

# CEYLON *Today*

The Need for the Public  
Security Act

Ceylon at the United  
Nations

The Vidyodaya  
University  
Inaugurated

Minister's Address to  
F. A. O. Rice Confer-  
ence

The International Medi-  
tation Centre  
WILLIAM PEIRIS

Foreign Affairs

*Rath mal (Ixora coccinea)*



**MARCH, 1959**

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# CEYLON TODAY

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## The Need for the Public Security Act

*AS there was widespread misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the Public Security (Amendment) Act, the Government Information Department brought out a small booklet explaining the Act as well as drawing attention to the benefits that have accrued to workers and the Trade Union movement in this country since the new Government took office. We print below the text of this pamphlet.*

In view of the misrepresentations regarding the Public Security (Amendment) Act, it is necessary to make the position quite clear. The ordinary law, and the machinery for administering it in normal circumstances, is not sufficient as a safeguard for the people and for the preservation of law and order when sections in pursuance of objects directed against the State, e.g., the division of the country or the achievements of purposes religious, racial, linguistic, etc., or the capturing of power, none of which can be achieved democratically by the free votes of a majority of the people, decide to launch upon dangerous campaigns.

Last May a declaration of a State of Emergency became necessary to cope with the situation that arose then. It is true that in the conditions that existed some years ago, the Government party felt that the Public Security Ordinance might be repealed. But

such activities as those referred to above have convinced the Government, and also a vast majority of the people, that special provisions are necessary to deal with such abnormal situations. The existing Public Security Ordinance provides the only machinery for this purpose, but it can only be used when there is or is imminent a widespread State of Emergency throughout the country. That was why the Government had to wait till the 27th of May to declare a State of Emergency. In fact the Leader of the Opposition Dr. N. M. Perera stated in Parliament that the Government was twenty-four hours too late. Under the old Public Security Ordinance an Emergency had to be declared throughout the country (and that too can only be done, as pointed out before, when there is widespread disorder) before the smallest step necessary can be taken in such a situation, e.g., curfew cannot be declared even in a small area and even for a day or two, or in any place where the Police are insufficient to handle the situation, the smallest military unit cannot be called in to assist the Police without first declaring a State of Emergency throughout the country. For instance last May, two or three days before the declaration of Emergency there were certain areas in the country where trouble was developing, where, although certain military personnel were



sent, they had no power to do anything and no adequate steps could be taken to deal effectively with the position that was developing in those places. If there had been power to do so a great deal of damage and suffering that took place could have been avoided. It therefore became clear that certain amendments were necessary to the Public Security Ordinance. *The Amendments incorporated in the Public Security (Amendment) Act are really an amelioration rather than an aggravation of that Ordinance.*

### Main Provisions

WHAT are the provisions of the Amending Act—

- (1) It provides for the declaration of a State of Emergency in a limited area whereas at present an Emergency can only be declared throughout the whole country ;
- (2) Without a declaration of Emergency it provides for the power to impose a curfew in any limited place (may be for a very few days) if the need for it arises. During the present State of Emergency, after the curfew had been lifted throughout Ceylon, it became necessary to impose it for a few days in a portion of the Batticaloa District. This prevented serious trouble arising. It was only possible to take this step because the State of Emergency still remained in force throughout the country. This provision in the Amending Act will make it possible to impose the curfew in this way without the need of declaring a State of Emergency throughout Ceylon ;
- (3) The Amending Act also provides, without the need of declaring an Emergency throughout the country and if a situation arose in some place which the Police could not deal with adequately, to call in military personnel to assist the Police ;

- (4) The last provision of the Amending Act is to enable a service essential to the life of the community to be declared an essential service without the need of first declaring a State of Emergency. As it had been pointed out that this provision may be used to restrict ordinary trade union rights the Government readily agreed to amend it in order to remove all doubts. What is now provided in the Amending Act is that any action taken by a trade union in pursuance of an industrial dispute will not come within the purview of this clause. The term "industrial dispute" has been defined in the Industrial Disputes Act and is very comprehensive and includes matters affecting wages, emoluments, conditions of service, employment and dismissal, etc. Even an objection that was raised in regard to the words "Bona Fide" which were used to qualify the words "industrial disputes" have also been deleted. So that, as it stands now, any industrial dispute defined in the wide way mentioned above which results in action by trade unions would be outside the purview of this section. It will thus be seen that neither the public nor the workers need have any fears that this new Bill is in any way harsh or terrible. Rather it is, as stated before, an amelioration of the previous position, when by the declaration of a State of Emergency throughout the country it was possible to pass and enforce a wide range of drastic regulations. Under the new Act it will only become necessary and that too very rarely if at all, to declare a State of Emergency throughout the country with all the serious consequences that such a step may involve. The new Act also enables growing trouble of a serious nature to be dealt with



before it becomes widespread. As for workers, there is no reason at all for them to fear an infringement of legitimate trade union rights. The only people who need fear the new Act are those who would like to create chaos in the country and cause untold suffering to the people in the pursuit of objects directed against the State as a whole or those who may wish to use workers as "cats paws" in their own game of trying to achieve power for themselves ;

- (5) Any action taken under this Act has to be gazetted and reported to Parliament within ten days and Parliament has the power to amend or rescind such action.

In India, which is looked upon as a model democratic country in Asia, there are far more stringent provisions than in this Act under the ordinary law, e.g., even the power of detention without trial.

Workers, both in Government service and outside, will realise the steps that have been taken this Government to better their conditions and strengthen the Trade Union Movement.

### **Benefits and Concessions to Government Employees since April, 1956**

A Large number of concessions and benefits have been extended to Government employees since April, 1956, and a complete list of all these would run into several pages. Most of these have been concerned with improving the terms and conditions of employment, providing for better prospects, and, in general, with enhancing the benefits and dignity of Government service.

Some of the more important benefits concessions are listed below :—

#### **1. Terms and conditions of service**

- (i) The recommendations of the Salary Anomalies Commission have been implemented with effect from 1st October, 1957 ;

- (ii) A review of the general salary structure within the Public Service has been entrusted to a Salaries Commission ;

- (iii) The Special Living Allowance payable to all employees drawing less than Rs. 100 per month has been increased from Rs. 5 per month to Rs. 17.50 per month ;

- (iv) A further review of the Cost of Living Allowance and the Special Living Allowance now payable to Government employees is under active consideration ;

- (v) A decision has been taken on certain overall principles governing the eligibility of Government employees for uniforms and protective clothing. Under these principles such equipment will be issuable in future to a much wider range of personnel than have benefitted in the past ;

- (vi) In various Departments opportunities have been provided for personnel of various Grades to improve their prospects by the creation of new Grades and by giving them certain concessions in regard to qualifications required for appointments to these Grades ;

- (vii) The status of Temporary employees in Government Service has also been considerably improved. Qualifications for permanency have been defined more generously and incremental credit for temporary service has been given on a wider basis ;

- (viii) Several categories of daily-paid staff have been given the benefit of drawing monthly-pay after a minimum period of 6 months service on daily-pay ;

- (ix) Government has decided that no temporary employee who has had six months continuous and satisfactory service should be discontinued until he has been found alternative employment ;



- (x) The age at which retiring public officers become eligible for pension was reduced from 55 years to 50 years for a period of 4 years commencing from August 6, 1956;
- (xi) Attention has also been paid to female officers who have been given several concessions, such as, pension rights and Provident Fund rights where these did not exist before, the grant of holiday warrants to husbands of female officers, hospital concessions for their families, the removal of marriage bans that hitherto existed, etc, the removal of marriage bans that hitherto existed, etc.;
- (xii) Casual leave for all new entrants has been increased from 7 days to 14 days.

## 2. Political and other rights

- (i) It has been decided to release Secretaries of Public Service Trade Unions for full-time Trade Union work.
- (ii) In order to promote the development of Trade Unionism in the Public Service, it has been decided that any office-bearer of the parent organisation of Trade Unions recognised by the Government should be posted to those stations where they could be most useful in promoting the interests of their Trade Unions.
- (iii) The Rules regarding the recognition of Public Service Trade Unions have been relaxed.
- (iv) Regulations to permit the participation of Public Servants in political activities are under consideration.
- (v) A new Administrative Regulation has been framed to permit Public Officers to express disagreement with any policy or decision of the Government affecting the pay and conditions of service of Public Officers.
- (vi) Several cases of Public Servants who were penalised under undemocratic

Regulations have been reviewed and several officers, who were dismissed or otherwise penalised, have been offered redress.

- (vii) It was decided that one copy of each Departmental Circular, which might be of interest to Associations of Public Officers, should be issued to such Associations, free of charge, for their information. These Associations could obtain, if they so desired, a Sinhala version of each such Circular in lieu of the English version and any additional copies, on payment of the prescribed fees.
- (viii) Provision has been made for office-bearers and members of Associations of Public Officers to be granted, subject to exigencies of the service, a day's duty leave and a set of duty railway warrants, where necessary, to enable them to attend the annual general meetings of their respective Associations.

## Labour Legislation

IN the field of labour legislation steps have been taken by this Government to promote measures conducive towards the happiness and welfare of the workers.

Amendments have been introduced to existing labour legislation and such amendments have invariably brought in their wake better terms and conditions of employment to workers. For instance, amendments to the *Shop and Office Employees Act*, provided maternity leave of six weeks duration for female employees who were also protected against being employed on heavy duties for specified periods preceding and following confinement. It also provided that no employer could dismiss a female worker or give notice of discontinuance while she is absent or on leave on account of her confinement. Provision has also been made by an amendment to this Act as well as to the *Wages Boards Ordinance* for trade unions and employees to recover, by means of an abbreviated civil procedure, any dues which



the employer is liable to pay under the Act quite independent of criminal proceedings taken by the Department of Labour.

*The Wages Boards Amendment Act, No. 27 of 1957*, increased the number of public holidays that can be granted from 21 to 30 and also provided for regulating the employment of apprentices and learners. It is relevant to point out here that Wages Boards have been established for 20 trades guaranteeing minimum terms and conditions of employment to nearly 8 lakhs of workers.

It has also to be pointed out that as a result of inspections carried out under the various Labour laws, Government has recovered during 1957 and 1958 nearly 5 lakhs of rupees per year by way of under-payments to workers.

Amendments to the *Maternity Benefits Ordinance* enlarged the scope of the main Ordinance by extending it to establishments having more than 5 employees, whereas it was applied hitherto to establishments employing 10 or more workers.

New regulations made under the *Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, No. 47 of 1956*, prohibited the employment of children under 12 years of age while the employment of children between 12 and 14 years of age is also prohibited in the majority of occupations. For the first time Government has also taken steps to regulate the working hours of domestic servants.

### Settlement of Disputes

AMENDMENTS to the Industrial Disputes Act have been introduced to provide adequate machinery for the speedy settlement of industrial disputes. It also provides for individual workers to apply direct to Labour Tribunals for relief or redress in regard to specified matters. The Government introduced this machinery with a view to providing an inexpensive machinery, especially for unorganised workmen, to obtain redress for their grievances in accordance with the accepted principles of natural and social justice. This

machinery should provide, to a large extent, a solution to the problem of security of service which has been agitating the minds of workers who were subject to dismissal at the whims and fancies of employers. The worker can now have such action reviewed by an impartial Tribunal which could give binding decisions which would be a check on indiscriminate actions of employers.

Under the provisions of the *Industrial Disputes Act* tea, rubber and tea-cum-rubber estates of not less than specified extents became entitled to terms and conditions of employment negotiated by the Ceylon Estates Employers Federation and the Ceylon Estates Staff's Union and which were embodied in four collective agreements.

Steps have also been taken to encourage the establishment of Joint Consultative machinery with a view to promoting better relations between employer and employee.

The Government has also set up a National Wage Commission to examine and make recommendations for a national wage policy in the private sector.

The Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Act, No. 37 of 1956, was introduced with a view to regulating the business of fee-charging employment agencies.

The Government removed from the *Trade Unions Ordinance* the stipulation requiring that when copies of rules or amendments to rules are sent in Sinhala or Tamil to the Registrar of Trade Unions, they should be accompanied by a correct translation in English.

A Bill has already been submitted to Parliament allowing Trade Unions of public servants to affiliate, amalgamate subject to limitations, or federate among themselves.

In terms of Treasury Circular No. 459 of 20th August, 1958, office bearers and members of Association of Public Officers registered under the Trade Unions Ordinance have been granted, subject to the exigencies of the service, a day's duty leave for the purpose of attending the Annual General Meeting of the



Association of which they are members. Members of deputations from such Associations are also allowed duty leave to attend interviews, or conferences with the Minister or Head of Department or other officials of Government provided that the number of members of each such deputation is limited to three and that the Minister or Head of Department has agreed to meet such deputation.

Where it becomes necessary for office-bearers or members of the Association to travel to another station for the purpose of attending the Annual General Meeting or interviews or conferences with Government officials, Government has approved the issue of a set of duty warrants.

The number of Trade Unions registered has also progressively increased since 1956 and this increase reflects the encouragement given by the present Government to the unionisation of workers. The following figures clearly illustrate the position :—

No. of Unions registered during 1956 ..	109
No. of Unions registered during 1957 ..	180
No. of Unions registered during 1958 ..	226

### **Provident Fund for Employees**

WITH the inauguration of the *Employers' Provident Fund* one of the most important social security schemes ever contemplated in this country has become an accomplished fact.

It is expected that in the first year about 750,000 employees working in about 6,000 establishments and estates spread over the whole country will be brought into the scheme. The coverage will be gradually extended, as soon as the administrative machinery is in a position to cope with the work, to cover the entire working population presently estimated at 2,700,000. It is hoped to cover the entire working population within a period of 5 years.

Government is also considering the introducing of legislation for providing gratuities for past services of employees.

The Employment Exchange service has been progressively expanded after this Government came into power. Additional exchanges have been set up and schemes of Vocational training and Labour Co-operatives introduced. Training schemes have been so far set up for masons, carpenters, hair-dressers, cooks and waiters, garden labourers, conveyance labourers, domestic helpers, electricians, wiremen, etc. The types of vocational training as well as the number of persons trained are being rapidly stepped up. It is proposed to increase the activities in these field.

Among other labour legislation which is contemplated is the introduction of the new *Contracts for Hire and Service Ordinance*. It is envisaged that this Act besides laying down certain fundamental rights for workers, will incorporate all the progressive features found in similar legislation in other countries. Unlike the previous Act, the new Act will be comprehensive in that it will embrace all contracts of employment. It will also contain provision compelling an employer to issue charge sheets and to hold an inquiry before action is taken against an employee for misconduct ; it will also extend the period of notice required for termination of service. The new Act will also provide for safeguarding the right of workers who take part in trade union activities and it will guarantee the right of labour to form trade unions of their own without interference from employers, besides prohibiting unfair labour practices.

A draft Bill to deal with the question of housing and tenancy rights for employees where quarters are provided by the employer is at present being prepared. This Act is intended to prevent employers taking action for criminal trespass when an employee remains in his quarters after his services have been terminated.

The Government has also appointed a Parliament Advisory Committee to examine existing labour legislation and this matter is constantly receiving the attention both of the Committee and of the Government.



## Ceylon at the United Nations

*WE publish below the full text of the speech made by H. E. Sir Claude Corea, K.B.E., the Permanent Representative of Ceylon at the United Nations, at the Fourth Committee on March 6. The subject was the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement under the United Nations Charter of the Cameroons.*

MR. CHAIRMAN,

We have reached an important, and I may say a solemn, stage in the history of the United Nations. We have reached the stage when the General Assembly is called upon to pronounce, for the first time, whether a Trusteeship Agreement under the United Nations Charter should be terminated. A grave responsibility therefore rests on the General Assembly and on this Fourth Committee to which in the first instance the responsibility belongs. I am convinced that whatever differing view we in this Committee may hold we are all alike animated by the desire to do what we consider the best for the welfare and for the development of the nearly five million people of the Cameroons. Animated by the sole desire of contributing in all sincerity to the welfare of these people and under Divine Guidance we have to seek a solution which will be the surest way of achieving the goal of the United Nations Charter and the welfare of the Cameroonian people. We have, therefore, three matters to consider. First there is the question of the Northern Cameroons and second there is the question of the Southern Cameroons both under United Kingdom administration. And thirdly there is the question of the Cameroons under French administration. I shall deal with them in that order and express my delegation's views on all three questions seriatim. Before doing so, however, I should like Mr. Chairman, to say a few words on the Report of the Visiting

Mission. It would be idle to expect the whole of that Report and everything said in it to be wholly acceptable to all delegations in this Committee. But it is interesting to note that all are agreed on the capacity, integrity and sincerity of the Members of the Visiting Mission. It may be that they themselves feel they did not have as much time in the performance of this difficult and delicate task as they would have wished and it may be that they were unable to meet as many more people of the Cameroons as they themselves would have wished to meet but it is clear from the report that they had been able to study the Cameroonian situation thoroughly on the spot and that they were enabled to come to conclusions and form independent judgments without any doubt on the many questions on which they have reported. It is also noteworthy that their report is an unanimous one. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, the views of the Mission are entitled to the greatest respect as the views of a body of capable men of great experience whose judgment was not warped by bias or prejudice and whose "bone fides" has not been questioned. I do not, of course, advance the view that they are infallible or that we must necessarily accept all their conclusions. This Committee is quite free to criticise the report and disagree with the Mission and even wholly reject the report. But we cannot gainsay the fact that they constituted our accredited agents, that they had the advantage of first-hand observation on the spot and that they were in an advantageous position to study the whole situation. We must therefore have cogent reasons if we are to disagree with the Mission. My delegation would like to convey to the Members of the Visiting Mission our appreciation of the valuable and sincere work they have done.

At its XIIIth Session, the General Assembly decided, by Resolution No. 1281 of 6 December, 1958, to resume consideration of



the question of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French Administration, and the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, so that the Assembly might then address itself to the matter in the light of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission, which was at that time actually in the Cameroons, and the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council. Those reports have been distributed as Documents T/1426 and T/1427.

### **The Northern Cameroons**

I will now proceed, Mr. Chairman, to state briefly our views on the situation in the Northern Cameroons. In their report the Visiting Mission state that they found no desire among the people of this area other than desire to join the Northern Region of Nigeria in an independent Federation of Nigeria. They have stated their reasons fully in support of this conclusion. Therefore they recommend that there is no need to hold a plebiscite. I have no reason to urge that they are wrong. Possibly they will be proved right even if a plebiscite is held. However, it is the view of my delegation that inasmuch as there is no elected body in that area at the present time, and although the Consultative Committee shared the views of the Mission, it would be desirable to hold a plebiscite to give the people an opportunity to express their views so as to place the issue beyond all doubt. We, therefore, support the holding of an early plebiscite as early in the dry season as is possible before the end of this year and that arrangements for such plebiscite should be under the supervision of the United Nations. We support the view that the question that should be put to the voters is whether they wish to join the Northern Region of an Independent Federation of Nigeria or not. If the answer is in the negative a further plebiscite will have to be held to enable them to decide whether they wish for unification with the French Cameroons or with the Southern Cameroons.

With regard to the Southern Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration the Visiting Mission has recommended the holding of a plebiscite for the reasons stated by them. Both the Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons and the leader of the Opposition, who was the former Prime Minister are agreed on this recommendation. It is their view also that the plebiscite might be held as early in the dry season as possible before April next year. There is, however, no agreement between them yet as to the question or questions that should be put to the voters. We, therefore, suggest that they should discuss the matter further and try to agree on the nature of the question or questions that should be put to the voters and that in any case those questions should be finally decided at the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly. As my Delegation understands the position it is the view of Mr. Foncha's Government that it would like to join the French Cameroons in a Federation but that time will be required for negotiations. Further it is his view that if a plebiscite decides to support his government's views, the United Kingdom Government should agree to continue its trusteeship under the United Nations for a limited period.

### **French Cameroons**

MY delegation is in favour of this position and would support any resolution on these lines. I shall now deal with the question of the Cameroons under French Administration. The Visiting Mission was unanimous in its conclusions regarding the future of the Cameroons under French Administration, and these conclusions are to be found in paragraphs 167-172 of the Report. The Mission expressed confidence that the General Assembly will be in a position in 1959 to provide for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement on the attainment of independence by the Cameroons under French Administration on January 1, 1960 and, accordingly, recommended to the Trusteeship



Council that such a course be proposed to the General Assembly. The Trusteeship Council by 12 votes to one (with one abstention) endorsed the conclusions of the Visiting Mission and their report together with the report of the Visiting Mission is now before the General Assembly. This Committee, Mr. Chairman, has, therefore, now met to decide on the future of a Territory which is under the International Trusteeship system established by the Charter of the United Nations.

We have, since we assembled on the 20th of last month, had the privilege of having with us on the one hand the Representative of the Administering Authority, in the person of Monsieur Jacquinet, Minister of State in the Government of the French Republic, and of the Representative of the Government of the French Cameroons in the person of its elected Prime Minister, Mr. Abmadou Ahidjo, and on the other a large number of petitioners, who have come to us across the seas from the Cameroons representing several important associations and groups of Cameroonian citizens. Some of these petitioners support and others are opposed to the views of the Government of the French Cameroons. I am sure my colleagues in this Chamber will agree that the statements we have heard from all these representatives have been of considerable value to us in the deliberations which we have now commenced regarding the future of their country and of the welfare of its peoples. My delegation would like to thank them for their presence and for the statements they have made. We have given the most careful and earnest consideration to all that has been said on both sides. The solution of this problem is by no means an easy one. The Fourth Committee of the United Nations has had the commendable record of having played a very major role in hastening the progressive development of dependent territories to complete political emancipation and eventual sovereign status. The heavy sense of responsibility that such a task commands is evident and requires

no elaboration. We have been charged, by reason of our membership of this body and of our obligations under its Charter, with the duty of assisting from time to time vast populations in different areas of the world in taking their rightful place in our midst as full and equal partners in the work that we have dedicated ourselves to do. It is for that reason that at moment such as these we have to think deeply and carefully and avoid as far as is possible being carried away by emotion rather than by a sober and rational evaluation of facts. The freedom of people in trust territories, therefore, can fairly be regarded as something to which we have to give more than the usual deliberation.

### Differences Narrow

THE differences which have become evident, Mr. Chairman, during the course of the last few days are confined within a very narrow area and have now become crystallised in the two draft resolutions which appear before us in papers L.580 and L.581. The simple question which seems to divide the opinion of this Committee is whether or not elections under U. N. supervision should be held before the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement on January 1, 1960 and the consequent achievement of independence by the French Cameroons on that date. It is an accepted fact that the Government of France as the Administering Authority has declared that on that date the Trusteeship Agreement would be terminated and thenceforward the Cameroons which had up to then been under French Administration would become fully responsible both for internal and for external affairs relating to itself. That the French Cameroons should be free on January 1, 1960, is a matter on which there appears to be no division of opinion at all either in the territory itself or among the petitioners or in this Committee. Not one of the several petitioners whom we have heard has at any time directly or indirectly suggested that the Cameroons was not yet mature for



independence, or that the date of achievement of that independence should be postponed. The conflict of views has arisen only on the question of the need for a fresh consultation of the people of the Territory before that date.

*The Delegation of Ceylon is glad once again in the Fourth Committee to reaffirm the policy of the Government of Ceylon that we shall wherever and whenever possible play our role in assisting subject peoples to reach the goal of independence for which we ourselves in our own land struggled successfully. Though small as a country we have been second to none in our championship of the right of peoples to determine their own political, economic and social life as they please.* The records of the Fourth Committee will show that we have not made a single statement nor cast a single vote which could be interpreted as in any way derogating from that ideal. It is in that spirit and in the application of that policy of my Government that my delegation approaches the problem which is before us in relation to the Cameroons under French Administration. We have supported the decisions resulting from the debates and discussions in this very Committee when Administering Powers have been called upon to fix target dates for the independence of subject peoples as an expression of their sincerity and their "*bona fides*". The Government of the French Republic has with admirable statesmanship, informed us that as far as the Cameroons under French Administration is concerned they will be happy to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement on January 1, 1960.

### Present Government

THERE is in this territory, at the present moment, a Government elected on adult franchise in 1956, and presently headed by Mr. Ahidjo—a Government which after negotiations with the French Authorities asked for a target date for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and received a

constructive response. This Government has been, and is, the legally-constituted Government of this Territory. The Assembly, elected in 1956 on universal suffrage, requested the French Government in June 1958 to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement and transfer full powers to the Cameroonian Government, and on October 24, 1958 adopted the resolution requesting full national independence on January 1, 1960. Mr. Ahidjo in one of his statements last week asked the Committee the question whether it would be logical to consider that the Assembly which was fit to ask for independence was not fit to receive it. My delegation does not regard this question as a merely rhetorical one. I would describe it as being a sentiment springing from the elementary principles of equity and of certain standards of judgment which we all subscribe to. Mr. Ahidjo, on behalf of his Government and on behalf of the majority of the people of his country, has reaffirmed his desire and his determination to regard the date, January 1, 1960, as one which is fixed. Under these circumstances, the question must needs arise "what compelling reasons are there to justify a refusal to accede to this request? What reasons are there that the U. N. having resumed its sessions of last year for this very purpose, should now hesitate in endorsing the Agreement reached between the Administering Authority and the Cameroonian Government?" My delegation would hesitate by word or deed to contribute in any way to a delay or postponement of the achievement of independence by a Territory which it is admitted on all sides is fit enough and mature enough for such independence and the Government of which has been elected on the principle of adult suffrage. We as representatives of fully independent sovereign governments might find it somewhat presumptuous to question now the fitness of these peoples for independence on termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. *My delegation, therefore, would be unable*



to support any course of action which may have the effect of delaying independence of the territory on the set date. It, however, might be said that there is no one in this Committee who wishes to postpone the attainment of Independence on 1st January 1960. I agree. It is certainly one of the most heartwarming experience that this Committee appears to be of the unanimous view that Independence—full and complete—should come to the French Cameroons on 1st January 1960. What we have to guard against is whether the request for elections before Independence may not for one reason or another produce the unexpected result of postponement. I shall examine this point a little more fully later.

At this stage, Mr. Chairman, I would refer the Members of this Committee to the report of the Visiting Mission. The Mission is of the unanimous opinion that no case has been made out for the holding of elections before Independence. Taking account of what I have said earlier about the Mission, my delegation attaches a great deal of weight to their unanimous opinion. This opinion has been accepted by the Trusteeship Council by a preponderant majority and the Council has recommended to the General Assembly accordingly. Are there any cogent reasons for rejecting this recommendation? We fail to see any. This is one of the reasons which has led us to the conclusion that no further consultation on the question of independence is necessary. If then no further consultation on that question is necessary—and here even the petitioners have not expressed a contrary view—my delegation is constrained to ask the question “for what purpose are elections now sought in this Territory before Independence?” Two arguments have been adduced in support of the request for further consultation. First, that the Legislative Assembly is not truly representative of the people, and secondly, that the holding of elections is not intended to question the representative character of the Assembly, but rather to enable the people on the eve

of independence to decide on the policy that a Free Government should carry out. We are unable to subscribe to either of these views. Permit me to consider these two arguments separately. The Visiting Mission which was appointed by the Trusteeship Council to visit the Territory have, in their very comprehensive report, given facts and figures to substantiate their conclusions that the representative character of these institutions is beyond question. The Visiting Mission has reported that these institutions “must be regarded as enjoying the support of the majority of the population”. (para. 168). In no democratic country can an elected government represent anything more than the *majority* of the peoples it claims to represent. In no democratic country can an elected government be regarded as representing the views of the entirety of its citizens. How then can we apply to the French Cameroons a special yardstick when deciding whether or not its institutions are stamped with that representative character which has come to be associated with the democratic way of life? It is true that under the Decree of 1955 certain political parties had been dissolved. It is true that the amnesty law which is being put into effect now in the Territory would only affect a new election rather than the one already held and concluded. But it is also true that the reason for the dissolution of those parties was not holding or the disseminating by them of political views or opinions different from those of the Government in power but the acts of physical violence, in certain cases amounting to murder, which were committed in the course of political opposition and which in any country will be condemned and punished under the criminal code. I do not think that there is here represented any Government which would not in similar circumstances have acted as the Government of the French Cameroons had done. The fact, therefore, that at the time of the election a few organisations had been dissolved would not, in our



view, detract from the representative character of the institutions which have conducted the functions of governing the country since that time.

In fact, although I am dealing with this aspect, I think I can say that very few here have laid much stress on the argument that the Legislative Assembly is not representative. It would seem that those who at one time may have held the view have found it untenable. My friend the distinguished Representative of Ghana speaking in this Committee a few days ago candidly stated as follows:— (I quote) "The Assembly, may indeed be, in fact, representative—we are not questioning its representative character." (End of quote) Again on this same point he said (and I quote) "The Delegation of Ghana finds itself in total agreement with the recommendation of the Visiting Mission to the effect that there is no need to consult the people on the question of Independence." (End of quote). I do not think further argument is necessary but before I leave this aspect of the question I would refer to the fact that when Prime Minister Ahidjo introduced his resolution in the Legislative Assembly requesting Independence on 1st January 1960 and the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, the Members of the Opposition, some of whom were among the petitioners, raised no question of the representative character of the Assembly to discuss that matter. It must be taken as a fact then that the representative character of the Assembly has not been questioned. Therefore, the Legislative Assembly is a democratic legal institution representative of the people. If it is a representative body and is legal and forms the Government of the country what right have we to question its undoubted democratic right to decide to ask for and to accept Independence? How then can we impose on it against its will a condition precedent to Independence? How can we assert that it has no right to carry out its legitimate function? It would be an act of

derogation of its legal authority for us to impose such a condition. No doubt the General Assembly may have the right so long as the Territory is under Trusteeship to impose any conditions but it would be improper for us to exercise such a right undemocratically.

### Holding Elections

AS regards the second contention that the purpose of the election is to enable the people to decide upon the policies which a Government receiving Independence should carry out, my delegation remains unconvinced by it. That is a matter which in our view falls within the purview of the internal domestic affairs of the French Cameroons. Once Independence is achieved elections must necessarily be held as early as possible. The Prime Minister has given us the assurance in a public statement in this Committee a few days ago, that full and free elections will be held as soon as is practically possible after Independence, and by that time the amnesty law would have enabled the opposition group to ventilate their views before the population. It is not the task of the United Nations to play any part however small or however indirectly in affairs so domestic as the holding of elections in order to enable the people to determine the shade of the political regime they would like to have or the platform of economic or social policy they would like to follow. That is a matter which the legally-constituted government in power at the time of Independence is best qualified to decide on and translate into practice. The assurance given by the Prime Minister of the French Cameroons to us here in this very room gives us confidence that these elections will be held within a few months of the attainment of Independence. The two arguments adduced in support of holding elections before independence therefore, Mr. Chairman, do not commend themselves to my delegation.



On the other hand, in our view, there is a strong positive argument *against* the holding of elections before 1960. Much has been heard in this Committee about the need for reconciliation on the eve of Independence and the petitioners as well as the Representative of the Government of the Cameroons have, in so many words, indicated their appreciation of the need for such a spirit before the country gains its freedom next year. My delegation believes that the holding of elections before January 1, 1960 not on basic issues such as the question of Independence but on the more personal aspect of who is to form the Government after Independence, will raise acute controversies and will recall the unhappy memories of the tragic days of 1955. Such elections at such a time will seriously jeopardise any possibility that now exists for an atmosphere of goodwill at the birth of the nation. An acrimonious election campaign based on a clash of personalities as distinct from major issues is inevitable in the circumstances. This, rather than contributing to the calm goodwill of all concerned at this crucial period may inflame political passions and heighten the sharp divisions that have existed so far. My delegation fears that it may even lead to a resurgence of violence and consequent chaos. These factors may even lead to the postponement of Independence. It is interesting, Mr. Chairman, in this context, to quote no less an authority on such a matter than Dr. Nkrumah, the respected Prime Minister of Ghana, who, in his autobiography has stated as follows, in expressing his opposition to the holding of general elections before Independence was proclaimed in his country. I quote from the book written by him under the title "Ghana". At page 245 he writes, "Constitutionally and politically I did not see any necessity for going to a general election before Independence. I assumed that the British Government would grant us independence at the date we had in mind without having to plunge the country into a general election because I feared that an election

campaign might be used in some quarters to cause riot, bloodshed and general confusion in the country."

The distinguished Representative of Ghana, I am sure, will see that our fears in this respect in regard to the possible results of a general election now in the Cameroons are similar to the views expressed by his own Prime Minister in relation to a similar situation in the evolution of his country, a country for which we have always entertained the very warmest affection.

### Real Independence

THE next major question that was raised in this Committee, Mr. Chairman, was the fear expressed by several petitioners and suggested by some delegations that the Independence of the Cameroons under French Administration would not be a real Independence unless it was accepted and negotiated by a Government elected before January 1, 1960. Statements were made indicating misgivings about possible reservations regarding the conventions between the Cameroonian Government and the Government of France. Certain delegations were even perturbed at the possibility of a free Cameroons limiting its sovereignty by a close association with the French Government. My delegation itself had certain misgivings on these points Mr. Chairman at the commencement of this resumed Session two weeks ago. The Committee will remember the question that I addressed to Prime Minister Ahidjo requesting him to clarify his Government's position on some of these matters. I have much pleasure in stating that my delegation is fully satisfied with the firm, unequivocal and categorical replies that the Prime Minister gave to this Committee at its 849th Meeting on February 25, 1959. He stated in a very forthright manner (and here I quote).

"All powers previously held by the French Government under Trusteeship will be transferred to the Cameroonian Government



and the Cameroonian Assembly. Consequently, after 1st January 1960, the existing Agreements with France will automatically become null and void, as will the present Statute." Again the Prime Minister stated, "Independence itself will be the final stage in the evolution of our Institutions. We intend to make all the arrangements ourselves in full freedom under no other control than that of a sovereign Parliament." On the question of association with foreign powers, Mr. Ahidjo in answer to a question put by me said, "With regard to the possibility of a subsequent association with another country I wish to make it clear that no such undertaking has been made by either side . . . . . As to the possibility that the independence Cameroons might be integrated into the French Community, it would be illogical to imagine that the Cameroons which has now a Statute conferring more privileges than the Statutes of any of those States which have joined the French Community would, when it had achieved Independence, take the backward step of asking for any kind of integration into the French Community."

These assurances, taken in conjunction with the declaration made by the Representative of France that France herself will sponsor the admission of a Free Cameroons to the United Nations as soon as possible after Independence, leave no doubt in our minds as to the completeness of the sovereignty that the Cameroons will achieve on January 1, 1960. My distinguished colleague, Ambassador Jha of India, dealt very fully with the question of the Conventions and I therefore do not see any reason to elaborate on that question further.

### No Fears

MR. Chairman, for these reasons the delegation of Ceylon is unable to share the fears that are entertained in some quarters that if the Cameroons achieves Independence on January 1, 1960 and the Trusteeship

Agreement is terminated on that date without prior general elections the Independence so achieved will be a qualified and unreal one. The argument was raised, I believe particularly by the distinguished Representative of Iraq, that the question is not so much one of the date of Independence but whether or not elections should be supervised by the United Nations and that if United Nations supervision was desirable then of course, elections will necessarily have to be prior to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. Let us pause and ask ourselves the question whether it is necessary to have U.N. supervised general elections in the Cameroons at this stage. We are told that such supervision will be impartial, will be acceptable to the population and will remove any possible doubts that delegations in this Assembly may have in regard to this question. The prestige, Mr. Chairman, of the United Nations is, of course, such that this faith is understandable. However, in this request are we not overlooking the fact that a United Nations Visiting Mission has unanimously reported to us that in their view no further consultation is necessary before the attainment of Independence? Have we not the same degree of confidence in this Visiting Mission? If we have would not a request for elections under U.N. supervision, contrary to the recommendations of that body amount to an expression of lack of faith or of confidence in its findings?

It is hardly necessary for me to say that my delegation in no way minimises the value of elections where appropriate and necessary under United Nations supervision. We are not against elections as such, but against elections that are unnecessary and improper. Where there is a question of importance which has not been settled, where there are conflicting views on a question of importance, we could accept the need of elections to settle such a question. Suppose there were a conflict of views in the Cameroons about Independence itself then one can pose the question at an election whether the



majority of people wish to have Independence. There must be a vital question which divides the people. Here we have a case when on the only substantive question, namely, Independence, there is unanimous agreement. The Government of the country which is a democratic Government and which has been elected on universal suffrage must be trusted and must be given its undoubted and inalienable right to decide on the acceptance of Independence which was requested by a parliamentary majority.

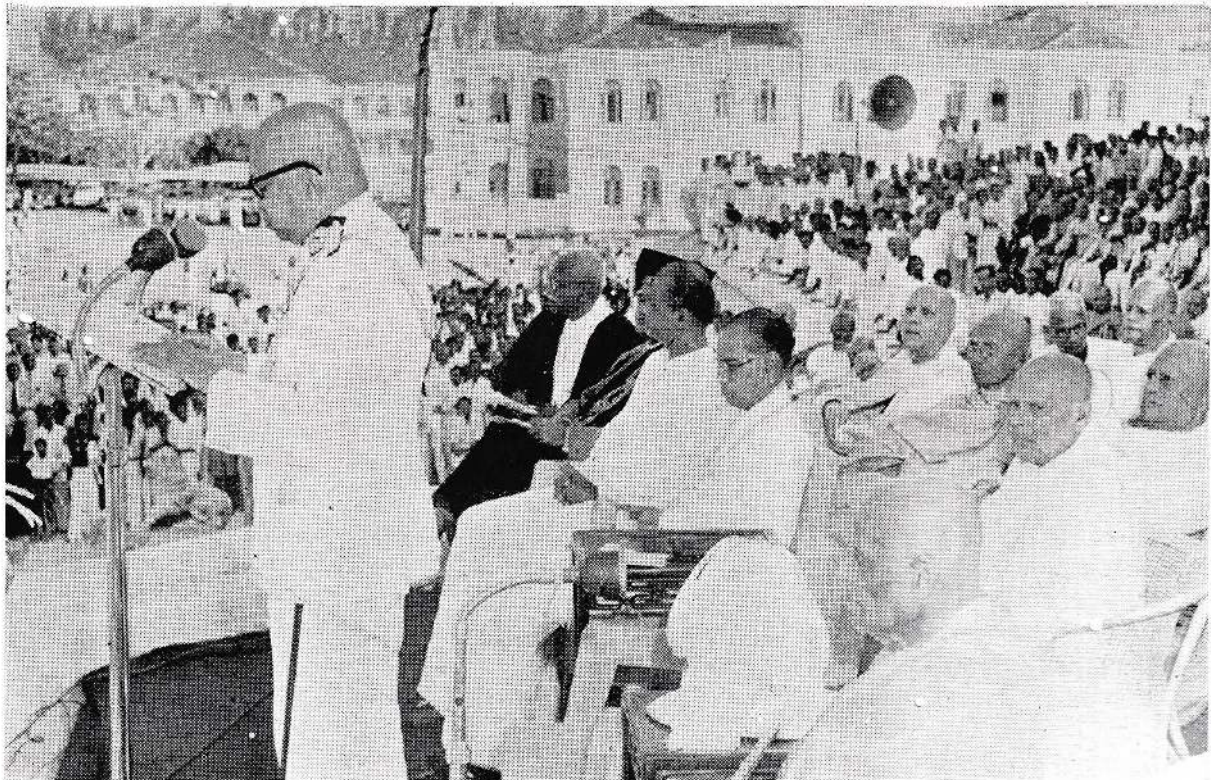
### Internal Affairs

I wish to make one further general observation on this matter. The Prime Minister of the French Cameroons has stated in this Committee on several occasions that general elections not only will, but *must* necessarily be held after Independence is achieved on January 1, 1960. This assurance adds to our confidence in the future development of this territory. Once Independence is achieved then let the peoples of the Cameroons decide for themselves the form of Constitution they would like to have, the nature of the Institutions which they consider necessary to establish, the economic and social policies they would like their Government to follow. These are matters which it is beyond our competence to force upon a country. These are matters which the Cameroonian people must decide amongst themselves in their best interests. It is our view that it would be both premature and ungracious for us to make any attempt to thrust upon the Cameroonian people a situation in which, in effect,

their freedom of choice would be circumscribed by any decisions we may take here before they achieve their Independence.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to affirm once more, one of the cardinal principles of my Government's policy towards the dependent peoples of the world. Our concern is that the Cameroonian people like all other peoples not controlling their own affairs should emerge to complete freedom with the least possible delay in accordance with the objectives of the Charter of this Organisation. We welcome the speedy achievement of that goal. In the particular case of the Cameroons under French Administration there have undoubtedly been difficulties resulting from the antecedents of the not too distant past. The Government and the people of Ceylon earnestly hope that the people of the Cameroons will soon find their internal unity. It is our sincere belief that the present Government will carry out in good faith the promises made by its Prime Minister before us all, in an effort to achieve that reconciliation which is absolutely essential for the future welfare of his people. At the same time it is our earnest hope that those sections of the Cameroonian people who have found it necessary in the exasperation of opposition to resort at times to violent methods of protest will see the need for more co-operative and less unconstitutional expressions of their needs. We look forward with pleasure and pride to the Cameroonian nation taking its rightful place next year as a fully independent and sovereign Member of the United Nations.





The Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke addressing the public meeting which followed the inauguration of the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon

## The Vidyodaya University Inaugurated

THE Vidyodaya University, one of the two Pirivenas that have been raised to University status, was inaugurated on February 18, at an impressive ceremony at the Independence Hall in Colombo.

His Excellency the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, speaking at the inauguration ceremony said: "This is a historic occasion. Today witnesses the renaissance of Pirivena Education on a broader front. It is my good fortune that I am privileged to be present here today to inaugurate the Vidyodaya University and to extend my best wishes to the Vice-Chancellor and the staff. The granting of University status to the two principal Pirivenas of the Island is one of the most far-reaching achievements of the

Government in the realm of Education. Minister Dahanayake will be remembered in the annals of this Island as the man who gave Oriental learning and its traditional seats the encouragement and support they needed to become an integral part of the educational set-up of modern Lanka. The Buddhist priesthood, who had in the past contributed so much to the cause of Oriental learning and culture, will now get the opportunity of widening their sphere of influence."

### High Standards

"Universities in the world set very high standards of learning and by their detached attitude to the dissemination of knowledge for its own sake and by their approach to

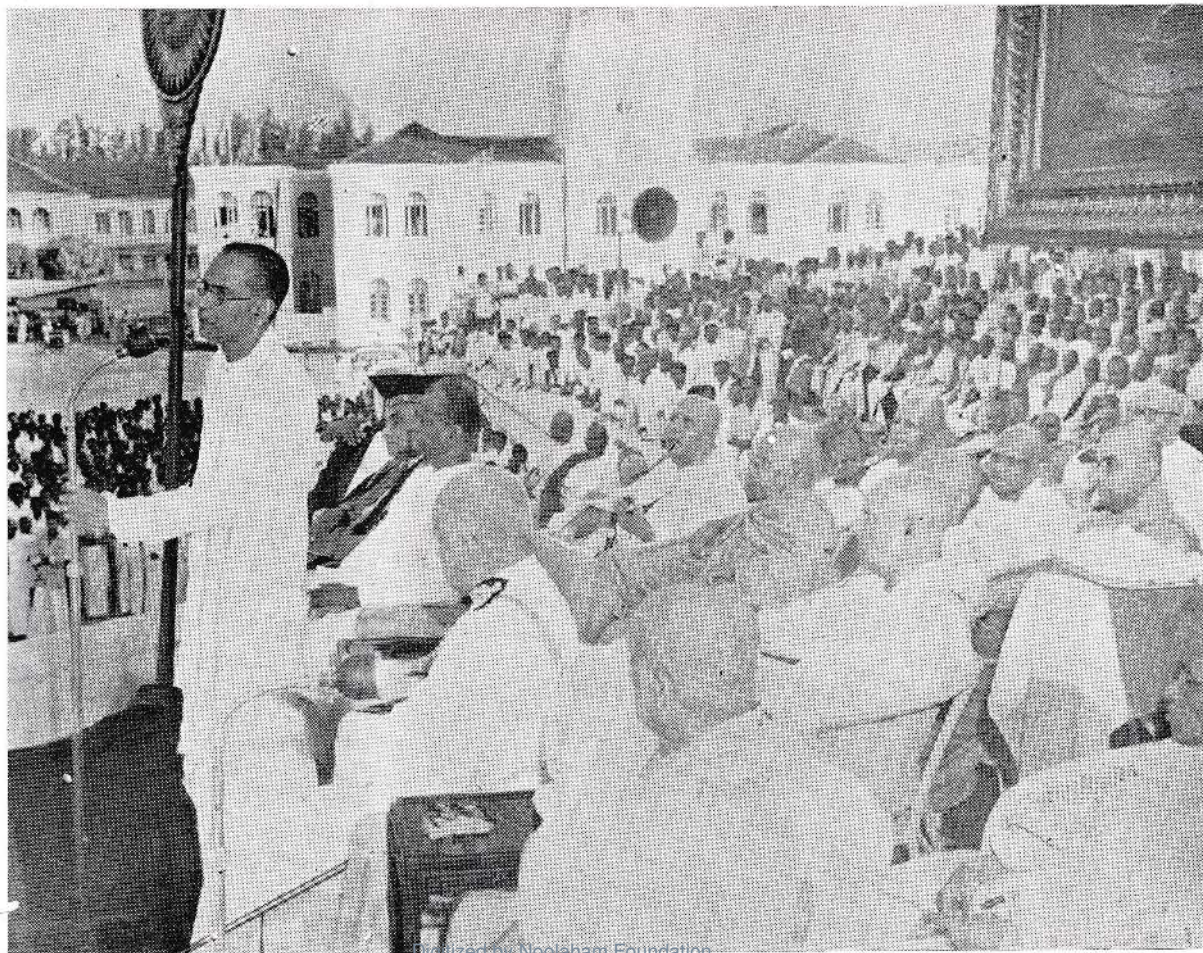


research, establish traditions which ensure the advancement of knowledge. Each University, however, has to modify its approach to the problems of knowledge according to the requirements of the people. The economic, scientific and cultural problems of a nation should receive the active attention of a University. I have no doubt that the Venerable Theras and other members of the staff of this University, having a first-hand knowledge of the needs and problems of this country, will address their minds to the fundamental question, and contribute towards the solution of the nation's problems. The Vidyodaya University should fulfil our hopes in this direction because, as the oldest of the

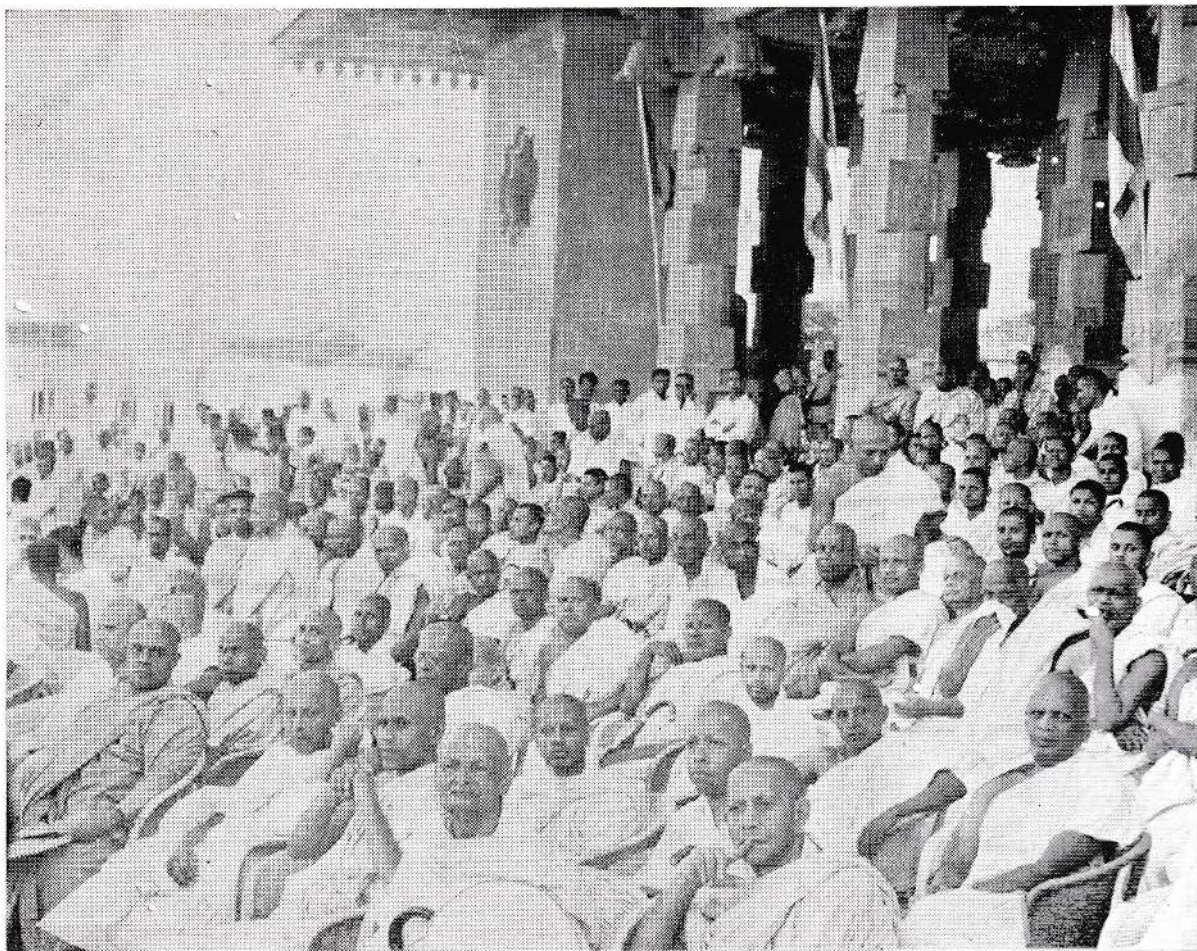
modern Pirivenas, it has preserved a very high standard of scholarship during the last eighty-six years.

"Venerable the Vice-Chancellor, Deans, Professors and members of the Staff, the rich Buddhist traditions you have inherited, the eighty-six years of experience in running this seat of oriental learning and your deep knowledge of the subjects you have specialised in, are your special advantages. I beg of you spare no pains to make this institution a University of which we all can rightly be proud. I wish you every success in your endeavours. I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon."

The Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike addressing the meeting which followed the inauguration ceremony of the Vidyodaya University at Torrington Square on February 18th







A section of the large gathering which attended the inauguration ceremony of the Vidyodaya University at Torrington Square on February 18th

The Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike said that that was a historic occasion and those rare occasions were the result of Ceylon's freedom. It was only in a free country that such ceremonies could be witnessed.

When Ceylon got independence on February 4, 1948, he had referred to the paper independence that this country had got. If independence was to be real they must enjoy other freedoms. One such freedom was freedom from ignorance.

#### **Lacked Encouragement**

THE Prime Minister said all through the years the pirivenas had maintained a high

standard of education. During the Colonial Government days the pirivenas did not get sufficient encouragement from the Government. It was to the advantage of the Colonial Government that the Pirivenas should cease to exist. When his Government came to power they had thought it necessary to improve the Pirivenas. In pursuance of that policy the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivena were raised to University status.

They should harmonise the ancient and the modern and bring out something which would suit the modern times. The pirivenas could admirably perform that work.

The Prime Minister then paid tributes to the founder of Vidyodaya Pirivena, the Ven.



Hikkaduwa Siri Sumangala Maha Thera and the principals who succeeded him. It was their foresight, their scholarship that enabled that pirivena to maintain its high standard as one of the most important centres of oriental learning and culture.

### Preserving Buddhism

MR. W. DAHANAYAKE, Minister of Education, said the founder of the Pirivena, the Ven. Hikkaduwa Siri Sumangala Maha Thera, was one of the five great men Ceylon had produced during the last 150 years. He said he expected much from the Vidyodaya University. It had an important function and that was to preserve Buddhism for the next two thousand years.

It should safeguard the culture and the language of the people and be friendly with

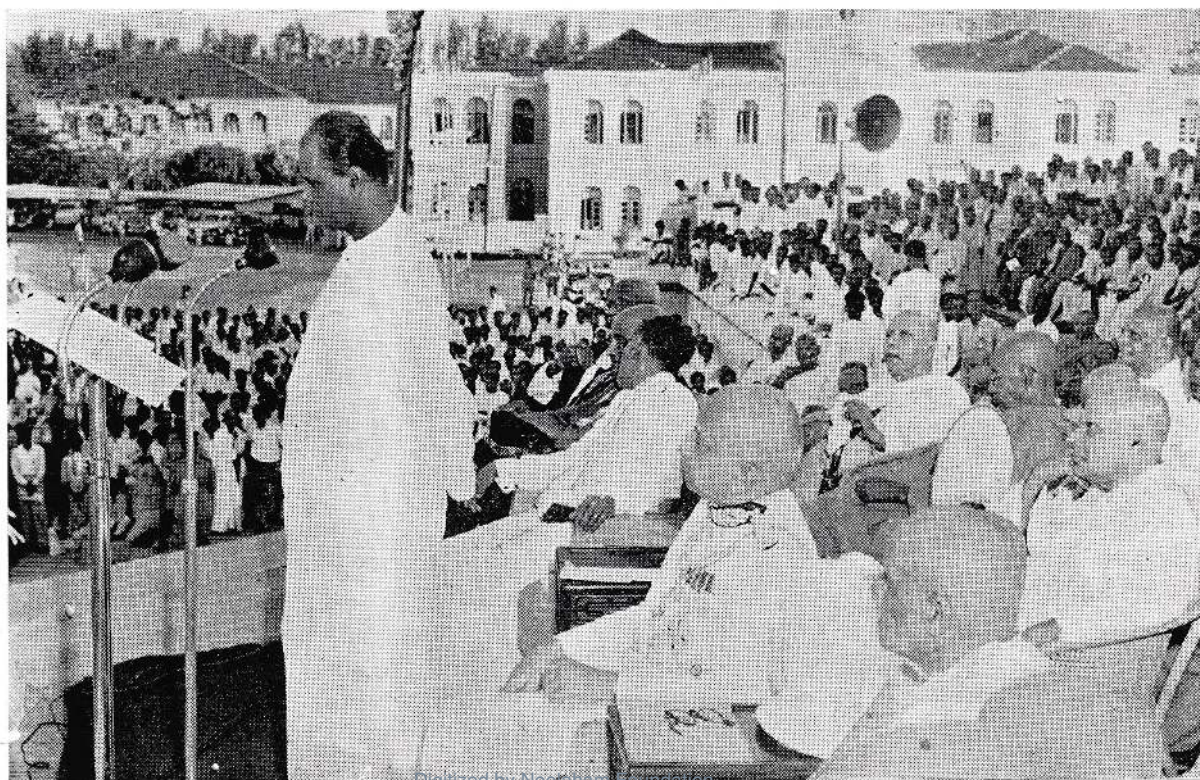
other religions. Another important function of the University was to stir national consciousness and give a lead on educational and cultural matters.

Mr. Dahanayake said the Vidyodaya and Vidyalandara Universities would go a long way to implement Sinhalese as the official language of the country. Even if the Government did not have sufficient funds, where assistance to the two Universities were concerned this Government would not hesitate to give the necessary assistance.

The Minister said they all should be thankful to the Prime Minister who was keen to raise the status of the two pirivenas.

The Ven. Welivetiya Soratha Nayaka Thero, Vice Chancellor of the University, said they were aware of the new and additional responsibilities and that they would maintain the traditions of the Vidyodaya Pirivena.

The Minister of Education Mr. W. Dahanayake addressing the gathering







The Minister of Agriculture and Food Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena addressing the Conference at Galle Face Hotel

## Minister's Address to F. A. O. Rice Conference

*THE following is the text of the opening address of the Honourable Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardena, at the F. A. O. Rice Conference held in Colombo on 16th February.*

It is both a pleasure and a privilege for me to be present here today at the opening Session of this Conference on "The Economic Aspects of Rice", which has been convened under the auspices of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. As Minister in charge of Food and Agriculture in Ceylon, it is my very pleasant duty to extend to all of you who have gathered together on this occasion a most warm and cordial welcome to this country.

There is hardly any problem of greater importance to the people of this region—and certainly no problem which deserves closer and more intensive study—than the problems connected with the production and

distribution of rice. In the countries of this region—in the lands of South and South East Asia and of the Far East—live more than 50 per cent. of the total population and nearly 70 per cent. of the agricultural population of the world. Throughout this region, rice is the predominant crop. More than 90 per cent. of the world's rice is produced in this area. For hundreds, nay, for thousands, of years, rice-cultivation has been the major occupation of the people. Their civilization has been traditionally a peasant civilization and their hopes and aspirations have, from time immemorial, been intimately bound up with the cultivation of rice. In recent years, and particularly in the last decade or two, the traditional forms and patterns of this peasant society have undergone radical changes. Freed at last from varying degrees of foreign control, the countries of this region have been fired by the determination to modernize and industrialize themselves as



rapidly as possible and thereby change the predominantly peasant character of their economics. But even after these changes have been wrought, rice-production will still remain a major factor—perhaps the most important single factor—in the lives and economies of the people of this region. In Japan, for instance, where the process of modernization and industrialization has proceeded apace for over 50 years, well over half the working population is still engaged in agriculture, and over 60 per cent. of the total agricultural land is still devoted to the cultivation of rice.

### Problem not Insoluble

THERE are many gloomy prophets who predict that the food and agricultural problems of this region of the world are insoluble. They point out that the region contains over half the world's population but only 15 per cent. of the world's agricultural land. They remind us of the staggering annual increase in population and dolefully predict that the rising population will inevitably outstrip the available resources of food. They then prescribe a single remedy—extensive birth-control as the sole panacea for all our ills. I cannot disagree too violently with these views. One has only to turn to the examples of China and Japan—the two countries with the highest rice-yields in the region—to refute these predictions. F. A. O. has reported that agricultural production in Japan, which was already extremely high before the War, is now 35 per cent. higher. In spite of a very considerable increase in population, Japan today imports less than one-third of the quantity of rice which she used to import before the War. In China, where, prior to the Revolution, productivity levels were considerably lower than in Japan, rice-production increased by 60 per cent. between 1949 and 1957. In 1958, the year of the “great leap forward”, rice production jumped up by a phenomenal 90 per cent. In other words, Chinese rice production has increased three-fold in a decade, from an estimated 33 million tons in 1949 to nearly 100 million tons last

year. How have these large increases been achieved? They are due, on the one hand, to the extensive application of modern scientific techniques to rice-production—the liberal and systematic use of fertilizer, the adoption of improved varieties of high-yielding paddy, the application of modern techniques of disease control, and so forth. But the increase in yield are equally, and perhaps in larger measure, due to the radical and far-reaching measures of land reform which have been undertaken in both China and Japan in recent years. The sweeping changes in land-tenure in China after the Revolution, involving as they did the complete abolition of landlordism and the rapid collectivization of over 200 million acres of agricultural land, have been the subject of world-wide comment. The radical land-reforms which took place in Japan immediately after the War—under the Land Reform Act of 1946—have attracted less attention. Under these reforms, absentee landlords were deprived of their ownership rights and tenant-cultivated lands were transferred to the ownership of tenant-farmers with the result that today 92 per cent. of all cultivated land in Japan is held by owner-farmers.

### Technique and Land Reform

CHINA and Japan, then, have shown us how extremely high rice-yields can be obtained by the application of modern techniques to rice-cultivation coupled with appropriate measures of land-reform. The disparity in yields between China and Japan, on the one hand, and the other rice-producing countries of the region on the other, are strikingly illustrated by the following figures:—

Country	Rice Yield
India	.. 7.3 cwt. per acre.
Pakistan	.. 7.4 cwt. per acre.
Ceylon	.. 8.5 cwt. per acre.
Burma	.. 8.6 cwt. per acre.
Indonesia	.. 8.7 cwt. per acre.
Japan	.. 26.0 cwt. per acre.
China	.. 24.0 cwt. per acre.



It is clear from these figures that in most of the rice-producing countries of this region, rice-yields are barely one-third of what they are in China and Japan. The scope for improvement is therefore immense. I am sure that organizations like F. A. O. will be able to help the other countries of the region to achieve comparable levels of productivity in the very near future. This is a task on the achievement of which the future progress and prosperity of Asia will largely depend.

We in Ceylon produce barely half a million tons of rice a year or less than one-third of one per cent. of the total world production. Insignificant though we are in the world rice picture, our problems in rice-production are typical in many ways of the problems of the region as a whole, and I feel therefore that I should outline to you briefly the steps which we have taken and the steps which we intend to take to increase the productivity of our rice-growing industry.

### Ceylon's Rice Industry

IN recounting the story of Ceylon's rice industry in the last few decades, there are three distinct phases to which I would like to refer.

First, there is the period prior to 1931, the year in which Ceylon achieved a measure of internal self-government. Prior to this date—in the period of direct colonial rule—the emphasis in Ceylon agriculture was almost exclusively on the development of the plantation industries. All efforts were directed and all energies concentrated on the improvement and expansion of the Island's tea, rubber and coconut plantations. Paddy cultivation during this period was the Cinderella of our agricultural industries and little progress was made either in increasing the area under paddy cultivation or in improving the yields of the lands already under paddy.

Then came the second phase. In the early nineteen-thirties, there was a fundamental change in the Island's land policy which was made on the recommendation of the 1929

Land Commission. Under the Government's new land policy, Crown land was no longer alienated to private capitalists for the expansion of plantation agriculture. Crown land was reserved almost exclusively for alienation to small-scale peasant cultivators. This new land policy, which was embodied in statutory form in the Land Development Ordinance of 1935, brought to an almost complete standstill the expansion of plantation agriculture in Ceylon. The emphasis in agriculture shifted from plantation crops to food crops and an increase in the production of rice became the primary aim of the Government's agricultural policy. But, in this second phase which lasted for nearly quarter of a century from 1931 to 1955, the Government's efforts to increase rice-production were concentrated mainly on increasing the area under paddy cultivation. Vast sums of money were spent on constructing major irrigation works, on clearing thousands of acres of jungle and settling peasant colonists in remote Colonization Schemes in the so-called Dry Zone of the Island. By comparison, the money and effort expended on improving the yields of the Island's existing paddy fields was negligible. No systematic effort was made to apply modern scientific techniques to paddy cultivation and, even more important, no effort at all was made to sweep away the out-moded systems of land tenure which acted as a powerful brake on the efforts of peasants to increase production.

The third phase began in 1956. Grave doubts were by now being expressed on the wisdom of spending enormous sums of money on large-scale irrigation and land-development schemes. Could not this money, or at least a major part of it, be better utilized in increasing the yields of paddy lands already under cultivation? Would land development in itself ever solve the food problem or the employment problem in this country? Foreign observers of the Ceylon economic scene added their share of doubts on the wisdom of Ceylon's land and agricultural policy. Cambridge Economist





The F. A O. Conference on Rice in Session

Professor Kaldor, for instance, has said that "large scale schemes for the development of food production by means of irrigation schemes are bound to be very wasteful. . . ; in the long run the employment problem can only be successfully tackled through industrialization and large-scale projects associated with industrial development and not through agricultural colonization schemes."

### Present Policy

FROM 1956 onwards, therefore, while not altogether abandoning our old land policy, we are devoting much more of our time, money and effort to increasing the yields of our existing paddy land. Here are some of the steps we have taken to achieve this end:—

First, I would refer to the Paddy Lands Act of 1958, which introduced important measures of agrarian reform into this country. Under this Act, peasant cultivators will at last be able to break away

from the semi-feudal system of land-tenure which has for so long kept paddy cultivation in Ceylon in a state of almost complete stagnation. By providing security of tenure for the tenant-cultivator and ensuring freedom from exploitation and harrassment by the landlord, the Act provides cultivators with incentives to adopt modern techniques and thereby improve their yields. The Act also provides an organization to foster and co-ordinate agrarian activities in each village area and prevent the neglect or abuse of tenurial or cultivation rights. This Act was already been brought into operation in certain districts of the Island and will soon be extended to cover the entire country. I must emphasise, however, that the steps already taken under the Paddy Lands Act are only a first measure of land reform. In countries like Ceylon where arable land is limited and land-holdings are measured in fractions of an acre, one



of the chief obstacles to efficient production is the smallness of each production unit. The next step therefore is to consider whether paddy production in Ceylon cannot be more efficiently organized on a co-operative or collective basis. The Paddy Lands Act provides the necessary machinery for this purpose, if and when the need arises.

Next, there are the vigorous steps we are taking to apply the results of modern scientific research to paddy cultivation in Ceylon. We are doing all we can to encourage the widespread use of fertilizer on paddy lands, to induce paddy cultivators to use the best available strains of pureline paddy and to popularize the latest methods of weed and pest control. The intensive use of fertilizer undoubtedly provides the best and quickest method of increasing yields. I therefore attach the greatest importance to this part of the programme. We are now subsidising fertilizer used on paddy land to the extent of 50 per cent. But even with this subsidy, Ceylon's paddy industry still uses only one-fifteenth of the fertilizer per acre which is used on our tea lands. Ceylon's tea industry, incidentally, provides an excellent example of the remarkable yield increases which the use of fertilizer can provide. In the last 20 years, Ceylon's production of tea has been increased by nearly 70 per cent.—an increase due almost entirely to the more liberal application of fertilizer. I am sure that even larger increases are possible in the case of paddy.

Measures to increase agricultural production will be of little avail to peasant farmers, unless the problems of *rural credit* and the *marketing* of agricultural produce are tackled in a bold and systematic fashion. We in Ceylon are trying to tackle these two closely-connected problems through the media of co-operative institutions. The history of the Co-operative Movement in Ceylon has

not been altogether a happy one. We are entire co-operative structure of the country. The varied types of Co-operative Societies in existence are being replaced by a single Multipurpose Co-operative Society for each village.

Through this network of Multipurpose Co-operative Societies will be made all purchases of paddy from peasant cultivators under the Government's Guaranteed Price Scheme. I should mention, incidentally, that we in Ceylon are paying our producers the highest price for paddy—Rs. 12 a bushel—of any rice-producing country in Asia. Through these Multipurpose Co-operatives, too, will be channelled all the rural credit which peasant farmers require for their agricultural operations. At the apex of this credit structure will be a new Co-operative Development Bank, with very wide powers and functions and strong Government support, which will supervise the operation of the existing District Co-operatives Banks and the whole island-wide machinery for providing rural credit.

Closely allied to the problem of rural credit is the relief of rural distress resulting from crop failures, whether caused by the vagaries of the weather on the one hand or crop diseases on the other. We in Ceylon have just introduced, in a few selected areas, a pilot scheme of Crop Insurance to meet this important problem. It will not be long before the Scheme is extended to cover the whole of Ceylon.

### International Trade in Rice

I HAVE outlined to you briefly the problems with which we are faced in the sphere of rice production in Ceylon and the steps we are taking to meet these problems. This Conference is, however, concerned not only with the problems of *rice production*, but also and perhaps more so, with the problems of *the international trade in rice*.



The quantity of rice which enters world trade is, of course, only a minute fraction of the total world production. Barely 6 million tons a year, or roughly 4 per cent. of total world production is at present traded in the world's markets. Although the quantity is so small, the international trade in rice is a matter of vital importance to many of the countries of this region. We in Ceylon, for instance, import nearly half our total requirements of rice, and rice is by far the most important single item in our import bill. The position in Malaya is not far different. On the other side of the picture are the exporting countries to whom, too, the international trade in rice is of vital importance. Rice accounts for nearly three-fourths of Burma's total exports and rather less than one-half of Thailand's total export trade. Any disruption or instability in the world rice trade can therefore seriously affect the economics of many countries of this region.

Unfortunately, the world market in rice has been notoriously unstable, especially in the post-war period. The price of Burma rice which averaged £6.8 per ton in the five years before the War, steadily increased in the post-war period to reach the phenomenal peak of £60 per ton in 1953. There can surely be few major commodities in world trade which were selling after the War at ten times the pre-war price. From the 1953 peak of £60, the price of rice rapidly declined within four years to barely half this figure. Drought and crop failures slightly raised the price again in 1958, but the abundant harvests that have been recently gathered promise a fall of prices again in 1959.

I am aware that F. A. O. has for some years been concerned with this continuing instability in the international trade in rice. As far back as August, 1955, the Organization published a detailed Report on possible measures of stabilization. One proposal was an Agreement on the lines of the existing International Wheat Agreement under which exporting countries would agree to make

available certain quantities of rice each year at a price below a stipulated ceiling; importing countries would, on their part, agree to purchase certain quantities of rice at prices above a stipulated floor price. A more far-reaching proposal involving the maintenance of an international "buffer stock" of rice—somewhat on the lines of the International Tin Agreement—was also considered. These and similar proposals will, of course, require much closer study before we can determine whether they are desirable, and if desirable, whether they are feasible. I have no doubt that F. A. O. will keep this important problem under close and constant review.

### General Problems

APART from the wide and general problems of price stabilization, there are, of course, numerous detailed problems in the rice trade which require international attention. Problems of grading rice and establishing internationally-accepted standard grades, and problems relating to the packing, transport and storage of rice, are ones that immediately come to mind. These are technical problems on which I am hardly competent to comment. But I see from your Agenda that you will be discussing several of these problems in detail and I am sure that your discussions will lead to several useful decisions.

Before I conclude there is just one other matter to which I would like to refer. We are gathered together here at an International Conference to discuss rice. But the world's largest producer of rice and the world's largest potential exporter is absent. Surely this is like staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. The absurdity and futility of excluding China from the World's Councils can nowhere be more apparent than in a Conference of this nature. I hope and trust that before F. A. O. next convenes a meeting on rice, the People's Republic of China would have taken her rightful place in the world community of nations.



# The International Meditation Centre

WILLIAM PEIRIS

THE Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, inaugurated recently an international centre for meditation, a very important thing for Buddhists who form the vast majority of the people of Ceylon. It is established in ideal surroundings in Colombo's principal residential area—Cinnamon Gardens. The spacious land on which it stands has been gifted by the present government in pursuance of its policy of helping to restore Buddhism to its rightful place which had been denied for centuries during foreign rule. Conducted by the Lanka Vipassana Bhavana Samitiya, the centre provides all that is conducive to meditation, and welcomes Buddhists of all nations to practise meditation there. The Chief Justice of Burma, U. Chau Htoon, who is the current year's President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, speaking at the ceremonial opening of the centre, paid a high tribute to the Ceylon government for its policy of giving Buddhism its due place.

The Prime Minister declared that he had made it a practice to meditate for at least five minutes every morning. This practice helped him to solve knotty problems of government, to be patient with unreasonable criticism levelled against him and to work for the welfare of everybody.

*"Mind is the forerunner of all conditions: they are mind-made. Mind is chief. Practise meditation, brethren. A brother who meditates knows a thing as it really is,"* says the Buddha. Meditation is the only way to develop and perfect the mind. The perfection of the mind leads to keen insight into the nature of phenomena. Insight leads to the cessation of Sorrow—the goal of the Path the Buddha has pointed out. Sorrow, its origin, its ending and the Path leading to its ending are called the Four Noble Truths which

constitute the central doctrine of Buddhism. The Path has eight factors—right understanding, right mindedness, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. It is called the Noble Eightfold Path.

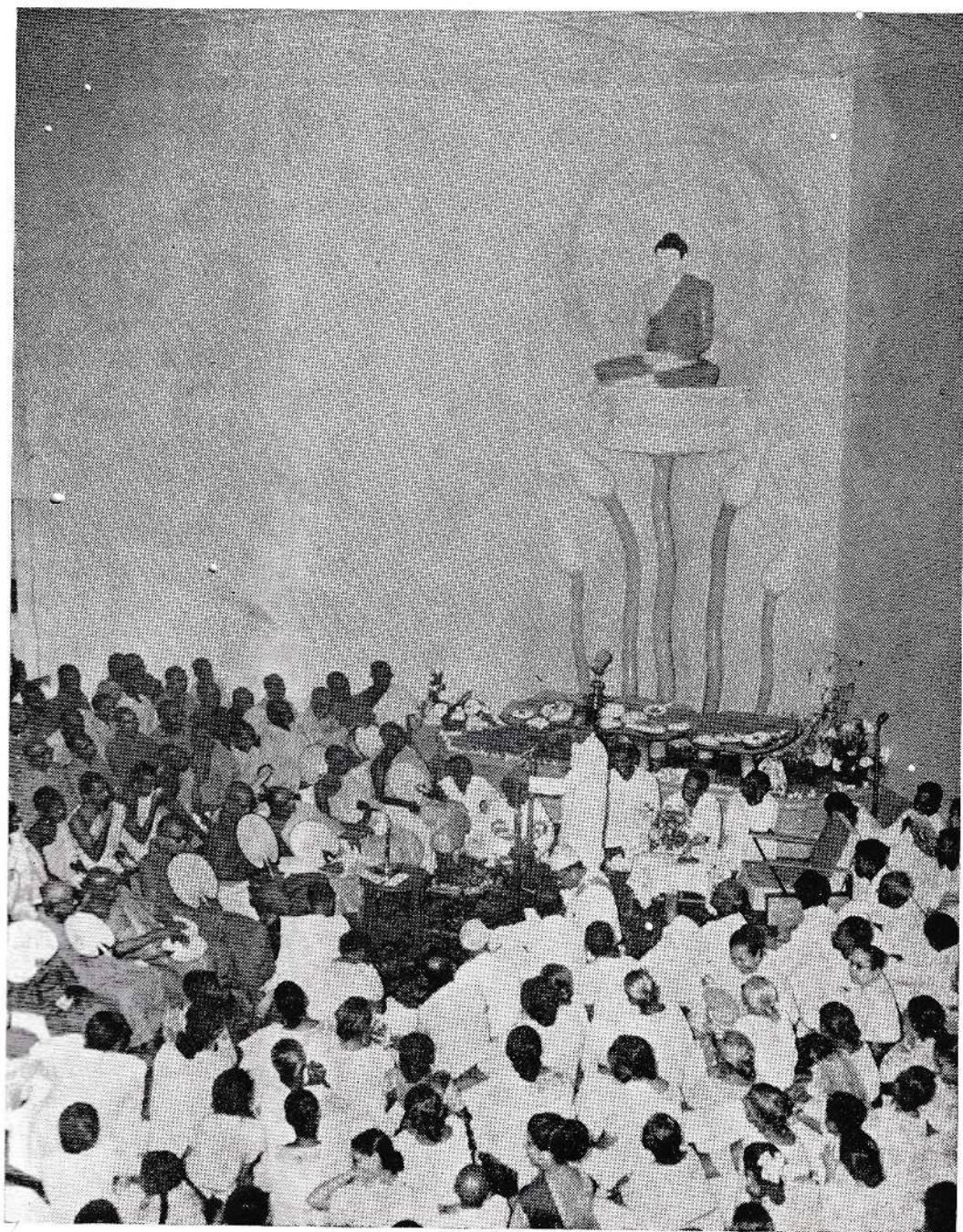
The Buddha says there are two things conducive to knowledge—tranquility and insight. When tranquility is developed, mind is developed. When mind is developed, passion is dispelled. When insight is developed, right understanding is developed. When right understanding is developed, ignorance is dispelled. The mind that is soiled with passion is not freed. When there is soiling through ignorance, right understanding is not developed. Thus through unstaining of passion there is freedom of mind, and through unstaining of ignorance there is freedom of right understanding.

The type of meditation that leads to tranquility was known to Indian ascetics before the birth of Siddhartha Gotama who became the Buddha. Gotama practised it in striving for Buddhahood or Full Enlightenment, but found it inadequate to reach his goal. He strove on and developed insight which led to Full Enlightenment.

## Subjects of Meditation

THERE are forty subjects of meditation in which the mind may be set to work for developing tranquility through absorption. Unlike in auto-hypnosis in which the subject is in an artificial sleep more or less unconscious, in absorption the mind attains the acme of awareness. Of the forty subjects of meditation, ten are devices like a circle made of dawn-coloured clay; ten are impurities—corpses in various stages of decomposition; ten are called Recollections—recollections of





The Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike speaking at the opening ceremony at the International Meditation Centre



the virtues of the Buddha and the Order of his holy disciples, the merits of the doctrine, mindfulness of respiration, cognition of the attributes of peace of mind and the like—; four are called sublime states—loving-kindness, compassion, appreciative joy and equanimity—; four are called formless states—infinite space, infinite consciousness, nothingness and neither perception nor non-perception ; One Idea, that is, the perception of the loathsomeness of food ; One Analysis, that is, the analysis of any compound into the four primary elements.

The prerequisite for success in meditation is good conduct, without which, the books say, meditation becomes not only unprofitable but dangerous. Dizzy heights may be reached only by those firmly established in virtue ; madness lines in the way of those lacking in morality.

Quietude is another essential thing for successful meditation, for noise irritates all the controlled wayward thoughts. The practiser is therefore advised to select a suitable spot in a jungle, a sheltered valley, a rock-cave, a cemetery or some other quiet place.

The cross-legged position—left foot on right thigh, and right foot on left thigh—is recommended as the most suitable for meditation. But a chair is not ruled out. Any convenient position may be adopted, but it must fulfil three conditions : comfort, a straight back and easy breathing.

The practiser is advised to take his food, rest awhile, wash his face and feet, trim his hair, get into clean comfortable clothes, thrust back distracting thoughts of business, sickness, relatives, worry and doubt and sit on the prepared seat facing east. Next, he is advised to wish happiness to all living beings and to reflect on the incomparable virtues of the Buddha, the doctrine and the holy disciples, and then to direct his mind to the object of his meditation.

## Tranquility-Meditation

FOR the purpose of tranquility-meditation, human beings are divided into six classes—the lustful, the hot-tempered, the easily-deluded, the self-confident, the quick-witted and the discursive-minded. The practiser is advised to select a subject that suits his temperament, preferably under the guidance of a competent teacher. But as he goes on he must rely upon his own experience as his guide. The lustful person is advised to concentrate on the various stages of decomposition of the corpse. The four sublime states are the subjects recommended for the hot-tempered person. Respiration-mindfulness is the fit subject for both the easily-deluded person and the discursive-minded person. The self-confident person should concentrate on the first six Recollections. Mindfulness of death, cognition of the attributes of peace of mind and the One Analysis are the suitable subjects for the quick-witted person. The rest of the subjects are suitable for all. The easily-deluded person should use a wide device and the discursive-minded person a small one as object of meditation.

The tranquility-meditation has three stages, the Last of which is called *Jhana* (absorption). *Jhana* has nine levels, five of which belong to the world of form, and the other four to the formless realm. The first five levels may be attained by Respiration-mindfulness and the ten devices. The other four levels which belong to the formless realm may be reached by concentration on the four immaterial states.

The culmination of the system of meditation practised by Indian ascetics in the pre-Buddha era was the attainment of the four levels which belong to the formless realm. Gotama discovered that this attainment led to a cul-de-sac and not to his goal. One who attains any of these four levels, the Buddha says, is, upon death, reborn in the formless realm. When the force of the concentration that elevated him to that realm is exhausted, he dies, and is born again in this earth. As



the Buddhist's goal is the cessation of re-birth—*Nibbana*—concentration on the four immaterial states is a waste of time and energy.

On attaining four levels of *Jhana* in the group that belongs to the world of form, the practiser may, if he so desires, develop supernatural powers like levitation, clairvoyance and remembrance of past lives. But these do not help him to reach *Nibbana*. The attainments of tranquility-meditation, though supernatural, are yet mundane.

### Full Enlightenment

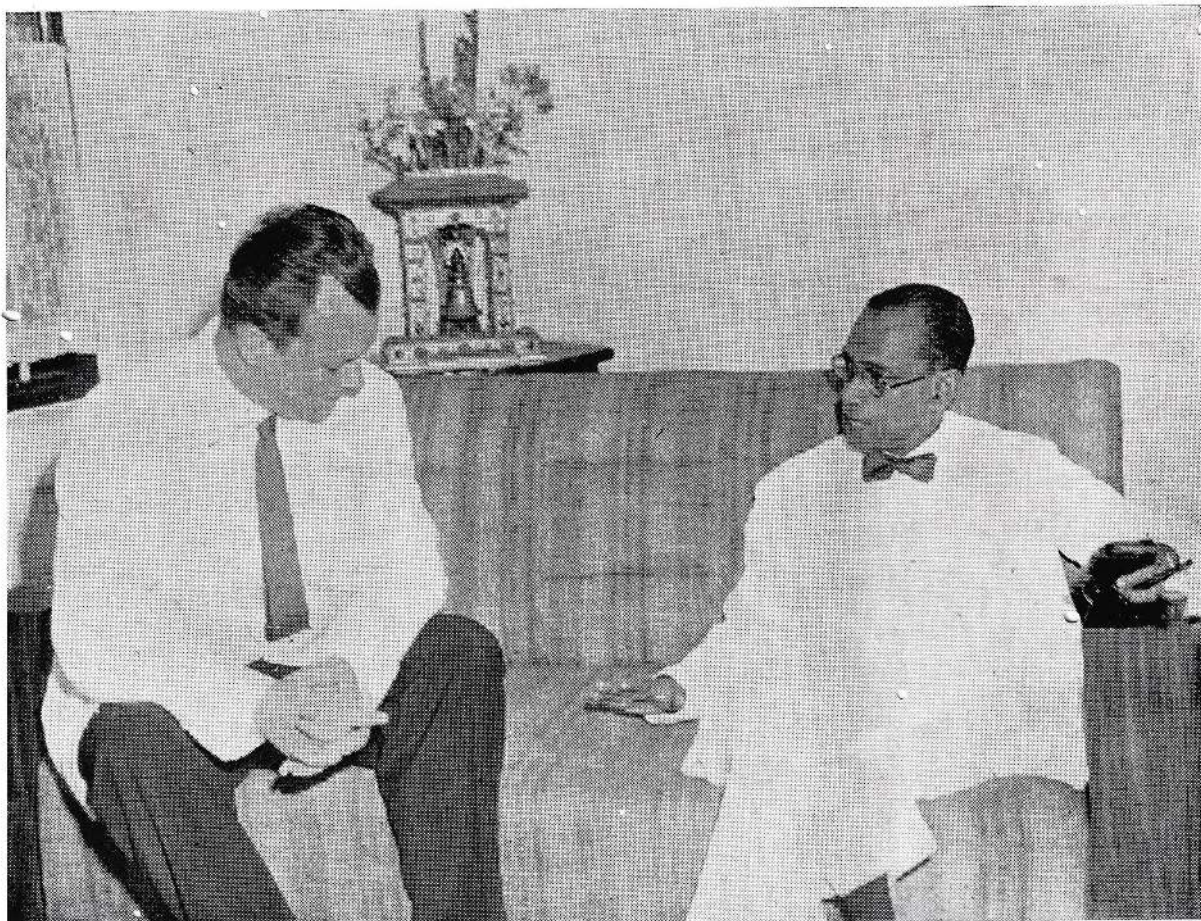
GOTAMA himself discovered the system of meditation that leads to insight. It is this method that led to his Full Enlightenment. What is this insight that the Buddhist has to strive for? It is, the books say, the threshold of the hypercosmic: it leads from the cosmic to the hypercosmic, the Changeless Peace.

Now, the practiser who has attained four levels of *Jhana* in the group that belongs to the world of form may switch on to meditation that leads to insight, using his keenly concentrated mind as his vehicle. He directs his mind to penetrate the nature as "things as they really are" by meditating on transience, suffering and non-self, *anicca, dukkha, anatta*), and in a fleeting moment of insight gains his first glimpse into *Nibbana* with the full knowledge that he has entered the first of the four stages of the path that leads to his goal. This experience is called the Entering of the Stream. He has now discarded for ever false views (about ego-entity), doubts (about the Buddha, the doc-

trine and the Order of holy disciples) and belief in rules and rites (belief that the observance of these leads to salvation). No more will he be born in a state of woe. His path is open and free. "*Greater than kingship, greater than god-state, is the Fruit of this first step of sainthood,*" says the text.

For the attainment of the supramundane, by the Insight Method, the practiser has to come back from full concentration to a point called "neighbourhood concentration". From here he proceeds, realising once more the ills of life, and attains the second stage. He is called Once Returner at this stage, for he will be reborn only once more in the sensual world. He retrospects and sees that his attainment is yet incomplete, and continues his concentration. As he goes on, he realises the ills of existence clearer than before, and discards sensual pleasures and ill-will. At this moment all the factors of the path appear unitedly in his mind, and in a flash of insight he attains the third stage. He is now called a Never Returner, for, if he dies before he reaches his ultimate goal, he will not be reborn in this world. He has yet to overcome a few more mental depravities like pride, and continue his effort. When he eradicates the last vestige of these mental defilements, he attains the last stage. He has now perfected seven states of purity—the purity of virtue, the purity of mind, the purity of views, the purity of the transcending of doubt, the purity of the discernment of the true path, the purity of progressive discernment, and the purity of insight itself. He has destroyed, once for all, the craving for existence. There is no re-birth and suffering for him. He is an *Arahat* (saint). He lives only to be of pure service to frail mortals.





The Mayor of West Berlin, Herr W. Brandt, calls on the Prime Minister while on his goodwill visit to Ceylon

## Foreign Affairs

THE Conference of the Consultative Sub-Committee of the F. A. O. on the economic aspects of rice was held at the Galle Face Hotel, Colombo, from February 16, to February 24. About forty delegates from twenty-eight countries participated in the Conference. The inaugural address was given by the Minister of Food and Agriculture, the Hon. D. P. R. Gunawardena (text of speech on page 20). This conference was preceded by a meeting of the Expert Group on rice grading and standardisation.

### Care Gifts Medical Library Books

THE Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE) gifted four

sets of medical library books to the Ministry of Health on Friday, February 13.

Mr. Milo A. Kamstra, Chief of the Care Programme in Ceylon, handed-over the books to the Minister of Health, Mrs. Wimala Wijewardena, at a ceremony at the ministry of Health.

The gift consists of—

- (i) a medical library of 53 books for the Medical Faculty of the University of Ceylon;
- (ii) a public health and nurses training library of 52 books for the Central Public Health Nurses School;



- (iii) a public health and nurses training library of 52 books for the Nurses Training School at Kalutara;
- (iv) a set of 33 Technical books for the Ceylon Nurses' Association.

### Atomic Energy Team in Ceylon

A "Preliminary Assistance" mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency arrived in Ceylon in February at the invitation of the Government of Ceylon.

The team, which consisted of experts in the fields of medical and agricultural applications of radio-isotopes and nuclear research, made a survey of conditions and possibilities in the use of nuclear energy in Ceylon.

Shortly before their departure from the Island Dr. Georges Bigotte of the team told

a press conference that there was every possibility of finding deposits of uranium in Ceylon, especially in the Central and Southern Provinces.

He said that Ceylon and Madagascar belonged to the same geological cake and now Madagascar was producing uranium from uranothrinite from which that active radio-active material could be got. He therefore felt that uranium could be produced in Ceylon too.

Dr. Bigotte, however, pointed out that could not be done overnight and would take sometime. He said that he had discussed the work done by the Mineralogist Department in that direction with the Government Mineralogist and he thought that it was quite reasonable.

The Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE) gifted four sets of medical library books to the Ministry of Health on February 13, 1959. Picture shows the Minister of Health, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene, and Mr. Milo A. Kamstra, Chief of the CARE Program in Ceylon, examining one of the books at the presentation ceremony.





He said that two experts could be sent to Ceylon from the Atomic Energy Agency to develop that project if the Ceylon Government asked for their services.

The team had also made a survey of the possibilities of using atomic energy in different fields such as industry, agriculture and medicine.

During their stay in Ceylon they had discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. Philip Gunawardene, the Minister of Industries and Fisheries, Mr. William de Silva and the Minister of Transport and Works, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake.

On their return the team would submit a report to the International Atomic Energy Agency, which would transmit it to the Ceylon Government. The members of the team were, Dr. W. Grigorieff (leader), Dr. H. Belcher, Dr. Georges Bigotte, Mr. A. Dayal, Prof. Oleg. Kazatschkovsky, Dr. Harold Smith, Dr. C. Beaumont and Dr. F. Fikler.

### Representatives Present Credentials

Their Excellencies Dato Samuel Chelvasingam MacIntyre, Malayan High Commissioner-designate to Ceylon, and Sithu Dr. Htin Aung, Burmese Minister-designate to Ceylon, presented their Credentials to His Excellency the Governor-General at "Queen's House" on Monday, February 23.

### Distinguished Archæologist

ON 9th February King George Hall saw one of the biggest crowds it ever held when the world-famous Archæologist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, lectured to the Public of Ceylon on "Digging up the Past". He had been invited to Ceylon by the British Council. The Chairman, Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Director, National Museums of Ceylon, in introducing him stated that mankind was divisible into a small band who produced knowledge and the rest of the world that enjoyed the benefits therefrom, and that Sir Mortimer ranks prominently in the first category. His fame

as an Archæologist was well known, but the fact that he had distinguished himself on the battlefields of two World Wars was not known except to a very few.

Sir Mortimer commenced his lecture by producing the latest book on the Stone Age humans of Ceylon, and stated that he had decided to recast the general lines of his lecture after reading about the recent discoveries of outstanding interest that had been made by the distinguished Chairman whose earlier finds were well known to him.

He then proceeded to describe the evolution of modern man from ape-like forms to those with heavy brow-ridges, stooping shoulders and slouching gait. He was very interested to see the specimens that had been recently discovered in Ceylon, who like some other Stone Age races had been proven to bump each other off, quite frequently, and even eat each other up, which he noted with relief, was not all the practice of the modern inhabitants of Ceylon.

He mentioned the evolution of man and the man-apes of Africa such as Australopithecus which was smaller than man, but walked upright and knew how to produce fire, which was one of the first achievements of man. The other was the discovery of how to produce food by domesticating animals and by agriculture, and the other was the harnessing of external resources. He thought that the domestication of animals might have occurred at oases, where the thirst-ridden young could easily be captured, and he thought that Jericho was originally such a site. He dealt with the recent discovery for determining the age of any organic matter by assessing the ratio of radio active carbon in it, which was known as the Carbon 14 Test. It was in 1949 that Sir Mortimer was in the Common Room, Christ Church, Oxford, when Sir Winston Churchill described the then new discovery of the Americans namely the Carbon 14 Test. It is this same Test, which had been utilised by the Chairman in assessing the age of his Stone Age skeletons.







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