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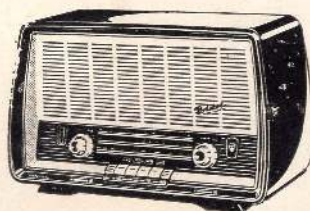
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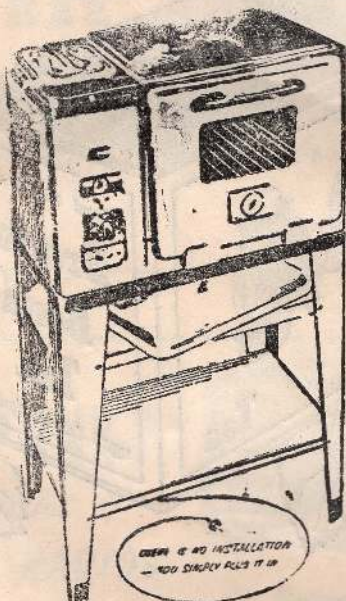
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“The Palladium”



Editor: Wimal Ediriwira

Democratic Socialist Society

UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON

PERADENIYA

CONTENTS

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|----|
| <i>EDITORIAL</i> | ... | ... | i |
| From a Constructive Point of View — <i>Basil Mendis</i> | | | 1 |
| Which "Capitalism"? — "W" | | ... | 6 |
| Marxism As Philosophy — <i>Basil Mendis</i> | | ... | 13 |
| The Second Thought | ... | ... | 20 |
| ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රයේ විශිෂ්ටතම ලක්ෂණය | | | |
| <i>Prof. O. H. De A. Wijesekera</i> | | | 21 |
| The Cripple — <i>Wimal Ediriwira</i> | | ... | 24 |
| Some Basic Problems of Economic Development in Ceylon — <i>C. Loganathan</i> | | | 25 |
| Points To Ponder | ... | ... | 38 |
| Karl Marx On The Campus — <i>Groucho Marx</i> | | ... | 39 |
| ආසාව හා බිය — විමල් දිසානායක | | | 43 |
| The Growth of Trade Unions in the British Dependencies Overseas — <i>B. C. Roberts</i> | | | 44 |
| මාර්ක්ස් වික්‍රමසිංහ හා තම පදනම සිංහලය — | | | |
| එ.සී.ලාල් ගෙවිලිආරච්චි | | | 49 |
| Flash in the Campus | ... | ... | 54 |
| To My Tamil Countrymen in Particular — " <i>Eksath</i> " | | | 55 |
| <i>ANNUAL REPORT</i> | ... | ... | 60 |
| Role of The Family in Juvenile Delinquency — <i>M. T. M. Hilmy Manzil</i> | | ... | 62 |
| පරාජයේදී සටනක්, ජයග්‍රහණයේදී නිහඬතමානි | | | |
| හාවයන් — කෘෂියන් ඇම්. ප්‍රනාන්දු | | | 71 |
| අභිවෘද්ධතාවය තත්වයෙහි? — මති | | | 78 |
| தமிழிலே சிறுகதை — எஸ். எச். எம் ஜெமீல் | | | 79 |
| The Last Word | ... | ... | 88 |

The Palladium



Editor: WIMAL EDIRIWIRA

OCTOBER

PERADENIYA

1960

EDITORIAL

This is a new publication. We are aware, of course, that the world is not friendly at all towards new publications. It is contemptuous of them. It spits on them before it even looks at them. Crow-like, it is always ready to peck them to death, and only the hardiest, the very luckiest, could ever hope to survive. Yet in spite of this, the process of their coming into being will not be halted. There is a hidden force which will not be daunted but continues to be always in production. The products thus issued, however, are faced with a mighty challenge from the moment of their birth—the challenge of survival in a hostile world. Amid the host of magazines which are continually being born, it is manifest that only the fittest can ever hope to survive. Whether we come up to the qualification — and continue to stay so—only time can tell. But it certainly should not be said of us that we did not try.

Bearing as it does, the name of a Society with a political affiliation, there will, of course, be upturned noses at this magazine as being virtually a party manifesto. And that, perhaps, is only to be expected, considering the fact that many issues of other similar Societies have tended to be so. We do not reject the

affiliation either. But, on the other hand, we do not also agree that a magazine such as this should blindly and indiscriminately embrace every declaration of a party manifesto, and support it with nympholeptic fervour. Such a course would be neither helpful to anybody nor very complimentary to us. We feel rather, that a magazine such as this, coming as it does from the University, should bear a more academic and a broader outlook. It should view everything (and this magazine is intended to take within its scope any and every subject) with an outlook of critical assessment. For this first issue, therefore, we tried our very best to obtain as many critical articles as possible, especially on political affairs, being our — as it should be of every citizen's — main interest. There was, unfortunately — but perhaps understandably — much hesitation on the part of many whom we approached for articles, about contributing to a magazine with a political affiliation. We hope, however, that with this issue our sincerity will be appreciated, and that there would be greater willingness to contribute. We are, after all, all interested in the public welfare. Parties are merely the means to that end.

It is the aim of this magazine to provoke argument, and some, at least, of the articles in it, we are confident, will hastily draw other points of view. We welcome them, wishing as we do to make this a forum for discussion and critical appraisal.

* * * * *

THE PRESS TAKE - OVER

The proposal of the new Government to take-over the national newspapers must be regarded with the utmost concern and distrust. It will be appreciated, of course, that attempts such as this are not in any way novel in history. There are on record in many other countries too, innumerable attempts by Governments, with or without provocation, to take over national newspapers. In most of these instances, however, the matter was submitted to an impartial Board for consideration, and invariably wiser counsels prevailed and the integrity of independent newspapers was maintained inviolate. In the remaining instances, the take-over has been essentially a step precedent to dictatorship — with the express purpose of stifling criticism and opposition.

We do not, of course, by any means condone the activity of the Press, particularly during the period preceding the July General Elections. It undoubtedly indulged in the most execrable activity, which must be deprecated with the utmost vehemence. It was something which the Press should thoroughly be ashamed of, and which must mean a permanent stigma on the Press, unless redeemed by the most exemplary behaviour.

Nevertheless we do not agree that a repetition of such could only be prevented by a take-over of the Press. Such a take-over would in effect mean a take-over into Government hands. The use of appealing phrases like "to ensure broad-based ownership" was clearly revealed to be mere eye-wash when the Government rejected the offer of the Times of Ceylon to make the Times group of newspapers into such a public corporation as the Government professed to desire to make it. This blatant refusal clearly exposed the real intentions of the Government as being anything but genuine, and being obviously directed towards making the national newspapers also virtually propaganda machines for the Government Party.

The danger inherent in this is clear. The Government Film Unit is essentially a propaganda machine for the Government Party. At the moment too, a newspaper called the "Sri Lanka" is being issued *with public money*, but which also is essentially an S. L. F. P. propaganda machine. Radio Ceylon, which should properly be used for an impartial dissemination of news, as well as, (if at all) the political broadcasts of all Parties, tends to be invariably used only by the Governing Party for its propaganda purposes. Manifestly then, there is little room for not only getting unbiassed and unceensored news, but also for effective criticism of the Government and voicing grievances, other than through the newspapers. Reaching as they do, almost every nook and corner of the country, they keep the public informed of the latest news and the activities of the Government, and it is in this vigilance that it is able to make a Government responsive and responsible to public opinion, or organise public opinion in order to force a straying Government back on to the correct path. It is the only effective weapon for controlling the Government and preventing it from illegal and unconstitutional acts. In short, it is the sole effective guardian of democracy. It is realisation of

this which makes any potential dictator seize the newspapers as a first move—so that not only could criticism be stifled but a correct knowledge of current happenings is prevented from getting out.

Manifestly then, the take-over of newspapers is not something that should be done without the utmost justification—if such is at all conceivable. A take-over, as was pointed out earlier, could hardly be said to be a solution. It would merely mean taking-over of the newspapers from one set of hands into the distinctly more dangerous hands of the governing party.

A solution would clearly appear to rest in the starting of another newspaper, and such a newspaper would have an unprecedented chance of succeeding in the present context of absolute dissatisfaction of the public with the existing newspapers. The existing newspapers would thus perforce have to reform completely, or perish.

There is no solution elsewhere, other than involving the complete loss of freedom.

* * * * *



FROM A CONSTRUCTIVE POINT OF VIEW

BY BASIL MENDIS
Lecturer in Philosophy

Many of us are disappointed with the U. N. P., and the Party's failure at the July election have dejected us further. The Party leaders do not seem to understand the people of the country and the emotional appeal of the party among both the simple and educated classes is weak. While canvassing among the rural population I was strongly convinced that the main lines of party propaganda were having little effect. At the July election the Party leaders made the S.L.F.P. - F.P. secret pact the main issue. Much energy was spent and wasted in trying to *prove* the existence of the pact. Propaganda must not try to prove facts: it must stimulate emotion round already proven facts. Propaganda is rhetoric and not logic. While there was uncertainty in the minds of people as to whether or not there existed a secret pact, no account of the dire consequences of such a pact affected them decisively. On many occasions when talking to pro-S.L.F.P. or neutral peasants on the existence of the secret pact and on its possible consequences, I found an amused indifference to the question. The division of the country was a remote question to them, a thing that would never happen. They knew the S.L.F.P. well enough to know that they were capable of promising things to the Federalists and withdrawing these promises when the time was opportune. So why fear a division of the country even if there was a pact? Did not their late leader tear the pact he had himself signed? In the face of this cynical conviction the main line of U.N.P. propaganda was empty sound. And to what extent did our party go in painting their fears! The fantastic exaggerations of

some party leaders that in the next *five* years country the would have a Tamil Prime Minister in the North and an Indian Prime Minister in the South! All this was childish in the extreme.

And there was a more serious side to the wrongness of this propaganda. Despite the good intentions of party leaders to keep the issue anti-Federalist and not anti-Tamil, the poster propaganda, the leaflets, the speeches of many degenerated into rank communalism. The sponsoring of Mr. Marrikkar's absurd and terrible letters by the Sunday papers confirmed the race hatred generated by this propaganda. There began to be no difference between the talk of the U. N. P. and the M. E. P. on the race question: in fact, what the M. E. P. did well the U. N. P. did better and won the support of some in that party. The country had already rejected the M. E. P. and its racialist line decisively; the country had already been through ugly communal riots and was thoroughly sick of race hatred: so why stir up communal feeling again? The Party leaders showed by this that they did not understand our people: the Sinhalese peasant is less degenerate than the Party leaders thought he was! He did not like and has never liked communal propaganda. And the talk of 'Sinhala Veeraya' and 'Duttu Gemunu' leaves him cold. What does the Sinhalese peasant in the Kandyan and Vanni areas know and feel about Duttu Gemunu? The latter is in any case a hero of the South, almost a foreigner to them. Educated Sinhalese of the interior of the country are fond of denying that the Sinhalese race came from India: they maintain that the real Sinhalese are people of Ravana not descendants of the North Indian invaders. In any case appeals that go back for their inspiration to a past of 2000 years are bound to be only froth and bubble to the majority of people.

In contrast the S.L.F.P. found its inspiration in the present of only a year ago, in their late leader Mr. Bandaranayake. Do not the peasants know and feel more about Mr Bandaranayake than Duttu Gemunu? The S.L.F.P.'s pulse reflects the pulse of our people: the appeal of their leaders was direct, simple and practical; Mrs. Bandaranayake's speeches were masterly in their thorough if unconscious knowledge of the psychology of the people. The *bhakti* or emotion aroused by S.L.F.P. propaganda

was real and deeply felt: many people worked spontaneously for the S.L.F.P. in villages, while our work was mainly done by people from outside who were directed to do it.

The main fault of the U.N.P. lies in its lack of reality. A great revolution has taken place in the country initiated by Mr. Bandaranayake and they ignore it. They never openly acknowledge that the change has taken place, though they act on the basis that it is irreversible: "We are not going to de-nationalise the buses or to revoke the Paddy Lands' Act; we shall continue with the implementation of the Sinhala Only Act," so say our party spokesmen, implicitly admitting the great change, but never giving credit to the man who effected it. What the vast majority of the people wanted was a stabilisation of the gains of the social revolution: they did not want to go back to the old order nor did they want to be pushed forward; they wanted rest, stability and consolidation. Hence 80 percent of the Vanni people wanted an S.L.F.P. Government but 60 percent of the same wanted Dudley Senanayake as Premier: this was what our fact-finding survey between the two elections found out. What the people wanted was a contradiction from the point of view of power and party politics yet it was just this that they wanted. An approximation to their needs would have been an U.N.P. openly acknowledging Mr. Bandaranayake's achievements and promising to give in addition, what Mr. Bandaranayake failed to give, that is, order, economic progress and the rule of law.

One line of party propaganda that was having some effect on the rural population was the argument that there was no leadership in the S.L.F.P., that there was no unity or integrity in the party, that the party would disintegrate at the first crisis. Another effective line of propaganda was the S.L.F.P. link up with the Marxists. This "pact" was more real, and one which in the mind of a religious-minded peasantry caused some apprehension: There was, further, no need to prove such a pact: the presence of ex-M.E.P. members as candidates of the S.L.F.P., the electoral alliance of the party with the L.S.S.P. and the C.P., was conclusive proof of such a pact. This should have been the main line of U.N.P. propaganda, round which some strong emotion might have been built up. Instead of the anti-marxist issue, the party

concentrated on the anti Federal issue, degenerating as a national party in the process and showing an amazing lack of understanding of the rural population to whom religion is more dear than race. The peasants, besides, are a practical people and the argument that the S.L.F.P. had no inner stability, which was also an obvious fact before the election, was a telling argument though not an emotionally charged one. The U.N.P. concentrated on acting an "emotion" in the hope of counteracting the obvious emotion generated by the other side's exploitation of the late Prime Minister's tragic death. They failed to make anything substantial: the antidote to emotion is not always another emotion. An appeal to "reason" would have had more successful results.

The Party has really no respect for the poor: to the leaders, the poor are ignorant and foolish and the only way to win them is to befuddle them and deceive them. The Party is frightened of being honest. On the one hand the Party is violently pro-Sinhalese, on the other the Party does not want the people, especially the Tamils, to believe that it really means what it says: its "propaganda" is only for the poor and ignorant, therefore not really meant. This duplicity lost the Party, more support than it gained.

The Party calls itself the United National Party. If it acted according to its name and pretensions, it should have boldly contested the Tamil areas in the July elections. If it was anti-Federal and not anti-Tamil, as the Party leaders claimed, that is just what it should have done. The S.L.F.P., despite all its actual acts against the Tamils, despite the fact that during its regime the communal riots occurred, is proving to be more of a national party than the U.N.P. It has more support now in the Tamil areas than the U.N.P. The Party made no effort during the elections to win the support of the Tamils: by its propaganda it lost the extensive though unconfirmed support it once had.

To-day the U.N.P. does nothing in the North but bide its time, waiting to prove that the Tamil people were wrong in placing their trust in the S.L.F.P. The Party will be proved right and the Tamil people will have been proved wrong. But merely this mistake on the part of the Tamils will not make them trust the U. N. P. It will only increase their conviction that

the Sinhalese people as a whole cannot be trusted and will deepen their discontent and frustration. If the U. N. P. wishes to win back the support it once had among the Tamils, it must adopt a *positive* policy and go out to these areas and convince the Tamil people of its good will. This it can do only if it honestly confesses its past mistakes, and acknowledges especially its "betrayal" of the Tamils in the July election campaign. The U. N. P. confines its political activity to a period of three months before an election: after an election the Party lapses into state of absolute quietude. Unlike the L.S.S.P. or the C.P. it does not agitate over the day to day political issues: it rears its head only during a crisis when the screaming of other parties is too disturbing for sleep! And it makes no attempt to win support in areas where its position is weak. It has made absolutely no effort since the election to win support for itself in the North and the East. When will the Party wake up to its responsibility as a *national* party?

The Party leaders are obdurate and pig-headed. They never admit their mistakes. Is it politically fatal to openly confess that one's judgement has not always been perfect? The Party has always stood more for itself and its leaders than for its principles and its policy: it has always been exclusive, completely shunned political alliances. It never supported the late P. M. in any of his reforms, even when these reforms were consistent with its own policies. It never offered support to the right-wing of the S. L. F. P., even after that section had succeeded in ousting the M. E. P. leaders from the Cabinet. It rejected with contempt the overtures of lonely Mr. Dahanyake, making the latter act like a bear at bay because of his isolation. With all this haughtiness, it was but natural that the S. L. F. P. refused all offers to help the U. N. P. after the March elections. Who would help a party which, even when weak and needing assistance, pretended that it could go it alone and had no sense of the reality of its own situation? As I have said before, the greatest fault of the Party is its lack of a sense of reality. It is living in the past, a past that has been irrevocably wiped out and can never be restored. In its July election campaign the Party went further back into the past, into the myth of race. If the speeches of the U. N. P. members for Homagama are any indication, the Party's future step will lie in the exploitation of religion for election purposes. The U. N. P. will once again try to prove that what another party (in this case, the S.L.F.P.) can do well, the U. N. P. can do better!

Which "Capitalism" ?

Capitalism is today a much-maligned concept. The mere mention of the word is often sufficient to arouse in most people indignant anger sometimes almost amounting to bitter hatred. The response is, in fact very similar to that to the word "Jew" from Nazi Germans. The reason is identical and is clear enough. Like in Hitlerian times as regards the word 'Jew', so today, the word 'Capitalism' has almost completely lost its strict scientific meaning. Instead it has become virtually a label, a cliché with its appeal to emotion, thus with its guarantee to elicit certain known responses. The cause for this situation is not difficult to trace. Chiefly the responsibility must be attributed to misuse by politicians with vested interests to serve. It is they who have been interested in using it as a catch word, and so have been faithfully promoting ambiguity if not absolute incorrectness in its meaning in current usage. Thus, so often has the word been used in senses associated, if not synonymous, with harsh domineering tyranny, perfect and cynical exploitation, that with the psychological blindness consequent to frequency of use, the ordinary man has tended to accept the word completely clothed with such connotations. These emotive associations have thus tended to completely smother the original strict scientific meaning and popularised a heavily corrupted and distorted meaning. One must, of course, admit that many of these features do appear in many instances of Capitalism, but that is insufficient justification. These, clearly, are not the best forms of Capitalism. Every concept has its corruptions and the corruption of a thing must certainly not be equated with the thing itself.

Strictly in modern parlance, the word Capitalism signifies merely that form of production characterised by private enterprise. All other disparaging connotations are essentially, thus, the result of misuse.

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In a more general sense, however, the word "capitalism" might be used to designate any system of capital used in production and it is in this strictly economic sense that it is here proposed to use it. This will be of help in more than one way. On the one hand, it will thus facilitate the indication of the various systems as being merely forms of capitalism. While on the other hand it will serve to divorce "Capitalism" from its current emotive associations, thus enabling it to be brought under the light of cold reason and preparing consequently the ground necessary for a proper perspective of all the systems. Capitalism in this sense then is merely any system of capital used in production. Conventional attacks on Capitalism, then are at the least misguided or definitely mischievous, since, viewed thus economically, there is capitalism every where. It is an unequal part of every economy. A Capitalism existed in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Here too finances were accumulated into capital funds and utilised for capital outlays. Communist Russia has just as much a Capitalism as any democratic country like America, Britain and Ceylon.

The choice, then, is not between the conjured-up bogey of "Capitalism" and— what is often postulated as the opposite alternative — Socialism, or in the more extreme form, Communism. Such an option would be mischievous, definitely misleading & clearly sophistic in intent. The choice today is rather *between various forms of capitalism*. It is not a question of *whether* capitalism, but *which* "capitalism", and the difference between these is essentially the difference of degrees of state control.

There are two main types of capitalism in the world today (exclusive, that is, of dictatorships). One type operates in the highest form in Russia. It is called socialism, but one finds that the term merely clothes what is essentially a capitalism of a bureaucracy. Under this system no private enterprise is allowed. It is state glorification and importance at its highest. It is the one essential unit and it takes over all business units. Individual effort is subordinated "In the interests of the community".

Admittedly such claims are meretricious and appealing— so much so that one often fails to see the actual implications

behind the facade of benevolence. The taking-over is credit-worthy no doubt, if it is in the "interests of the community". But it is significant that this take over is by the Government — which is essentially a few men at the top. Under this "Socialist" system, it is this coterie of men who decide on the amount of taxation, how when and to what extent it is to be spent in capital outlay. Instead of the multitude of entrepreneurs producing the commodities desired by the community, on the knowledge derived from the working of the price system under supply and demand there is now a select body of men who (in the absence of a price mechanism to guide them in producing commodities desired by the community) arbitrarily decide on what the community shall want. Essentially, thus, it is a capitalism of a most distasteful kind — a capitalism of a bureaucracy. Here all are equal (except those few at the top, who are more equal than the rest) and all are equal in the position of workers who are patronisingly fed by the bureaucrats above.

Thus a system of production by the many with its promise of free enterprise and consumer sovereignty at least in the case of choice, where the consumer can select what he wants from a vast array of products, has been superseded by the production by the few, with its arrogant presumption to be able to tell the consumer his needs.

Clearly then, the question whether we should believe in such a system of "socialism" or not would revolve primarily around this — whether or not we believe that the majority is right. If we believe in the rightness of the majority in the political sphere, we must also believe in it in the economic sphere. If not we must have the honesty to reject our belief in majority decision completely. It is contradictory while talking more and more about the rightness of the People (with a capital P) to repose everything in the hands of a bureaucracy. If we believe that the majority is more capable of knowing what is good for the community than a few people, that majority decisions offer more freedom to the people, than an oligarchy, that majority decisions means an emphasis on the rights of the people as human individuals with human dignity, not as mass-fed stereotyped animals, then it is obvious that a capitalism of a bureaucracy is inconsistent with such beliefs. Even if Russia with her "Socialism"

is highly industrialised and advanced, it is a high price indeed to pay in the loss of individual freedom. The difference, moreover in the two systems is brilliantly revealed in the fact that while the state directed Russia concentrates on the perfection of guided missiles and sputniks, the free enterprise economy of America is committed to the production of consumer goods, like, fridges and cars.

So much for "Socialism". On the other hand, and at the other extreme, there is a capitalism of the people. It refutes the glorification of the state. It denies vehemently the primary importance of the State and on the contrary subscribes essentially to the cardinal basis of democracy—the fundamental sanctity and value of the individual. It is the individual who matters first. The state as such exists purely for the individual—to provide him with the necessary atmosphere in which he could best develop himself. It is thus a capitalism of the people—a capitalism which rests basically on free enterprise. All production is to be in actual fact in the hands of the people—not merely nominally as in the earlier-mentioned form. Moreover, all

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production is for the people—it is a capitalism which caters to the actual needs and desires of the people, and this is through the barometer of Supply and Demand. This ensures that the resources of the community are directed to the production of the actual and most urgent needs of the community. Waste is consequently minimised. The best use, again, of these resources is made with high quality which is ensured in production — what with the competitive spirit which is basic to free enterprise. Materials are put to the most economical use. Apart from this, this competition among producers also of necessity ensures a high quality to the products. Again, then, it is a great encouragement of innovation, and this, with the tendency to specialisation almost characteristic of free enterprise, serves not merely in the direction of reduced costs, higher quality and more efficient production, but also of more modernised and efficient final products. "Socialism" on the other hand, not merely from the complacency resultant from its monopolistic position and consequent assured custom, offers little incentive to improvement either in efficiency and methods of production or in the design and quality of the product itself, but this system also results in dictating to the individual what his needs are, and thus denies the elementary freedom of choice in consumption. If essential value is placed on the state rather than on the individual, then this form is most appropriate since the interests and well-being of the individual must then necessarily be subordinated to the interests and well-being of the state. (On the other hand, if such is the situation, then clearly we should be honest enough to deny our faith in democracy which places the greatest value on the individual.) But if emphasis is rather on the individual, obviously then, a system, such as this is grossly inadequate, for, as was pointed out, this so-called "socialisation" is merely the glorification of the state (a *de Facto* capitalism of a bureaucracy) at the expense of the individual. It is in this context then that we advocate a true capitalism of the people, where production is not to be vested in the state, but rather to be directed more and more into the hands of the *people* —to make the mass of the people capitalists.

A most happy tendency in this direction is the recent very rapid growth and development of joint-stock companies. These

Continued on Page 84

MARXISM AS PHILOSOPHY

There is a pervasive lack of interest in marxist philosophy in academic circles. If we judge from the number of publications on this subject we shall find conclusive proof of this. I have found only one article on marxist philosophy published in English-speaking philosophical journals within the last ten years. The philosophy of Hegel is alive and still receives attention and so do many other philosophical schools before and after Marx. Political marxists, even if they are aware of this fact, are perhaps not disturbed by it: to them this is evidence of the bourgeois mentality of philosophers in non-communist countries! These philosophers cannot get rid of their class prejudices, they would say, and dismiss the question forthwith, without examining why these philosophers ignore marxism and what their arguments are for their own philosophies. If they made such an examination, they would be surprised to find "bourgeois" philosophers who had freed themselves from every kind of prejudice imaginable: not only had they freed themselves from class, national and religious prejudices, but they had even tried to free themselves from human or anthropomorphic prejudices! Philosophy is the conscious attempt to question accepted assumptions or prejudices: it is the attempt to free the quest for truth from convention and base it on indisputable premises and on rational argument. Mistakes in philosophy are always mistakes *in argument* or the lack of sufficient argument, and the only way of dismissing a philosophy is by pointing to these: when a person makes a mistake in geometry we do not point to his class prejudice but to the mistake in his demonstration! So also with philosophy.

The reason why marxist philosophy is ignored in academic circles is its extreme shallowness and poverty. Now, this statement will remain merely rhetorical abuse unless I myself point to the mistakes in the arguments of marxist philosophy which prove

it. Bertrand Russell, while criticising the philosophy of Hegel, makes the following remark: "Like other historical theories, it (Hegel's philosophy of history) required, if it was to be made plausible, some distortion of facts and considerable ignorance. Hegel, like Marx and Spengler after him, possessed both these qualifications." The distortion of facts, a fundamental characteristic in all marxist thinking, is not consciously done: prejudice or bias play a heavy role in mis-describing the fact.

The most important defect in marxism is its dogmatism which shows itself everywhere. What is dogmatism? Dogmatism is the acceptance of doctrines without rational proof. There is a self conscious dogmatism in Christian theology. Christian theology, unlike Christian philosophy argues from revealed doctrines which cannot be discovered by natural reason and it does this conscious of what it is doing, justifying its procedure by demonstrating that the doctrines concerned cannot be arrived at by human reasoning. In marxist philosophy the dogmatism is certainly not recognised as such: marxists believe that all their theses are based on evidence and rational proof. In fact marxist theses are only partially based on facts: they are actually generalisations based upon some of the facts and misapplied to all. The mis-application is not noticed because the facts to which the theory is mis-applied are distorted or mis-described in order to fit the theory. On no account is marxist theory altered in the face of facts that do not conform, as is the procedure in proper scientific method.

Marxism is dogmatism in a field where dogmatism does not apply. Dogmatism has its proper field in the realm of religion where we are defining knowledge given us by revelation, when we are concerned not with history or economics but with truths about God's own nature. In the sciences, reason not faith is the instrument of truth and the theses proposed must conform to the facts and be modified by the facts. Clinging blindly to dogma, marxists propose that every successful economic venture must conform to the pattern of socialisation. They do not examine the nature of the economic enterprise in question, or the psychology of the community in which it is to function: they shout 'nationalisation' everywhere! They advocate nationalisation in the teeth of facts, in the teeth of the defeats of nationalised enterprises.

They are very adept at "explaining away" failures of socialism. If the nationalisation of one enterprise does not succeed, the failure is not due to the false theory of nationalisation but due to partial nationalisation: We must nationalise everything before we make each nationalised venture a success! It is not easy to see how the failure of each venture will make all a success! If the whole country is under a socialist form and yet contains great defects, it is again not the fault of the theory of socialism but the fault of 'socialism in one country.' We must wait till the whole world is socialist to get one country truly socialist! And so on they argue, adhering tenaciously to the theory and twisting facts to fit the theory: they do not modify the theory to fit the facts as is the recognised procedure of the sciences.

Another dogma which marxist philosophy shares in common with other false philosophies is the thesis that all reality is in a constant state of change or evolution from simple to more complex or higher forms. Progressive evolution marxism regards as inevitable and marxists see this change everywhere, sometimes in spite of obvious facts to the contrary. This dogma of the marxists is the consequence of their Hegelian background. In the philosophy of Hegel the ultimate reality is Spirit or God who directs everything into higher and higher forms: such purposive development is quite compatible with the notion of Spirit, the definition of which would include intelligence and consciousness. But it has no place in marxism where the ultimate reality is matter. If reality is matter, though dynamic, purposive development towards higher and higher forms is not logically necessary. When Marx changed Hegel's philosophy, when, as he proudly described it, he put Hegel who was standing on his head upon his feet, he should have made other changes too. What is logically connected to the head is not connected to the feet. We associate reason and purpose with the head but not with the feet! When Marx stated that reality was not spiritual but material, he was making more radical changes than he thought. He did not realise that a change of terms involved other changes. Notions which were logical to spirit were not logical to matter: a purposive development from lower to higher forms was logically connected to self-conscious spirit but had no place in a materialistic system. If reality is not informed by intelligence or spirit, there is no necessity that it would evolve into

higher and higher forms. From this it follows that Marx's conviction that socialism is inevitable is an illusion: the passionate belief of marxists that communism is the next stage in human development is thus without foundation.

Society must needs change and evolve but there is no necessity that it should follow one path only, that of a communist social structure: if we look upon the world without prejudice, we can witness today a change of the older forms of capitalism not to socialism only but to new social forms where private enterprise and Government initiative go hand in hand. There is also a great change taking place in the status and prosperity of the worker compared to his counterpart of a hundred years ago: free education, social benefits, greater chances of rising in the social scale — all these have lessened the antagonism that once existed between worker and employer. In view of all these facts it is hard to understand how marxists still believe that communism is round the corner for every society. It is their passionate dogmatism, their unreasoning belief, that hides the obvious from their eyes. If communism is ever established throughout the world it will come as a result of an imposition of it from above by a successful world aggressor: if the evolution of society is left to the will of the people, there is little chance of communism establishing itself in any of the prosperous capitalist countries of today. Can any communist sincerely imagine a *natural* evolution towards communism in Britain or America? Even the blinkers of dogmatism can hardly realise this vision! As long as Asian and African countries remain underdeveloped, the prospect of communism is not remote in these countries: but there are other ways of quick economic progress than by the communist method. Vigorous nationalism, so evident in these countries today, may provide the impetus for development and thus save these countries from the need to take the communist path.

Another dogma of marxist and other materialistic philosophies is its all pervasive determinism: the marxist believes that strict and absolute necessity rules the life of reality; every event, both great and small, is without exception subject to a rigid determinism. This dogma consequently rules out the free-will of men: it denies the fact that men are free. Here is another

blatant instant of dogma at the expense of fact. Men are free creatures, possessing not merely intelligence but will or the power to choose between alternatives: this is a fact that all men, even marxists, when they are not philosophising, accept. Every action that a man does is not willed: we have a word for such unwilled actions; we call them "involuntary". There are also other actions which are not willed: we are sometimes forced or constrained to do somethings as, for instance, when, loudly protesting and fiercely resisting, we are pushed out of a building. But there are many actions in our lives which belong neither to one or the other of the two kinds described above. It is simply not true to say that we never act freely. Material bodies move according to forces which determine their behaviour: there is no question of their ability, under certain circumstances, to act one way *or* the other. Human beings often do what they will: they choose what they wish to do and do it: in these circumstances there is no question of their inability to do otherwise. The freedom of men is a *fact* that has to be accepted and explained not, something that has to be denied and explained away. In marxist philosophy the theory that all things behave according to the same general law of determinism is dogmatically adhered to and the fact of freedom denied. The fact of freedom is not easy to explain and can hardly be done in terms of the concept of matter alone but philosophy must not try to avoid complexity at the cost of being true. The fear that freedom can only be explained in terms of the concept of spirit is the reason why marxism tries to deny it, for one of the dogmas of marxism is that all reality is matter. Marxism contains itself, therefore, only by denying facts or by distorting them: its theses are clearly seen to be generalisations based on part of the facts and mis-applied to all: its theses are therefore dogmas unsupported by evidence and incapable of rational proof.

Marxist philosophy, apart from its dogmatism, is unsatisfactory because of its poverty, its lack of completeness or depth. The questions that marxist philosophy raise are not fundamental: there are many important philosophical questions which it ignores completely. Philosophy is the attempt to understand ultimate reality or, rather, it is the attempt to understand reality ultimately, in final or ultimate terms. Its task is to proceed in the direction of making reality intelligible or knowable to the intelligence. This

it does by asking questions and answering them and then by looking for further questions to ask. What is reality, ask the marxists and they answer 'Matter'. But how does matter come to exist? To this question marxists pay little attention. To understand reality completely we shall have to try to answer this question. Why does matter exist and not some other reality? It is logically possible that reality might have been different. There might not have been a world of material things but rather only a world of spiritual beings communicating to each other by intuition and thought. This may not be what in fact exists but even marxists cannot deny that reality might have been constituted thus. Why then is reality material? How came material reality to exist? The question becomes acute because material reality is not necessary: it need not exist. It is logically possible to conceive that material reality did not exist at all.

This is expressed philosophically by saying that material reality or the world in which we live is contingent: it need not have been. How then is it when it need not be? That is the question to which marxism not only does not supply an answer but which it not even conscious of. The concept of logical necessity and that of its opposite, contingency, is not clearly understood in marxist philosophy. I have met marxists who have found it difficult to understand the meaning of these terms which are so commonly used in other philosophies. The inquiry into the ultimate explanation of material reality usually leads to the concept of Necessary Reality or God. It is only in terms of God, of a Reality whose existence is necessary, that we can ultimately understand material reality or any reality that is contingent. Philosophers who believe that the task of philosophy is to understand reality in the most final terms invariably postulate God's existence as the cause and end of the world. The lack of depth in marxist philosophy is seen in its lack of awareness of the problem itself, in its insensitiveness to the true nature of philosophical inquiry. And to think that this is the philosophy that is thrust down the minds of whole populations of students in the vast countries of Russia and China! What a stunting and deformation of human minds which are made to reach the highest truths! Marxism as a philosophy is the product of narrow dogma and irrational prejudice: it reflects the vision of the man whose

eyes are rivetted to the earth: nay more, it is the philosophy of creatures who burrow under the ground! It is curious but marxists think they live in the intellectual open, in the dazzle of enlightenment. The real dazzle produces blindness, for when man faces God in the final intellectual vision, his sight is blinded, not because God is darkness but because, as the saint says, He is excess of light.

BASIL MENDIS.



Undergrad Anthem?

* * * *

*The love of a beautiful maid,
The love of a staunch true man,
The love of a baby unafraid,
Has existed since time began.*

*But the greatest love, the love of loves,
Even greater than that of a mother,
Is the tender, infinite, passionate love
Of one drunken bum for another.*

THE SECOND THOUGHT

* * * *

If we resist our passions, it is often because they are weak than because we are strong.

If our vices desert us, we flatter ourselves that we are deserting our vices.

Folly pursues us at every stage of our lives. If someone seems wise, it is because his folly befits his age and position,

The love of glory, the fear of disgrace, the incentive to succeed, the desire to live in comfort, and the instinct to humiliate others are often the cause of that courage so renowned among men.

We have made a virtue of moderation, that we may limit the ambitions of the great, and may console the mediocre for their want of fortune and ability.

Old men love to give good advice to console themselves for not being able to set bad examples.

MAXIMS — LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

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SUGAR AND SPICE

Girls are like newspapers. They have form, they always have the last word, back-numbers are not in demand, they have great influence, you can't believe everything they say, they are thinner than they used to be, they get along by advertising, and every man should have his own copy and not try to borrow his neighbour's.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රයේ විශිෂ්ටතම ලක්ෂණය

BY PROF. O. H. DE A. WIJESEKERA

ලොව පවතින සියලුම ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම අතුරින් ඉතාමත්ම ලෙසියවූ ආණ්ඩුක්‍රමය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය බව සාමාන්‍යයෙන් පිළිගනු ලබන අදහසකි. අප රටෙහිද සෑම දෙශපාලන පක්ෂයක් වාගේම “ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට” තමන් ගරුකරන බව මහජනයාට පෙන්වයි. එහෙත් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රයෙහි නියම වටිනාකම ගැන අප ජනයා තුළ ඇති අවබෝධය හා විශ්වාසය ඉතා මද බව මොහොතක් අප දෙශපාලන කටයුතු ගැන පරීක්ෂාකාරීව විමසීමෙන් පෙනීයයි.

මෙවැනි කන්ඩයක් අප සමාජයෙහි ඇතිවීමට මූලික හේතුව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රයට පටහැනිවූ නොයෙක් විදියේ දෙශපාලන මත දත් ටික කලක සිට අප අතර බහුලව ප්‍රචාරය වී ඇති බවයි කිවයුතුයි. මාර්ක්ස්වාදීන් “ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය” යනුවෙන් අදහස් කරන්නේ එකකි. සෙසු අය විසින් අදහස් කරනු ලබන්නේ අනිකකි. “ධනපති” සමාජයක නියම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය ඇතිවිය නොහැකි බව මාර්ක්ස්වාදීහු කරයේම කියා සිටිති. එබැවින් මූලිකම කළ යුත්තේ එම ‘ධනපති’ සමාජය විප්ලව මාර්ගයකින් හෝ ඊට සමානවූ අන්කිසි වැඩි පිළිවෙලකින් හෝ “තැනි හංග” කොට නදනනාරව සමාජවාදී ආණ්ඩුවක් හා ප්‍රජාවක් ගොඩනැගීම බව ඔවුන්ගේ දැඩි විශ්වාසයයි. මෙවැනි අදහස් බහුල වීමෙන් රටවැසියන් තුළ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය ගැන සැක ඇතිවීම පුදුමයට කරුණක් නොවේ. එයම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය පිරිහීමට හේතුවන්නේය.

හුමුත් අද ලෝකයෙහි සිටින දෙශපාලන දැරී රිකයන් බොහෝ දෙනෙක් ම “ධනපති” ක්‍රමයට හැඩගැස්වුණු සමාජයක වුවද නියම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදය ඇතිවිය හැකිබව පිළිගනිති. ඇතැම් මාර්ක්ස්වාදී දෙශපාලන විද්‍යාඥයන් පවා මේ මතය පිළිගන්නා බව ඔවුන්ගේ කෘතීන්ගෙන් ඔප්පුවේ. ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ ලිවියාවේ තියොර්ස් “අගමැති” කම දැරූ, දැනට ජනාධිපති විටෝ විසින් හිරඅඩස්සියෙහි කබා සිටින, මිලොමන් බිජ්ලාස් මහතාගේ ‘තව පංක්තිය’

නැමැති ග්‍රන්ථයෙහි මූලික අදහසම මෙය සනාථ කිරීම ය. කොමියුනිස්ට්(සොවියට්) ආණ්ඩුක්‍රමයට රටවැනි රටවලට වඩා යුක්ති-ධර්මානුරූපවූ මහජනයාගේ අභිමතයට වඩා සුදුසු වූ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍ර ක්‍රමයක් ඇතැම් “ධනපති” රටවල පවතින බව ඔප්පුකිරීම ම එම ග්‍රන්ථයෙහි පරමාර්ථය යි. කාර්ල් මැක්ස් තමන්ගේ සමාජදර්ශනය ප්‍රකාශයට පමුණුවන අවධියෙහි විසාර කල විධියේ “ධනපති” වාදයක් හෝ “ධනපති” සමාජයක් අද ලෝකයෙහි නොපවතින බව ඩීජීලාස් මහතා පැහැදිලිවම පෙන්වාදෙයි. ඇමෙරිකන් එක්සත් ජනපදයෙහි පවා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික උපායන් යෙදීමේ හේතුවෙන් එම ජනසමාජයෙහි ඇති ආර්ථික විෂමතාවන් අතුරුදහන්වන පිළිවෙල එම කතීවරයා නොයෙක් සාධක දක්වමින් විසාර කරයි. කලින් කොමියුනිස්ට් වාදය පිළිගෙන ඒ වෙනුවෙන් ජීවිතය කැපකොට බකිනාගාරවල පවා අවුරුදු ගණන් ගතකල තවත් කතීන් කීප දෙනෙකුම මෙම අදහසට එකඟවන බව ඔවුන්ගේ ලිපි ග්‍රන්ථාශ්‍රයෙන් දහ හැක. තිදහස් රටවල දැනට පවතින ආර්ථික ක්‍රමයම සමාජ ධර්මයට අනුව හැඩගස්වා ගතහැකි බව ඔවුන්ගේ සහේතුක විචාරය යයි. එපමණක්ද නොව, විප්ලව ආදියෙන් මහජනයාගේ ජීවිතයට අනියම් හානිකර තත්ත්වයන් නොගෙනදෙන බැවින් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික සමාජවාදී ක්‍රමය මාර්ක්ස් වාදී සෑම ක්‍රමයකට ම වඩා හොඳ බව ඔවුහු තරයේම කියා සිටිති. “පංචශත” ආදී ජාත්‍යන්තර අළුත් සාමාජික ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගරුකරන්නන්ට මෙය ඉතාලොකු සැහසිල්ලක් බව කියන්ට වුවහො නැත.

ලක්දිව ජනයා අතර පෙර පටන් ආවේණිකව පවතින මෛත්‍රී කරුණාදී සමාජ ධර්මයන්ට පංක්තිහේදය තහවුරු කෙරෙන විෂම සමාජදර්ශන ඉදිරිම පටහැනි වන බව අප සංස්කෘතිය පිළිබඳව තරමක් වත් දැනීම ඇති කාහටත් පැහැදිලි වන කාරණයකි. “ධනපති” “පිහින” පංක්ති විසින් සමාජය තීරන්තරව බෙදා වෙන් කිරීම කිසිසේත් අප සමාජ ධර්මයන්ට සරිලන ක්‍රියා පටිපාටියක් නොවේ. එය හුදෙක් මහජනයා හිංසාත්මකවූ, ක්‍රෝධ පළිගැනීමාදී නපුරු වෛතසික බලවේගයන්ට වහල්කරවන අන්ත භාජනයෙන් දුෂිතවූ, දෙශපාලන මිථ්‍යාවකි. මිනිස් ගතියට කරන අයුක්තියකි. සෑම සමයකටම විරුධව යන ප්‍රජාවිරෝධී ප්‍රතිපත්තියකි. ‘ධනපති’ වාදයේ වැරදි සියල්ලම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍ර ක්‍රමයට අනුව බැහැකල හැකිය. ධනපති සමාජයේ ඉතාමත් කාර්මික හැකි ලක්ෂණය අයථාලාභ වේතනාව (Profit-motive) යි. මෙය සමාජයෙන් පහ කිරීමට දෝෂය හා ක්‍රෝධය වුවමනා නැත. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික “ආදායම් බදු” “තීරුබදු” ආදී ශුල්ක ක්‍රමාදියෙන් ම එය කල හැක. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික

අදහස් අතින් දියුණුවූ සමාජයක රටෙහි අභිවෘද්ධියට වුවමනා තරම් බදු අයකිරීම නීත්‍යානුකූලවත් කරුණාගුණය නොපිරි-
 හෙලාත් කිරීම දුෂ්කර නොවේ. එබැවින් “ධනපති” ක්‍රමය පවා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික ක්‍රමයට හැඩගස්වා ආර්ථික යුක්ති ධර්මයෙහි පිහිටි සිරිසිදු සමාජයක් බිහිකරවීම නොකළහැකි දෙයක් නොවේ. දැනට භාරත දෙනයෙහි බලවත්ව දියුණු වේගන යන “භූදාන” “ග්‍රාමදාන” ව්‍යාපාරයන් බලාපොරොත්තු නුටු තරම් සාර්ථක වීමෙන් මෙය මොනවට පැහැදිලි වේ අපට වුවමනා කරන්නේ මෙවැනි මෙහි සහගත ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රික උපායන්ගෙන් සමාජය දියුණු කිරීම ය සිරිසිදු කිරීම ය. මෙයම නියම ප්‍රගතියිලි බවයි. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රයේ විශිෂ්ටතම ලක්ෂණයන් එය මැයි.



THE CRIPPLE



You, Lord, created me a cripple
 To crawl on knotted semi-limbs
 Through the feculent sludge, to my grave.
 And there are others
 Rotting carcasses living
 To titillate your fastidious humour.
 And yet, on either side I see
 The Spring blossoming too ;
 Birds, trees, living,
 Living !
 A Cadillac gliding its way
 To its mansion porch.

And shall I praise you yet, O Lord,
 For mercies which declare salvation from
worse fate
 And make promise of recompense in eternal
bliss hereafter —
 Which is but small comfort for
 This living fester:
 Must I, O Lord, have
 This future bliss eternal, and pay for it
 In usury !

You are the messenger of peace, O Christ
 (But you forget your mission !)
 I need you, your peace, now
 Needed before
 Not hereafter,
 Why did you, do you forget ?

Wimal Ediriwira

Some Basic Problems of Economic Development in Ceylon

C. LOGANATHAN

Unbalanced Economy :

Ceylon emerged from being a colony in 1948. Till then, from the economic point of view—and there has been little change since—it was little more than a source of raw materials for the industrial West and a market for goods manufactured in the West. The Ceylon economy, by and large, was, and still remains, an unbalanced one, and has been appropriately styled an export-import economy.

For example, the most salient feature of the country's economy is, broadly speaking, the predominance of agriculture, the main agricultural industries being tea, coconut and rubber. As much as 25% of its gross national product is derived from its tea industry. Tea again accounts for as much as 60% of its export income.

Ceylon is also dependent on foreign markets for the sale of its products which, being neither its monopolies nor its specialities, have no exclusive markets in the world. As a result, Ceylon's prosperity entirely depends on world conditions over which it has no control.

Added to Ceylon's dependence on foreign markets for the sale of its produce is its dependence on foreign sources for most of its requirements of food, clothing and other manufactured articles. As much as 40% of its food requirements and over 90% of its requirements of clothing are imported.

Ceylon's capacity to pay for its basic necessities is dependent on the capacity of its principal export commodities to earn adequate foreign exchange. As stated earlier, Ceylon is not

in a position to influence or control the fortunes of its export commodities. Nor is it in a position to influence the world prices of the basic necessities for which it depends on foreign sources. These peculiarities, therefore, make its economy a precarious and unbalanced one.

The tendency in the world towards economic nationalism has already injured international trade, and there is considerable evidence of the great lengths to which countries will go to be self-sufficient. And in this race for self-sufficiency Ceylon has been left behind. Synthetic rubber is already threatening its natural rubber industry. New areas are being opened outside Ceylon for the growing of tea, while the competition from an ever increasing number of rival oils, vegetable and animal, natural and artificial, may eventually reduce the importance of its coconut industry.

Need for diversification and industrialisation.

What Ceylon needs, therefore, is an increase in the variety of its exports, an adequate development of manufacturing industries to serve both the home and, perhaps, foreign markets, and an extensive production of necessaries like food and clothing for which it now largely depends on foreign sources. In other words, what Ceylon urgently needs is a greater diversification of its economy, with an emphasis placed on industrialisation which is now generally recognised as a sine qua non of rapid economic development.

Per capita income per annum in Ceylon is only about \$ 104, though higher than in most other countries in Asia.

The rate of population growth is as much as 2.6 per cent per annum, and in about 25 years its population, which is now about nine million, will, based on projected growth rates, be in the neighbourhood of twenty million.

It will be seen therefore that Ceylon should not only aim at a stable economy but also at a rate of economic development that will outpace its rate of population growth - a growth which itself must be curtailed.

Development needs investment. The attainment of an increase in the rate of investment at which it starts a cumulative

process of capital accretion is recognised as the central problem of economic growth in Ceylon as in other under-developed countries. An equally important need, as already explained, is the necessity for investment in enterprises that will not only increase the national product but will also help to diversify the economy.

The average rate of domestic gross investment in Ceylon is only about 12 per cent of its gross national product.

Investment for economic development must depend, *inter alia*, on the effective mobilization and proper channelling of all available savings. Net investment cannot exceed net savings and foreign capital. In practice it is the savings that will have to form the real basis for development. Deficit financing can be resorted to within limits only.

How savings are to be mobilised in this country is also an important problem of development. For example, public savings may be increased at the expense of private savings through income and other types of taxation, though a limit of taxation may be reached beyond which any increase may adversely affect development and also the size of the revenue. Such aspects of resource mobilisation are largely related to the economic and social policies and political philosophy of the government.

Similarly, how the total available resources are to be allocated to different uses and how they are to be distributed between the public and private sectors are also important problems of development, and will depend again on the economic, social and political objectives of the government.

Need for economic planning.

Such factors as those already outlined illustrate both the immensity and complexities of the social and economic problems that are facing Ceylon. No wonder, therefore that the government has set up a central planning body called "the National Planning Council", with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance as its Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively. This council is charged with planning for economic development and the provision of social justice, since a free play of economic forces is considered to be too slow to meet the developmental needs of a fast growing population with a very low standard of living.

In an essentially democratic political structure, the making of policy decisions cannot be completely centralised. Though any carefully worked out overall development plan will involve direction of physical resources in a given manner, such direction should be by measures which, without involving undue curtailment of freedom in regard to the use of one's labour or property, can achieve the desired results through generally applicable regulations, checks and incentives. This consideration must at all times be a guide in setting limits to the scope of planning and the extent of State intervention.

It is recognised that governments have a responsibility for providing a social and economic framework to serve community interests. This does not involve full public or State ownership of the means of production, distribution or exchange but rather public control with the object of preventing any excesses or activities which run counter to community interests.

Need for Enlarged but defined Government Sector and a Mixed Economy.

State ownership should be limited to those cases where such a policy is clearly expected to add to output, directly, or indirectly, or to serve in a distinct and defined way national interests or the needs of social justice, and where the desired results cannot be achieved by means other than nationalization.

As regards the scope of the public or government sector, there is, in the first place, the need for building the structure for all-out economic development, such as improved communications and transport, power, irrigations and technical skills together with the social overheads like education and health. There is again the need for active State intervention in the building up of essential and other socially desirable industries which are beyond the capacity of the private sector. In addition, there are industries which the State, for strategic or tactical reasons, cannot leave in the hands of the private sector. There are, on the contrary, certain economic activities over which the State should, not have monopolistic ownership or control for reasons of preserving democracy, but in which the State could, if it deemed necessary, engage along with the private sector, in open and fair competition.

One example is commercial banking or, more specifically, the business of money lending which, while being essential to most economic activities, provides much scope for the exercise of discretionary powers and, therefore, for abuse, on the part of the lending authority in approving or rejecting a loan application. It is not without significance that there are no governments, whether socialist or not, outside the Communist Blocs which operate a fully nationalised banking system. The exercise of partisan political pressures in this field—more perhaps than in any other—could have particularly far reaching and adverse consequence on democratic institutions. There are, on the other hands, a host of economic activities which the State need not engage in and which, in the interests of democracy, individual freedom and increased output, may best be the exclusive preserve of the private sector, and over which the State could have, if necessary, only a general supervisory control to protect community interests.

The first problem that arises from the policy angle, therefore, is not only the early determination of the spheres in which State monopoly is necessary or desirable, but also the determination of particular economic activities in which the State ought to engage in open and fair competition with the private sector, or in partnership with it. The early determination of these spheres is absolutely necessary and desirable for the proper and efficient functioning of the private sector. The second problem is the determination of priorities.

The question, therefore, is not whether planning is necessary, but the determination of the scope of planning and the extent of State intervention in the matter of economic development and the provision of social justice. Such determination must obviously be based on the economic, social and political objectives of the government.

A close study of the declared board and basic objectives of the Government would show that in the economic field, the objectives is an adequate increase in the national product with full employment, so as to secure a definite and marked improvement in the living standards, particularly of the lower income groups. In the field of social development, the objective is the building up

of a socialistic pattern of society with a view to reducing inequality of opportunity and achieving an optimum measure of social justice. Both these are sought to be achieved within a political framework of democracy involving, inter alia, the presence of adequate scope for the free and effective exercise of the vote and the existence of an effective political opposition.

In planning for economic development and the provision of social justice and in determining the scope of planning and the extent of State intervention, it will be necessary therefore for the Government to examine and understand in the first instance the implications of these objectives. If the objectives conflict with one another in certain respects, then it is paramount that such conflicts should be reconciled. Any action taken to implement the objectives should also take these conflicts into consideration.

There are large sections of the population who are unable to shoulder the burden of providing for themselves, and therefore society must provide for them. It is in determining the extent of such assistance that much confusion has arisen.

There would appear to be many aims of social policy but let us confine ourselves to a discussion of two which are relevant. The first is the provision of relief to those who cannot afford the bare essentials of life; and this would involve the fixing of a poverty line and thereafter the taking of adequate steps to bring up those below it just above the level of the line. The line must be fixed not in accordance with standards prevailing in other countries but in relation to the social and economic conditions of Ceylon.

The second aim is the relief of secondary poverty, which lies behind the provision of health, education and welfare services. Here again, it seems desirable to have some idea of what minimum standards are considered desirable in the public interest. It should be plain that any country could, with sufficient means, always spend more money on education; and with the progress of medical science there is no upper limit to the amount we could spend on the prevention and cure of disease.

Conflict between the objective of increasing national output and that of providing social justice.

It is in determining the poverty line or the upper limit in the relief of secondary poverty that the initial conflict arises between the basic objective of increasing national output and the objective of providing social justice. Resources are extremely limited in Ceylon, as in other under-developed countries, but the uses to which they could be put are many. Another aspect of this conflict is how to strike a balance between developmental expenditure and non-developmental expenditure.

Let us examine whether such a balance is possible under current conditions in Ceylon.

When Ceylon was a colony its nationals, irrespective of differences in culture, language, race and social habits, began to develop within themselves a national self-consciousness against their imperialist ruler. Their own differences were ignored. This national self-consciousness, in course of time, gave rise to a unity of purpose and action, which ultimately won for them political independence.

Once this collective freedom was obtained, the differences among the people, which hitherto lay submerged in the presence of a common foe, began to manifest themselves in the form of religious, communal, language and other similar strifes. Most of them can be traced to the basic problem affecting Asian peoples generally—the very low living standards of a large and fast-growing population and lack of employment opportunities against the background of extremes of plenty and prosperity in the West and even in their own midst.

Against the background of these extremes of want and plenty, the vast mass of workers and the underprivileged, despite their differences began slowly but steadily to recognise the need for unity among themselves in striving towards the achievement of a better living standards. It took some time for the working class movement to make any substantial impact on the political structure in Ceylon. Conscious of the political power which adult suffrage gave them, the large masses of the under-privileged, and in

particular the workers, to give bold and loud expression to their pent-up feelings of frustration in regard to their living standards. Governments, being based on adult franchise, come into power through the popular vote. It is not surprising therefore that frequent demands by the working classes for wage increases, more holidays and similar privileges, supported by strikes and threats of strikes, are invariably successful, largely on account of some measure of support from the government and most political groups.

None will deny the fact that there has been a definite and wide diffusion of political power and a mass movement for a similar diffusion of economic power, which is still in the hands of a small capitalist class.

It is inevitable therefore that we now find in Ceylon a violent conflict between the political power enjoyed by a vast mass of workers and the under-privileged, and the economic power enjoyed by a small capitalist class. The ultimate result of the conflict is not in doubt, for the reason that the political power which the working classes and the under-privileged enjoy is more potent than the economic power enjoyed by the small capitalist class.

Conditions for economic progress totally different from those of advanced countries.

Ceylon has to achieve economic progress under conditions totally different from those which prevailed when advanced industrial nations took an interest in economic development. The industrial revolution in most Western countries preceded the advent of real political democracy. The prevailing political and social climates favoured a regime of low wages, little or no taxation, and high profits; so the savings of the rich were available to sustain a rapid pace of development.

There was no counterpart then to the ideology, which is now universal, that national wealth or the benefits of any increase in national income or wealth should be devoted to tangible improvements in the living standards of the common man.

In Ceylon particularly, the objective of increasing national output conflicts with the objective of preserving democracy, for the

reason that the political democracy the country enjoys in the absence of economic democracy does not provide the proper environment for all the factors necessary for economic development. To put it in a different way, the political democracy as it exists in Ceylon today places a premium on the provision of social justice, and demands the determination of the poverty line and measures necessary for the relieving of secondary poverty at a level which the country cannot afford.

The problem of development in Ceylon therefore involves the reconciliation of the three broad objectives of increasing national output speedily and substantially, of building a socialistic pattern of society with a view to achieving an optimum measure of social justice, and of preserving a democratic political structure.

Is reconciliation possible? The problem is how to bring about a suitable climate that will preserve democracy and at the same time achieve increased output and provide social justice. It can be said at once that a pre-requisite of such a climate is the willing co-operation of the worker, the peasant and the common man in any national development plan which will involve inter alia a proper allocation of resources between consumption and savings and between development expenditure and non-development expenditure. This can be brought about only by measures that will effectively give to the common man certain economic responsibilities and self interest to induce him to view and use his political power and privileges with a certain amount of balance and realism.

The changing pattern of income distribution necessitates savings, particularly at the low income levels which are receiving increasingly larger shares of the national product. The solution to this problem is a part and parcel of the solution to the overall problem of creating a suitable climate for reconciling the three broad objectives of government to which reference has already been made several times. This problem of mobilising savings at the low income levels can no longer be shirked.

This is also connected with the problem of labour output which must be far ahead of the current purchasing power released in its hands. The working population must be encouraged to be

thrifty and at the same time to be ambitious. These are extremely pressing problems in Ceylon which is being forced, or will be forced in the years to come, by its development plans and political pressure for increased non-development expenditure, to resort to deficit financing on a scale too large in relation to its foreign assets structure.

Ten-Year Plan.

The National Planning Council of Ceylon, to which reference has already been made, has recently published its Ten-Year Plan for the economic development of Ceylon. The success of the Plan will depend inter alia on the reconciliation of the objectives discussed thus far. The following is a summary of some of the main features of the Plan.

National Income:

The Plan aims at increasing national income from *Rs. 4,742 million in 1957 to Rs. 8,905 million in 1968. Population is expected to rise by 3,693,000 during this period. The percentage of national income devoted to gross investment is expected to rise from 12.9 per cent to 21.1 per cent by 1968, income per head by 36 per cent and consumption per head by 19 per cent.

Employment:

In addition to raising incomes, the Plan provides for creating employment opportunities for 1.4 million people which includes the expected addition to the workforce. Under-employment is also expected to be reduced by the Plan.

Self-Sufficiency in Food:

By 1968, under the Plan, there will be a major reduction of Island's present dependence on imported food. Provision is made for an expanded production of rice and a virtual transformation of the fishing industry. Provision is also made for major increases in supplies of other domestic products, particularly sugar, milk and meat products, eggs, tobacco, chillies, potatoes and so on.

Industrialisation:

While a full-scale programme of agricultural development is envisaged the Plan also proposes a major step forward towards

* Ceylon Rs. 4.75 = U. S. \$ 1.00

industrialisation. Investment in industry is expected to increase by 550 per cent between 1957 and 1968. By 1968 there should be a sound foundation of basic industries for further development in the future. The Plan provides, in addition to large and medium scale industries, for a vigorous programme of small scale and cottage industries. Allied to the industrial programme is a plan for the rapid expansion of power supplies from 82MW in 1957 to 382MW in 1968.

Exports :

Export earnings are important for development. The plan aims at raising export earnings by 35 per cent. By 1968, 12 per cent of the acreage under tea, 58 per cent of the acreage under rubber and 33 per cent of the acreage under coconuts will be replanted.

Housing Needs, Health and Education.

The Plan places much emphasis on housing. Over the ten years it is proposed that 952,000 houses will be built in both the urban and the rural areas. This takes account not only of the housing needs of the increase in population but also the existing backlog. Phasing of investment in health and education has been stepped up from Rs. 28 million and Rs. 22 million in 1959 to Rs. 63 million and Rs. 67 million in 1968, respectively. The school building programme will measure up to the increase in the school-going population, and in the field of health, investment per head has been substantially stepped up to meet the needs of enhanced urbanisation and other factors.

Cost of Plan :

The total investment cost of the Plan over 10 years is Rs. 13,601 million. Government investments will amount to Rs. 8,337 million or 61 per cent of the total. Private investment will be Rs. 4,409 million. The self-help contribution is estimated at Rs. 855 million. The amounts spent each year will rise progressively reaching the highest levels towards the end of the Plan period.

Financing :

The Plan will substantially be financed out of domestic resources comprising Government and private savings. Provision is also made for the continuance of a measure of foreign

assistance. It is broadly estimated that 73 per cent of the total of government investment over the 10 year period as a whole will be met from resources at existing tax rates and 17 per cent from loans and grants. Additional resources will have to be raised for meeting the residual 10 per cent. The need for these would be greater towards the later stages of the Plan. Recourse will be made to both direct and indirect taxes covering a larger proportion of the population than at present.

Positive Role for Private Sector :

While the Plan expects a major share of the new investment to be initiated by the Government it also assumes expansion in the private sector.

The Council has accepted the Development Savings Bank scheme of the writer, the chief objectives of which are, in the words of the Council, "to increase savings and mobilise them for development by offering the small saver (*particularly the worker*) an opportunity to invest in equities (*thus giving him a stake in development and diffusing stock ownership*) and creating a new investment organisation which would neither strictly belong to the public nor the private sector, and which may be a good medium for channelling for development, foreign loans and gifts".

This scheme* also provides for tax rebates to tax-payers for investment in development projects approved by the Minister of Finance so as to combine tax incentives with development. The tendency in underdeveloped countries today is for governments to resort to a variety of taxation and high rates of taxation which, without proper tax incentives, will destroy altogether, in course of time, private enterprise and democracy.

The unique feature of the scheme* is the device it provides for foreign loans to be granted not merely to governments or to industrial enterprises or financial institutions as such but to individual members through the Bank, and against security, for

* "Development Savings Bank" by C. Loganathan
Published by the Ceylonese National Council,
International Chamber of Commerce — 1959

the purpose of enabling the members themselves to acquire approved equities in the different enterprises of the country either in their own names or through trusts.

The problems of development in Ceylon cannot be solved merely by the formulation of economic plans. What is more important is the willing co-operation of the people in the implementation of any accepted plan and the efficiency and thoroughness with which both the Government and its administration execute the programmes set out in the plan. What is also necessary is the cultivation of the good-will of foreign countries interested in the welfare of Ceylon and its people. This is necessary because foreign aid in the form of loans, gifts and know-how, both at government and private level will be essential to supplement the country's own domestic resources.

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POINTS TO PONDER

The greatest thing is to forgive our enemies their virtues.

— Voltaire

* * *

The cheapest thing to wear nowadays is a smile.

* * *

Always forgive your enemies—nothing annoys
them so much

— Wilde

* * *

Whenever the Gods wish to punish us, they answer
our prayers.

— Wilde

* * *

The main thing wrong with our younger generation is
that too many of us don't belong to it anymore.

* * *

Getting married is a good deal like going into a
restaurant with friends. You order what you
want, and then you see what the other fellow
has got and wish you had taken that.

KARL MARX ON THE CAMPUS

[Readers are earnestly requested to satisfy themselves as to the authenticity of these excerpts by referring up the relevant pages (indicated by the number) in KARL MARX; Selected Works. Vol I. (Accession No. 115523) in the Reference Library.]

The history of all hitherto existing undergraduate society is the history of class struggles. Third or second, Lower or Upper seconds, in a word, employment or unemployment, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a glorious acquisition of a high post in government service or in the common ruin in depressing under—or unemployment. [204-5pp]

The modern undergraduate society that has sprouted from the ruins of the old University College system has not done away with class struggles. It has but established new classes (Lower and Upper Seconds), new conditions of oppression (enforcing disuse of the old pillaring area; return of overnight reference books before 7-30 a.m; non-provision of lifts in the library), new forms of struggle in place of the old (Benzedrine, "nervous break-downs"). [P 205]

Our epoch, the epoch of the three languages, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — the proletarian thirds and the bourgeois upper classes. [P 205]

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the world today, the proletarian third alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes however violently extremist and revolutionary before, decay and finally disappear in the face of a modern civil

service or high executive post. They are therefore not revolutionary anymore, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary for they try to roll back the wheel of history. [P 216]

The University has stripped of its dignity every origin of birth hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician's son, the lawyer's son, the poet's son, the man of science's son into mere undergraduates. [P 208]

It has torn the undergraduate away from sentimental family dotage, and has reduced the family relationship to a more rational, mature one. [P 208]

The varsity by assigning as it does an important part in the process of tutorial production to women, creates a new social foundation for a higher form of the relations between the sexes. Moreover it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes, must necessarily under suitable conditions become a source of promotion of social relationship . . . [P 46]

In the social conduct which undergraduates and undergraduettes engage in, they enter into definite relationships that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relationships of conduct correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations constitutes the structure of society — the real foundation on which rise the legal and political superstructures and which correspond to definite forms of social consciousness . . . [P 29]

At a certain stage of their development these relationships come into conflict with the family and relations with whom the undergrad had been in harmony before. From forms of development of the individual personality these relations turn into its fetters. Then comes the period of the social revolution. [P 29]

The undergrad sees in a girl a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common and to the full, and naturally can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all and

being exploited by all to the full will likewise fall to the women. He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at by University education is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production [P 224]

Our undergrads not content with having their own girls at their disposal, take the greatest pleasure in flirting with each other's girls [P 224]

The gross undergraduate materialism wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all primeval idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley primeval ties that bound man to his "natural better half," and has left no other nexus between man and woman than naked self interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of fervent love, of enthusiastic chivalry, of sentimental devotion, in the icy waters of physical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and, in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered virtues, has set up that single unconscionable virtue—coarse materialism. [P 207]

It is to the Lecturer's interest to make the working day as long as possible. The longer it is, the more surplus value he obtains. The undergrad correctly feels that every hour of labour which he performs over and above the replacement of the value of his Rs. 240/- terminal fees, is unjustly extorted from him; he experiences in his own person what it means to work excessive hours. The lecturer fights for his profit, the undergrad for his health, for a few hours of daily rest, to be able to occupy himself as a human being as well in other ways besides working, sleeping and eating. It may be remarked in passing that it does not depend at all upon the goodwill of the individual lecturers whether they desire to embark on this struggle or not, since competition compels even the most humane among them, to join with his colleagues and to make a working time as long as theirs the rule [P 343]

The struggle for the fixing of the working day has lasted from the first historical appearance of the undergraduate, to the present day. In various departments, different traditional working hours prevail, but in reality they are seldom adhered

to. Only where the varsity fixes the working day and supervises its observances can one really say that there exists a normal working day. [P. 343]

In the varsity the germ of the education of the Future, an education that will, in the case of every undergrad combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics and fifty-cent film shows, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings. [P 46]

Lacking faith in themselves, lacking faith in the lecture notes, grumbling at those wasted hours behind, and trembling in the face of the examination in front..... dreading an exam-wide collapse.....nowhere with energy, originality, everywhere with plagiarism.....without initiative..... the undergrads, miserable, face their doom. [P 51]

Finally at the time when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the undergrad's mind, in fact within his whole self, assumes such a violent glaring character that a small section of the Final Years batch cuts itself adrift and joins the Pre-final-year class—the class that holds the next year's exam in its hands. [P 216]

GROUCHO MARX

Scene : *A train compartment in Rumania during the war.*

Characters : *A Rumanian officer, a German officer, and old lady and an attractive girl.*

The train enters a tunnel. Passengers hear first a kiss and then a vigorous step. Train emerges into the light again. Everyone remains silent, but the German officer has a black eye.

The old lady thinks : What a good girl she is, such a fine moral character !

The girl thinks : Isn't it odd that the German tried to kiss the old lady and not me.

The German thinks : That Rumanian is a smart one ! He steals a kiss and I get hit !

The Rumanian thinks : I'm a clever fellow. I kiss the back of my hand, hit a German officer and get away with it !

* * *

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The Growth of Trade Unions in the British Dependencies Overseas

BY B. C. ROBERTS

*Reader in Industrial Relations at the London
School of Economics*

Trade unions have developed remarkably in British dependent territories during the past 25 years. In 1935 there were little more than a handful of unions, though in some territories there was a history of labour organisation going back to before the first world war.

To-day, there are about 1,250 trade unions with a total membership of well over 1,000,000. These figures have to be related to the fact that most of the territories have a relatively small employed labour force; the great bulk of the populations, with the exception of those of Hong Kong and Singapore, are engaged in some form of agricultural pursuit and peasant holdings are common everywhere. Out of a total population of 75,000,000, perhaps 5,000,000 are engaged in wage-earning occupations.

Stimulus From Britain

The stimulus to form trade unions has come to no small extent from Britain. In September 1930, the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield (Sydney Webb) sent a dispatch to all colonial governors informing them that the United Kingdom Government looked with favour upon the development of trade unions and urged them to see that legislation necessary for the promotion of labour organisations was enacted. In the next few years most of the territories not having the appropriate laws adopted a legal framework within which trade unions could grow and mature freely.

In 1938 a Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was appointed, and a Social Services Department was created to advise on social policy, including questions affecting labour. In 1942 it was decided to establish a Colonial Labour

Advisory Committee to consider and advise on all matters concerning the employment of labour. This committee is presided over by the Minister of State for the Colonies and its members include representatives of the British Employers' Confederation, the Overseas Employers' Federation, the Trades Union Congress and independent members with knowledge and experience of colonial labour problems.

The British Pattern

With most of the territories now largely self-governing in all internal affairs the function of the Colonial Office is in the main to advise and assist when requested. When, for example, an International Labour Organisation Convention is ratified by Britain, the Secretary of State will draw the attention of the Colonies to this fact and encourage them to take any steps that might be necessary to give effect to this decision.

The legislation adopted in the overseas territories has been modelled upon the British pattern. It has not provided, as American law has done since 1935, a means by which employers could be compelled to recognise and then bargain with trade unions. The British view was, and still is, that good industrial relations would be most likely to emerge out of the voluntary acceptance of collective bargaining as a way of settling the proper rates of wages and conditions of employment.

The growth of unions and the evolution of collective bargaining in non-self-governing territories has not, however, been quite as spontaneous and voluntary as this approach might suggest. Labour Departments had been established in almost all of the major territories by the end of the second world war, and since their inception they have played a major role in stimulating, assisting and guiding the development of trade unions. This element of governmental paternalism was implicit in the major departure from British trade union law that has been embodied in the legislation enacted in all the territories, namely that every union must register its existence as a condition of its lawfulness. Since the rules of a union had to comply with the law before it could be accepted, some official assistance was obviously a most practical necessity.

Educational Courses

Labour Departments were encouraged to run educational courses on the administration of unions, to help unions to gain recognition from employers and to act as friendly counsellors whenever advice was sought or seemed desirable. This work was largely carried out by experienced trade unionists who were sent to dependencies to act as Labour Officers with the primary duty of helping the unions to overcome their problems.

The Trade Union Congress has also played an important part in helping the nascent colonial trade unions to build up their bargaining strength. Union Leaders have been brought to Britain for training and to gain experience of administration and methods of effective organisation. Much practical assistance by way of money, office equipment and transport vehicles has been provided; and since 1957 the T. U. C. has undertaken to provide £500,000 to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for the purpose of advancing trade unionism in under-developed territories.

There are now many large well-established, well-organised and responsibly led trade unions in British overseas territories. But there are also a very large number of small, weak and often badly-led unions. For example, in Nigeria to-day there are 268 unions with a total membership of 231,000; in Hong Kong 234 unions have a membership of 180,000; and in Mauritius 59 unions have 34,000 members.

However, in contrast to this situation there is only one union in Antigua and only two major unions in Jamaica, in The West Indies. Whereas in Africa, Mauritius, Singapore and Hong Kong, separate unions have frequently been organised for the employees of a single establishment, in The West Indies the opposite has occurred and in some territories almost everybody is in one large omnibus union.

Need For Rationalisation

It is clear that industrial organisation must vary according to the special needs and opportunities of various countries, and this calls for a great degree of understanding and co-operation between individuals and groups everywhere

Compulsory amalgamation is alien to the British concept of voluntary trade unionism, but there is certainly a need to rationalise present union organisation in some of the territories, but if the evolution of trade unions in the more advanced countries is any guide the present small-scale structure of the unions will gradually change as industry and services develop.

Perhaps an even greater problem is that posed by the paucity of experienced union leaders. In the early stages of the trade union movement in Britain's overseas territories, many union leaders were intellectuals, professional persons and politicians. These were the people with the social skills necessary to form labour organisations and the drive to bring them into being. There is, however, evidence from every territory that once unions become well-established, new leaders begin to emerge from within the ranks of their membership.

Politics have frequently been an important factor in the development of trade unions in the colonies. It was inevitable that trade unions were often originally formed for the purpose of promoting their founders' political interest rather than as the result of a desire by workpeople to advance their wages and improve their working conditions. Unfortunately, cleavage of political opinion has adversely affected the development of the unions, sometimes leading to their collapse.

But, though union leaders continue to be influenced by political considerations, there are indications that when a union has established a solid foundation, built up agreements and achieved a status in the community, it is less willing to hazard its success by taking a narrow political point of view.

Collective Bargaining Established

There are examples in Trinidad, British Guiana and elsewhere, of union leaders coming to recognise that the interests of the union are not always the same as those of the party that it wishes to see in power. It will, however, be a long time before there is everywhere a clear demarcation line drawn between activities that are political in purpose and those that are primarily industrial and economic.

Collective bargaining is now well-established in most of the territories. The agreements that are being negotiated with the larger corporations such as the oil, mining and manufacturing organisations are almost as advanced in their scope as those secured by unions in Britain or America. Wage levels are, of course, related to the economic factors that prevail in the different territories, but there has been a rapid rate of improvement. In a number of cases unions have persuaded employers to agree to a "check-off"; grievance procedures are being developed along lines similar to those which prevail in the more advanced territories. Lay-off compensation and pensions are being discussed and already exist for certain groups.

The major problem which faces the unions in the dependent territories is to bring small enterprises up to the standards that now prevail in the larger ex-patriate controlled corporations.

Some experts have questioned the wisdom of encouraging the development of collective bargaining in under-developed territories along lines that are familiar to Britain and America. Experience has, however, shown that it can be adapted to the social and economic conditions that prevail in British overseas territories and that a stable system of industrial relations can be built up without the sacrifice of those principles of association and free bargaining that are held to be an essential feature of a free and democratic society. Indeed, what is perhaps most remarkable is the progress that has been made in the past 25 years towards a stable system of industrial relations.

Undergrad Dilemmas

* * *

She 1 : "I know the secret of popularity."

She 2 : "SHHH! I know too. But mother says I musn't"

Irate Father : "Why were you kissing my daughter in that dark corner last night?"

Undergrad : "Now that I've seen her in day light, I sort of wonder myself!"

මාර්ටින් වික්‍රමසිංහ හා නවපද්‍ය සිංහලය.

මෙරටට ගැලපෙන විවාර ක්‍රමයක් සකස් කිරීමට වෙහෙසෙන් නවුන් අතර මාර්ටින් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතාට ගිම්මවනුයේ ඉතා උසස් ස්ථානයෙකි. ශාස්ත්‍රානුකූලවූත්, විද්‍යාත්මකවූත් විවාර කලාවක් බිහිකරනු සඳහා මෙතෙක් ඔහු විසින් කර ඇති පර්යේෂණ රාශියකි. සිංහල සාහිත්‍යයේ නැගීම, සාහිත්‍ය කලාව, ගුණකිලි විවාරය, හා කාව්‍ය විවාරය ආදී ග්‍රන්ථ වලින් ඔහු ඇරඹූ නුතන කාව්‍ය විවාර ක්‍රමයෙහි අළුත්ම අත්හදා බැලීම නව පද්‍ය සිංහලයයි.

ඔහුගේ මූලික පලවූ විවාර ග්‍රන්ථයන් බොහොමයකම එන විවාර ක්‍රමයට පැරණි සංස්කෘත විවාර ක්‍රමය මූල්‍යව අතර නවපද්‍ය-සිංහලයෙන් පිළිබිඹුවනුයේ ඔහු විසින් මූලික බිහිකරණ ලද පෙරදිග විවාරක්‍රමයෙන්, දැනට අපරදිග ප්‍රචලිතව ඇති භාවිත විවාරක්‍රම-යෙන් සංකලනයකිසි සිතමි.

ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවක ඔහු පාලි පද්‍යයන්ගෙන් හැඳින්වෙන අලංකාර සිංහානන්ද ගුරුකොට්ඨෙන සිංහල කාව්‍යයන් විභාග කරන්නට වෑයම් කරයි. එහෙත් ඔහුගේ ඒ වෑයම අසාර්ථකවූ නිසාදෝ වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා තම පෙරවදාගෙනි මෙවැනි ඉතිහාසයක් ද කර ඇත. ‘අලංකාර අනුශාසනා වැරදි ලෙස වහරනු ලැබීමෙන් රචිත අනුකරණ කාව්‍යයන්හි තොදක්තා ලැබෙන ස්වාධීන කවිකෘ-යක් ඇතැම් පාලි පද්‍යවලින් ප්‍රකට වෙයි. ඒ පද්‍ය විමසීමෙන් අලංකාර සිංහානන්ද පිළිබඳ නිවැරදි ව්‍යවහාරාත්මක දැනුමක් ලැබිය හැකිය. සතු කවියෙහි වහලින් මිදී පාලි පද්‍යයන් ලැබිය හැකි ඒ දැනුම වහල්කොටගන්නා නිර්නාස ප්‍රාචීන පසිචරයන් දෙතුන් දෙනෙකුට හෝ විඩ වඩ විදුලයෙහි ආචාර්ය වරයාට හෝ කාව්‍ය විමේචනය ශාස්ත්‍රීය පර්යේෂණ විධියක් කල හැකිය.....’ කාව්‍ය අරභයා එය ගුරුකොට්ඨගැත්ම සමහරවිට ප්‍රඥාගෝචර වියහැක.

ශාස්ත්‍රානුකූල වූ විවාරක්‍රමයක් බිහිකිරීමට ඔහු නව පද්‍ය සිංහල යෙන් ගත් තැන කොතෙක් දුරට සාර්ථකවී ඇත්දැයි විමසා බැලීම නුතන යුගයට බලපෙන විවාර ක්‍රමයක් ගැන කෙරෙන විමසීමක්ද

වනු ඇත. සමස්ථ වශයෙන් ගෙන බලනවිට වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතාගේ 'නවපද්‍ය සිංහලය' නූතන කාව්‍යය අරඹයා කෙරුණු අසම්පූර්ණවූත්, අශාස්ත්‍රීයවූත් විවරණයක් ලෙස සැලකිය හැකිය. ඉතා මෑතකදී අමුතු රචනා විශේෂයක් බිහිකළ ජී. බී. සේනානායක, ශිරි ගුණසිංහ ගුණදාස අමරසේකර යන කවීන් ගැන ඔහු දක්වා ඇති සැලකිල්ල බලනවිට, සිංහල කාව්‍යයෙහි ප්‍රයෝජනවත් විප්ලවයක් කළ මුනිදාස කුමාරණතුංග වැන්නවුන්ගේ එකදු රචනාවකුදු මෙහිලා විවේචනය නොකිරීමේ බරපතල චෝදනාවට ඔහු හසුවෙයි. එය බරපතල වරදක් වනුයේ වර්තමාන කාව්‍යය අමුතු මහකට යොමුකිරීමෙහිලා මූලිකවූ කවිපරම්පරාවකගේ පියා වශයෙන් කුමාරණතුංග හැඳින්වෙන හෙයිනි. ඔහුගේ කවිතාව ඵලදායී මහතාද ප්ලිගනි. "පියසමර රචනයෙහිදී කුමාරණතුංග කෝට්ටේ කාලයෙහි කවීන් විසින් පටිච්චසත්‍ර ලැබූ ජීවත් නොගත්තේය. එළිවැට බැහැර කළේය. නූතනුත් නොමග යවන මිහිරිසර තගන මිරිතක් නොගත්තේය..... උගත් කවීන් මෙන් කුකවීන් විසින්ද නැවත නැවතත් වහරනු ලැබීමෙන් අඩපණවුණු පදමාලාවද බැහැර කළේය....." ඔහුගේ බොහෝ අසාර්ථක පද්‍ය රචනාවල පවා නව පද්‍ය සිංහලයෙහි විවේචනය වන කවීන්ගේ කාව්‍යයකට දඩා ප්‍රතිභාවක් හා ගැඹුරු දූෂිතයක් දක්නට ලැබේ.

"කවියකු හා විවාරකයකු වශයෙන් කුමාරණතුංගගේ ශක්තිය මෙහිලා සැලකෙනත් ඔහුගේ පද්‍යරචනා මේ විවේචනයට හසුනොවේ....." යනුවෙන් වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා එක් නැතෙක පවසයි. මෙය කොතරම් බොළඳ කියුමක්ද? කවියකු හා විවාරකයකු වශයෙන් කුමාරණතුංගගේ ශක්තිය මෙහි සැලකෙන බව පැවසෙනත් ඔහුගේ පද්‍ය රචනා එකකුදු විවේචනයට භාජනය නොකොට කවියකු වශයෙන් කුමාරණතුංග තුළ ඇති ශක්තිය සලකන්නේ කෙසේද? පෞද්ගලික ජීවිත විවරණවලින් විවේචනයට ඇති වහල කුමක්ද? 'කුමාරණතුංග මගේ හොඳ මිතුරෙකි'යි කී පමණක්ම අප ලබන එලෙස කුමක්ද?

කුමාරණතුංග මහතා සමග කළායි පැවසෙන කථාවන් එ' පිළිබඳව මෙහි ඇතුල්කොට ඇති ඉංග්‍රීසි වැනි හා ඔහුගේ ගෝලයන් ගැන සඳහන් වන දෑද මෙවැනි කෘතියකට අනුචිත වූවකි. "ජීවිතය සඳහා පොත් ලිවීමෙන් මුදල් සපයා ගතයුතුය එහෙයින් කාව්‍ය රචනයට මුළු කාලය දෙදවිය නොහැකිසි ... " (පිට 124) යනුවෙන් කුමාරණතුංග වරක් කියූ කියුමක්ද මෙහි ඇතුළත්කොට ඇත. සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පෞද්ගලිකයායි සැලකිය හැකි මෙවැනි, පිටුගණන් මිංගුකළ අභව්‍යය ද ඉවත් කිරීමෙන් කුමාරණතුංගගේ පද්‍ය පංතීන් කිහිපයක්වුව විවේචනය කිරීමට අවකාශ ලබාගත

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| “ ශ්‍රී ලංකා සබයෙහි මේ බණ දෙසූ | වා |
| අසරණ කාර්ය ඒවා ඇසූ | වා |
| ඉන්පසු සිත පුරවා රස මුසු | වා |
| ගෙන ආ කලයද ගලපිට ගැසූ | වා” |

තව පද්‍ය සිංහලයෙහි එන නූතන කාව්‍ය විවේචන ගැන සදහන් කරන විට එක්තරා සාහිත්‍ය විචාරකයෙකු විසින් කලකට පෙර සදහන් කරණ ලද අගනා කියුමක්ද මෙහි සදහන් කිරීම උචිත යැයි හනිමි. වික්‍රමසිංහ යන්ගේ අතෙක් විචාර ග්‍රන්ථයන් ගැන කෙසේ වුවද ‘තව පද්‍ය සිංහලය’ කෙරෙහි එය බොහෝදුරට ගැලපෙන හෙයිනි. “විචාරකයාගේ සැලකිල්ලට ලක්විය යුත්තේ ඔහු ඉදිරියේ ඇති කලාකෘතිය පමණක්ම යන්න පිළිගැනීමට වික්‍රමසිංහ මැලිවූයේ, සාහිත්‍යය පිළිබඳ අමතර ප්‍රශ්න රාශියකට පිළිතුරු සැපයීමට ඔහුට සිදුවී තිබුණු හෙයිනි. කාව්‍යයක රසය පමණක් නොව ඊට පිටස්තර දේ පවා සලකා බැලීමෙන්, කාව්‍යයක අගය විමසීමට තැත්කිරීම, වික්‍රමසිංහයන් අතින් සිදුවූයේ සමාජයේ වරදීන්ගේ නිගමනය කළහැක. ඔහුට ඇමතීමට සිදුවූයේ සාහිත්‍යය ගැන පැහැදිලි අවබෝධයක් නොමැති සමාජයකටයි. එසේ නොවන්නට මේවැනි අවධියකට අවශ්‍ය ශාස්ත්‍රානුකූල විචාරකයෙක් ඔහු අතින් බිහිවනු නොඅනුමානයි.....”

(ආර්ය රාජකරුණ - පියවර-1947-58)

මිමන ප්‍රේමනිලකගේ කාව්‍ය විචාරය කිරීමේදී ද වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා අතින් මේ වරද සිදුවී ඇත. “ප්‍රේමනිලක තමාගේ නැයන්ගේ පමණක් නොව මිතුරන්ගේ හා ඉදහිට ඇසුරු කළ වූත්ගේද අහංකාරකම් මාතය හා දැඩි ගතිය කරබාගෙන ඉවසීමෙන්, නැළුණු වෙහෙසුණු හද ඇත්තකු බව මේ පද්‍යයන්ගෙන් හා පද්‍ය පාදයන්ගෙන් හෙළිවෙයි” යනුවෙන් පුද්ගලිකත්වයද කාව්‍ය විවේචනයට ආරෝපනය කරගැනීමට විචාරකයා කළ උත්සාහය මා මෙහි මුලින් සදහන් කළ ආර්ය රාජකරුණ මහතාගේ මතය තව දුරටත් සනාථ කරන්නකි. කාව්‍ය විවේචනයට වඩා වර්තාපදන-යක් ලිවීමට වහල්කොට ගතහැකි කරුණු නම් තව පද්‍ය සිංහලයෙහි බහුලය.

මෙවැනි දුබල කම් හැරුණු විට ‘තව පද්‍ය සිංහලය’ මේ යුගයේ කාව්‍ය පංතීන් කිහිපයක් වුව ශාස්ත්‍රානුකූලව විවේචනයට ගත් උත්සාහයකි. මෙහි එන විවේචන කොතෙක් දුරට සාර්ථකද, අසාර්ථකද යන්න විමසීම වෙනම ප්‍රශ්නයකි. ඇතැම් නූතන පද්‍ය රචකයන්ගේ කුසලතාවන් කෙමෙන් පිරිහියන අන්දම වික්‍රමසිංහ

මෙහි ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇති ආකාරය මනෝඥය. “බොහෝ තරුණ කවීන්ට තමන්ගේ කුසලතා දියුණුකරගත නොහැකිවූයේ මිනිසුන් හා සමාජය නොතකා ඉරහද, තරු, ගස් කොළන්, ඇල දොළ මහන්කොට සලකන බව කියන්නට තැනනු හෙයිනි.....” සි වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා නගන මතය නුඹන පද්‍ය විචාරයෙහිලා සාලකීය හැකි සදකාලික සිද්ධාන්තයක් වැන්න. සිංහල කවීන් බොහෝ දෙනෙකුගේ කවිව්‍යවේෂ විකාශනයවීම එක්තරා අවස්ථාවකදී ඇත හිටියේ යට දක්වනලද කරුණ නිසායැයි සිතිය හැකිය.

තව පද්‍ය සිංහලයෙන් වර්තමාන සිංහල කාව්‍යය පිලිබඳ විද්‍යාත්මකවූත්, ශාස්ත්‍රානුකූලවූත්, විවරණයක් කිරීමට වික්‍රමසිංහ මහතා අසමත් වුවද ඔහු එයින් පළකරන ඇතැම් අදහස් අපේ විචාර කලාව ගමන් ගන්නා අඳුරු මගට පතිතවුණු විශාල ආලෝක ධාරාවක් වැන්න. නූතන කාව්‍ය විචාරය පිලිබඳ ව ප්‍රයෝජනවත් විප්ලවයක් කිරීමට ඔහුගේ උත්සාහයේ අලුත්ම ඵලය තව පද්‍ය සිංහලයයි.

වසලාල් හෙමිච්චාරවිචි.



FLASH IN THE CAMPUS



Undergrad Reflections: *By the time you have money to burn,
the Fire has gone out.*

* * *

*Everyone is a promising young man sometime. The world
should sue the young for breach of promise.*

* * *

Undergrad Motto

*I serve a purpose in this place
in which no man can frown:
I gently enter into class
And keep the average down.*

* * *

Lecturer : "Yes, Mr. Fernando, what is it?"

Undergrad: *I don't want to scare you, Sir, but Pop says that
If I don't pass my exam, some-one's going to get a
licking!"*

* * *

Father, to lazy undergrad son: *I'm ashamed of you. When
George Washington was your age, he was hard at
work as a surveyor!"*

Son: — "Yes. And when he was your age, he was the
President of the United States!"

* * *

Furious Father: "What do you mean by bringing my
daughter in at 7-30 in the morning?"

Unrepentant Undergrad: *Have to be at lectures at 8-0."*

TO MY TAMIL COUNTRYMEN IN PARTICULAR

The Language Problem is the most difficult of the problems that face our country. How are we to solve it, when various different solutions are put forward by the political parties? Is 'Sinhalese Only' the solution or is 'Parity' the answer? And what place shall we give to English? We must not forget to consider the use of English when we think of the Language Problem, for English is important for our development as a nation. It gives us the science of the modern world and also gives us a rich literature that is vastly augmented everyday. South Americans, Norwegians, Frenchmen, Germans, Indians and Japanese often write directly in English today. And translations into English of important books are always being made. If we are to develop as a modern nation, we must retain the use of English, even extend its use. Let not a few only but all our countrymen receive the benefits that come from knowing English. English is also important for the development of the national languages: we would have no Sinhalese novel today if not for the influence of English. Even Sinhalese poetry is taking on new forms due to the influence of English poetry. It is the English language that has introduced our dramatists to world drama, to Russian and Japanese plays: for in Ceylon we read the literature of the world through English. We must retain the use of English even for the limited aim of developing the Sinhalese language itself.

I am not recommending Parity of status for English and Sinhalese, a suggestion hardly made by anybody! I am not asking that English be made an official language or be given the same status in law as Sinhalese: I am recommending that its use be extended in the land in the field of education. I am recommending, for instance, that English be retained as the

medium of University education for the next ten years. For the development of the Sinhalese language itself this is necessary. After the next ten years, we can review the position and then decide whether English should continue to be used as before or be given less importance. There may be many changes in the world in general in ten years which will affect the status of the English language. And in ten years the Sinhalese language would be more fitted to replace some of the uses of English in education. Let us then be prudent and develop both these languages for the present.

What about the Tamil language? I have yet said nothing about this. The Tamil language in Ceylon is one of our national languages: it is used by a section of our people who have as much right to this country as the Sinhalese. Yet the Tamil language in Ceylon is in a different position to Sinhalese. It cannot be denied that Tamil is the language of a considerable minority. This is a fact, a truth, and we have to learn to face the truth. The truth has a habit of catching up with us. The more we ignore it, the larger it looms behind us. This fact does not automatically exclude Parity for Tamil. Parity of status is still possible in a country when one of the languages is the language of a minority. Yet the case for the language of a minority is not the same as the case for the language of a majority: in strict justice their claims are not equal. This must be admitted as a fact. Even in politics all is not emotion: there are facts here as in any other sphere. If Tamil achieves parity of status with Sinhalese, it is not because parity is what it can justly claim as its due: its claim may be granted out of generosity. Generosity is a good thing but it must be recognised as such. The Federal Party ask for parity for the Tamil language on the basis of justice: they always claim a strict justice for this request. Now this is false and even arrogant. If the Tamils in this country had been a majority and the Sinhalese a minority, the Tamil leaders of the Federal Party would have claimed that the Tamil Language had more rights than the Sinhalese language. The logic is clear: if Tamil has equal rights while being the language of a minority, it would have more than equal rights if it had been the language of majority.

The Federal Party stand must clearly be recognised as an extreme. The S.L.F.P. claim of 'Sinhala Only in 24 hours' is also

an extreme: and there were vague references in those days to proportional representation with regard to jobs and discrimination against Tamils in other fields as well. 'Sinhalese Only' without adequate time given to the non-Sinhalese to achieve proficiency in the language is definitely unjust. And proportional distribution of jobs according to population is absolutely unjust and completely reactionary. It means that even if a Tamil learns Sinhalese (*in 24 hours!*), he yet has not equal chances with the Sinhalese. This extreme communalism of the S. L. F. P. (*under Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike*) strengthened the extremism of the Federal Party: the bitterness that was generated from this impasse led to the fearful communal rioting of 1958.

Let us try to understand our communal problem and tell ourselves some truths. If we do not humbly face the truth and each of us see our share of wrong we shall never be able to solve the communal problem. Recently we heard of the extraordinary penance undertaken by a Hindu swami who rolled many miles along the road to invoke God's help to solve our communal problem. Penance and Prayer are essential for without God's help nothing can be achieved. But it must be followed by thought and action: we must, on our part, co-operate with the grace God wishes to give. Penances of the soul are sometimes more difficult than penances of the body, and the chief penance of the soul is a humbling of ourselves, a sincere admission of a wrong and a willingness to change our position. This is a very difficult thing to do and particularly so if we have suffered unjustly. The Tamils have suffered unjustly: there is no doubt about this. Even if the Federal Party is partially responsible for aggravating the communal problem, the Tamil people of this country did not merit as punishment the fearful suffering of the communal riots. The Sinhalese communalists went from one false extreme to another and worse extreme and we must condemn them in the strongest terms.

To demand parity as a right for the language of a minority and to demand it in an aggressive manner is a wrong thing to do. There is no doubt about this. The demand for parity can certainly be made but the claim cannot be made on the basis of justice. The demand must recognise that it asks for generosity or more than justice and must be made in that spirit.

The demand for parity, however, is not politically or economically advantageous to the Tamil people. This is another point. If I were a Tamil, I would not ask for parity of status for Sinhalese and Tamil for the sake of my children and my children's children. I would certainly ask for a reasonable time for myself, for my people, for the younger generation, to learn Sinhalese as well as the Sinhalese themselves. As a Tamil I would ask for official protection and patronage for the Tamil language, but as a man who has not only dignity and pride to feed but also a body to provide for, I would not object to Sinhalese as the only official language. I love Jaffna and I shall retire here in my old age but I do not want to be confined to these parts by necessity. If parity is officially granted my children will of course not need to learn Sinhalese. They will not, however, be equally placed with the Sinhalese. Even though the two languages may be on a par officially, it will be easier for a Sinhalese to get a job in the Sinhalese areas, because of the local need for Sinhalese in these areas, and the Sinhalese areas are much larger in comparison than the Tamil. So my son, as an individual Tamil, will, in relation to an individual Sinhalese of the same talents and capacities, have less chances of a job. This is inevitable if there is parity of status for two languages in a country where there is a majority and a minority, a major part of the country and a minor part, divided thus on the basis of language. If, however, Sinhalese is the only official language and my son is given sufficient to gain proficiency in it, he will have an absolute equality of chances with any Sinhalese for jobs and employment.

The Muslims in Ceylon realised this and in general did not ask for parity, though Tamil is their mother tongue. The Tamils are prouder than the Muslims of their language and they live largely together in the north and east of the island. This makes them insular in their approach. If one lives for a time in the heart of Jaffna, one begins to forget that one is living in an island where the majority of the people are not Tamils, so completely cut off is one by custom and geography. The world is working towards unity rather than separation. Federalism in a small country such as ours is a demand to return to the past. The Tamils are also proud of their traditions in dress and behaviour: they are generally more conservative, more modest, in these

respects than the Sinhalese. The Tamils want to preserve these things. But customs and traditions of dress and behaviour are not inextricably linked up with a language. The Muslims are learning to speak Sinhalese in the Kandyan provinces, but their women still preserve their ancient modesty and the whole people show no signs of giving up their religion, so dear to their hearts. The Tamils, unlike the Muslims, do not have one religion: most of the Tamils are Hindus but there is a considerable and flourishing Christian minority. Tamils have less reason than for their obstinacy on the language question than even the Muslims. They do not have to give up their religion by compromising on the language issue: they do not even have to give up their customs. The Tamil lady can still wear her beautiful *pottu* and she can dress in the dignified manner in which she normally does. Before the communal rumblings of the last years, Sinhalese ladies were adopting Tamil customs: many graced their foreheads with the *pottu* on festive occasions!

We are not asking the Tamil people to give up their language or to give up asking for official recognition and patronage for it. We are asking them to give up the demand for parity of status for the sake of themselves, their own economic benefit, and for the sake of the unity of the country and its future.

Federalism is completely out of date. Jaffna. I am afraid, belongs to the Sinhalese; every inch of the district belongs to the Sinhalese. The whole of the northern and the eastern provinces belong to the Sinhalese. But I also say that the furthest corners of the rest of the country, the deep south and the inaccessible hills, belongs to the Tamils. Trincomalee and Jaffna belongs to the Sinhalese and Kandy and Matara belong to the Tamils and the whole country belongs to both.

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ANNUAL REPORT

It is with a mixed feeling of happiness and pride that I present the first report of the Democratic Socialist Society of the University of Ceylon. The Democratic Socialist Society was formed at a time when Marxist thought and ideas dominated the minds of undergraduates; at a time when marxists infiltrated into and controlled most University Societies; at a time when young undergraduates thought it fashionable and even expedient to call themselves marxists.

A group of students dissatisfied with the doctrines and the methods of marxism felt the need to promote the establishment of socialism in our country through democratic means, and formed the Democratic Socialist Society to counteract the influence of marxism in the University in the formative years of our lives. In these circumstances the formation of the Democratic Socialist Society was welcomed by a substantial number of undergraduates as a forum for the expression of rightist thought on the campus, as a means of disseminating the ideals of Democratic Socialism among undergraduates.

The activities of the society commenced with a talk by Mr. Dudley Senanayake on Democratic Socialism at a meeting which was one of the best attended meetings on the campus. Mr. C. Loganathan addressed the next meeting of the society at which he expounded the Loganathan plan. Finally Professor Guba of the University of Calcutta, an emissary of Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan spoke on the Tibetan Revolution - a meeting which was well attended despite the dance - recital organized by the communists as a counter - attraction. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene was to have addressed us on "The origin, decline and the future of the U.N.P." but owing to the untimely death of the late Premier on the previous day the talk had to be cancelled.

Weekly discussions conducted by Mr. Basil Mendis were a regular feature of the year. At these discussions current political

problems such as the language issue, minority rights, the Indian Tamil question were fully discussed. A picnic to Pidurutalagala was organized in the second term. The circulation of anti-marxist literature was begun among the members and with the co-operation of certain organizations we were able to build up a small library for the members. Two free film shows were organized by the society during the year: it was incidentally the first occasion that any society organized a free film show for undergraduates.

Our thanks are due to Messrs. Dudley Senanayake, C. Loganathan and Professor Guha who addressed the Society at our invitation; to Mr. Basil Mendis who has consistently taken a keen interest in the affairs of the Society, to the Managing Director of United Theatres for helping us to organize two free film shows, to the U. S. I. S. for lending us some of their anti marxist documentary films; and in a special manner to our adviser and Senior Treasurer Dr. F. S. C. P. Kalpage for his advice and invaluable services rendered to us.

We also thank our energetic President Mr. Patrick Perera and all those members who have taken an active interest in the affairs of the society.

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| | | |
|--------------------------|-----|---------------------|
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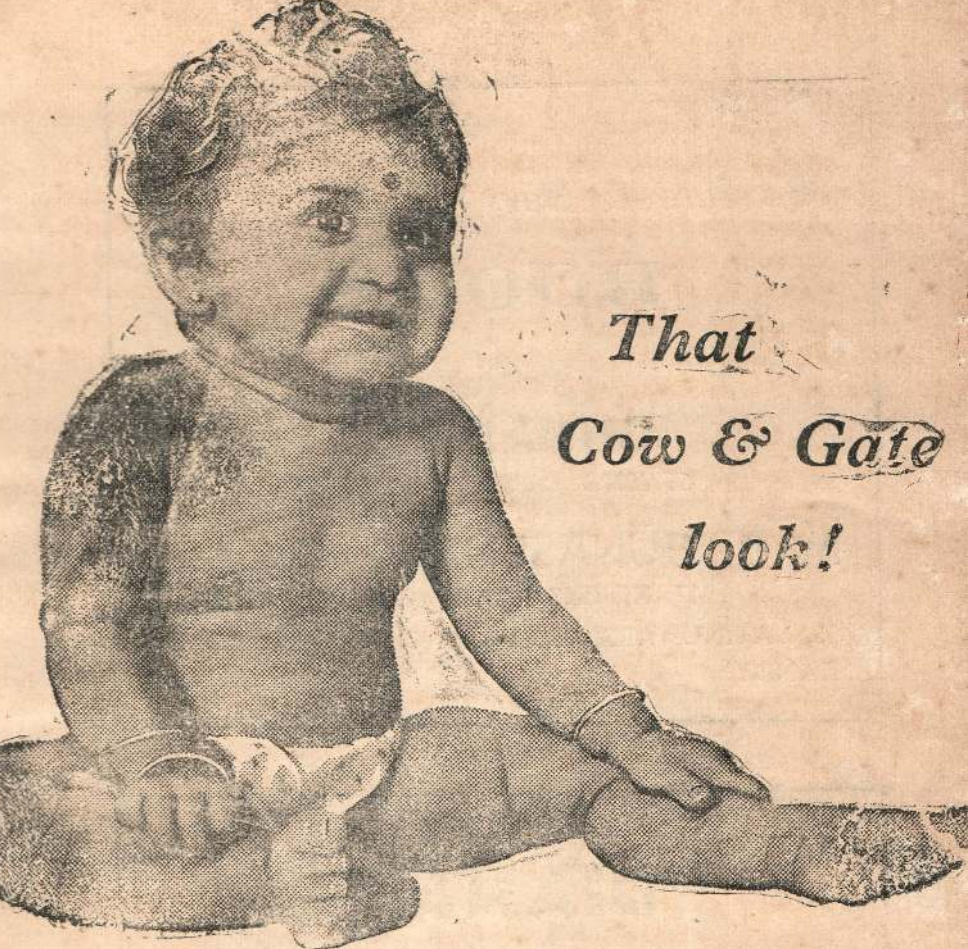
ARUNACHALAM HALL.

ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

BY M. T. M. HILMY MANZIL

The family is the first social group in which the child normally has membership, and almost exclusive contact is established between the family and the child during the period of greatest dependancy and greatest plasticity, and this intimate contact is carried over for a subsequent period of several years, making the family play an exceptionally important part in determining the behaviour patterns which the child will exhibit. Thus approved social conduct may be learned during childhood, for no child knows instinctively how to conduct himself so that he will not interfere with the right and welfare of others.

The family as an institution is assigned task of providing for many of the everyday activities and interests of children and of supervising them. Without such provisions and supervision children are thrown upon the community resources that many or many not be adequate. The family also provides for the emotional satisfactions and the opportunities for normal emotional development from pleasure-loving babyhood to the controlled expressions of adulthood. The mother apart from the protective care and physical sustenance that she gives the baby, becomes also an important figure in the emotional development of any child. The Father becomes an important agent of socialization when he is considered a figure of authority. Thus the relationship of father and child, mother and child, the father and mother, and finally the child and its siblings are important for the emotional and mental development of the child in the family. Sigmund Freud insisted on the fact, that what the child experiences, in the early years of his childhood, especially the first five years, are significant for its adult life. Any mal-adjustment in the family relationship is likely



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to have emotional impacts on the behavioural patterns of the child and this is clearly recognised by all Psychologists and Psychiatrists, making it impossible to under-estimate the importance of the home factor in the development of the child ¹.

In inquiries into the personal lives of delinquents, sociologists have studied their physical, moral and mental development in relation to the family and such studies have given ample proof that delinquency may be caused when the family does not perform its functions properly or if the family itself is mal-adjusted and inadequate.

The psychological tensions and emotional disturbances in the home, as a result of, or, accompanying frustration, rejection, harshness, irritation, jealousy and other conditions affect children, and observation in such home conditions of delinquent groups has resulted in the proposition that the "problem child is a child with problems". However not all children with such problems become delinquent, but only by those who assimilate delinquent behaviour by association with delinquents and the probability that a child faced with such emotional tensions may encounter delinquency patterns and assimilate them is higher when the home itself is located in a delinquency area. Thus parents in determining the geographical and social location of the house can determine the kind of behaviour patterns the child will learn or encounter ².

Unliked in preliterate life where both parents were reared in a simple harmonious culture and the result was a steady and harmonious pressure upon the child which formed his character without difficulty, and with a minimum of conflicts. This seems impossible in a modern Industrial society where the persons in-charge of the training of the child cannot be consistent. As Southerland points out "parents are in conflict with each other because they have been reared in different environments, have read different books, and magazines and have seen different movies that have a bearing on child training". ³ It is not possible for one parent to be consistent with himself for his policies vary with his

1 Sigmund Freud. *Psycho-Analyses*,

2 Clifford R. Shaw: "Delinquency Areas"

3 E. H. Southerland and D. R. Cressey. "Principles of Criminology." (1955)

state of fatigue, worry, hurry and other conditions. These inconsistencies undoubtedly affect the degree of obedience which parents can exact from children. Obedience and control depend on the prestige of the parents and this is affected not only by the consistency of the demands made by them upon a child, but also by their status in the community. The poverty, physical features, the competitive ability and attainments and social status of the parents in comparison with other parents with whom the child is associated may destroy the prestige of the parents so that behaviour patterns presented may be highly abnormal.

A home may also determine the prestige values of various persons, and also the types of persons with whom intimacy later develops. The child reflects the behaviour patterns of the parents, for in the process of socialization he may take in the attitudes and values of the parents. If the parents themselves are prone to criminal action, their children too can take on delinquent behaviour, by following the parents. This fact has been clearly shown by the Radby study under the direction of Professor Sprott who found that delinquents come from homes which were characterized by domestic problems, drunkenness, sexual promiscuity and a rejection of conventional laws. In such a home the child may assimilate, within the home, by observation of parents, the attitudes, codes and behaviour patterns of delinquency. Thus delinquency is learned at home. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck⁴ reported that one of the most observing elements in the delinquency of some children is the criminalistic behaviour of other members of the family and in evidence reported that 84.8% of the offenders released from the Massachusetts Reformatory had been reared in homes in which there were other criminal members. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck also reported⁵ that drunkenness, crime or immorality in the homes of 90.4% of 500 delinquents, conforming the fact that the home in which delinquents were reared were in an extra-ordinary degree situations in which patterns of delinquent behaviour were found.

4 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck - "One thousand Juvenile Delinquents" (1934)

5 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck - "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency" (1950)

Sociologists have found that delinquency in Juveniles is caused by "Broken Homes" which is taken to be homes both Psychologically broken and physically broken. These homes are characterized by the absence of one parent by death, divorce, desertion, separation, or prolonged absence, which conditions deny the child the normal emotional satisfactions. If the father is dead the boy lacks the opportunity to identify himself with his father, thus achieving a masculine role, and the girl misses the chance to adjust herself to familial relationships with a male at the head and also to develop an adequate conception of the normal male. If the remaining parent is absorbed in work, as in the working class homes, the children may be starved for the little attentions they receive in the two parent family. The studies of Rockwood and Spokane ⁶, have shown that homes broken by divorce or separation are more often associated with delinquency than are homes broken by death-this may be accounted by the fact that divorce or separation are more often proceeded by disunity and conflict. Further, separation and divorce not only deprive the child of one of his or her parents, but involve siding with one parent resulting in hatred or antagonism to the other: and when a step-parent enters the picture family relations become still more complicated, since the children jealously present the position assumed by the step-parents and refuse to accept his or her authority. The lack of satisfying family relationships does not in itself make one a criminal. It only makes room for the child to seek relationships outside the home and he may come in contact with other delinquents, and through such association he may take on the behaviour patterns of the juvenile delinquent.

A child may be driven away from the home by unpleasant experiences-like over-severity of parents or other relatives and he may cease to be a functionary member of an integrated family group. He may run away from home or remain relatively isolated from the family although continuing to eat his meals and sleep in the house. He may not on this account itself become delinquent, but this is likely to increase his association with delinquency patterns and decrease his association with anti-delinquency patterns.

6 Requoted from : R. S. Cavan — Criminology (1956)

The home may also fail to train the child to deal with community situations in a law abiding manner. In a well regulated family, many of the child's random activities are curbed upon their first appearance. The parent to whom the child is emotionally attached disapprove and punish, or they explain and interpret, or they substitute different motives and forms of behaviour. Delinquent patterns need not always be present in the home to make one a juvenile delinquent.— But the home may be neutral with respect to delinquency of the child. The failure to prevent delinquency may be due to the absence of parents, through ignorance, or blindness of parents, or due to neglect by parents and even often due to overprotection in the form of failure to acquaint the child with the kinds of anti-social behaviour he has to resist. Thus discipline is an important factor in the difference between delinquent and non-delinquent homes, Defective discipline may be not only due to parental indifference as a result of physical, intellectual, or moral weakness of the parents, but also due to lack of discipline because of disagreement about the control of the Child and even over-strict discipline. It has been found by criminologists that many homes which had produced delinquent children, had little effect in the control of children and as a result, the children as soon as they are physically able, are thrown on their own resources to direct their behaviour. In such a situation there is every possibility that he may be brought into contact with persons outside the home and whether they become delinquent or not depends on the community patterns they encounter. Such neglect of child-training by parents have been more extensive in the slum areas than in middle class areas, and the probability that a neglected child will come into contact with an excess of delinquent pattern of behaviour is very high⁷. The public accusation against a child by his own parents, sometimes seen in Juvenile Courts weakens the subsequent influence of the parents over the child, while at the same time it throws the child into association with other delinquents.

As Southerland says "the child who appears in the Juvenile court is, inspite of legal theory to the contrary, is branded as a criminal and thus impeded in adjusting to the larger society", with the result he may mature into an adult criminal.

7 A. K. Cohens : *Delinquent Boys: The culture of the Gang* (1955)

The home conditions of delinquents are characterized by over-crowding, physical deterioration, lack of orderliness in house upkeep, not only physically but in the lack of an organised budget too, and the fact that no recreation within the house, may have implications in turning out delinquents as Sheldon and Eleanor Gleuck have shown in **"Unravelling Juvenile delinquency"** (1950).

Another important fact that receives confirmation by many Sociologists is that the home as a **socialising** agent must reinforce the mores of the community in which he lives. Thus for instance the Middle-Class virtues taught in American school are reinforced adequately in middle-class homes. But if the school insists upon punctuality, cleanliness and care of school property, while the family at home may be easy going and indulgent and permit children to be careless in personal habits: a clash of standards is possible, and this may result in a situation of Culture-Conflict, giving rise to tensions-especially in a situation where the culture of the group is not clearly defined, resulting in **"anomie"** or normlessness, as shown by Robert Merton⁸. In a society which is complex the possibility of a society having one set of norms common to all members becomes extremely difficult and deviant behaviour may arise. If the norms of the home conflict with those of the church or school, or the larger standards of society, with the result deviants may be seen among Juveniles. This feature could be well explained in the case of immigrant families who had their own morals, attitudes and rules of conduct, which were effective in training their children. But once they went to America they were confronted with the ethos of American standards. The conflict becomes acute not in the first generation, who were still able to preserve some amount of stability, but in the second generation which had to face the problem of assimilation and acculturation. The bad housing conditions, the lack, of discipline in immigrant families etc. . . . had thrown the children to stand on their own resources or the resources of very disorganized communities in which they live.

⁸ Robert Merton: ch ; on Social Structure and Anomie in **"Social Theory and Social Structure"** (1938).

Thus the home situation in relation to the community background gives interesting footnotes to an understanding of juvenile delinquency. However the home as such is not a completely determining factor in behaviour, for not all the children in such homes become delinquent. The home may change greatly in some significant way by the death of a parent or a change in economic status or the formation or discontinuance of habits of alcoholism by parents. The treatment of children may vary in one family itself-one child may attend school, or may be shown favourite treatment by the parent, or may have a different set of friends and associates. Yet the family in a significant way may be responsible for juvenile delinquency or in the very opposite behaviour.



පරාජයේදී සටනත් ජයග්‍රහණයේදී නිහතමානි භාවයත්

විශාල සටනක යෙදී, ධෛර්යයෙන් හා මහත් වූ බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් යුතුව සටන් කොට නොසිතූ අදාමින් අවාසනාවන්ත පරාජයකට පත්වූ අවස්ථාවකදී, සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන් බලාපොරොත්තු සුන්වීමෙන් ඇති වන මානසික නොසන්සුන් භාවයේ හේතුවෙන් කල කිරීමට පත්වීම ස්වාභාවිකය. එලෙසම යම්කිසි පුද්ගලයකු හෝ කිසියම් ආයතනයක් සමාජයේ බලගතු ස්ථානයක් දරා බලහිතව පරාජයට පත්වන විට ඉතා අවංක වූත් හිතෙනිච්චත් සවිල්ප දෙනකු හැර දෙතිහියාවෙන් පසුවන උදවිය පිල් මාරු කිරීමට යෙදෙන බව වාසි පැත්තට කන් අදින බව අපට දකින්නට ලැබෙන සුලබ දැකීමකි. තවද පරාජය ලැබූ පිරිසට රොපණය කළ හැකි හැම දෙයාරොපණයක්ම රොපණය කිරීමද සිරිති.

නිදහස ලැබීමෙන් පසු ලංකාවේ ඇතිවූ දෙශපාලන වෙනස් වීම් ගැන කල්පනා කරන් කරන් ඉහත සදහන් කරුණුවල යම් කිසි සත්‍යතාවයක් තිබෙන බව පෙනී යේ. 1956 දී එතෙක් පාලනය ගෙන ගිය එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය නොසිතූ විරු පරාජයට පත් අවස්ථාවේදී එතෙක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයට ආවඩා සිටි බොහෝ දෙනා එම පක්ෂය අත හැර පිල් මාරුවක යෙදුණු බව පෙනී ගියේය එලෙසම තැවතත් වරක් එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂය බලයෙන් ඇත්වී සිටින මෙම අවධියේද ධෛර්යය හිත පුද්ගලයන් පක්ෂය කෙරෙහි සියපක්ෂ පනිතාවය අත හැර පියා යතබවද තොරහසකි. මෙම ලිපියෙන් මා අදහස් කරන්නේ වනීමාන දෙශපාලන නත්‍ය උදවීමට තුඩු දුන් යම් සම සිසිත් අනුසාරයෙන් දැනව බලයට පත්ව සිටින පක්ෂයෙහි ජය ග්‍රහණය සාදරණ නොවූත් එම පක්ෂකයන්ට කිසියෙත් උදම් ඇතිය නොහැකිවූත් බව පෙන්වුම් කිරීමටය. මා සතු කායර්යය ඉටුකිරීමට මාර්තු මැති-වරණයට පෙරත් අතතුරුව ජූලි මැති වරණයට පෙරත් අපට දකින්නට ලැබුණු දෙශපාලන නත්‍ය පිළිබඳව අදහස් කිහිපයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි.

මාර්තු මැතිවරණ සමයේදී දකින්නට ලැබුණු දෙශපාලන තත්වයට ඉදිරාම වෙනස් දෙශපාලන තත්වයක් ජුලි මැතිවරණ සමයේදී දකින්නට ලැබිණ. මාර්තු මැතිවරණයේදී දෙශපාලන පක්ෂ කිහිපයක්ම තනිව තමන්ට බලය ලබාගත හැකිය යන බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් සටන් කළද ජුලි මැතිවරණයේදී දකින්නට ලැබුණේ තනිව බලය අල්ලා ගැනීමේ ආශාවක් අනභාර සිය ප්‍රතිපත්ති පවා අමතක කොට දමා සමහර දෙශපාලන පක්ෂ වපල දෙශපාලන ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කළ බවය.

මාර්තු මැතිවරණ සමයේදී එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයටත් වැඩියෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂය නිර්දය ලෙස විවේචනය කළ සමසමාජ කුමිතිස් පාක්ෂිකයන් මෙතෙක් තමන් ගත් මගින් වෙන්ව ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට පක්ෂව කටයුතු කළේය. ඒ පිලිබඳව අප පුදුම නොවිය යුතුය. ශත වමීයෙන් හරියටම හතරෙන් කොටසක් පමණ වූ කාලයක් මුළුල්ලේ ගොවි කම්කරු ජනතාවට තරලොව සුරවීමත් මවාදීමේ බොරු හිත මවා ගොවි කම්කරු ජනතාවගේ කර පිවිත් ඒකාධිපති බලතල ලබන්නට මාහ බැලූ ඇත්. ඇම්. පෙරේරා ඇතුළු සමසමාජ පාක්ෂිකයන් එය බැරි බව දැන දැනත් කවමින් දවල් හිත දකින බව පෙනේ. මාර්ක්ස් වාදී ආධි පත්‍යයකින් බිහිවූ ඒකාධිපති වාදයන් මේ රටට මේ ජනතාවට කොහෙතම ඔරොත්තු නොදෙන බව දැන දැනත් පුත පුතා කරත්-තා වූ මේ අරඹාදිල්ලේ තේරුම කුමක්ද? ක්‍රොධය උතුරුවා වෛරය පතුරුවා විප්ලවය වපුරන්නාවූ මේ තාක්තීක වාදය අවුරුදු දෙදහස් පන්සිය වසකට වැඩිකලක් මුළුල්ලේ සාමකාමී ධර්මීපයක්ව පැවැති මේ දිවයිනේ පල නොදෙන බව මහ මැතිවරණ කුණකින්ම අනත ලෙස පරාජය වීමෙන් පසුවත් ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂයට වටහා ගන්නට බැරි වුවද, මාර්තු මැතිවරණයේදී ආසන සියයකට තරහ ඉදිරිපත් කොට අපෙක්ෂකයන් සතලීස් ගණනකගේ ඇප මුදල පවා රාජ සන්තකව දීන පරාජයකට මුහුණ පෑමෙන් පසු කරුණු අවබෝධ වූ නිසා ඈ තනිව ආණ්ඩු පිහිටුවීමේ අදහස අත්හැර ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයට ආවඩන්නට පවත් ගත්තේය.

පිළිත ජනතාවගේ එකම ගැලවුම් කාරයා යැයි කියා ගන්නා ඇත් ඇම්. පෙරේරා අළු ශායත්‍රයෙහි කෙළ පැමිණියෙකැයි කියා ගතිතත් ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයක් ඇතිකිරීමෙන් මිස වැඩ නැවැත්වීම් ආදී සංඛ්‍යාත කඩාකප්පල්කාර වැඩ කටයුතුවලින් රටක් ජාතියක් සුඛිත මුදිත නොකළ හැකි බව ඔහුට නොතේරෙන්නේය. 19ෆ6දී බැරි බර කරට අරගෙන නුපුරුදු මගක ගමන් කරන්නට පවත් ගත් පාලක පක්ෂයට සතු කරමිවත් දුරක් යහතින් යා ගන්නට

නුපුළුවන් වූයේ වෘත්තීය සමිති ව්‍යාපාරය ගණිතය වෘත්තීයෙහි යොදවා වැඩ නැවැත්වීම් පැවැත්වූ කමිකරු හිතවාදීන් ගේ කඩා කප්පල්කාරී ක්‍රියා කලාපය නිසාය. සම සමාජ පක්‍ෂය ඉමක් කොණක් තැනි වැඩ නැවැත්වීම් ඇති කළේ කමිකරු ජනතාවගේ යහපත සඳහා නොව ඔවුන්ගේ ආත්මාච්ඡාම බල ලෝභය නිසා බව 1959 යේ මාර්තු මාසයේදී ඔවුන් ඇති කරන්නට ආර ඇත්දැවූ මහ වැඩ වර්ජනයෙන් කමිකරු ජනතාවට ඒත්තු ගියේය. අහස මහ පොළොව මත කඩා හෙළන්නට තරම් ගර්ජනාවකින් ආරම්භ කළ ඒ වර්ජන ව්‍යාපාරය නිකම්ම පුසුසක් බවට පත් වීමෙන්, තවදුරටත් කමිකරුවා නොමග යැවිය නොහැකි බව තේරුම් ගැනීමෙන් මේ තායකයෝ යස පාඩමක් ඉගෙන ගත්හ. භෞ ප්‍රශ්න යෙන් බැට කා අසාචිකවූ මෙම වැඩ වර්ජන ව්‍යාපාරයෙන් සමසමාජ පාක්‍ෂිකයන්ගේ බල බිඳී ගියේය. එයින් පසු හයින් හා වකිනයෙන් අයින් ගසා සිටි මේ පිරිස මාර්තු මැතිවරණය ලංවෙන්ම බෙරුවෙන් මහජනයා මුලාකරන්නට වෙර වඩන්නට වූයේ එහෙයින් පිහින පහසුකම් ගැනත් කමිකරු ජනතාව ගැනත් පපු කැටුතු විසිවී යන තරමට කපා කරන මේ ඊනියා පිහින පහසුකම් ගැලවුම් කාරයා කමිකරු ජනතාවගේ යහපත පතා කවින් බතල කොළ සිටුවීමට වැඩි සේවයක් කොට නොමැති බව මාර්තු මැතිවරණයේදී මහජනයා දැන් තීරණයෙන් අවබෝධ විය. සමසමාජ පාක්‍ෂිකයන් එතෙක් පිලිකුල් කොට සැලකූ නිදහස් පාක්‍ෂිකයන් හදිසියේම හොඳ වන්නට වූයේ මෙම හේතුවත් නිසා ය. තනිව පාලන බල ලබා ගැනීමේ දවල් හිත දූක දූක සිටි මේ පිරිස සිය අදහස් සුන් වනු දූක තායකකරයක් තැනි තමන්ගේම යසි කිව හැකි සවිප්‍රතිපත්ති තැනි නිදහස් පක්‍ෂයට රැකුල් දෙන්නට වූයේ මේ හේතුවත් නිසා ය.

මාර්තු මැතිවරණයේදී මහත් වූ බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් සටන් කළ පිලිප් ගුණවර්ධන මහතාටද ජූලි මැතිවරණයේදී කිසිම කඩයක් නොමැති විය. එසේ වන්නටද හේතු ඇත. යටගිය දවස කුසාවති නුවර කුස රජුගේ හා පබාවතිය ගේ නොපැහෙන විවාහයෙන් පසු “යාදෙක තොරත රත” යන්නට කදිම නිදසුනක් ගෙන හැර දක්වමින් පිලිප් ගුණවර්ධන මහතාගේ මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණත්, මෙතනාතනද මහතාගේ ධර්ම සමාජ පක්‍ෂයත් මාර්තු මැතිවරණ සමයේදී දෙශපාලන විවාහයකින් උදම් වූහ. කුළු ගොහකුගේ කරේ එළදෙනක ඇදීමක් බඳු මේ සංයෝගය ඇති වෙතුවාත් සමගම දික්වන්නට යන බව බොහෝදෙන ප්‍රකාශ කළහ. තායකතාවයේ මතභේදය පැත්තකින් තිබියේවා මෙම දෙශපාලන දෙපක්‍ෂයට පදනම් වී ඇති වෙතත් මූලික කරුණු අතින් එකකට

එකක් නොපැහැන්නාවූ නොගැලපෙන්නාවූ මේ ජෝඩුව එක්සිත්ව එක්සත්ව එක් මාසයක්වත් කල දවස ගෙවන්නේ කෙසේදැයි මහජනයා මහත් වූ විමනියෙන් බලා සිටියහ. ආගම හා සංස්කෘතිය අතින් මේ නායකයන් දෙදෙනා දරණ අදහස් අහසට පොළව සේ දුරය. ආගම මිනිසාගේ අබිත් යැයි මූල සිටීම කරයේ ඇදහූ මාර්ක්ස් වාදියකුවූ ප්ලිප් ගුණවර්ධනගේ මාර්තු මැතිවරණයට පෙර කල ප්‍රකාශය නමාට බලය ලැබුනොත් මල්වතු අස්ගිරි පමණක් නොව රෝමානු කතෝලිකාගමෙන් බලය මහ පොළොවට සමතලා කරන බවය. එහෙත් ආගමික අංශයෙන් අධිරාජ්‍ය ගණනාවක්ම සීමාන්තික මත දරණ දී වච දෙශපාලන කොටුලෙක්ව සිටින මෙතනානන්ද මහතාගේ පක්ෂය බුදු සමයටත් බෞද්ධයන්ටත් නිසි නියම නැත දෙන බවට දිවුරු සිටින්නේය. බුදු සසුනට නියම නැත දෙන්නට වැයම් කිරීම අප කවුරුත් විසිනුත් සාධු වාදයෙන් පිළිගත යුතුවද මල් වත්තත් අස්ගිරියත් මූලසුන් කර දමන්නට දිවුරුම් දී ඇති අලුගෝසුවකු සමග අලු මුසු කමින් කරන බුඩ ශාසන දියුණුව දියකාවාගේ පිටේ එණු සංග්‍රහට දෙවැනි නොවන බව මහජනයාට අවබෝධවිය. කතෝලික බලය සමුලෝත්පාදනය කිරීම අතින් තම මේ දෙදෙනාගේ සිතූම් පැතුම් එක හා සමාන බැව් පෙනී යේ. එහෙත් අසල් වැයියාගේ ආගම කඩාකප්පල්කර නමාගේ ආගම කරකරන්නට වැයම් කරන්නා බුඩාගම ලොවට දුන් මහා සාක්ෂාවරයාණන් වහන්සේ හේ නිර්මල ධර්මයට සතුරු කම් කරන්නකු බව මාර්ක්ස්ගේ මහ පන්දමකු වූ විප්ලවයේ අප්පොච්චිවන ප්ලිප් ගුණවර්ධන මහතා කෙසේ වෙතත් අධිරාජ්‍ය බොහො ගණනක්ම බොදු මහා විදුහල් කිහිපයක අධ්‍යයන කම්කල මෙන්නානන්ද මහතා නොදැන සිටීම අහෝ! පුදුමයෙකි.

දෙශපාලන කතාදයෙන් උදම්වී සවකිය මඩු සමය ගතකරමින් ආනන්ද සාගරයේ පිහින පිහිනා සිටි මේ යුවලගේ හිස් මුදුනට අත දිග හැර ටොක්කක් අතින නියායෙන් අම්පාරේ පැවැති බෞඩ සම්මේලනයේදී කුලරත්න මහතා මෙසේ කීවේය. මල්වතු අස්ගිරි දෙපාර්ශවයේ බලය බිඳීමේ කථාව බුදුදහමට සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පට හැනිය එලෙසම කොසිම ආගමික පක්ෂයකට හෝ උරුමවූ බල බිඳ දැමීම බෞඩාගමේ මුහුණුවර නොවේ. කුලරත්න මහතා මෙසේ ප්‍රකාශ කරත්දී එම රැස්වීමේ දීම මලලසේකර මහතා කල ප්‍රකාශය මෙසේය. මැතිවරණ ලඟාවූ විට බුඩාගමට හිතවත් කම් කියා පාමින් නොයෙක් පෞරොන්ද්‍ර දෙන බවට ප්‍රතිඥ දෙමින් එත අය ගැන ප්‍රවේශම් විය යුතු මෙම ප්‍රකාශ දෙකින් පළමු වැන්න පිළිප් ගුණවර්ධනගේත්, දෙවැන්න මෙන්කානන්දගේත් හිසේ මීමම

හරියටම හරියන සේ කපා සකස් කළ හිස් පටි දෙකකැයි නොකිය හැකිද? පිලිප් ගුණවර්ධන-මෙත්තානන්ද යුවල භාග : රික්ෂාකාරී-වීමට මේ ප්‍රකාශ දෙක ලංකාවාසී මහජන වට හොඳ ටම ප්‍රමාණ වත් විය මෙත්තානන්ද මහතා වනාහි පෞද්ගලික හේතුමුල් කොට ගෙන 1956 දී එවකට නිල රජයට රැහැණුව මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණේ කඳවුරට වැද පසුව එම පෙරමුණේ නායක බණ්ඩාරනායක මහතාගෙන් අතම පිස්සෙකැයිද සීමාන්තීක බහුභූතයෙකැයිද බැණුම් අසා ගත් පරාජිතවූ පුද්ගලයෙකි. ජාති හේද ආගම් හේද අවුළුවා මේ රමය දිවයින අමු සොහොනක් කරන්නට හඳහන් බලා දුන්නාවූ ලෝක පාච්චන් අත ලෝකසෙන් කෙනෙකි. නමින් මෙත්තානන්ද වුවත් මෙරමා වෛරයෙන් දුෂිත වූ විත්ත සන්තාන ඇති පුද්ගලයෙකි. මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණු කාර්යන්ගේ හැඩ රුව හොඳ හැටි දැනගත් මහජනයා එම පෙරමුණ මාර්තු වේදී අත්‍යවශ්‍ය පරාජයකට පත් කළහ. මෙසේ සිදු බිදී ගිය බලයෙන් හිතව අබල දුබල තනියකට පත් මේ පෙරමුණ පක්ෂයක් වශයෙන් ඉතා පහත් තනියකට ඇද වැටීමද ජූලි මැතිවරණයේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පාක්ෂිකයන් ගේ වාසිය පිණිස විය. මහජන එක්සත් පෙරමුණ ජූලි මාසයේදී දෙශපාලන බංකොටුගත වූ භාවය ලැබීම ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ පෙර පිතකින් සිදු වූවකි.

මේ වන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පාක්ෂිකයන් ජයග්‍රහණයෙන් උද්දම ව සිටිනත් ඔවුන්ගේ ඒ ජය ග්‍රහණය මැතිවරණයේදී ඉස්මතු වූ දෙශපාලනමය ප්‍රශ්න හා ඔවුන් මේ රටෙහි පාලනය ගෙන ගිය අවුරුදු සතරක් පමණ කාලය තුල අපට අත් දකින්නට ලැබුණු සිදුවීම් හා සමග එක්ව සසඳා බලන කල ඔවුන් ලත් ජයග්‍රහණය තකීයෙන් හා සාධාරණවයෙන් තහවුරු කළ නොහැකි ජයග්‍රහණයක් බව පෙනී යේ. පසුගිය අවුරුදු කිහිපය තුල අප රටේ දෙශපාලන බලයේ මුදුන් මූලයෙහි ඇති වූ වපල ගතිය හේතුකොට ගෙන අප කාටත් අත් දකින්නට හේතුවූ ජාතික විනාශය ඉමහත්ය. මහ ජාතිය හා සුළු ජාතීන් අතර තිබූ හොඳ හිත සිදි බිදී ගිය සැටි අපට දකින්නට පුළුවන් විය. දහස් ගණන් අහිංසක ජනයාගේ ජීවිත විනාශ වී අත පය කැඩී දේපල ගිනිබත් වී ගිය සැටින් මිනීමරුවා රජවී සහසිකයා සිංහාසනාරූපී වී ත්‍රස්තවාදය අභිමෙක වූ සැටින්, මෙතෙක් රටට අමුත්තකු වී සිටි දෙශපාලන මිනීමරුවා පවා මේ රටේ බිත්තබාස ගත් සැටින් අපට දකින්නට පුළුවන් විය. වෘත්තීය සමිති ව්‍යාපාරය තම තමන්ගේ ආත්ම විභූතිය පිණිස දඩ මීමා කරගත් බල ලෝහී දෙශපාලනඥයන්ගේ වරදින් අතවශ්‍යව බඩු භාණ්ඩවල මිල අහස උසට උස්වී ගිය සැටින් රැකී රක්ෂා කිගය එක දෙකවී දුප්පත් බව ඉහ වහ ගොස් රට ජාතිය මාරයාගේ මරු කපොල්ලටම කිවිටු වූ සැටින් අපට දකින්නට ලැබිණ.

පසුගිය අවුරුදු කිහිපයේදී කරම් අපේ ජාතික ගුණ බිම් අන්තීම අංගයකටම පිරිහී ගිය අකුකාර කාලයක් මේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කිසිම විටෙක සඳහන් වී නැත. ලංකා වාසින්ට උත්පත්තියෙන්ම නුහුරු නුපුරුදු ක්‍රොධය වෛරය හා විප්ලවය වැපිරවීමේ දෙයපාලන වාද වලින් හා බලයේ සිටිය වුවත්ගේ ආසන ආරක්‍ෂා කර ගැනීම සඳහා එක කණ්ඩායමකට රැහැණුව තවත් කණ්ඩායමක් උසිගැන්වීමේ යටිකැට්ටු උපමාරු කරගෙන ජාතියේ අනාගතය පළිබදව බිහිසුණු අත්හදා බැලීමක යෙදුණු ඇම් ඊ පියේ පාලන විපර්යාසය හේතු කොටගෙන අර්බුද සිට අර්බුද ඇතිවී රට තොට හෙල්ලුම් කෑ බව කිව යුතුය. අර්බුදත් ඒවා වටා ගෙනී තිබුණු ත්‍රස්ත්‍රවාදයත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්‍ෂ පාලනයට නැතිවම බැරි වූයේ අංගයේ පෙනී ගියේය. මෙහිම අවුලකටම හැම අතර්ථයකටම මුල්වූයේ රජයේ අතිසපිරි වපල භාවයත්, රට ජාතිය අංගම ඉකර කටට ගියත් වරක් ලැබුවා වූ බලයෙන් හෙල වෙන්නට හිත නොදුන් නැතැත්තත් එම බලයේ ඇලී ගැලී එල්ලී සිටීමත්ය.

මේ හවුරුදු සහරක පමණ කාලයතුල හාමිසුභුන්ට රැහැණුව සේවක පක්‍ෂය උසි ගැන්වීමත් ජාතියකට විරුද්ධව ජාතියක් කොටවීමත් ආගමකට විරුද්ධව ආගමකට උගුල් ඇටවීමත් මිඩංගු වී ගිය සැටි කුමකට විකාර කරවූද, මෙවැනි වූ ඉතිහාස ගතවන පාලන කාලයක අර්තයක් ඇතව නැවතත් මහජනයා වෙත පැමිණ තවදුරටත් පාලනය ගෙන යෑමට බලය ලබාදෙන ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්‍ෂකයන් ට ඇති අසිතිවාසි කුමක්ද. එපමණකුදු නොව දෙයපාලන පොරව්වියෙහි තමන්ට ස්ථානයක් ලබා දුන් තමන්ගේම නැතිම ආරක්‍ෂා කරදන් තමන්ගේම නායකයන් සහකාර අදාමට මරාදමා නායකයා ජීවත්ව සිටියදී “නොමරා මැරූ” දෙයපාලන පක්‍ෂ සමඟ අත්වැල් බැඳ ගෙන තමන් මැරූ නායකයන් ගේම නමින් ජන ඉල්ලා සිටීම එලෙසම ලබාගත් ජයග්‍රහණය නියම ජයග්‍රහණයක් යැයි උදම් අතත්තෝ කෙසේද?

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී විරෝධී සියළු පක්‍ෂ එක ගොනුවකට වී කොමිසුනිස්ට් ඒකාබිපති වාදීන්ද හවුල් කරගෙන එක සිට එක පහර දීමෙන් පරාජයට පත් කල ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී පාක්‍ෂිකයන් කලකිරීමට වත් කනස්සල්ලටවත් නොපත් විය යුතු. දෙවන ලෝක සංග්‍රාමයෙන් එංගලන්තයට විශිෂ්ට ජයග්‍රහණයක් ලබාදුන් සජ් මින්ස්ටන් චර්චල්, ඊළඟට පවත්වන්නට යෙදුණු මැතිවරණයේදී එංගලන්ත වාසින් විසින් පරාජයට පත්කරන්නට වූ අවස්ථාවේ දී, ඔහු ප්‍රකාශ කලේ පරාජයේදී සටනත් ජයග්‍රහණයේදී නිහඬමානි භාවයත් ඇතිව ක්‍රියා කල බවය. එලෙසම පරාජයේදී අධෛර්‍යමත් නොවී මතු බලාපොරොත්තු වෙන් යුතුව ක්‍රියා කල යුතු කාලය පැමිණ

ඇත අනාගතයේදී අපට සටන් කල යුතුව ඇත්තේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්‍ෂයට රිංගා ගෙන නිදහස් පක්‍ෂයේ මාගීයෙන් මෙරට කොමියුනිස්ට් වාදයට බිලි කරන්නට මාන බලන ජාති භ්‍රමට අගතිකාමී කොමියුනිස්ට් වාදීන් සමගය.

මෙරට අවුලෙන් අවුලට දමා විනාශ මුඛය තුලට හල්ලු කළ නුසුනුවාදී හා තාක්ෂණික බල වෙනවලට මින් ඉදිරියෙන් හැලි නොල්-මින් කරන්නට ඉඩ හැරියොත් අපේ රටත් ජාතියත් ගොඩ විය නොහැකි මහ ප්‍රජාතන්‍යකව වැටෙනබව කිවයුතුව ඇත. ක්‍රෝධයේ වෛරයේ හා ත්‍රස්තවාදයේ මාරක හසනය නැවතත් හිස එසවීමට මාන බලයි. සීමාන්තිකයන්ගේ අදුරදර්ශී ඔල මොල සැහැසිකම් හේතුකොටගෙන මේ ධර්මමිපයෙහි වැගිරී ගිය රුධිර ගංගා ලංකා මහ පොළොවේ පත්තියත් වී විසලී යන්නටත් ප්‍රථම බලහත්කාර-යෙන් අනුන් සතු පාසල් උදුරා ගෙන නැවතත් චරක් ආගම් හේද අවුස්සා රට ගිනි තැබීමට අවස්ථා පහල ගිරීම කොසිතරම් බලවත් වූ ජාතික අවාසනාවක්ද? මෙසේ රට අවුලින් අවුලට වැටෙන්නට වැටෙන්නට කොමියුනිස්ට් වාදීන්ගේ මනදෙල පිරෙන බව පෙනේ කවදමත් මහජන ඡන්දබලයෙන් මේ රටේ බලය ලබාගත නොහැකි බව හොඳින් අවබෝධ කරගෙන දැන් දැන් මාන බලන්නේ රට අවුලට පත්කොට තම විප්ලවය පටන් ගැනීමට සිටින ලය සුදනම් කරගැනීමටය.

සම්බුඩි පාසනයේ සුන්දර භූමියක් වූ අභිසක විබෙට් ප්‍රදේශ-යට සිදුවූ හදීය මහත් වූ හද ගැස්මකින් යුතුව අපට දකින්නට පුළුවන් විය. එසින් නො නැවති බලකාමයෙන් මත්මත් වූ එම ත්‍රස්තවාදීන් මධ්‍යස්ථ වාදයේ දේශ සීමා කඩා බිඳගෙන ඉන්දියාව ආක්‍රමණය කරන්නට සැරසෙන සැටින් අපට අසන්නට ලැබෙයි. ඔවුන්ගේ ඊලඟ ඉලක්කය මෙම රට නොවීය හැකිද? ලිබිබට නැවූ අත පුහුලවත් තබන බව අප විසින් දැන් දැන්ම සිහියට නැගිය යුතු. එවැනි සටනක් ඇතිවූ අවස්ථාවක ප්‍රජාතන්‍ය ගරුක සැම පුරවැසියෙකුම ආගම් නාසක කුමිනිස් වාදීන්ගේ කාර හස්තයෙන් නිදහස් ජාතියක් වශයෙන් නිවහල්ව පසුවන අපේ ජාතික අයිති-වාසිකම් ආරක්‍ෂාකර ගැනීමට මරෝදුර ලීලාවෙන් ඉදිරියට විත් අධිඝාත වීයඹියෙන් යුතුව සටන් කිරීමට දැන්ම සිටම පෙරමුණු ගත යුතුව ඇත. බලයේ සිටියත් නොසිටියත් තමාගෙන් සිය ජන්ම භූමියට ඉටුවිය යුතු සේවය ඉටුවන්නේ එසේවූ විට පමණි.

කැමියන් ඇම. ප්‍රනාන්දු.
අරුණාවලම් ශාලාව.

அறிவேமக்குத் தந்தவையோ ?

— மதி —

ஆதியிலே மானிடர்கள் ஆனந்தம் பொங்கிடவே
பேதமின்றி ஒன்றாய்ப் பெருமைபுடன் — மேதினிமேல்
தொல்லையின்றி வாழ்ந்தனராம் தோன்றவில்லை அன்றவருட்
தொல்லை தரும் திமைத் தொழில்.

அறிவு வளர்ந்திடவே ஆசை வளர்ந்து
நிறையாமல் நின்றவிட்ட நேரம் — நெறிகள்
மறந்தனரே நேர்மை மறைத்திட்டு ஆசை
முறைகெட்டும் தீர்க்க முனைந்து.

தாங்குவித்த செல்வம் தரணியிலே தம்மோடு
ஒங்கியென்றும் சேர்த்திருக்க ஏங்கிநின்று — காங்குகளாய்
வாழ்ந்திருந்து நிம்மதியை வாழ்விவென்றும் காணாமல்
வீழ்ந்திடுவார் ஏனிந்த லீவு ?

புவனத்திள் மாழாப் புகழாசை யோடு
அவனி முழுதாளும் ஆவல் — புவிமீதில்
ஆர்ந்தறிந்து பேணும் அறிவேன்ற போர்வையினுள்
கூர்ந்தமதி தந்தவையோ கூறு.

மாற்றான் உணர்ச்சி மதிக்கா வகையினிலே
ஆற்ற உயிரை அவமதிக்கும் — போற்ற
ஒழுக்கத்தும் பொய்ம்மை விருப்பங்கள் பேணல்
பழுதற்ற பேரறிவாம் பார்.

அறியாப் பிராணிகளின் அன்றாட வாழ்வில்
செறிந்த மகிழ்ச்சிகள் சேரக் — குறையா
அறிவுள்ள மாந்தர் அமைதியினக் காணாக்
குறையோடு நிற்பதுவேன் கூறு.

தமிழிலே சிறுகதை

ஈழத்துச் சிறுகதை சிறந்ததா! அல்லது இந்தியச் சிறுகதை சிறந்ததா எனும் வாதத்திற்கு இடமளிக்கும்; சீடனை இலங்கைச் சிறுகதை, குருவான இந்தியச் சிறுகதையை விடப் பத்து வயது வளர்ச்சியில், தோற்றத்தில் பின் தங்கியுள்ளதென ஒருவர் கூற ஏதவாகி, அக்கருத்தை எதிர்த்து ஒன்பதுபேர், எங்கள் ஈழ நாட்டுத் தமிழ்ச் சிறுகதையிலக்கியம் எவ்வகையிலும் பின்தங்கவில்லை எனும் உண்மையை எடுத்துக்காட்டுவதற்கும் வசதியளித்து, இவ்வாதப் பிரதி வாதங்களுக்கெல்லாம் தளமமைத்துக் கொடுக்கும் "சிறுகதை" தற்காலத் தமிழூலகின் உரைநடையிலக்கியத்தின் முக்கிய அங்கங்களிலொன்று என்பதை நாம் நினைவோம்.

இவ்விருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டையக் தமிழிலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் "உரைநடை" ஒரு மிக மிக முக்கிய இடத்தைப் பெற்றிருப்பதை நாம் கண் கூடாகக் காண முடியும். சங்க காலத்தில் எவ்வண்ணம் அகத்திணை புறத்திணை நூல்கள் சிறப்புற்று விளங்கினவோ, சோழர் காலத்தில் மாபெரும் காப்பியங்கள் தமிழ் மொழியை எவ்வாறு அவக்கரித்தனவோ அதேபோன்று இவ்விருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் உரைநடையிலக்கியம் தமிழிலக்கிய உலகில் முக்கியமானதொரு இடத்தைப்பெற்று, அம்மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்குப் பேருதவி புரிகின்றது. உரைநடை எனும் பொழுது நாம் நாவல், சிறுகதை, இலக்கிய விமர்சனம் ஆகியவற்றையே முக்கியமாகக் குறிக்கின்றோம். இவற்றுள்ளும் சிறுகதையே எளியவற்றை விட இன்று பல வகையிலும் முன்னணியில் நிற்பதைக் காண்கின்றோம். நாளுக்கு நாள் சிக்கலடைந்து வருப இன்றைய சமுதாயத்தில் ஆற அமர விற்பிருந்து ஆறுதலாக ஒரு நீண்ட நாவலைப் படித்து முடிக்கக் கூடிய நேரமும், வசதியும், அவநாசமும் அநேகருக்குக் கிடைப்பதில்லை. இதனால் சிறுகதையே காலத்திற்கேற்றவொன்றுக, மனிதனது வாழ்க்கைத் தேரோடொட்டிச் செல்வதாக விளங்குகின்றது; முன்னணியிலும் நிற்கின்றது. மனிதனுக்குக் கிடைக்கும் சொற்ப ஒப்ப நேரத்திற்குள் வாசித்து முடிக்கக்கூடிய அவகாசத்தை அளிப்பது சிறுகதை தானே!

நாவலின் சுருக்கமே சிறுகதை என நாம் கொள்ளலாகாது. நாவல் பல கதாபாத்திரங்களைத் தன்னகத்தே கொண்டு, பல சம்பவங்களை அடுக்கடுக்காகக் கூறி, அளவிலும் எவ்வளவும் நீண்டு செல்லக்கூடியது. வர்ணனைக்கு அங்கே இடமுண்டு; பற்பல தத்துவங்களைக் கதாபாத்திரங்கள் மூலம் வெளியிட வசதி களுண்டு; சம்பவங்களை அடுக்கடுக்காகக் கூற ஏதுவுண்டு; கதாநாயக நாயகியின் பிறப்பு, வளர்ப்பு, இறப்பு எல்லாவற்றையுமே கூற வழிகளுண்டு. ஆனால் சிறுகதை அப்படியன்று அளவிற குறுகுவதோடு, ஏனைய விஷயங்களிலும் குறுகியே நிற்கும் சிறுகதை. ஒரு சிறு சம்பவத்தை அல்லது ஒருவனது வாழ்க்கையில் ஒரு தரம நடைபெறும் ஒரு சிறு விஷயத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டெழுவது சிறுகதை. நீண்ட வர்ணனைகளைப் புகுத்துவதோ, கதாநாயக நாயகியின் வாழ்க்கை வரலாற்றை ஆதியோடு அந்தமாகப் படம் பிடித்துக் காட்டுவதோ சிறுகதையின் வேளையும்ல்ல; அப்படிச் செய்வது அழகுமல்ல. சில சம்பவங்களைக் கூறி, பல சம்பவங்களை வாசகர்கள் ஊகிக்கும் வண்ணம் விட்டு விட்டாற்றான் சிறுகதையின் தாம் உயரும்; அது சிறந்ததெனப் போற்றப்படும்.

சிறுகதையின் வளர்ச்சியை நாம் காய்தல் உவத்தலின்றிப் பரந்த நோக்கோடு ஆராயும் பொழுது, அது தமிழிலேயே உற்பத்தியான தொன்றல்ல, வெளி நாட்டிலிருந்து “இறக்குமதி” செய்யப்பட்டதே எனும் உண்மையை ஏற்கவேண்டியவர்கள் ஆகின்றோம். மேனாட்டார் தொடர்பினாலும், ஆங்கிலக் கல்வி தமிழ் மக்களிடையே பரவியதாலும், தமிழிலக்கிய உலகிலும் மாற்றமேற்பட்டு உரைநடையும் அதன் முக்கிய அங்கங்களில் ஒன்றான சிறுகதையும் தமிழ் மொழியிற் புகுந்துவிட்டன. ஆங்கில முறைகளைத் தழுவித் தமிழில் இலக்கியங்கள் எழுத்தொடங்கின. அதனால் சிறுகதை இலக்கியமும் தமிழில் வளர்ச்சிபெறலாயிற்று. எவ்விதம் சிறு சிறு பாடல்கள் சங்க காலத்திலும், பக்திப் பாடல்கள் பல்லவர் காலத்திலும், காப்பியங்கள் சோழர் காலத்திலும் சிறப்புற்று விளங்கினவோ அதேபோன்று இன்று நாவல், சிறுகதை முதலியன சிறப்புற்று விளங்குகின்றன. இது இயற்கை நியதி போலும். பழையன கழிதலும் புதியன புகுதலும் எம்மரபல்லவா ! ஒவ்வொரு காலத்திலும் ஒவ்வொரு

இலக்கியத் துறையே முன்னிற்கும் ஒரேகாலத்தில் பல இலக்கியத் துறைகள் சமமாக வளர்ச்சியடைவதுமில்லை அதே போன்று ஒரே இலக்கியத்துறை பலகாலங்களில் முன்னிற்பதுமில்லை. இதற்குத் தமிழிலக்கியமும் விதிவிலக்கல்ல. கம்பன் சோழர் காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்ததினும் காவிமயியற்றினான். ஆனால் இன்று அவன் வாழ்ந்திருந்தால் ஒருவேளை காப்பியத்திற்குப் பதிலாக சிறுகதைகளோ அன்றி நாவலோ அல்லது எளிய நடையிற் பாடலோ எழுதிக்குவித்திருப்பான்.

இது மக்கள் காலம் அதனால் இலக்கியமும் மக்களிலக்கியமாகவே திகழல் வேண்டும். மனித உறவுகளை எடுத்துக்காட்டக்கூடியனவாய் இலக்கியப் படைப்புக்கள் அமையவேண்டும். அதனூடாக மக்களின் ஆசாபாசங்களை, அவர்களது வாழ்கையை, அநிலேற்படும் சம்பவங்களை, சிக்கல்களை, சமய சமூகப் பிரச்சினைகளை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டெழும் சிறுகதைகள் முன்னின்று இன்றையச் சிறந்த இலக்கியங்களாகத் திகழ்கின்றன. ஆங்கிலேயரிடமிருந்து பெறப்பட்ட இச்சிறுகதைகளில் கியம் வளர்ச்சியடைந்து, தமிழுடன் இரண்டறக் கலந்து மேலும் வளர்ச்சியடைந்து வருகின்றது. தமிழிலே சிறுகதைகள் தோன்றத் தொடங்கிய காலத்தொட்டு இன்று வரை எழுதப்பட்டுள்ள சிறுகதைகளில் நாம் சிறிது கண்ணோட்டம் செலுத்தினால் அதன் வளர்ச்சியை, அது நடந்து வந்துள்ள பாதையை அறிவது இலகு.

சிறுகதையிலக்கியத்தைத் தமிழிலே தொடங்கிவைத்த பெருமை வ. வே. சு. ஐயையே சாரும், அவரது “குளத்தங்கரை அரச மரம்” பிற்காலத்திற் சிறுகதைகள் தமிழிலே ஏராளமாகத் தோன்றுவதற்கு முன்னோடியாகத் திகழ்ந்துள்ளது. சிறுகதையிலக்கியத்திற்கு உருவும் உயிரும் கொடுத்தவர் இவரே. இவருடன், தமிழிலே சிறுகதைகள் அருமபத் தொடங்கிய காலத்தில் அவ்விலக்கியத்துறையை சீரூற்றி வளர்த்தவர்கள் மாதவையா, பாரதி, ராமானுஜலு நாயுடு ஆகியோருமாவர்.

என்னும் சிறுகதைக்குப் பூரணத்துவம் கொடுத்த அதை மக்கள் மத்தியிலே பிரபல்பமடையச் செய்தவர் புதையப்பித்தனெனப் பெயர் பெற்றுத் தமிழ் இலக்கியவலகின் என்றும்

அழியா இடத்தைப் பெற்றுள்ள சோ. விருத்தாசலமேயாகும். சிறுகதை மன்னனான புதுமைப் பித்தன் பேச்சு வழக்கிலுள்ள தமிழைப் பிரயோகித்துச் சிறுகதை இலக்கியத்தையே சிறப்படையச் செய்தவர். அவருக்குத் தமிழ் மொழி வளைந்து நெளிந்து கொடுப்பதைப் பார்க்கும்பொழுது தமிழ் மொழியிலும் இப்படியான இலக்கியங்களை இயற்றலாம் என உலகுக்குக் காட்டியவரும் அவரே எனச் சொல்லத் தோன்றுகின்றது. “சாப விமோசனம்” “கடவுளும் கந்தசாயிப்பிள்ளையும்” “பொன்னகரம்” போன்றவை புதுமைப் பித்தனின் சிறப்பிற்குத் தகுந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டுகள் சிறுகதை மன்னன் என்ற பெயருக்கு மிக மிகத் தகுதியுடையவர் புதுமைப் பித்தன்.

தமிழ்ச் சிறுகதையிலக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் “மணிக்கொடி”யின் சேவை நிலைவு கூரத் தக்கது. சிறுகதையிலக்கிய வரலாற்றில் வளமுள்ள காலமாக விளங்குவது மணிக்கொடி பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்ட காலமாகும். தமிழ்ச்சிறுகதை பூரணத்துவம் பெற்றது இக்காலத்திற்குள். இத்தகையில் அருமபணியாற்றியவர்களுள் புதுமைப் பித்தனுடன், பிச்சமுர்த்தி மௌனி, கு. ப. ராஜகோபாலன் போன்றோருடகுறிப்பிடத் தக்கவர்கள்

இவர்களைத் தவிர இன்னும் பலர் சிறுகதையிலக்கிய வளர்ச்சிக்குப் பெருந்தொண்டு புரிந்துள்ளனர். கல்கி ரா. கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி, வ. ரா.; தி. ஐ. ர.; ராஜாஜி. ஜீவா, பி. என். ராமையா, சிதம்பர சுப்ரமணியம், நாடோடி, அகிலன், மாயாவி, த. நா. குமாரசாமி, மு. வாதராசன், அண்ணாத்துரை, கருணாநிதி போன்றோர் குறிப்பிடத் தக்கவர்கள். இவர்களுடன் இன்னுமெத்தனையோபோர் சிறுகதை வளர்ச்சிக்காகப் பணியாற்றியுள்ளனர்; பணியாற்றி வருகின்றனர். தமிழ்ச் சிறுகதை வானிலே கர்த்தாக்களான நட்சத்திரங்களில் ஒன்றிண்டு மறைத்துவிட்டாலும், நூற்றுக்கணக்கானவை புதிதாகத் தோன்றிக் கொண்டேயிருக்கின்றன. வளர்ந்து வரும் எழுத்தாளர்களுள் விஜய பாஸ்கரன், வல்லிக்கண்ணன், ஜெயகாந்தன், சுந்தரராமசாமி போன்றோர் சிலராவர். இவர்களைப்போன்று இன்னுமெத்தனையோ இளைஞர்கள், தமிழிழக்கிய வளர்ச்சியில் ஆவக் கொண்ட கலைஞர்கள் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான சிறுகதைப்படைப்புக்களைத் தமிழ் மக்களுக்குத் தந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றனர்.

ஈழத்திரு நாட்டிலும் தமிழிலே சிறுகதையிலக்கியம் வளர்ச்சியடைந்து வருவதை நாம் காணமுடிகின்றது. பல சிறந்த, எவ்விதத்திலும் ஏனைய நாட்டு எழுத்தாளர்களை விடப்பின்தங்கி நிற்காத சிறு கதையாசிரியர்கள் இன்று எம்மிடையே இருப்பதையிட்டுப் பெருமைப்படக்கூடிய நிலையிலுள்ளோம். காவலூர் ராசதுரை செ. கணேசலிங்கன், ஈழத்துச்சோமு, உதையணன் டானியல், இலங்கையர்க்கோன், வரதர், எச். எம். பி. மொஹிஉன், முத்துலிங்கம், பொன்னுத்துரை, கனக செந்தி நாதன், சொக்கன், இராசரத்தினம் போன்றோரினால் சிறுகதை ஈழத்திலும் வளர்ச்சியடைந்து தமிழ் மொழியின் பரந்த வளர்ச்சிக்குச் சேவை செய்கின்றது. காவலூர் ராசதுரையின் 'தொட்டாற் ஈருங்கி', முத்துலிங்கத்தின் 'பக்குவம், அக்கா' போன்றவை எம்நாட்டுச் சிறுகதைகள் எவ்விதத்திலும் ஏனையவற்றிற்குச் சளைத்தவையல்ல என எடுத்துக் காட்டப் போதுமானவை.

இவ்வண்ணம் சிறுகதையிலக்கியம் தமிழிலே வளர்ச்சியடைவதை அவதானிக்கும் பொழுது, அது மென்மேலும் வளர்ச்சியடைந்து அதிகம் சிறப்படைவதற்கான சாத்தியக் கூறுகள் தென்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் சிறுகதைகள் எனும் இவ்விவக்கியப் படைப்புக்கள் காலத்தால் அழியாமல் சங்கப் பாடல்களைப்போல் அல்லது கம்பராமாயணத்தைப்போல் அல்லது கலிங்கத்துப் பரணிபைப்போல் கிடைத்து நின்று ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட காலச் சமுதாயத்தைக் காட்டக்கூடிய தன்மையைப் பெற்றுச் சிறப்புற்று விளங்குமா வென்பதை எதிர்காலத்தான் தீர்ணயிக்க வேண்டும்.

எஸ். எச். எம். ஜேமீல்

S. H. M. Jameel

Which "Capitalism"

Continued from Page 12

have served in a considerably big way to diffuse ownership (and thus the benefits of ownership) of ventures among larger and larger numbers of people. The growing popularity of investment in these shares even in Ceylon is very encouraging, particularly as the common man himself is getting very conscious of and interested in this avenue of investment and source of income.

This tendency is obviously to be most heartily encouraged. But this by itself is not at all sufficient. The people here are often dormant participants in the ventures of the company, and as such this is not really the ideal sought. The ideal envisaged is *an active and interested participations of the mass of the people in the nations production*. And it is here that the state has its essential role to play.

When the idea of a state-managed economy, was rejected, it was by no means implied that the State should be merely an external observer. In the economy, intervening *merely* in order to see to the maintenance of law and order, the enforcement of a minimum wage, and the imposition of a ceiling on incomes (in order to eliminate excessive disparity of incomes, and thus securing greater equality). Far from it. The State has a far more active role to perform in the economic life of the country. But the difference from the State as the sole economic organ is that the State here interferes not to take over the economic activity of the country, but to actively promote economic activity *in the hands of the people*—to promote a "capitalism" of the people. And it is here that it has a major role planned out for it.

Primarily in this direction is the break-up of monopolies. The evils of a State monopoly have already been referred to. One need hardly emphasise again the equal and as detestable evils of private monopoly. The essence of a capitalism of the people is free competition based on free enterprise. Monopolies obviously work against this, and an assault on large monopolistic concerns is one of the primary tests of a State believing in free enterprise.

But the policy of the State must by no means be envisaged as being *merely* a crusade against established industries. The purpose is rather to encourage enterprise into newer and newer

avenues — the State must actively promote the industrialisation which is essential for the development of our economy, and this must take the form of fostering newer and newer industries in the hands of new entrepreneurs. Government policy must be wholeheartedly devoted to this.

The main move in this direction must be a most prohibitive tax on unused capital — in order that investment might be encouraged. Capital must by no means be permitted to remain in disuse with impunity.

But it must also be recognised that investment, particularly in new fields is not normally very attractive — in view of the risks involved. Losses too are often heavy in the initial stages. It is necessary therefore that the possible losses be minimised or at any rate that undue hardship be averted for the entrepreneur and it be made possible for him to tide over the initial period of loss and travail by a complete exemption from tax — at least the imposition of only a nominal tax during the inceptive and infant stages of the new industry.

Nor should government aid to new industries end at that. Technical knowledge is often very difficult for a would-be entrepreneur to secure on his own, and here the possibilities of State aid are immense.

Likewise financial aid — which is very essential, and particularly in a country like Ceylon where capital accumulation is so low, State aid in the matter of finance is of vital importance in the fostering of new industries. Admittedly at present the CISIR, the AICC and the like are rendering valuable assistance in their respective fields, but their scope is at present much too narrow. Moreover they have the same bane of most government departments — red tape. Particularly in departments like these which should if possible be aggressively helpful, the unfortunate presence of an inordinate amount of red tape is most confusing and discouraging to those who seek their aid. It is especially in institutions like these that the highest effort must be made to promote the greatest amount of flexibility in procedure. And this, clearly, is possible only by the conferment of a large degree of discretion on the officials in charge.

Apart, however, from this rigidity of departmental procedure, there is another major obstacle in the way of obtaining such aid from the state. Financial aid is as easily available from private sources as from the state, but only if there is sufficient security offered. But sufficient security in the way of property or movables is a major deficiency in the case of the vast majority of our population. It is thus here that the state could be of vital assistance to the people. As the instrument responsible for seeing to the best interests of the people, and being the instrument most competent to do so, it should take upon itself, if not the provision of needed finance (as well for the procuring of agricultural implements, as for the building of houses, starting new industries) at least the position of a surety or guarantor for such loans from private sources. The newly-proposed People's Bank is from this point of view to be heartily acclaimed as taking a very welcome step in this direction with its proposition to give loans without the usual requirement of security.

It is only with such an extended helping hand that enterprise and initiative could be fostered and industrialisation fostered on a large scale in the hands of the private sector, particularly in under developed countries like ours. It is only such an industrialisation that could result in the prosperity of the mass of the people—a general "levelling up" (not a levelling down to the same standard). And it is only with such a voluntary and deliberate policy of aid on the part of the state that the awful alternative of communism or the so-called "Socialism" could be averted, and, if one may call it, a happy economy of the people, for the people and *by* the people firmly established.

" W "

* * *

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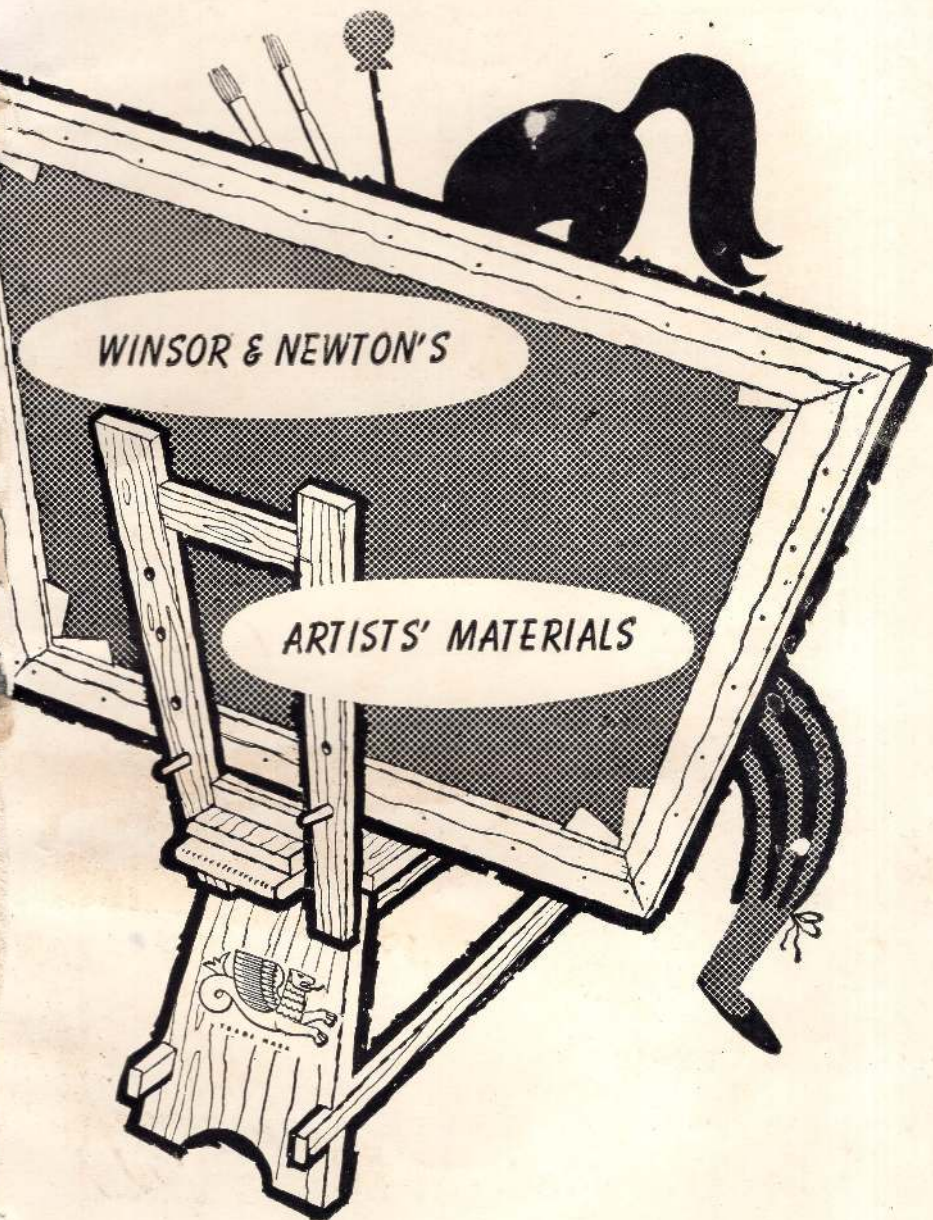
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