shaken by a criminal charge being preferred against her that she had a miscarriage in Court and was ill on one or two dates of trial. She was convicted by the Magistrate and sentenced to five months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 100. Her appeal to the Supreme Court was dismissed. Thereupon she appealed to His Excellency the Governor-General for a remission of her sentence in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

Counsel appeared in support of the petition and it was proved that the shock of the dismissal of her appeal by the Supreme Court so disturbed her mind that it upset her mental balance and rendered her insane. The Medical Officer of the Mental Hospital, who certified to her condition, stated that the mental symptoms followed a miscarriage and conviction in this case. D.C. lunacy proceedings had been taken against her and she received medical treatment at the Mental Hospital from which she was subsequently discharged.

Apart from the technical nature of the offence and the frank manner in which the accused had acted it was clear that if the accused was sent to jail it might bring about a relapse of her mental condition. In these circumstances advice was tendered by the Minister of Justice that it was a proper case for a commutation of the sentence from imprisonment and fine to an order that the accused should be bound over in a sum of Rs. 250 to be of good behaviour for a period of one year. The Governor-General made order accordingly and, as stated earlier, Justice Dias, to quote his very words, says: "If I may say so with respect that appears to be a lawful order."

When the Governor-General's order was communicated to the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice one of the Assistant Secretaries forwarded it to the Magistrate for favour of necessary action with a request to inform him when Agnes Nona had entered into the bond.

If Agnes Nona was already in jail the order would have been communicated to the Commissioner of Prisons. If she was in the Mental Hospital it would have been communicated to the Superintendent of such hospital. Since she had had not yet appeared in Court to hear the result of her appeal to the Supreme Court the proper authority to whom the order should have been communicated was the Magistrate. The only question that arose was about the form of the communication by the Assistant Secretary.

In the proceedings initiated by Justice Dias neither the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice nor any other executive officer was noticed to appear or make a party. The views of the Attorney-General who was noticed to assist the Court were not accepted. The main contention of the Solicitor-General who appeared was that the carrying out of the order of the Governor-General was merely an executive act to be performed by the Magistrate in his capacity as the Head of the Department of that Court which was under the Permanent Secretary. The Magistrate was not performing any judicial function which required the exercise of any judicial discretion. The Judge, after hearing argument, however, came to the conclusion that the "Governor-General's" lawful order had been illegally carried out. He, however, did not make any order in the case. Therefore there is no possibility of testing the correctness of his view, since it is well known that there is no appeal to a higher authority when no order is made by a Judge. Unfortunately therefore it must remain the opinion of an individual judge which is undoubtedly entitled to great respect.

It may be added that the Attorney-General who has carefully considered this judgment is of opinion that the request of the Assistant Secretary was not illegal; and that no appeal can be taken from such judgment as the Judge has not made an order in the case.

Date of offence	14.6.50
Agnes was arrested on	16.6.50
Police proceedings commenced on	17.6.50
She had a miscarriage in Court on	27.6.50
Ill on one or two dates of trial	
Plaint itself was filed on	1.8.50
Trial before Mr. R. Ramachandran, Magistrate, Colombo South, on	21.11.50
Conviction and sentence by Magistrate on	22.11.50
Supreme Court dismissed her appeal on	24.4.51
She petitioned the Governor-General on	15.5.51
She was certified by the Medical Officer of the Mental Hospital to be insane on	17.5.51
She was discharged from the Mental Hospital on	28.6.51

There are many instances where the Executive and the Judiciary have both to perform complementary functions in the administration of justice on behalf of the Government. For instance—

where the accused is found to be of unsound mind the Court has to report the case to the Minister of Justice and the Minister can order the accused to be confined in a lunatic asylum or other suitable place, and the Court is bound to carry out that order—Section 369 of the Criminal Procedure Code;

where a person is acquitted of a time he committed the offence he criminal charge because at a was not of sound mind the Court, whether it is the Supreme Court or any other Court, has to report the case for the orders of the Minister of Justice who has to make an order to confine the man in an asylum or other suitable place—Section 374 of the Criminal Procedure Code;

where a person who has committed a crime is confined in a lunatic asylum the Minister of Justice may appoint a Committee of Inquiry consisting of a Magistrate and two Medical Officers to inquire into the state of mind of such person, to record evidence, and to make a report to the Minister who has the power to order his discharge or detention—Section 377 of the Criminal Procedure Code;

even in the case of remission or commutation of a sentence in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy the Governor-General upon the advice of the Minister of Justice has the right to require a Supreme Court Judge or Magistrate to state his opinion as to whether the application should be granted or refused—Section 328(2) of the Criminal Procedure Code.



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Democracy—VI

Liberty of the Individual

IN these days of political strife when practically every institution seems to be threatened, there seems to be one thing in particular which seems to be on the verge of impoverishment. This is none other than the Liberty of the Individual. In Mill's conception government has two main functions—"what it makes of men and what it does with them." When superficially surveyed, however, there seems to be no depth in thought but on a closer analysis it involves an interpretation of the whole of life and the contribution we make towards it. Materialism believes that the man of faith seeks support in his human task. The man of faith, on the other hand, believes that materialism and all those who advocate it, perform certain acts of faith which must be founded in something greater than himself. Both creeds reconcile themselves when they maintain that self-development is progression not to power or strength but rather for the good and the right; for whether in theological doctrine or in social theory the highest faculties of man cannot lead to any other end.

The individual is the smallest unit of existence and consequently he is instrumental to the working of governmental systems. As a matter of fact totalitarian systems too exist

By Eardey Gunsekere

for him though it adopts an attitude contradictory to this. Many are of opinion that Fascism believes in the crippling of individuality but in actual fact it is so to the extent that in its embryo stages it is far beyond the endurance of the average individual. There have been a numerous amount of people who have had the experience in some sort of military training. Nevertheless people who have an aversion to this type of development as a result of the copious tabloid doses administered in this process, believe that man becomes a mindless, will-less automaton having the herd instinct. This type of allegation is indeed an exaggeration for there is always something enervating to feel that you are a part, to the utmost of one's capacity, of a huge, concerted effort far beyond one's individual powers, in an objective sphere which is often a refreshing contrast to the pettiness of personal subjective concerns. In reality, however, to be a member of a gigantic organization of this type demands sacrifice and the derivation of something galvanic from the sense of co-operation.

If the culture of your body and soul, or the development of your individuality is beneficial to mankind then it follows that liberty is also beneficial to everyone of us. Thus it will be admitted that every living thing should enjoy the maximum of liberty; but to say that is merely to pose a conundrum, since the eternal problem of all government is, what is the due proportion between the liberty of each and the liberty of all. There arises also another interesting question when we consider how one individual could enjoy freedom without depriving of another a small proportion of his freedom, and also how each must give up to the other so that the largest amount for the benefit of the whole could be obtained. If then, we are admirers of the democratic order we could

without difficulty locate those characteristics which tend to recognise this ability of sharing liberty for the common good. This obviously is the secret which keeps a democracy in equilibrium. The Marxist, however, professes that he lays special emphasis on this race. If this be the case, all democrats would ungrudgingly share with them this belief. But here is where the Marxist errs. The Marxist doctrine is such that in its zeal and enthusiasm to maintain the sanctity of its tenets it denies to everyone of us the freedom of conscience. This being the basis on which the Marxist doctrine reposes it is bound to collapse. For nowhere in the world has a political philosopher been able to maintain successfully the liberty of the individual with the deprivation of the freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience means a source for the nourishment of the human soul which in turn imparts to man the flavour of individual liberty. And freedom of conscience lies locked away in the mysterious depths of your spiritual history. It cannot and shall not be stolen away with the aid of the wily tactics of pseudo-politicians.

So much so with the ethical aspect of life. Let us pause for a moment to reflect on a very elementary but absolutely essential problem so closely related with the survival of humanity. The problem of sanitation. This brings back to my memory what Herbert Spencer once said, that it would be better to let a whole class of society perish away with small-pox than have one person vaccinated through coercion. This statement in fact can no longer be accepted—a principle on which Mill said the matter of hygiene and health is a consideration for purely the individual. This is so by virtue of the fact that reason and science has taught us that it is a matter which affects the community at large. In Britain, however, it was recognised that by the exigencies of war and emergency all women should submit to the embarrassing procedure of medical examination for infectious social diseases. Even in the matter of lethargy towards matters such as lunacy and eugenic marriage our democratic nature passes a vote of censure because it just cannot allow a nation to deteriorate in quality and numbers. If we believe in a democracy then we must encourage the propagation of the species and at the same time see to it that we maintain a certain quality. So that from these instances we could safely draw a parallel in the administration of government—the parallel that a government must to an extent foster the liberty of the individual. It must not lie satisfied that the liberty of the individual is matter for the individual. It no doubt is concerned within the periphery of governmental administration.

The value of individual liberty in a democracy could be best appreciated only in its absence, only when we are subdued and subjugated by the iron tyrannical hands of other political "isms" as they are popularly called. But I implore you, this is not an age for speculation, an era of tension when we could afford to replace remedies that have successfully stood the acid test of time by the prescriptions of political quacks. We as democrats love and engender freedom and liberty to the extent that they should be within the limitations of a juridical order. For we all know that to be free, to be true, to follow a bird in the woods are the true riches when all else is destitution.

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GOVERNMENT POLICY ENDORSED

The country has once again endorsed the policy of the Government. The heterogeneous Opposition groups in Parliament with the aid of some members, who only by name are Independents, made a frontal attack on the Government in the shape of a "No Confidence" motion which broke with tradition in that it sought to censure Government not on its general policy but rather in respect of certain specified acts of commission which, they vainly endeavoured to show, were tantamount to an abuse of power. They arrayed against the Government the complete brass band which they possess and, as was to be expected, House of Representatives echoed to the familiar strains of invective, abuse and empty ranting. The three charges which they made against the Government referred to the circular letter sent by our Party Headquarters regarding the loan of cars for the next election, the recent conference of headmen in Colombo and the Agnes Nona remission of sentence. As speaker after speaker from the Opposition benches jumped up from their seats and added their quota to the cacophony of the afternoon, it might have been possible for those who did not know the other side of the story to be persuaded into the belief that all that the Reds and their satellites averred did in point of fact take place. After all but one of the big "guns" of the Opposition had exhausted their ammunition, the Government's "Big Bertha" swung into action. The Prime Minister, solid and imperturbable as ever, rose in his place and in his own inimitable way

swept away the house of cards which the Opposition had laboriously set up. He emphasised that there was never any attempt to corrupt the public service by asking them for cars or by influencing the headmen to throw in their weight on behalf of our Party at the next elections. In the matter of cars a circular which had been sent out as a result of a clerical error had been rectified by another circular which stated that those who were not in a position to accede to the request could ignore it while the Headmen's Conference was necessary so that these key officers who manned the bottom rungs of the service might have the opportunity of seeing how the machinery of Government worked in the higher rungs. The Agnes Nona case had earlier been fully explained by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice who proved factually that there was no interference with the Judiciary and that the remission order was both legal and just. The climax to the Prime Minister's denouement came when he cited the instance of a Village Committee grant being spent on the construction of two gates and a fence on a road running through an estate belonging to the Member for Attanagalla. He also disclosed how during the many years this member held the portfolio of Local Government, his constituency had received in four years over three and a half lakhs while other village committees never got more than Rs. 20,000 each. Stung by this revelation, Mr. Bandaranaike flew into one of his usual tantrums and screamed his rage but his excuses were thin. He made out that he had gifted the road which he valued at Rs. 20,000 to the Village Committee. So far, so good. But if he was magnanimous in doing so, why was it that he did not step in and prevent the 'quid pro quo' which the V.C. gave him in the shape of two imposing gates and a barbed-wire fence complete with concrete posts? The country waits for his answer.

The Soviet Pattern of Peace—III

(Continued from page 1)

be time to see innocent Moslems involved in a shambles just in order that Stalin and his cloy may amuse themselves with something really blood-curdling.

There are some ominous signs that a flare-up of a new front is brewing. What is the meaning of the following Reuter report:

RUSSIA WARNS MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

LONDON, NOV. 23

Moscow has warned five Middle East States that participation in the Western Powers' proposed Middle East Command would cause "serious damage" to their relations with Russia as well as to the cause of peace and security in the area.

The official Soviet News Agency, Tass, in a despatch picked up in London today, disclosed the contents of notes handed two days ago to the five-

States—Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq and Israel.

"The plan for setting up a Middle East Command has nothing in common with the interests of maintaining peace and security in the Near and Middle East. Nor with the genuine national interest of States in this region," the note said.—Thus, Russia regards it a perfectly peaceful and legitimate proceeding if she signs a pact of military alliance with Red China and posts her Marshalls in Poland and the other satellite States. All this is in the interests of peace. But woe be unto any of her small neighbours if, frightened by Russia's military alliances and her itinerating Marshalls, they too decide to take measures for their own security. That would be tantamount to a threat to Russia's own security.

It needs to be underlined over and over again that the small nations outside the Russian orbit feel thoroughly frightened of the Krem-

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Testament of Faith—1

THE POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF THE U. N. P.

By Ananda Tissa de Alwis



MR. ANANDA TISSA DE ALWIS recently addressed a Colombo Association on the policy and programme of the United National Party. The following is based on portions of the address.

IN a discussion of the policy and programme of the U.N.P., it is necessary to consider the general background against which the political history of that party has to be judged. All parties in Ceylon are in their infant stages because until the beginning of the Soulbury Constitution, the parliamentary system, as it is understood and practised in the United Kingdom, was unknown in this country. The radical change in the method of Government introduced by the Soulbury Constitution amended later to a Dominion Constitution, gave us, for the first time, the Party method of governing the country.

When we criticize or assess any of the parties in Ceylon, therefore, we have to remind ourselves that the parliamentary system is only four years old. Although parties like the L.S.S.P. and the C.P. were brought into being at a much earlier stage and conducted their affairs on a more or less organized party basis because they were wedded to a revolutionary creed.

When the new Constitution was announced and accepted by the last State Council, we had a system of Government which inherently had so many defects that everyone was satisfied that its legacies were in some respects worse than the somewhat melancholy legacies of foreign rule.

In the old days although we had universal franchise the people voted for a person and not for a party. In the event, the main considerations were the degree to which a person could find public support. Men were judged not by the qualities of their mind or their political beliefs, but by the manifestations of their generosity. So when such people, and most of them very honourable and very just, were elected to the State Council, they were speaking most of the time for themselves and not for any recognised body of public opinion.

The Donoughmore Constitution made it necessary for a Council of fifty odd members to divide themselves into small Executive Committees of six or seven in each. These Executive Committees elected their respective Chairmen who came to be styled as Ministers of State. These Ministers were responsible mainly to their Executive Committees and owed no allegiance to each other. Quite obviously the party system cannot operate under such a constitution. In the circumstances, there were as many policies on public matters as there were Ministers and very often even as there were members of the State Council.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

In 1947 when the Soulbury Constitution made it essential for the Government to be run according to British parliamentary traditions, some of the leaders of the Island sat in conference to form a political party. Among the prime movers were the late Sir Francis Molamure, Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva, Mr. S. Natesan, Mr. George E. de Silva, Sir John Kotelawala, Mr. T. B. Jayah, Sir Mohamed Macan Markar and Dr. V. R. Schokman. The primary object of these discussions was to form a party which would put an end to the internecine bickering that had been a feature of our political life for nearly two decades.

The Tamils, Muslims and Burghers who had been organized on racial and religious grounds, were each bargaining with the major community and also one with the other for various advantages. These behind-the-scene activities were prompted by the very natural fear that the overall majority of the Sinhalese would one day stamp down

the rights of the minority communities and imperil their existence.

The first task of the new party-makers was to find a method by which these internecine conflicts would finally be ended, and patriotic people could be brought together to carry out a common programme. The public will remember that this task was successfully completed and the leaders of all communities found in the United National Party as the new party came to be known an organized body which would guarantee justice and equality for all. At this stage the organisers called up Mr. D. S. Senanayake and asked him to accept the leadership of the new party, which he did.

During the later stages of the preliminary discussions the President of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, wanted to be allowed to participate in the talks. He had originally been left out because of his declared racial policies and because of his unreliability in political life, but he assured the Organising Committee that he would sincerely work in harmony and agreed to accept the first principle of the U.N.P., namely, equality for all races and communities calling this country their home.

That is an important consideration to remember when we judge of the achievements of the U.N.P. during the last three and a half years. No one will challenge my position that the U.N.P. has held the scales evenly between the various races and religions in this Island, with the sole exception of the declared policy in regard to Indian citizenship. And there again there is a specific line of policy which laid down that all we wish to insist upon is that a person cannot ask for citizenship for reasons of political or economic convenience; that a person cannot be allowed citizenship in two countries, one during his lifetime of work in our country, and another, when he wishes to retire to a country which he really considers his home. I ask whether this is an unreasonable or unjust attitude on the part of the U.N.P. I insist that it is correct line of policy, a line of policy which a responsible party must take up and accept and which any responsible Government must implement with strength and in the national interest.

To continue with the general background of development, the U.N.P. set out to draft its Manifesto for the General Elections that were due to take place within a few months of the inauguration of the party. We were aware that our party was hastily got together owing to the necessity to be ready to fight the election on a party basis, and because in the history of Constitutional Reform in Ceylon, the most important milestone was the inauguration of the new Constitution.

MAJOR POLICY LINES

In the Manifesto that we drafted we made it clear that it was incomplete and did not deal with every aspect of the economic and political life in Ceylon and that a detailed programme had to be drawn up at a later stage. We made it clear, therefore, that we were leaving out consideration of detail until we had achieved what we rightly considered to be the primary purposes, purposes of national importance for which the party had been founded:

- (1) To achieve complete independence for Ceylon.
- (2) To bring lasting peace and harmony among all communities.
- (3) To give the right to the people of our country to decide who were to be called citizens of Lanka.

Now these were our declarations, these were our purposes and in giving a verdict on the record of the Government of the U.N.P. during

the last four years we have the right to ask that we shall be judged on our declarations and not upon the various other considerations which may be convenient for the Opposition parties to raise, but would be irrelevant without considering the major issues which we posed before the country.

I therefore strongly declare that the U.N.P. can be considered to be the only party which has steadfastly maintained its position as a party which keeps its pledges.

We pledged to make this country free; we have kept that pledge. The public will remember that for two years after the Independence Act was adopted in Parliament the Opposition parties kept repeating that old story that it was a fake independence that Ceylon had received. It is not an accident that the same slogan of "fake independence" was based on the slogan in India, Pakistan and Burma. Today the Communist parties in these three countries know that the people no longer accept that tremendous lie of the little lambs of the Kremlin Mary.

The U.N.P. therefore must be given the credit for having kept its greatest pledge of all.

It is natural to expect some people not to regard this tremendous achievement of complete Independence as of primary importance. It is given to few people to survive the influences of an Imperialist education. It is one of the tragedies of British rule that under a highly anglicised educational system boys and

girls in Ceylon knew more about King Arthur's Knights and Round Table than of the struggle of those who fought to preserve the political independence and sovereignty of the people of this country. There are very few English educated people in Ceylon who could place any ancient Sinhalese King against the context of history.

Such people are not to be blamed for the influences of the intellectual climate in which they were bred. It is difficult for many who come within the category of the English educated intelligentsia therefore to warm to the idea of national freedom.

There is no country anywhere else in the world which has had such a record of continuous warfare in defence of freedom as has Ceylon. Ancient Greece fought many centuries for national independence.

(Continued on page 9)

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U.N.P. Meeting at Eheliyagoda

"IT is the duty of every self-respecting individual to see that law and order is maintained and to take prompt action when the law is violated. As a first step I appeal to you to cultivate a sense of chivalry and civic responsibility," said Sir John Kotelawala, Minister of Transport and Works at a U.N.P. meeting held at Eheliyagoda on Sunday morning. On arrival Sir John was received by representatives from several rural development societies and was conducted in procession to the ground adjoining the Sunday fair where the meeting was held.

Sir John said that a recent newspaper report described how a young couple stranded for the night at Kelaniya were kidnapped by two people who came in a car. In that instance only the chance meeting with a police constable helped to bring the culprits to book. During the 1947 general strike Leftist elements paraded the streets in Colombo shouting insults at Mr. Senanayake and other Ministers. It was the duty of every self-respecting citizen to put a stop to such unruly behaviour.

Answering criticism against two recent actions of the Government, Sir John said that the price of arrack was increased because the demand for it could not be met. Although it has affected the poor man who enjoyed a drink, it was done in order to ensure an equitable distribution. Provision for the medical examination of drivers was included in the new Traffic Act because the Government had to consider the safety of other users of the

road. Those who were physically unfit to drive should be kept off the roads by means of legislation.

In conclusion Sir John sounded a warning note and said that if the Leftists get into power at the next election they would rule Ceylon according to instructions from Russia.

Mr. A. E. B. Kiriella said that the promises made by the U.N.P. have been implemented during the last four years. Their achievements make it clear that they are doers and not mere promisers like the Leftist politicians. Their M.P., Mrs. Florence Senanayake, promised to do many things after her election to Parliament. In spite of these promises she had done very little to improve conditions in the electorate. Even her verbal attacks against capitalists seem to have subsided now that she draws a handsome salary as M.P. and finds herself in easy circumstances.

He said that more people are now coming forward to join the U.N.P. Youth League in the area because they realised the importance of joining a sound political party.

Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis said that Leftists brought red-shirted thugs from Colombo to fight their elections in the provinces. Today the U.N.P. has a fearless army of 50,000 youth leaguers to counter any moves by thugs during political activities. He said that the Leftists were trying to make use of the free vote to destroy the democratic form of Government in the country. He warned the people that if the Leftists got into power it would be the end of democratic institutions here.

Mr. A. M. A. Azeez, Mr. Perera Galawila and Mrs. A. E. B. Kiriella also spoke.

"YOUTH WAKE UP"

Says Kamal Wijesinghe

ENERGY finds its visible and outward manifestations in determination. Should you realise you lack force, aggressiveness and push, begin a mental inspection of yourself without delay. To be satisfied merely providing for actual needs is considered thoroughly selfish. It may be said that such a condition of mind invites the most gigantic kind of failure in life. We must always place respect and value upon our mission in this world, and find out what special work we are fitted to do, and do it truly and well with all our energy. Now before proceeding any further with the subject let us see how far this is correct. There are thousands of academically qualified youth in this country today who, if they are given some work involving in manual labour, hesitate and fight shy of it. The reason? Because they are not taught to respect labour and put into action their physical faculties and have learnt to attach an inordinate importance to mental qualifications. Had they given the slightest consideration to that classical Latin proverb meaning "a sound mind in a sound body" our struggle in life would have been simplified.

These lop-sided growth in modern youth who by the time they come off colleges are effete in body, sapped in energy and lacking in initiative and forceful activity are challenged on the very ground they stand. Can they say with any certainty that they are sure of their mental qualifications? Remember the mind is an abstract force which needs the support of the body for its full expressions and realizations.

It is not fair to put the entire blame on education. Honestly speaking the great majority of parents are content to send their children to school and work hard at their books to get through their examinations. The result is that being imperfect in health he is not successful in achieving the desired results.

On many instances I have watched thousands of students at drill time, which amounts to disciplinary action by the teacher rather than physical exercise. And when it comes to games which are generally

not supervised by the teacher, only a few take part while the others gaze on at the proceedings with indifference.

Therefore what is wanted in an education which caters for once mind as well as body. If we are to progress it is very necessary to increase our energy, and above all recognition of our own inherent forces. With such an education, the youth will not only be more useful in society, but also will give fuller meaning to the term Democracy.

KAMAL WIJESINGHE,
 President, Youth League
 Branch, Dehiwala.

Letter to the Editor

THE result of the British General Election is not without lessons to us in Ceylon. We find that Mr. Churchill has been returned to a seat in Parliament and also saddled with the heavy responsibility of the office of Premiership at the age of 76. Ceylon's Prime Minister is, I believe, eight years younger than Mr. Churchill. Physically and mentally he appears to be quite equal to the task of continuing in his present office for a considerable number of years to come. Those who say that by reason of age Mr. Senanayake should make room for a younger person might consider the action of the British voters with their long and mature experience of democracy and the elective principle.

Even making allowance for the difference in climatic conditions, the somewhat enervating atmosphere of the tropics as contrasted with the invigorating climate of Britain, does not appear to have had its effect on Ceylon's Prime Minister. Perhaps his naturally robust constitution and his way of living are standing him (and the country) in good stead. It is rather premature to urge age as a reason for his retirement.

S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM,
 156, Hultsdorp,
 Colombo-12.

Heirlooms of History—17 By B. R. J. O.

MEDAMAHANUWARA

SITUATED on the ancient highway from Kandy to Bintenna almost midway between Mahanuwara and Alutnuwara, there still linger the interesting remains of the regime which preceded British rule in the Kandyan districts, foremost being the ruins of the royal palace at Medamahanuwara. Though this once royal seat can lay claim to no such hoary antiquity or colossal structures as are found in the North-Central Province and the Magam Pattuwa yet as an heirloom of history it commands veneration which is congenial to the human mind. Within the precincts of what was once a royal palace is a paddy field a "pen of stagnant waters" recalling the lines of Byron's "The Giaour."

"Shrine of the Mighty! can it be
That this is all remains of thee?"

Medamahanuwara, the "middle great city," may have been so called from its position on the route midway and almost equi-distant from Mahanuwara on the one hand and Alutnuwara on the other. The palace, it is said, was used as a halting place on the royal journeys between Kandy and Bintenna and for brief occasional visits extending over one or at the most, two weeks, except for a few months that the Dutch occupied Kandy in the reign of Kirti Sri Raja Sinha (A.D. 1747-1780) it does not appear to have ever served as a permanent residence, but the visits were probably frequent as besides being on the route to Alutnuwara and Bintenna, it was also on the way to the gabadagam or royal villages of Hanwella and Mahawela. The ancient highway crosses the Mahaveliganga at Kundasale, fifteen miles from Kandy and diverging from the river's path through the fertile valleys of Pata Dumbara reaches Teldeniya. Crossing the Huluganga at its junction with Guru Oya the highway climbs the hill at Urugala and Miriyahena (the Nugatenna Gap) and descends for twenty miles till it reaches Weragantota and along the bridge (a modern structure replacing the ancient ferry) terminates at the ancient city of Alutnuwara in Bintenna—the Mahiyangana of legendary and historic fame. The ancient road is now nothing more than a narrow track. It is upon this route that the most interesting remains of ancient times in Dumbara are to be found, such as the palace of Kundasale, the Gal Vihare of Bambaragala and most important of all, the traces of the old city of Medamahanuwara.

BUILT BY SRI VIJAYA RAJA SINHA

The site is well defined by certain containing walls. With the exception of a few fragments of tiles, three large blocks of stone at the north-west corner which are believed to have been part of the Niraviya and two flights of stone steps, the superstructure has entirely disappeared. It is situated in and indeed forms part of a paddy field sloping towards the left bank of the Guru Oya. The palace was erected by a king who was styled by the honorific title of "Medalasse Budu-vechcha Deviyo," between whom and Sri Vickrama Raja Sinha, the last King of Kandy, there were two reigns and that it fell into ruin about the year 1820. It thus appears probable that the palace was built about A.D. 1740 by Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha, who was known as "Hanguranketa" from the palace built by him at that place. There is, however, a vague tradition connecting Medamahanuwara with Sri Vira Parakrama Narendra Sinha, better known as "Kundasale," the King who preceded Vijaya Raja Sinha and reigned from 1706 to 1739. As Kundasale is known to have built a palace at the place from which he derived his eponym, and also the Nata Dewale at Kandy, it is not improbable that the Maligawa at Medamahanuwara should also be added to the list of his works.

SITE SOLD BY ENGLISH GOVT.

There is on record a statement by Mr. J. H. Hamilton of the Ceylon Civil Service, made in 1888, to the effect that the ground on which the palace stood was sold by the English Government about 1828 to a Ratemahatmaya by whom it was sold to another Ratemahatmaya who in his turn re-sold it to one Migahakotuwa Appu Guru-urthehe, who asweddumized the land and converted it into a paddy field.

Tradition relates that the Maligawa was built to replace a still older Maligawa which stood near the Vidiya of Medamahanuwara and was known as the Kongahayata Maligawa and there are not wanting remains in the neighbourhood which date from a time anterior to the foundation of the Maligawa. The remains existing in the adjoining grounds of the Viharewatte and Madamewatte, the Vidiya and last but not least in importance, the royal city of refuge, Galenuwara on the summit of the neighbouring hill. The foundation both of the Vihare and Galenuwara is attributed to King Senarat who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1634.

REFUGE DURING DISSENSIONS

Medamahanuwara was a place of refuge and was used by many of the Kandyan Kings during internal dissensions and at the time of their wars against the Portuguese and Dutch. The following two extracts from the Rajawaliya and Siyamopasampadawata support this fact:

Rajawaliya: "King Senarat retired to the city which he had built at Kalagatwatta in Malepane. Having afterwards erected the fortress Galenuwara in Medamahanuwara, he publicly held court there. He had three sons, viz., Princes Rasin, Vijayapala and Kumarasinha. Sinhale (the hilly portion of the Island) was divided by King Senarat into three parts and each son was assigned a part. The eldest prince Rasin was crowned King of Bintenna and Alutnuwara."

Siyamopasampadawata: "King Senaratna ordered the erection of temples for the Dalada relic (Dalada Mandira) in several of the mountain fortresses, such as Medamahanuwara, and the Dalada relic which had been receiving the customary adorations at Sriwardhanapura was ordered to be taken to these various temples, where constant and similar devotions should be paid to it. "Having taken his chief queen and all his harem, as well as the royal princess and carrying his hereditary treasures, he fled to Mahiyangana where he resided in a palace in the vicinity of Mahiyangana Chetyia."

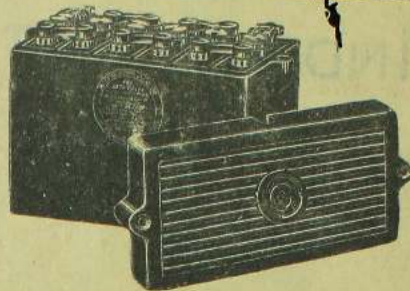
It is stated in the Rajawaliya that King Sri Vira Narendra Sinha or Kundasale (great grandson of Senarat (1706-39) escaped to this city of Medamahanuwara owing to a conspiracy having been formed by his ministers for his dethronement and assassination.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF THE U. N. P.

(Continued from page 7)

So did the Romans; and so did ancient Britons; but all of them finally succumbed to foreign governments and were more or less absorbed by the press of population from outside. The Sinhalese language never died. It survived the attacks from South India; it survived the conquest of the maritime provinces by the first European invader the conquest of the maritime 130 years of occupation by the Dutch and finally survived 133 years of British occupation of all parts of Ceylon.

(To be continued).



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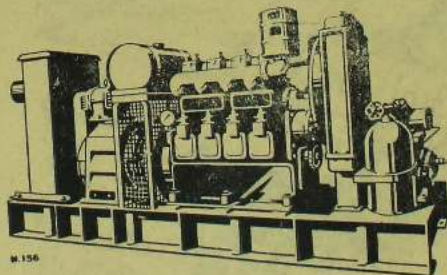


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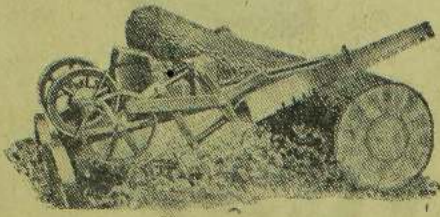
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MARXISM CANNOT BREAK REAL HUMAN NATURE

MARX has missed the real nature of man, and it is therefore impossible to be a Marxist and hold a sensible theory of human nature. Marx did not think it worth his while to either clearly define what he meant by matter or what he meant by spirit. But the general experience of mankind must be invoked at this point. It is not what particular schools of philosophy tell us about ourselves that count so much as the experience we have of ourselves as a combination of spirit and matter that should weigh in the scale when contending points of view are presented to us. It is safest to go upon one's experience which is backed up by the experience of the large majority of thinking mankind. We can assume it to be an axiom that we are matter and spirit. It is absurd to follow the teachings of philosophers who place the glory and greatness of their philosophy on the belief that matter is all that we need care about, and that men become irrational only when they hold a belief in spirit. It is the function of their reasoning that we should all be content to be on the level of the animal creation. These philosophers do not see that it is its union with spirit that gives to man's body a dignity which the mere animal does not possess. Man requires not only that the body should be respected and given its rights, but also that the soul should be respected and accorded its own proper privileges.

Man is bound to this world by the conditions of the body, but being spirit he has duties which are higher in their import. He must live in such a way that he recognises the fact of his being a continuing and a responsible spirit, and that he must look after not only his bodily welfare but also fulfil the duties of his earthly existence in such a way as to take into account also a life beyond according to the law of his spiritual nature. Man can have no particular significance if human life is an end in itself. It is always incomplete, marred by disappointment and frustration and filled with longings for an ultimate justice. By virtue of his belief man's future is not confined by a mere span of tolling years. The most insignificant man, therefore, holds in himself, in this combination of matter and spirit, a key to the future which for him is more important than his mere temporary interests. The State must treat him on this basis. It is only when this notion to man with his dignity as an individual and his great destiny in immortality is considered that the State's authority over him can be kept within bounds. Otherwise, the tendency of the State is to encroach on human rights, having a low estimate of human nature as something which is not worth its serious attention. What is the need to fuss over a weak, perishable creature whose only need is a temporary economic security? Such service can be extended to him by the State in mere contempt. It will decide to employ man for its own ends, and these ends would mean the propagation of its own power and its own objectives.

The ruler of the Marxist State could logically, once his philosophy of materialism is granted, see no reason for respecting the rights of a creature not far removed from the animal. We do not frame elaborate laws in any State in which man is accorded a low place in the hierarchy of being. It would mean giving man too much importance. It does not become necessary to give him freedom. To give him freedom means an endless series of trouble for the ruler of the State. He must act in consonance with public opinion, and deviate from it only as far as he dares. It is better from his point of view as a ruler to break down the resistance of the citizen by denying him all rights and making it easy for him to be governed

by an iron law such as could be enforced by man in his relations with the animal kingdom. It was said of Lenin that he despised men. This is evident in all the unscrupulous means which have been adopted to maintain every communist State in power. The citizen being despised, there is no reason why he should be endowed with the power to alter the

Says

Quintus

Delilkhan

decisions of the State. His function is merely to do as he is told. He must apply himself to carrying out the tasks set him by the State at the highest possible level of efficiency. He is to be rewarded only in such ways as recommend themselves to the discretion of the governing authorities. If the citizen should assert himself, if he should run counter to authority, if he should even ask for any reasonable human rights, then he must be made to realise by the severity of the State's disapproval that he has no voice in the direction of his own destiny. Everything has been decided for him by the authority of the State.

This is the position of degradation which a cheap materialist philosophy, allied to uncontrolled power, can reduce large masses of men to, and keep them in a prolonged condition of unmitigated slavery. Man becomes assigned with the duty not of working out his own individual destiny but only of working out the plan of society which Marx in his fancied wisdom had derived from his own thinking in regard to the way in which the old order of things under capitalism should be replaced by the new order of things under his own philosophy.

The Marxist State has come into being, but it has proved to be incapable of any idealism. It rules by terror, violence and fear. Men dare not protest. They have become bound to a system in which the sole consideration is how the total productivity of the people is to be harnessed towards the end that Marxism should be powerful enough, not only to compel the submission of its own people, but also that it should reach out to other lands in order to continue the same process of enslavement.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from page 2)

easy way of enlarging their vocabulary. The pictures could be used for picture composition too.

CONCLUSION

My four months in the United States are rapidly coming to an end. Had I been told, before I came here, that I would be so reluctant to leave this fascinating country, I would not have thought it possible. I thrill at the thought of seeing my loved ones and home once more, but it is with feelings of homesickness that I turn back home—homesickness for a country that has grown almost as dear to me as my own. America is not an earthly paradise—it is a country of hope, a country of freedom. It does not want to rule the world, to be a master race, yet whenever a catastrophe threatens another land, America is usually the first to stretch out her helpful hand offering substantial aid. Her friendliness and generosity are unequalled and when I get back to Ceylon I shall tell my colleagues and friends of the fruits of democracy and explain to them the American way of life. Thank you, America.



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Your Town & Mine 'Housing Problem'

"NEARLY a fourth of the population in Colombo live in slums. There are also hundreds of back to back houses in which there is no ventilation which is so necessary for healthy living. There are many rooms with no windows and very little light, according to the existing legislation in Ceylon which has set out certain maximum standards laid down to ensure health conditions in towns," said Mr. V. C. Jayasuriya, Commissioner of Local Government, in the course of a radio talk on the Housing Problem.

There are two problems to face, he said, first removal of slums which are a menace to health, secondly, construction of new houses to meet the housing shortage caused by the increased population within the last decade, also due to restriction of building activities. As regards slums the position was a very difficult one. In clearing slums alternative accommodation must be found for the dishoused folk and a decant area has to be prepared. Both Local Authorities and the Central Government are greatly concerned and vigorous measures are being taken towards improving the situation.

IN THE CITY AREA

In the last few years a number of housing schemes for the working class has been started within the Municipal area of Colombo. Some idea of the progress made can be formed when it is learned that in Kirillapone 284 houses have been completed, 150 houses in Wanathamulla, and in three other areas to house flood victims assistance has been granted to 186 houses. Three new schemes have been sanctioned for Borella, Kotahena and Prince of Wales Avenue. Flats for housing accommodation to employees of Government clerical and the Police are being constructed. Although these may not look very impressive, the progress made may be considered justifiably satisfactory.

HOUSING LOANS

The Central Government has tackled this problem of housing shortage by encouraging private building activity, granting loans for the construction of houses, charging no more than 2 per cent. interest, repayment being spread over a

period of 15 to 20 years. Under the Housing Loans Board set up by the Government, originally a "housing scheme" had to consist of at least three houses or units of accommodation of a certain description. But now the regulations have been modified so that a minimum of two houses is now regarded as a "housing scheme." The Housing Loans Act which is to be amended shortly will be possible to permit loans to Local Authorities for the execution of middle-class housing schemes. The Colombo Municipal Council is making the fullest use of the facilities thus provided, and a bold programme is to be undertaken to provide housing accommodation for the middle-class in the City area.

• DECENTRALISATION

According to the regional plan prepared by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, it was proposed that as there was insufficient land available within the City of Colombo to erect houses for the working and middle-classes to replace the existing houses and provide houses for the rapidly increasing population, there should be decentralization. It was suggested in the report that part of the population now living in Colombo should be moved in a few years outside Colombo and also places of business should be moved into those areas outside. It was envisaged that three satellite towns should take in a population of 35,000 each, thus providing accommodation for a total of about a hundred thousand.

GOVERNMENT GRANTS

It is interesting to learn that the Central Government has in hand a scheme for the construction of 1526 houses at a cost of Rs. 7,000,000 in various local areas. Under major housing schemes grants amounting to Rs. 18,506,000 have been allocated for the erection of 2,950 houses in areas where housing shortage is considered acute.

In Jaffna for the Karayur Scheme Government has advanced over two and a half million rupees for the housing scheme consisting of 410 units of accommodation. In view of the general housing problem, Local Authorities and the public have also to play their part to the fullest, despite criticism and even opposition to find a solution of the problem.

SENEX.

CLAIM FOR EQUAL STATUS BY WOMEN

By Hamilton Abeywickrema

TODAY women are clamouring for equal status with men in all walks of life. What one is concerned here is with rights which fall under the wider domain of status. It can be presumed that no one has denied equal status to women. Even assuming this proposition to be true yet one is confronted with actual rights, as opposed to other rights. Rights for our purpose must be distinguished as legal rights as opposed to other rights, e.g., one husband may deny his wife the privilege of attending social functions alone but another may grant this. This is not a negation of a legal right but the exercise of a right by the husband based on tradition. This illustration is quite different from a legal right, e.g., Parliament in Great Britain may deny Universal Suffrage to women. Here the rule is a general one and a negation of a positive right which women enjoy in that country today. It is a law which has the sanction of the State. More surprising is that Parliament overnight can assert that the distinction between men and women will cease and from that night all will be termed men, in which case sex inequalities will fade away like most of the ancient customs.

Universal Suffrage as a legal right has been granted and the fears that the English electorate had in granting this was dispelled at the very next election for balance of parties in U.K. was not disturbed. In Ceylon there are, I suppose, a few legal restrictions on women, e.g., they are disabled from entering the Civil Service. Here it is more an administrative rule which has the sanction of legality to support it. But all Political Rights have been granted. Today we find our Ladies in the Senate and the Parliament. In most of the Committees appointed by Government or Associations for specific purposes, representation is given to women. Even in Local Politics, the field is invaded by them. Gradually their position is improving, e.g., there was some disability placed in the entry of women to Trust and Partnership business. I believe that this is not the case today. But from the general conditions prevailing, women have not availed of the opportunities but clung to the age old tradition of "Women's Sphere is the Home." Therefore it seems ridiculous to claim for equal rights except request certain disabilities to be abolished.

(To be Continued Next Week)

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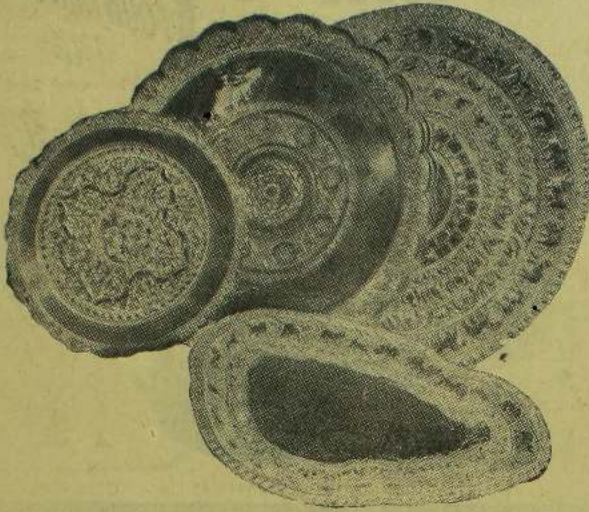


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