A REPORT ON

CEYLON AFFAIRS

COMPILED FOR THE

MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

by

S. E. THE GRAND CHEVALIER
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TRIBUTES TO THE AUTHOR

"A credit and an ornament to Ceylon."
— THE HON. MR. D. S. SENANAYAKE, Leader of the State Council

"...Padikara Mudaliyar is a good man, I know him well. ...olitician, but he has more influence and power than ...s of Ceylon. If I am abandoned by all and if ...Padikara Mudaliyar on my side, I shall be content."
—SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, Ex-Premier of Madras

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DEDICATED TO THE
Cherished Memory
of
My Dear Departed Parents
who by precept and example en-
kindled in me the fire of true
patriotism and love of humanity;
who, in life was my consolation and
in death became my inspiration
Requiescat in Pace.

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A REPORT ON CEYLON

Compiled especially for the members of the British Parliament and other political leaders in England

By

S. E. The Grand Chevalier, Nanayakkara Raja Wasala Appuhamilage Don Arthur Silva Wijayasinghe, G.C.H.S., G.C.S.S., Etc., Etc., The Padikara Mudaliyar of Ceylon

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INTRODUCTION

My last statement was issued on the fall of Singapore, the bastion of British prestige in the East. In that statement I gave briefly the causes that led up to it. Singapore, Malaya, Hong Kong and Burma have all fallen at one blow and are lost to Britain at present.

Sir Reginald Dorman Smith, Governor of Burma speaking publicly in India on the 17th July, 1943 about the fall of Burma, deploring lack of men and equipment too, stated of the Burmese: "The Ministers dared not in public adopt a pro-war policy." The Ministers who came in by the popular vote reflected the mind of the people, who were not enamoured with British rule and policy. What is true of Burma is also true of the other Colonies as well.

Of the British Empire in this region, only India and Ceylon yet remain to Britain. Had my recommendations regarding British-Indian and Colonial policy made in good time, having long foreseen that disaster was approaching, been carried out in the spirit and letter of my publications placed before Parliament, I feel that the situation this side would have been quite different to what it is today. But British Statesmen will only learn from bitter experience! Their cardinal and fatal error has been the great delay in responding to legitimate grievances and aspirations of the people entrusted to their care. Prevention is always better than cure! It would be an impossible task for any enemy of Britain, to conquer, retain or govern any part of British territory for any length of time, if by a wise policy as I had recommended, Britain had sought to build up her empire in the hearts and affection of peoples under British rule by a right attitude towards them ; throwing a sop here and a sop there and depending on her might for the rest, was not a wise policy ; there is no real strength to any government if the people are not on the side of that Government. This fact is illustrated in a very marked manner by the fall of the above mentioned territories so easily to Japan. Speaking generally, the apathy of the people who inhabited them was so collosal that to a large majority of those peoples, the change of Government meant only a change of masters ! It is no use hiding this fact and consoling oneself with other excuses. The facing of facts is the beginning of wisdom!

I trust therefore, what I state here, especially as regards Ceylon will have the desired effect, now that the lesson has been learnt by bitter experience and it will not meet with that apathy this time, on the part of the British people themselves, as my previous attempts at rousing them up to a sense of their obligations and duty had met with.

Time is short and events are moving fast.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

GENERAL HOSPITAL, COLOMBO

" THE administration and management of the General Hospital, Colombo is a matter of great public interest, nevertheless, there is no apparent willingness on the part of the authorities to establish a public body to guide its policy and control. As a result of the criticisms and representations made by various public bodies regarding the urgency for a Board of Management, the Minister of Health, improving on the precedent set up by the Minister of Education, has set up a Board of Management consisting of Visiting Physicians and Surgeons and others of the regular staff with the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services as Chairman. This is a curious way of reacting to public criticism. The public condemned the practices obtaining in the hospital, the shortcomings of the staff, the absence of efficiency, the callousness of the attendant staff and the unsatisfactory control and care of the food supplied to patients. What was needed was a public body constituted from among the public, the classes for which the hospital caters and representatives of ratepayers and trade union organisations. What has been done is to constitute a Board of Management from among those who carry out the various duties at the hospital. This is an example of making the accused, judges, in their own cause. They are now in a better position to exploit the public.

A charge is constantly made that some at least of the Visiting Surgeons and Physicians make a racket through the opportunities before them of fleecing patients and utilizing the wards as their private nursing homes. It would appear that patients are admitted to various wards on chits

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issued by these officers who do so because they have been previously consulted and a fee paid. Such patients get preferential treatment. Nurses and attendants give special attention to patients admitted in this manner to the neglect of others and even of more deserving cases. All rules of the hospital are set at naught to satisfy the claims of such Doctors for patients sent in by them. This practice is of daily occurrence. If statistics are called for regarding the number of patients admitted in this manner it will provide an insight into the character and iniquity of this racket practised by the leading lights of a noble profession.

The methods adopted for the admission of patients leave room for improvement. Patients should be admitted without loss of time. Instances of neglect, delay casualness and callousness are of daily occurrence. What has the New Board of Management done to remove this scandal ?

Another cause for complaint is the unsatisfactory control of the food served to patients. Recently a public committee commented adversely on the existing practices. Whatever improvements have been introduced it is evident that the problem has not been tackled. There are indications that large stocks of food are removed or pilfered or made use of by others than the patients. There is wastage and loss as also the practice of having one diet in the prescription but something quite different given to the patients.

These abuses and malpractices will continue to exist until the authorities appoint a Board of Management in which the public have confidence and which is constituted from people who are not on the staff of the hospital itself. The Board should be constituted of elected representatives of the ratepayers, trade unions, workers' organisations and public bodies like the Municipal Council and L.C.P.A., Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Chamber, Social Service League with a representative each of the medical nursing and the attendant staff and private medical practitioners in the city.

The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services can continue to be the Chairman with a full time Civil Servant as Secretary.''

('' The Young Ceylon,'' January, 1943)

APPENDIX II

To

The Hon'ble
The Minister of Health,
Colombo.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a memorial signed by a representative section of the Public who are qualified to express an opinion on a subject affecting the welfare of the patients of this second largest hospital in the Island.

Whilst commending this request to your usual and earnest consideration I would be thankful for an early decision to enable His Lordship the Bishop of Kandy to make the necessary arrangements and also for

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information as to the probable strength of the personnel required to equip the wards referred to in the memorial.

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) L. H. S. PEIRIS

Kandy, March, 1943.

The Honourable the Minister of Health,
Colombo.

Sir,

We the undersigned representing the public of Kandy, have the honour to bring to your notice the following facts :—

The patients receiving treatment at the Kandy Government Hospital have often made representations to us of the inadequate attention paid to them whilst undergoing treatment due to the Institution being under-staffed with qualified nurses.

The unofficial Visitors have for years represented matters but the situation appears to be unaltered.

The condition of the Infectious Diseases Hospital is beyond criticism ; not only is this Institution under-staffed with qualified nursing sisters, but also the condition of the buildings is quite unsuitable for the treatment of such serious cases as adult Diphtheria which are admitted here.

We are of opinion that a section of the Institution comprising the following wards, Nos. 4, 10, 6, 11A, 3A and B and 5 be given over to the supervision of a Religious Sisterhood. This arrangement will to a great extent solve the dearth of qualified nurses and will also to some extent be a saving to Government.

We need hardly amplify our suggestion by comparisons with the self-sacrificing services rendered by the Religious Sisters at Ragama, Nawalapitiya, Kurunegala, and the General Hospital, Colombo.

His Lordship the Bishop of Kandy has undertaken to obtain the services of the Religious Sisters, and until adequate accommodation could be provided in the New Hospital buildings, they will be satisfied with a rented house in the vicinity of the Hospital.

The Signatories to the Memorial included

1. A. C. L. Ratwatte, M.M.C., Deputy Mayor, 1942.
2. P. B. Ranaraja, Proctor S.C., President, Ratepayers' Association, Kandy.
3. M. A. S. Marikar, M.M.C., Deputy Mayor, Kandy.
4. N. Canaganayagam, M.M.C., J.P., Mayor, Kandy 1942
5. T. B. Ratwatte, Diyawadana Nilame (Custodian of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha and head of the Buddhist Laity of Ceylon).
6. W. A. B. Soysa, Mayor, Kandy.
7. T. A. de Silva, Baptist Minister.
8. H. Ludovici, Retired Inspecting Medical Officer, C.P.
9. Revd. Lakdasa de Mel, Anglican Minister (Vicar of St. Paul's., Kandy).

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10. C. B. Walgampaya, Advocate, Kandy.
11. N. Coomaraswamy, Proctor, S.C. Kandy.
12. A. E. Spaar, Retired Medical Superintendent, Kandy Hospital.
13. Dr. Herbert Beven, Medical Practitioner, Kandy.
14. N. I. Lee, Crown Proctor, Kandy.
15. Hadji M. Usoof Ismail, J.P.
16. L. H. S. Peiris, Barrister-at-Law.
17. M. A. M. Habibu Lebbe, Landed Proprietor, Kandy.
18. A. Morley Spaar, Mayor, 1941.
19. Revd A. B. Perera, Methodist Minister.
20. A. H. Goonetileke, Gate Mohandiram, C.C.S.
21. C. M. W. Davies, Unofficial Hospital Visitor.
22. Gordon Pyper, J.P.U.P.M., Hospital Visitor.

APPENDIX III

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE LORD LLOYD, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

I have read with interest the references made in your valuable journal to the Late Lord Lloyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in connection with his death.

As one who had known him intimately for 20 years, from the time he was Governor of Bombay where I had been his guest, I wish to state here that he had many good points in his character. Although he was classed as a reactionary during his younger days, I found he had mellowed considerably in his ideas later on in life. I met a good deal of His Lordship while in England too and we had many intimate discussions chiefly about his two pet subjects, India and Egypt, and he was then able to appreciate my point of view, which he did not while out in the East.

He was a very " Sincere friend " as he always subscribed himself in his letters to me and he was in the habit of giving a good deal of attention to any representation made by any one whom he knew well and in whom he had confidence. Personally, I believe Ceylon could have expected a certain amount of sympathy from him in the matter of political aspirations had he survived and if matters were properly represented to him.

Lord Lloyd liked Ceylon, but Bombay he called " the land of strikes."

Yours etc.,

N. D. A. SILVA WIJAYASINGHE

Richmond Castle,
Kalutara,
(*Ceylon Daily News*).

APPENDIX IV

PLAN FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VILLAGE LIFE IN CEYLON ISSUED FROM THE HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE CHIEFS OF CEYLON BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SAID ASSOCIATION.

IT WAS FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE " CEYLON OBSERVER " OF 16TH AUGUST, 1921 AND LATER REPRODUCED IN THE

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SPECIAL NOVEMBER—DECEMBER NUMBER 1939 OF THE "YOUNG CEYLON", THE ORGAN OF THE YOUTH OF CEYLON, WITH AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC FOR THE FORMATION OF THESE RURAL ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE VILLAGE POPULATION, EVEN AT THE PRESENT TIME.

Before the formation of rural associations for the amelioration of the conditions of the villagers, as suggested by me, it is necessary that we should lay out clearly the lines on which these associations should be worked, for the guidance of our members living in the outstations who will organise and control these bodies. We should be careful not to clash with the activities of associations that may be already in existence in various rural districts which are devoting themselves to bettering the conditions of the villagers. In such cases our duty should be merely to help these associations which have already undertaken such work, for instance Drink Question is well handled by the temperance society, and if our assistance is required in the rural areas with regard to the temperance work we should place such aid readily at the disposal of those noble workers in the cause of the country.

Crime in the villages, is a subject which should have our special attention. Our rural associations when formed should organise a series of lectures, for the instruction of the villagers, impressing on them the heinousness of crime and what it leads to. In this manner I feel convinced that we can render some assistance in the suppression of crime which has now eaten into the vitals of the village society.

Poverty in the villages is another question that we should interest ourselves in. A large number of people in the villages have sold off their ancestral lands, actuated by various motives and have now become "a pack of landless bankrupts." In addition to this they have come under the spell of laziness and idleness and are daily degenerating. Even among the present day village youths, I have noticed that there is a tendency to look down on labour. We must try to knock this false sense of pride off their minds and impress on them **the dignity of labour**, which is bound to rule the world sooner or later. We must teach them to look upon labour as one of the most honourable occupations of man. History records instances of our great kings using the plough themselves and we have also heard of the saying prevalent during the time of our kings which has been recorded by Knox in his most interesting book : "Take a ploughman from the field, wash the dirt off him and he is fit to rule a kingdom." We cannot say this of the present day villager.

Education. Owing to the poverty of the village parents the education of their children suffers a great deal, some have no clothes to go to school, others have no books and are leading idle, worthless lives. Children brought up in this manner must become a danger to society and a disgrace to the land of their birth. Our Rual Associations should inquire into such cases and help them on with money raised by them in their own centres through various means. Where really smart young men of great ability are found in the village, they should be educated at the expense of the association, if funds are available for this purpose. We have now on our roll enough outstation members to form about forty Rural Associations and if each association were to undertake the education of even one boy, we would be doing some good service in this direction.

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Cottage Industries. Our Rural Associations should by all manner of means encourage cottage industries which would provide useful employment to the women and children ; this will enable them to save up something for a wet day. I m glad to say that the women in the villages are not lazy but active and under proper guidance they are capable of doing a great deal for the betterment of their families and their kith and kin.

Food Supply. We must do our best to encourage the production of as much food as possible. Our food supply has fallen far short of our requirements and to a substantial increase of it we can really depend only on the villager. In days gone by this land was smiling with plenty, it had such an abundance of food that it exported rice to other countries and was rightly termed the granary of the East. Those were the days food production was carried out under Royal patronage. Parakrama Bahu the Great (1155 A.D.) in his first speech to his Ministers is recorded to have said: " In a country like this, let not even a drop of rain water flow into the sea without profiting man. In my Kingdom let there not be even a small bit of land without yielding some benefit to man." That country which is independent of its food supply is a happy country indeed.

Litigation is the curse of the villager. Even in very trivial matters villagers are fond of litigating and they would have even their relations to accompany them to the Courts ! The net result of all this is that it creates bad blood in the villages which leads very often to crime and the few bits of lands belonging to them are either mortgaged or sold up to meet the costs of the case. This sort of ruinous litigation must be discouraged and the parties should be persuaded to settle their trivial disputes by arbitration. It was so even in days of old when the elderly men of the village met at the Gansabawa and settled these village disputes. Of course in really important and difficult matters they should seek their legal remedy.

Sanitation. We should instill into the minds of the villager the advantages of sanitation and by conforming themselves to modern sanitary methods there would be a great decrease of sickness in the villages.

Appointment of Headmen. A really good headman in the village and thoroughly honourable and sympathetic chief headman in charge of a korale is a blessing to the villager. If headmen be otherwise they become a great curse, therefore the appointment of headmen both chief and minor is a matter of vital concern to the villager. It is well known that there is a great outcry in the country concerning the headmen system as it is constituted at present ; this should be brought more into line with the enlightened age in which we are living by placing the election of all headmen in the hands of the villager himself, subject to certain educational qualifications on the part of the candidates. As the headmen commission has now concluded its sittings we should await the publication of the report of the commission and decide what steps we are to take to secure for the villagers this great boon, the right to elect their own headmen periodically. Nothing could be more satisfactory than this arrangement, and with this, the cry against the headmen system which now exists is bound to cease. We hope that under the new scheme the headmen themselves will enjoy better emoluments, which they deserve considering the exacting nature of their duties. We should also advocate the opening

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of a training school by Government for minor headmen where they could be trained to a high sense of their duty and greater efficiency in the discharge of the work that appertains to them. As it is now the minor headmen are taken on without any training whatsoever and the villager who has to come into contact with him almost daily suffers very severely at his hands.

"Princes or lords may flourish or may fade
A breath can make them as a breath has made
But a brave peasantry their country's pride
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

I exhort all our Rural Associations whem formed to work on the lines set out above, keeping this great truth in mind that to live and work for the elevation of our countrymen is the most glorious triumph of life and on it depends the uppermost hope of the morrow.

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P. D. DAVID
LICENSED SURVEYOR & LEVELLER
KANDY

PREFACE

NO apology is needed for presenting this Volume to the public, which had already been placed before members of Parliament in England towards the end of 1943. This Volume which embodies my report to M. P's on Ceylon affairs (I may be pardoned for stating here something about myself personally) comes from the pen of one who has taken an abiding interest in and worked in the cause of the welfare of both Ceylon and India for a period of over a quarter of a century ! In this matter, I have been actuated by no other motive than a solemn and sincere desire to benefit and uplift the two countries in my own humble way. The statements I have made in this report may therefore be taken without reserve. They have also been made with the best of intentions. I am convinced too, that we also learn best by reflecting over our own failures as I have done here and doing our utmost to avoid making such mistakes in the future.

It was in 1938 while in England that I brought out my first Volume through Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., on this subject of the Government of Ceylon and the case for the reform of its Constitution, presenting it to Parliament at the same time and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies who wrote to me personally and gave expression to his thanks and gratitude. All along from the most Honourable the Marquis of Crewe K.G., who is still my friend and who till now led the Liberal Party in England, I have enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the various Secretaries of State for the Colonies.

Not belonging to any political party, I have always striven to express my views impartially, from time to time, at the Colonial Office in London as well as to influential members of Parliament, who were watching over the destinies of Ceylon, at my instance, from their high place in the mother of Parliaments. Being far removed from any local bias and prejudice they represented also in a loftier sphere of responsibility the true greatness of England.

In regard to the present Volume, I wish to state here that it must be taken as supplementary to the first one on the subject under review. In view of the fact that I have been an impartial observer on the spot for the last five years, I have been able to see from close quarters the effects of the Donoughmore Constitution granted to Ceylon in 1931 and the defects of the men working it, who have been raised to power by the mass vote—a gratuitous gift of the above Commission to Ceylon—against best advice given even by the Ceylon National Congress, Ceylon's foremost and most influential political body at that time, as it was then constituted.

By establishing the supremacy of the ballot box, without any preparation for it before hand—by placing the vote in the hands of the uneducated and illiterate masses, the Commissioners negatived the very purpose for which the ballot box was intended ! This has enacted a tragedy in Ceylon ! If this main defect in the Constitution is not put to right by some means that can be devised Ceylon will be faced with the prospect of the Government being assumed by the mob, to be ruled by mob law, in a world already so full of brutality, so that thugs may thrive and bribery, corruption and brutalism may be rampant !

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Such is the fate that awaits this country, if the thoughtful section of the people of this Island remain silent, without giving adequate expression to their desires, feelings and fears concerning the matter at this grave hour !

It is therefore well that we take stock of affairs now and try to remedy the defects by the light of experience. The time is too serious to use mere, soft phrases of diplomacy and hide the truth, however unpleasant it may be. The time has come to call a spade a spade !

At first the best minds both here and in England felt that this unfortunate state of affairs, which was brought about by the premature introduction of adult suffrage, would be only a passing phase, as it was in other countries. Among others, Sir Edward Stubbs, while he was Governor here and Sir Gilbert Grindle Assistant under-Secretary, in direct charge of Ceylon for many years at the Colonial Office, both told me so in discussing the matter with me. The remedy lies, Sir Gilbert further told me " In educating the electorates to a sense of their duty and responsibility, which should be the prime work of the political leaders of the country ".

But as the " Ceylon Daily News " too points out " Ceylon has not been uniformly fortunate in her political leaders in recent years "! This is too sad indeed, but that being so, if adult suffrage is to be retained without any restriction of the vote, then some means must be found for tempering the village democracy by other votes of members coming into Council through an educational test, such as, by representation of the learned and other professions or some such device, to serve as a check **against the misgovernment of the country. At least a Second Chamber with power to correct and guide the first, must be established here.** As it is the faults of the present Government of the country are many, which the local press (" The Times of Ceylon " of 17-10-44) has summed up in these terms. " The people of Ceylon have witnessed a progressive deterioration of morals and manners in the last thirteen years. Bribery and corruption are admittedly rampant, having invaded every representative institution including the State Council. The relations between the various communities have never been so strained as they are today. Discontent reigns in the public services. Nepotism is practised in open defiance of public opinion.

Efficiency is at a discount and incompetence allied to dishonesty enjoys distinguished patronage. All this and more must be traced to the transfer of power to the ignorant masses whom the demagogues know how to exploit and who are only too ready to sell their votes to the most unscrupulous politicians. It is idle to imagine that this is a passing phase about which one need not despair. Such soothing salve is just what is needed to make the disease chronic. A surgical operation alone would remove the cause of infection namely, the premature introduction of universal franchise."

Considering that a new world is now taking shape and Ceylon's rightful place in the new world order, which is all important to us, also largely depends on the men who are guiding Ceylon's destinies here, it behoves us to see that our house is put in order before it is too late !

Only men with long and broad view could handle affairs efficiently at this very important juncture when the world is at its cross roads. The question naturally arises—have we got the right men in the right places ? There is a big question mark here ? What are the present political leaders of Ceylon doing, even at this important juncture ? " The Ceylon Daily

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News " has described so aptly what is going on in the ranks of the State Councillors that I cannot do better than quote from its issue 30-9-44 ! " Fifty men are seated at a table today trying to decide what they should tell the Soulbury Commission when it comes. But they simply cannot arrive at an agreement consonant with the country's interest, because their individual interests obtrude into the discussions at every turn. This is the kind of argument that is apparent in the various pacts that are sought.

" If I consent to this arrangement of seats, how will I stand ? Which members, with whom I now agree or to whom I have conceded so much, which group or groups, will help me to keep my seat, to become a minister, a Party Leader or even Prime Minister ? How can a set of people with selfish intentions that are so plain, and guided by one whose own personal ambitions are boundless, speak for the country, or arrive at an agreement that will satisfy the country ?.....Will this Committee bring out anything ? Not in its present mood ! But by bringing to the surface communal claims and interests that were buried long ago, by viewing the question of reforms purely from a personal angle, these State Councillors, individually and collectively, are doing tremendous harm to the country's cause. " Further, these Councillors have no mandate from anybody to arrange the seats in Council according to their sweet will and pleasure !

These politicians have to bear the blame for a great deal of what has gone wrong in Ceylon !

A great experiment has been tried in Ceylon, the enfranchisement of the masses, who if they had been properly led and guided by the political leaders, would have brought full responsible Government to Ceylon at this stage. But the experiment has largely failed, chiefly owing to the misdirection given especially to the Buddhist masses (who command the majority of the votes). by their own leaders ! The religious cry at elections has been raised not out of love for religion ! But purely out of love of self interest, to collect more votes for oneself, to gain one's selfish ends, to get more political power ! But what is political power worth, without moral character behind it ?

No nation large or small can be called great simply because it can boast of political power ! Its real claim to greatness lies in the moral character of the leaders themselves and of the main body of its citizens. The leaders in Ceylon who got into power by the mass vote, *speaking generally* were men of small minds and narrow ideals. They were selfish and vain. They believed in racial and religious domination ! They felt that they were masters of the people and not servants of the public ! Humility, which is the test of truly great souls was not found in their composition, instead they were arrogant and full of personal ambition ! They had no recognised principles, policies or parties except their own pet, selfish parties ! But I must state here positively that there is no such thing as a Goigama autocracy sponsored by them, as some propagandists would try to make out. However, racial and religious bias there is and has been whipped up from time to time by these men, who ought to have known better, to gain their own selfish ends ! Their attitude towards the Denominational Schools has shown their Anti-Christian bias in an unmistakable manner !

There are excellent men who can govern this country on right lines, but they cannot come in by the mass vote, which depend so much on

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trickery and thuggery ! to which no leader worthy of the name can have recourse to ! The present leaders have given us no evidence that they understand the world into which we are now moving. They did not promote the unity of the country as a whole. They loved secrecy, which has now brought them to grief and into conflict, with the minority communities. In fact these differences need never have arisen at all, had the men in power followed the golden advice given by the Donoughmore Commission in these wise words.

" A condition precedent to the grant of full responsible Government must be the growth of a public opinion which will make that grant acceptable not only to one section, but to all sections of the people ; such a development will only be possible if under a new Constitution the members of the larger communities so conduct themselves in the reformed Council as to inspire universal confidence in their desire to harmonize conflicting interests, and to act justly, even at a sacrifice to themselves."

The secret scheme of reform which the Ministers submitted to the Colonial Office based on the English model, without first creating the conditions necessary for it here, was a vain attempt to plant the veritable oak of the British Constitution 600 years old, without any great political parties, without any checks on safeguards such as an official opposition, a Second Chamber or Upper House or organised public opinion as found in England. A constitution must be devised to suit the needs and conditions *prevailing in this country* !

Unchecked power as contemplated by this scheme sponsored by the Ministers must lead to corruption and make the Councillors a law unto themsleves !

Considering that these leaders have not given a very good account of themselves during their tenure of office, there is no wonder that the minority communities and the thoughtful public of Ceylon are very much disturbed by the attempt on the part of these leaders to get more power unto their hands without first putting our house in order, including also the allaying of the fears of the newly created Christian minority brought about chiefly by the mad policy of an irresponsible Minister of Education. The Christian minority is over half a million strong and form over a tenth part of the population of Ceylon. The attempt on the part of the men in power to treat the Christian section as if it counted for nothing cannot be tolerated and will be resisted.

It becomes therefore our bounden duty to see that no room is left for our Government here, at the next stage, to degenerate into a legalised tyranny ; for that is where absolute power without any checks will lead Ceylon to in the end. We should also take care that there is no room left either, in any future scheme of Government, for the development of arbitrary minds !

Leaders must learn to act as the first servants of the people, both in letter and spirit and not as their masters. The people must have the power to remove them from office, when they are found wanting !

We have to speak these vital truths without fear or favour, without throwing a veil over our failings, otherwise we shall be false not only to ourselves, but to posterity as well and become traitors to the land that gave us birth !

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It is in this spirit that I have conceived my duty and formulated my report to the members of Parliament who are the real rulers of this Island and the Empire. Considering the dangerous situation created by Ceylon's misguided political leaders, no one can blame the Secretary of State for sending out a Royal Commission to help adjust matters and make democracy safe for Ceylon ! Had the leaders been reasonable and acted with caution, this Commission need not come here at all ! But I was not in doubt as to the intentions of the Colonial Office about the matter. Even when the Leader of the State Council and the Board of Ministers as a whole, interpreted the Secretary of State's declaration on Reforms in May 1943, to the public, I did not fail to write to the Minister for Health *on 14-6-43* mark the date, in reply to his letter to me dated 24-5-43, to correct them and to warn them, in these terms.

" **I am afraid that the Board of Ministers has read more into the official statement, than the Secretary of State intended ! Perhaps you may see the truth of my statement in due course** " !

I knew what was coming and my warning to the Minister passed unheeded ! but within an year of my statement to him, the truth was revealed, as to what the Secretary of State intended to do, which caused a panic among the Ministers who expressed their resentment. The political leaders here have brought this Commission on themselves by their own conduct of affairs and no amount of resentment on their part now will deter the Commission from doing its duty by all the people of Ceylon as a whole.

As this was going to press came the Governor's farewell address to the Scouts, published in the " Ceylon Daily News " of 16-10-44 and I take the liberty of quoting a passage from it in support of what I have stated here about the present Government of this country. Sir Andrew Caldecott, after seven years experience here as Governor stated in the course of his address.

" This country has been promised full internal Self-Government and the success of Self-Government will depend upon its people understanding from their youth upwards the difference between demagogy and democracy.

Education in citizenship, vote-catching promises of the moon, talk without thought, expenditure without economy, these are the stock in trade of demogogy. Therein lies the high-road to ruin. Self-education in social and economic matters by careful reading of the newspapers, sensible conversation and sane thinking form the *sine qua non* of democracy. Choice of a representative must be determined by what the electors want represented, choice of a leader must depend upon whither you want your country led.

During my seven years in Ceylon I have seen too much that is demogogic and too little that is democratic. This is a natural consequence of the premature introduction of universal franchise but there is no need to despair about it.

It is a phase of political growth not peculiar to Ceylon as any reader of Dickens can tell you. There is, however, an urgent necessity to face present facts and to realise that education in citizenship is a paramount need. " Civilised government was not unknown here prior to the advent of Europeans !

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This country has been famed for its Rulers in times gone by. In this country great kings arose who gave prosperity, happiness, contentment and protection to the people and left their names emblazoned in characters of gold in the ineffaceable pages of our history. They had well settled principles to guide them, such as the Dasa Raja Dharma etc. and their Governments become a success.

Even in our day their conduct and Government have drawn the admiration of world famed Rulers in Europe like King Albert of the Belgians, one of the greatest heroes that rose out of the last war ! His Majesty who presided at my lecture on the theme—'' *Ceylon—the Cradle of Civilization* '' delivered at the Royal Palace at Brussels to the elite of European society gathered there as His Majesty's guests in connection with the wedding of his son Crown Prince Leopold (later King Leopold III) said in proposing a vote of thanks to me, that after, listening to my lecture he '' could not help but come to the conclusion that the Sinhalese people had a highly organised system of Government and that the conduct of the Sinhalese Kings themselves as illustrated by the life and character of Prakrama Bahu the Great (1153—1186) deserves the highest praise and admiration. ''

Let the political leaders of Ceylon too, act likewise by doing the right thing by all the people here and earn thereby their goodwill. Then there would be no need for ratios. There could be no real balance of power in these ratios either, whether 50/50 or 40/60 unless there is a real change of heart on both sides—this must come from within ! Democracy will then succeed here ! The success of Democracy largely depends on the self-reliance of the people and the self-restraint of the ruling party. We must give some thought to these vital facts and not allow ourselves to be consumed by the arrogance of absolute power or the gratification of personal ambition ! Let us all join in this great task of making a success of Democracy in Ceylon, by following the right rules of conduct in the art of good Government—so that all may be well with Ceylon and its peoples—this is my fervant wish and prayer for Ceylon !

'' Breathes there the man with soul so dead who never to himself has said
This is my own, my native land ''.

N. D. A. SILVA WIJAYASINGHE

Kandy 12*th November*, 1944.

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TRIBUTE TO DEAD FRIENDS

In recent years I have lost several very valuable friends who lent me great support in my campaign in England to put things in order especially as regards India and Ceylon, by their friendly advice and suggestion, intervention with responsible authorities and even by open agitation in both Houses of Parliament itself, whereby they have rendered very great service to the cause of humanity and good fellowship. It is just and proper that I should remember them with respect and gratitude in this report, which I am writing, at a time of grave peril in our own history and that of mankind at large.

Of the large number of British Officials who served in Ceylon during my time, two men of outstanding ability retained their influence with the Colonial Office in London to the very end, while others sank into oblivion after their retirement from Ceylon as is usually the case.

HELPERS IN MY EARLY STRUGGLES

Of these two men mentioned above one was an able Administrator one of the few Ceylon Governors who held Privy Council rank, I refer to The Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., P.C., LL.D. The other was a great jurist and scholar, Sir Alexander Wood Renton, Chief Justice, who was the only one of that long line of distinguished judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, who received the G.C.M.G.

Sir West was the Governor of my boyhood days. We first met when he was the guest of my father at our historic family Seat in Kalutara in 1896, the year that he came out to Ceylon. He was the only Governor whose term of office was extended at the request of the people of Ceylon. He served as Governor until 1903. But he retained his interest in me up to the very end and was always helpful to me in England by his friendly counsel and wise suggestion, He introduced me to the then Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, K.G. as also to Sir George Fiddes, Sir Charles Lucas Under Secretaries of State and also gave them a good account of me and my family.

From that time I was able to deal direct with the Colonial Office about Ceylon affairs with the high officials there and those that followed them, as Sir Gilbert Grindle ets. etc. They always heard the peoples' side of grievances, from one in whom they had confidence and one whom they relied on for accurate information from that angle of vision, so the peoples' case did not always go by default. This work I have carried on for over 25 years and I am at it still.

MY WORK IN PARLIAMENT ITSELF

Sir Alexander Wood Renton's influence too at the Colonial Office added greatly in my favour and for my independent expression of opinion with the men who counted at the Colonial office, without my belonging to any political party in Ceylon. Sir Alexander who admired my independent work as mediator between the rulers and the ruled wrote to

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me once: " You deserve the gratitude of England as well as of Ceylon for all your good deeds, etc. " That was the judgment he passed on me and my work, after a good deal of observation. He took in good part my criticism of his work during the Ceylon riots of 1915. Both he and Lord Chalmers, the Governor, who came to see me in London, regretted their actions later.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my two friends, who put me to a large extent on a proper footing with the Colonial Office, then impatient of criticism by professional politicians whom they dubbed as " agitators".

I must not forget also to mention in this connection the names of two of the later Governors of Ceylon, Sir John Anderson and Sir William Manning who helped me to further establish my reputation with the Colonial Office in London as one who could be depended on for sound and impartial judgment.

I found, after a good deal of experience with the Colonial Office Officials that they were so much bound by red tape, that they could not do very much, not as much as I wanted them to do, so I had to take my case on behalf of Ceylon before Parliament itself which was more satisfactory. This brought me in contact with not only the Secretaries of State but Prime Minister as well. Of these Prime Ministers who are now no more, I must make mention of the late Labour Premier, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, whom I counted as friends, who always gave me a very sympathetic hearing whenever I had anything to say. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was so much taken up with my story of the wonderful civilization of Ceylon from 543 B.C. that he decided to visit Ceylon and returning to England after that visit he wrote 3 articles on the subject to the " Sphere ", copies of which he sent me with his compliments.

I made Mr. Neville Chamberlain too, to get interested in Ceylon. I had known before his brother, Sir Austin Chamberlain, England's former Foreign Minister, to whom as he told me, the Late King Albert of the Belgians had expressed his high opinion of me in creating me a Knight Commander. Sir Austin had introduced me to his brother Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

The claims on behalf of Ceylon which were made by me from time to time created some interest in the minds of these great men of their time. I am grateful to them for the interest shown. In this way Ceylon was brought to the forefront in connection with Britain's Colonial problems.

Before closing the story briefly of my early activities on behalf of Ceylon, I must not fail to remove a bad impression created in the minds of our people over Sir West Ridgeway's connection with the Waste Lands Ordinance—a foul blot in our statute book ! Sir West told me his intention in anacting that Ordinance was to give the Ceylon Villager a good title for his land and had he remained in office longer to work it in Ceylon he would have seen that it was worked in the spirit in which he intended. But he regretted to find from my statements to him on the subject that the officials who worked it, gave it a wrong twist which he really never meant. The nett result of this was, a large portion of our poor peasantry were actually deprived of their lands !

Now coming to my work in Parliament itself—

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I cannot forget how my late friend Sir John Rees, M.P., helped to turn the scale in favour of Ceylon in open debate in the House of Commons, at my request, so far back as 1920 ! His admirable speech which is the finest yet made on Ceylon in the House, is printed in full in my book on the Ceylon Constitution, published for me by Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., etc. I shall mention only one more instance of such valuable assistance given me and that coming to more recent times. I shall remember always with pride how during the Viceroyalty of my friend the Earl of Willingdon, his Government's Scheme to transfer Tangasarri to Travancore which I considered unjust, which 13 petitions presented to him as Viceroy of India failed to remedy, was prevented by open intervention of my friends in both Houses of Parliament, when Lord Halifax was Secretary of State for India.

I mention here only these two instances of powerful support given me as I do not wish to lengthen this document. As I said before it is nothing but just and proper that I should pay my tribute of praise to such great good men, who did their duty in their day by their fellow men and have now passed into that great unseen where silence is unbroken !

I wish to mention here in this connection especially the names of Anthony C. Crossly, M.P. (Con. Stretford) Sir Nicholas Doyle, M.P. (Con. North New Castle), John Joseph Jones, M.P. (Lab. Silvertown) The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Horne (Con. Hillhead Div. Glasgow), the former Chancellor of the Exchequer and later raised to the Peerage as Lord Horne of Slamannah. Of my friends in the House of Commons I owe a great deal to Sir Robert who wielded much power there and on whom even Prime Ministers depended for support. It was at his request that I brought out the " Indian Evolution ", with the object of giving the members of Parliament, the Indian question in a nutshell as it were. I had his assurance that it helped them a great deal to pass the Indian Act of 1935, which brought the Indian National Congress into power in 7 of the 11 provinces of India, although the passing of this act was strenuously opposed by the diehard section.

Of my book itself Sir Robert wrote on 14th January, 1933 : " I congratulate you upon the very clear expression which you have given to your views. I am sure that your contribution to the great subject of Indian Government will help many people to make up their minds on the reasonable course to follow. "

In the House of Lords, I have lost the valuable assistance of the Rt. Hon. Lord Howard of Penrith (of the family of the Duke of Norfolk), former British Ambassador at Washington, U.S.A. The Rt. Hon. Lord Llyod, our recent Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom I shall refer in a special manner at the conclusion of my report and the Earl of Willingdon late Viceroy of India. Lord Willingdon was in constant touch with me even while he was Governor General of Canada. He wrote to his friends too about my long stay in England, where I spent many years trying to rouse up British public opinion against the backward British policy as regards India and the Colonies. In one of his letters from Canada written on 5th January, 1929 he expressed himself thus: " We have still such happy recollections of our visit to your charming home in Ceylon and much hope that my fellow countrymen are doing all they can to make your life happy in England. Trusting we may meet ere long," So ended his letter full of real friendship which he gave me to

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the end. Of these helpful friends outside Parliament I will mention only just one or two. Sir Harry Brittain, Chairman and founder of the first British Empire Imperial Press Conference (1909) informs me of the death of Lady Brittain, D.B.E. one of my staunch lady supporters and helpers, who he states " used to speak of you so often and had such happy memories of our meetings." Lady Brittain was a past President of the Society of Woman Journalists, and Chairman of the Unionist Women's Parliamentary Council, at whose hands I received much valuable help. From the news I have received from England, I find I have sustained yet another very severe blow in the death of His Eminence Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, who was my " guide, philosopher and friend " in England as was his predecessor the late Cardinal Bourne of happy memory before him. The influence His Eminence wielded in all circles of public life in England, Catholic, as well as non-Catholic was most profound. To these my dead friends I now pay my humble and affectionate tribute here and commend them to the mercy of the Almighty. To me they will never be dead ! How truly has the poet sung:

" To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die. "

I now come to the main part of my work—my report on Ceylon,

It is very gratifying for me to note from the letters I have received that in spite of the great upheaval caused by the war to the people of England in their private lives and the special duties that are incumbent on them as a result of the war, they have yet some little time left to devote to India and Ceylon, though situated some 6,000 miles away from them ! I note with pleasure that my friends are in agreement with every word in my previous statement issued and in company with many others in Parliament they are working to this end, which I have pointed out to them—to put the British Empire, to which, it must be admitted, the world owes much, into proper order, so that it may stand as an imprgenable fortress against foe within and foe without—so that it may stand foresquare against all the fearful tempests that are raging round it now. Such is the purport of the message also I have received from the Secretary to a strong and powerful Parliamentary group representing all parties in the House of Commons.

For this high purpose it is necessary that British Rule should be placed " broad based upon the peoples' will irrespective of colour and race."

In the two books I presented to Parliament, I have explained how this could be done—" The Indian Evolution " (1932) and " The Government of Ceylon and the case for the Reform of its Constitution (1938)," which was really an exposition of British Colonial Rule, as demonstrated in Ceylon. They were written with the best of intentions, from my own personal knowledge of the two countries and their respective Governments and as one who did not belong to any political party in either country. Both books, I am glad to state here, were well received by British Members of Parliament, the press of the Empire and politicians of note.

CEYLON

This report on Ceylon deals largely with affairs relating to the Island at the present time. Ceylon today has assumed an importance, out of all

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proportion to its size (25,332 sq. miles) to the Allied Nations in the present war, for two chief reasons:—

(1) Its strategic position in the Indian Ocean, now under the South East Asia Command at the head of which is Lord Louis Mountbatten. Incidentally I may add I had met Lord Louis before, when he was A.D.C. to the then Prince of Wales, as also when he came on board the Renown with His Royal Highness to Ceylon in 1922. We exchanged greetings on his arrival in New Delhi to take up the South East Asia Command. There is no doubt that the whole of Ceylon is delighted and proud to have him at the head of this command—this "Triphibian" of Mr. Churchill's coinage !

(2) Another reason for Ceylon's importance to the Allied Nations is the fact that it is the only source of the natural rubber supply now left to the Allied Nations, worth speaking about, after Japan had appropriated 90% of the world's rubber supply, based on the territories she had overrun in the East. In view of the fact that the modern War Machine moves on rubber I shall devote much attention in this report to the subject of Ceylon rubber. Ceylon also supplies a large quantity of tea for the use of the troops and civilians of the Allied Nations and other war materials required for this great war, such as Copra, Coconut oil, Mica, Graphite, Cocoa, etc. Such is Ceylon's importance to the Allied Nations today. Further, Ceylon is also the premier colonial possession of the British Empire and considering that a very large part of it was ceded to Britain, by the Chiefs trusting to the honour and good Government of Britain, under the Kandyan Convention of 1815 signed between the Chiefs and Representatives of Britain it should occupy a warm corner in the hearts and the affection of the British people, who should do all in their power to make the people happy and contented. I need not go into details here of the way in which Ceylon had been governed from 1815 up to the advent of the Donoughmore Commission in 1931 which granted a new Constitution, as I have placed all those details before Parliament and the public in my book entitled "The Government of Ceylon and the case from the reform of its Constitution," published for me in London by Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., D.S.O. in 1938, concerning which the then Secretary of State for the Colonies sent me personally an expression of his thanks and gratitude.

I propose therefore to deal here with certain effects and defects created as a result of that Constitution, granted to Ceylon in 1931 which have become evident during the course of its trial these twelve years. Practically all Ceylon's present ills could be traced to the grant of adult suffrage, without preparing the people first, to wisely handle that great power placed in their hands.

Adult suffrage was not asked for, in fact opposed by the Ceylon National Congress of that time which was a power in the country. It was then fully qualified to speak on behalf of Ceylon. What the Congress is today will be found in the Special Article in the "Ceylon Daily News" of 21-12-43 entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Ceylon National Congress."

The two persons who were mainly responsible for this grant which was not asked for even by the Ceylon National Congress which as I said before was a power in the country at that time, are Dr. (now Sir) Drummund Shiels, the Socialist Member of Donoughmore Commission and

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Sir Thomas Villiers on the Ceylon side, representing the European Group. I discussed this matter with both these gentlemen.

I met Dr. Shiels when he was the chief guest at our annual dinner of the Ceylon Students' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, of which I had the honour to be Patron. Dr. Shiels explained his attitude by saying that he felt adult suffrage should be given *a trial* in Ceylon, for that was the policy of his party.

Sir Thomas Villiers, when I met him at his retreat at Haputale told me that his reason was, he wished to give the village " Mudalalis " (petty traders and landlords) who had a real stake in the country, the chance of having a say in the affairs of the country, this was his excuse. But I suspect the real reason was as I stated in my book (P56)." European planters foresaw, or thought they foresaw political power falling into their hands (as a result of the enfranchising of their coolies). In effect the reverse has been the case. "

The question of a proper basis for the grant of franchise is all important to Ceylon as on that depends, the future prosperity and well-being of Ceylon, by the election into Council of members of approved worth and merit. I maintain that the recommendations I have made on this head in my book pp.54 to 57 still hold good and the surest way to secure the best Government for the country and a State Council that would be a credit to the Island as a whole and not the " joke " that it is today, as was stated at a public meeting the other day !

From the start I had much misgiving about this grant of adult suffrage not that I was inimical to the political advancement of my countrymen. I adviced my political friends in England that some means should be found to temper the Village democracy by sending in members also to Council, by electorates based on educational qualifications at the same time, without this safeguard being given, my worst fears have now been realised.

CONDITIONS BEFORE ADULT SUFFRAGE

Before the Donoughmore Constitution was granted to Ceylon, there were no race or creed distinctions worth speaking about in the public life of the Country. I could speak on the subject with personal experience. Here is an instance : When the Association of the Chiefs of Ceylon was formed in 1921 constituting the cream of Ceylonese Society (the four great communities that go to make up the people of Ceylon) the Chiefs of the Sinhalese both Low Country and Kandyan, the Muslim and Tamil Communities, although I was a Roman Catholic I was elected to the Office of President by a unanimous vote, even though the non-Christians were in a great majority and the Association represented four different communities too. That spoke well for the tolerance of race and creed prevailing at the time.

I was President for 8 years until 1928 and I was able to see how well we co-operated with each other without any thought of race, caste or creed.

To give again another instance of the absence of creed antipathy, I put up a hard fight to obtain for my Buddhist brethren, the control of Buddha Gaya, a place sacred to the Buddhists, being the birth-place of their great Teacher, as my correspondence with the Viceroy, the Earl of

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Reading and the Hon. Diwan Bahadur Rangacharier, Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, a leader of the Hindus, will show. I was within an ace of succeeding, when a riot broke out at that place, in which some Ceylon people were involved and the question was shelved by the Viceroy. The Buddhist press and our Buddhist brethren praised my action.

Then again during the dark days of 1915, when Ceylon was placed under Martial Law, by a misguided Government mistaking a " frothy bubble for a great wave " arrested, prosecuted, shot and hung our Buddhist brethren it was their Christian and Hindu brethren who stood by their side. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan of happy memory, one of my political " Gurus," proceeded to the Colonial Office and to Parliament itself to obtain justice for the Buddhists. Those were great and stirring times when there were no divisions in the public life of the country.

CONDITIONS AFTER ADULT SUFFRAGE

But what is the picture now with the vote granted to the ignorant masses!

They have become as clay in the hands of the unscrupulous politicians and spurious nationalists. However it is in the hands of the masses that the final result of elections lie, owing to the sheer weight of numbers.

A large number of the present day politicians of mushroom growth have not hesitated at all to place their own petty ambitious before the good of the country as a whole. They practise so many deceptions that it is not easy to distinguish between their artificial and real character. They adopt all manner of unworthy tactics, to gain their own personal ambition, they have done a great disservice to the country and even introduced a kind of militant Buddhism in the hope of securing more votes, as the majority of the voters are Buddhists, which attitude, to say the least is against the very spirit of Buddhism. They have introduced a kind of spurious nationalism too which is only a caricature of patriotism, which must do great harm to the unity of the country and unity is the one thing that has to be preserved at all costs. For united we stand and divided we fall. The Hon. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Administration referring to this matter said in one of his public utterances: " Although, we have the widest franchise, certain malpractices that are being increasingly indulged in such as bribery and corruption, intimidation and impersonation, are preventing a free and correct expression of the will of the people. A very unsatisfactory and dangerous situation is thereby created, and it is the duty of all political parties and leaders to take vigorous action to stop these."

These are not the only disquieting tendencies at elections. People have not hesitated even to commit murders. The Chief Justice in commenting on the recent Balapitiya election murder case stated that he sometimes doubted the benefits of democracy when elections led to such tragedies. Appeals to religious fanaticism and race and caste prejudice at elections if they are to be put down should be made an offence and should automatically invalidate an election. In this way alone can the unscrupulous politician be taught a lesson.

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Deploring the apathy of the Government in not putting down these malpractices at elections " Whip " a leading and popular communist in the local press stated in the " Times" of 10th December, 1943.

"Is the stopping of election malpractices the concern of nobody ?

That is what it looks like. Otherwise very respectable citizens who despite any suggestion of fraud meekly submit to the damnest malpractices at a poll. The indifference of the authorities all these long years has made humbugs of men ; had helped thugs to thrive ; had increased the number of parasites born to feed on wealthy nincompoops aspiring to climb the political ladder ; has swelled the ranks of lackeys and flunkeys ever ready to help those who profess to render public service but are really seeking a camoflage for their nefarious activities.

And yet the powers that be are satisfied with merely looking on. A sadder state of affairs never existed in this country.

A commission might well be appointed to discover those who have entered the various Councils of the land by stooping to bribery and thuggery and all concomitant evils.

If presiding officers at polling booths were in grim earnest they could easily detain a couple of hundreds of impersonators at every booth each polling day.

But it is a bother to them. In fact several presiding officers in the past have confessed as much to me.

Detention of impersonators is easy. What these presiding officers do not like is the subsequent dancing of attendance at courts of law. Perhaps they have one question to answer. But look at the time they have to waste.

One presiding officer suggested to me that the law should be amended so as to make a declaration by a presiding officer sufficient evidence.

I don't pretend to know the implications. However, it is worth considering.

What happens now is that about half a dozen or ten impersonators are detained by presiding officers. They let the rest go.

The purchase of ballot papers is an offence. But it goes on merrily.

Four, five and six ballot papers, in one bundle have been found in ballot boxes when opened. More cannot be put in at the same time perhaps owing to the size of the slit.

In a few elections it has been found that the total number of ballot papers in boxes when opened was short of the total number officially determined as polled by reason of the number of ballot papers issued to voters.

What had happened to the balance ? Were they taken away to another election the same day and introduced into the ballot boxes there ? Or, were the purchase made late in the day and there was not enough time to introduce these papers into the boxes of the purchasing candidate ?

Should not the name of constituency be stamped on the ballot papers ?

May I ask the authorities whether clerks at polling booths have been known to issue more than one ballot paper to a voter ? "

Matters under this head are going from bad to worse. The latest method adopted is to put Sulphuric Acid into one's opponent's ballot box to destroy his votes. A procedure such as this I have not heard being adopted in any other part of the World.

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CEYLON BRIBERY COMMISSIONER'S REPORT

I would like to deal here with the above report on the members who got into the State Council. The Bribery Commission was appointed to go into the question of bribery among State Councillors as the result of a bag of sovereigns having been offered to a member of the State Council as a bribe.

The Commissioner appointed was a distinguished Sinhalese lawyer, a King's Counsel of the English Bar, Mr. L. M. D. de Silva, who has also acted as Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court. His qualifications for the job was unrivalled.

This report which runs into 43 pages, cannot be read without a sense of shame ! It discloses the depths into which political life has sunk in Ceylon as a result of the vote being placed in the hands of the uneducated masses, without any safeguards and before their education to a sense of public spirit and patriotic duty to the country was really understood.

The lowering of the qualification for both voters and members of the State Council by the Donoughmore Commissioners has been responsible for the lowering of the standard of political life in Ceylon and has actually led to progressive political degeneracy in a marked degree !

I shall now give a few facts as disclosed in the learned Commissioner's report.

Some 124 witnesses made allegations against 19 members of the State Council. The Commissioner found 8 of them guilty, including three Europeans who were receiving salaries from the Associations that sent them in. This fact was generally known.

The 3 European members and the Governor himself, felt that there was nothing wrong about it, until pointed out by the Commissioner. These three resigned their seats, three Sinhalese members also resigned and one Tamil member who refused to resign was expelled. There are four unidentified bribe takers yet in the Council against whom the Commissioner did not find sufficient evidence to name them, but they fell under his susplcion !

Now, when we consider the fact that the evidence against these guilty members came only because they failed to deliver the goods, one must naturally come to the conclusion that those who took bribes and succeeded in delivering the goods, yet remain inside the Council free to ply their disgraceful trade ! The Commissioner himself states " It is not likely that all cases of alleged gratification that have taken place have come under inquiry ! "

The Commissioner reveals another aspect of some of these members—their chronic state of impecuniosity. The number of seizures of salary of State Councillors reaches the colossal figure of 2,912 ! Eighteen out of the 50 elected members, have had their salaries seized and seven of them over a hundred times, one member 617 times and yet another on 732 occasions !

The debts for which their salaries were seized ranged from Rs. 11-61 (-about 18 Shillings) to Rs. 56,200 (-about £4300).

After this fearful exposure, is it any wonder that the people of the country have lost all confidence in the State Council and look upon it as a " joke " !

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Legislators and those others in the public service should be like Caesar's wife, even " about suspecion ".

I shall deal with the subject of the State Council again when I come to speak of the reform of the Constitution.

THE MINISTRIES

Under the Donoughmore Constitution the departments in the public service handed over to the people of the Country for their management were divided into seven Ministries. Each Ministry had a Committee of members of the State Council who elected their own Chairman to preside over their deliberations and carry on the work of the ministry. This Chairman was dubbed a Minister !

The following constitute the Ministries (1) The Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, (2) The Ministry of Home Affairs, (3) The Ministry of Labour, Industry and Commerce, (4) The Ministry of Communications and Works, (5) The Ministry of Local Administration, (6) The Ministry of Education, (7) The Ministry of Health.

Of the work done by these Ministries I propose to send a detailed account later. But I shall deal here only with, in my opinion, the best managed, the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and the worst managed the Ministry of Health !

THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND LANDS

Among the Ministries I give the pride of place to the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. The Minister in charge of this Department is the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake who is also the Leader of the House.

Mr. Senanayake is not a man of mushroom growth. He is a man with a background. He comes from a philanthropic and patriotic family, that is respected in the country. He is a man of great activity and patriotic endeavour. The work that this Ministry has done in the cause of of Agriculture, the mainstay of the Island, is colossal and colossal too, has been the price paid for it. Whether that price has been worth it, the future alone can tell for I know as an agriculturist myself, that it is not an industry from which one can expect very quick returns especially in the case of rice or paddy cultivation, in fields newly brought into being.

This Ministry has brought large tracts of land under rice cultivation and rice is the staple food of the people of the country. To make Ceylon independent of the importation of foodstuffs from foreign countries, as of old under our Kings has been its aim and it is a very laudable aim too.

We see in the present crisis the difficulty of maintaining the food supply of this country especially after the fall of Burma, which supplied a large quantity of the rice required for Ceylon. A year before the war, Ceylon bought from Burma about Rs. 54,000,000 (–about £4,000,000) worth of imports, most of this comprised rice.

Rice is now rationed in Ceylon owing to its scarcity and each person is allowed half a measure a week whereas normally, he would require more than twice that for a day ! So the amount spent on rice cultivation is well spent ! The major criticism that has been made so far, is about the

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amount of money spent on the project. It has been suggested too that if this rice cultivation has been begun in somewhat populated areas first, where tanks had got into disuse, instead of starting from very depopulated areas, much money would have been saved and the toll of Malaria would not have been so great; however that is a question for experts to decide, but I am not an expert !

I would wait and see what the result would be in course of time.

Mr. Senanayake is ably assisted in the present food situation created by the war, by Sir O. E. Goonetilleke, C.M.G., the Civil Defence Commissioner, a man of splendid common sense, galvenic energy and sound judgment. I do not know of anyone in the services working harder than Sir Oliver Goonetilleke today ! I also happen to know from him direct how much worry and trouble the food situation is giving him today. I have made certain recommendations which he hopes to make use of. The tea and rubber departments are under the above Ministry, both these industries which are vital to the war effort are in charge of the Rubber and Tea Commissioner, Mr. P. Saravanamuttu, who makes an able Lieutenant to the Minister for Agriculture. This Commissioner had reduced both these departments to a model of efficiency !

THE RUBBER POSITION

At present Mr. Saravânamuttu is away in England, called for consultations in connection with the rubber situation in Ceylon. It is to be hoped that he will be able to unravel the tangle that Whitehall experts had created in regard to the rubber situation in Ceylon, which according to the estimate of the Minister in charge, is losing for the Allied Nations 500 tons of rubber a week ! So long as the Minister's recommendations to increase the output remain unadopted, especially at a time when the Allied Nations cannot afford to lose even an ounce of natural rubber, this serious loss is bound to continue. Unfortunately the Secretary of State is guided by experts sitting on their haunches at Whitehall, who cannot by any stretch of imagination know about the subject more than the Minister in charge in Ceylon.

The chief blunder committed by the Whitehall experts was, that they failed to take account of the higher working costs, dearer materials and scarcity of labour in fixing the price for rubber which I shall prove later

After the Japanese conquests of the rubber producing countries in the East which gave about 90% of the World's raw rubber output, only 10% remained in Allied hands ! Of this 10% Ceylon produced 85%. This was a very serious position for the Allied Nations. The cost of rubber production had mounted up high and the planters of rubber in Ceylon both Ceylonese and European, who had some 600,000 acres of matured rubber between them had to be helped on to produce the maximum amount of rubber for the Allies. The Ceylonese planters especially had fared very badly under the financial depression which lasted for several years. Usually they keep no reserve capital, like the European Companies, to tide over a difficult period and a good many of their lands had been mortgaged. Help was imperative, especially to them and the rate paid by the Government of 71 cents (little over 1 Shilling per lb. of manufactured rubber was not an economic price at all, as will be seen

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later by the details I shall give. If not for the Rubber Control by Government, the price in a free market would stand at perhaps Rs. 10-00 per lb. today ! But there was no desire to profiteer at the expense of the Government. The producers only asked for a fair price. In view of these circumstances the responsible Minister in charge of this Department had recommended a slight increase from 71 cents to one rupee a pound the increase being equal to about 4 d. per lb. This was passed in the State Council on 24th March, 1943.

The Brauch Report on the rubber question presented to the President of the U.S.A. stated that the war could even be lost owing to the scarcity of rubber ! So serious was the rubber situation. But that did not appear to have made any impression on the rubber " experts " who were advising the Secretary of State in London ! They began to haggle about the price and the price was not paid in Gold either, as to the Arabs in the Middle East but in paper money, of course under the guarantee of the Government. The supposed " experts ", exhibited a most niggardly spirit unworthy of the great British Nation and at a time when that nation was in the dire need of natural rubber.

The European member in the State Council, Major Oldfield, C.B.E., a man with a distinguished war record in the last war publicly characterised this position in the State Council on 16th August 1943 " to say the least–stupid."

Although the European rubber Companies in Ceylon capitalised in England stood to gain nothing by an increase of the price as they had to pay there a 100% excess profit Tax ! Major Oldfield spoke the truth !

The Secretary of State's " experts " in London chose this very hour of crisis to the Allied Nations, in rubber, faced with a shortage of 500 tons per every week of delay, to refuse to carry out the Minister's recommendations and to experiment with pet schemes of their own !

They sent out an ill-conceived scheme after having given as it was stated " exhaustive consideration " whatever that may mean in official parlance !

In short Whitehall concluded that an over-all increase in price would not achieve the object in view. They made an offer of repayment of costs of capital replacement to all producers who were willing to adopt intensive methods of tapping. In other words the capital loss involved by the destruction of trees by such tapping will be reimbursed by His Majesty's Government. This scheme, needless to say, fell flat on the rubber producers ! The Minister said in the State Council that " The response made by planters with regard to intensive tapping.....was one fifth the number of estates involved " !

For this result and the loss of rubber involved, the Secretary of State has to thank his " experts " at Whitehall !

In a matter like this it is local knowledge and experience on the spot that counts. It is one thing to produce a scheme on paper in London, and it is quite a different thing whether it would answer the purpose in Ceylon ! In this case it has definitely not !

The schemes of these " Whitehall experts ", carry with it their own condemnation, but this partiality for experts seems to be a weakness of the Government conducted from Whitehall.

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I reproduce two letters written to the press by rubber producers which show actually how the Whitehall scheme (1) to pay 71 cents per lb. of rubber (2) the slaughter tapping scheme, actually work out in practice ! I hope that these actual details will make the " Whitehall experts " blush and will help the Secretary of State to depend on the advice of men on the spot, whatever their colour, who have devoted their lives and energies to the subject and who know how to get the job done, only if they are trusted with it.

First Scheme—PRICE OF RUBBER At 71 cts. per lb.

To The Editor,

" Ceylon Daily News ",

Sir,

Today the Allies are faced with an acute shortage of rubber, and yet when the leaders of Ceylon, who know the needs of the rubber producers, suggest that the price be raised to meet the present cost of production and to encourage maximum production the reply is in the negative.

I am giving you an example of what the cost of production is on an 800 acre rubber property in my district. The tapper is today paid 98 cents and an additional 4 cents pence money, totalling Rs. 1.02 cents. He brings in 2 lbs., showing the cost of tapping at 51 cents. The cost of manufacture, transport, fuel etc. works out another 26 cents, making a total of 76 cents as cost of production. The price paid today is 71 cents. Do those who clamour for maximum production expect the poor producers to pocket out 5 to 10 cents, and slaughter-tap their trees too ? If so, they are sadly mistaken. I know of hundreds of acres where no tapping is done and unless something is done to cope with the present cost of production I am sure that a very large number of estates may close down. It is no surprise to me to note that the majority of estates are not interested in the compensation scheme.

Yours etc.

September 28. M. R.

Second Scheme—SLAUGHTER TAPPING

To The Editor,

" Times of Ceylon "

Sir,

We are asked to Slaughter Tap 20 per cent. of our rubber and adequate compensation will be paid after replanting. An estate of 500 acres with a crop of 500 lbs. per acre would produce 250,000 lbs. So 20 per cent would be 50,000. From the time of the 20 per cent being dried up, it will take eight years or more to bring the slaughtered area into bearing depending largely on the amount of labour available. The area or part may be unproductive for two years before replanting is possible.

The extra cost per pound in producing 80 per cent of the crop would be at least five cents per pound including Colombo charges.

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250,000 lbs. for eight years at 25 cts. profit	.. Rs.	500,000
200,000 lbs. for eight years at 20 cts. profit	.. ,,	320,000
100 acres rejuvenated at Rs. 1,000 per acre	.. ,,	100,000
Compensation at Rs. 600 per acre ..	.. ,,	60,000
	Loss Rs.	40,000
The loss on 500 acres is	.. ,,	220,000

after adequate compensation has been paid !

Webster's Dictionary gives the definition of compensate " to make equal return to ", " to give an equivalent to ".

Can Directors of Companies as trustees for shareholders commit their companies to such a loss or will compensation interest a man of 60 if he is paid in ten years' time ? If rubber again sells in Colombo at 63/4 cents per pound gross will the British Government give us any help or pay pensions to us ?

Yours etc.

L. ARCHDALE.

Deraniyagala.

The Minister has not remained silent about this matter. From his place in the State Council, he has given expression to his feelings, which should make a deep impression, if it has reached the ears of Whitehall. If it has not, I trust the members of Parliament to whom I am addressing this report, will make it a point to bring this state of affairs, which cannot be conducive to the harmonious working of matters vital to the war effort to the notice of the proper authorities, so that the situation be remedied and mistakes such as this may not occur again. I give below an extract of the Minister's speech, referred to which he delivered in the State Council in September 1943 and which created a deep impression in Ceylon.

" I find it difficult to meet the criticism that in regard to the purchase of rubber, tea and copra we are being subjected to a most unfair arrangement. I have urged continuously that this ne-sided arrangement cannot and should not continue. I have urged that the production of rubber, which is vital for the winning of this war, is being most seriously affected by this policy of fixing the purchase price and ignoring the cost of production. My advice that the present scheme of deferred payment to cover the cost of replanting areas that are slaughter-tapped will not have the desired effect, has not been accepted. It is strange how in matters of such grave importance the advice of those whose responsibility it is to get the work done is being ignored. I presume the spoken word carries more weight than any amount of cabled telegram . The vested interests to whom an immed ate i crease of price has no significance are closer to Downing Stre t than we are."

The 600,000 acres of mature rubber in Ceylon normally produced about 120,000 tons, but with a little more sympathy and encouragement to the rubber producers, especially, the small man who had been hard hit by the depression, it could perhaps have been raised to 150,000 tons had the price been raised to Rs. 1/25 or even Rs. 1/50 per lb. Sixteen years ago rubber touched nearly Rs. 3/- per lb. and the cost of production was

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far less than what it is today and when the taxation too was not so heavy as now. Ceylon has been placed very disadvantageously in the question of the balance of payments for exports and imports, when the prices of exports are rigidly controlled and the prices of imports continue to rise. There is a limit to which the people can endure financial burdens.

Note : In February, 1944, after almost an year of delay and after my report reached London by air, the price was increased to Rs. 1/05 for grade No. 1 rubber. By then about 24,000 tons of rubber had been lost to the Allied nations at 500 tons per week. Even in the final letter to the Minister, the Secretary of State wrote that *he could not agree "to the proposed all-round increase in price"* ! There has been a shortfall of rubber for the last quarter of 1944, largely due to bad weather and shortage of labour, conditions beyond the control of the producers. But they have been penalised for it by reduction of the prices again ! This only shows the lack of imagination on the part of the "experts" in London and it is certainly not the best way to incourage maximum production !

COPRA

The same niggardly spirit that the Whitehall " experts " have shown in the matter of the price for rubber, has also been exhibited by them in the matter of the price of Copra, which is practically a " native " industry. Ceylon producers in general, as I stated before, I say it once again here with emphasis, do not want to profiteer at the expense of Britain's necessity. But if anyone is taking advantage of the war situation, it is the Imperial Government which should be at least just, if not generous to a small country like Ceylon, by paying an economic price for the produce it takes in recognition of the increased cost of production. The war effort in these parts owes not a little to Ceylon, and it is not a good policy to depress the people who are doing all they can to help. Mr.S. Obeyesekera, K.C., some time Acting Attorney General now the Chairman of the Low Country Products Association of Ceylon has stated clearly what they felt in respect of the Secretary of State's attitude as regards the price of Copra in such eloquent terms that I will quote him here.

" When the price of copra was fixed at Rs. 59/- per candy (5 cwts.) shortly after Japan entered the war they expected that as conditions changed and market trends altered, the figure would be revised. But when some time ago the difficulties of producers in Ceylon increased and they made a request for a revision of the price the Imperial authorities had refused it. Some of them felt disappointed, yet there were many who still clung to the confidence they had at the start in the Imperial authorities.

What they felt was that once the full facts were placed before the authorities in England in a well-reasoned and methodical way they would realise the full strength of the case of the Ceylon Coconut Industry and act as they hoped and expected them to act.

Could Not Have Foreseen

It was stated that the Secretary of State had declined to increase the price on the ground that at the time the price was fixed they took into full consideration the increased cost of production. If that was the reason

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it connected belief in the infallibility of man. In his view no one outside an asylum should contribute to that belief and he felt absolutely convinced that once the facts were put before the Secretary of State he would realise that his attitude was unjustified. The Secretary of State could not have foreseen how the prices of commodities were going to rise in the way they had done. Could he or anyone else have realised how the conquest of Burma would react on economic conditions of Ceylon. That had had disastrous results as regards the food supply of this Island. The year before the war Ceylon had purchased from Burma about Rs. 54,000,000 worth of imports, chiefly rice. All that had now ceased and the Ceylon Government had now to take to food production. To grow foodstuffs the Government had to enter the labour market and compete with the Military authorities in getting labour. Early this month the Military were advertising for labourers, offering to pay a man Rs. 1-80 a day and also provide him with food, clothes and accommodation. In such circumstances the coconut planter found that his cost of production had increased to an extent which neither he nor the Imperial authorities could ever have anticipated. Whatever foodstuffs were procurable were costly. Agricultural implements were scarce and the prices of what were available were exorbitant. Transport difficulties were considerable and those of them who sent their goods in bullock carts were further handicapped by the rinderpest outbreak. The Secretary of State could certainly never have anticipated such an enormous increase in the cost of production."

The case for the revision of the price of Copra has been well made out in Mr. Obeyesekera's speech. All that I ask is that justice be done to the Ceylon producers who in addition to the cost of production, have to maintain their estates in a proper state of cultivation and put by something to run the estates when a great period of depression will follow at the conclusion of this war, to meet which, even various Governments are making preparation from now.

Ceylon Coconut producers have a right to complain when their Copra is bought at the controlled and uneconomic price of Rs. 59/- per candy (5 cwts.) by the Government and the same Copra is being sold in the Bombay Market by the Government at Rs. 130/- per candy, at more than double the price paid here! There are about 1,200,000 acres under coconut in Ceylon, of which 500,000 acres are in the hands of Chetties (Indian money lenders) and 75% of the remainder is said to be under mortgage. The above figures I have given in respect of our staple industry, will give some idea of the national decadence and the great penury that the people of the country have been brought to. *Note*: Following the increase in the price of rubber the price of Copra too was increased by Rs. 8 per candy. But considering the further increased costs today, this price is totally inadequate !

TEA

As regards tea of which there are about 600,000 acres, it is in a better position than rubber and Coconuts. But those producers who in the early stages of the war, animated by a spitit of patriotism gave their teas to the Imperial Government at a lesser rate, the costs having been less too at the time, are now penalised for it by being compelled to give over

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at the same rate as they did before, in spite of the increased costs at the present time, which means that they have to give their tea to the Imperial Government at about three cents below the actual cost price. Surely there is " something rotten in the State of Denmark ". No Government can profit in the long run by killing the goose that is laying the golden eggs in the shape of revenue and providing commodities that are vital to the war effort. So much for the best managed Ministry of the Ceylon Government. *Note·* I have been given to understand that the tea position too, that is complained of here, has also now been remedied.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Now I come to the worst managed Ministry which is the Ministry of Health. The Minister in charge is the Hon. Mr. George E. de Silva, who as a friend is an amiable person.

His scheme for building a large number of cottage hospitals involving a very large expenditure would serve no useful purpose, without the proper staff to man them or sufficient equipment considering the small provision made for the latter.

It was suggested that a chain of village dispensaries will suit the purpose better and will cost much less. This was very salutary advice given by the " Ceylon Daily News, " but the Minister would have none of it ! The Minister is one who believes more in quantity to his credit, than in quality !

People in the villages will always go to the bigger and better equipped hospitals, by-passing these cottage hospitals.

In criticising the Minister's health week broadcast the " Ceylon Daily News " in an Editorial stated on 26th July, 1943 "what the public asks of the Department is not a Health Week but a higher standard of health, less ballyhoo and better results ".

The " Ceylon Observer " in an Editorial dated 5th November, 1943 speaks of how the Health Department is spreading tuberculosis in Ceylon which speaks for itself viz:

" SPREADING T. B.

The building of new sanatoria alone will obviously not be sufficient if the spread of tuberculosis in Ceylon is to be brought under control. There are other methods of attack that must be vigorously pursued in the campaign against this scourge. We have received today from one who is well acquainted with the administration of our hospitals, Dr. Sextus F. Wickramasinghe, a letter on this subject containing what he calls a very startling and incredible indictment. He states that the major part of the dissemination of tuberculosis throughout the island must be attributed to the maladministration of our hospitals."

A minister with some sense of responsibility would first try to put the hospitals that are already in existence into first rate order before building new ones, but not so this minister ! •

To mention only a few hospitals:—The disgraceful conditions prevailing in the children's hospital in Colombo, where about 100 children are

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housed, were brought to my notice by a patriotic young man, Mr. Valentine Perera, the Editor of the " Young Ceylon " and Secretary to the Law Society of Ceylon. The reason why Mr. Perera, appealed to me was, because, the question of providing a children's hospital for Colombo was first mooted by me with Sir Allan Perry, then head of the Department in whose hands I placed the funds to begin the project. It was later taken up by a committee and the hospital for children became an accomplished fact. On which occasion Sir Allan Perry wrote to me thus " Although others too subscribed toward the cost of the building of this hospital the credit for founding this institution has been in a very large measure due to you. " Mr. Valentine Perera went so far as to say that it is a shame to have my name associated with a hospital so disgracefully run ! I lost no time in drawing the attention of the Minister to this state of affairs, but he took not the slightest notice about it. (The report makes mention here of how the Minister spent his time in formally opening a hospital at Ragama, although it had been opened for admitting patients a long time before that function and humorous incidents connected with the ceremonial, already narrated by the member for Gampaha in the State Council !)

Coming to more serious business the disgraceful manner in which the General Hospital in Colombo is run is given in a leading article in the January 1943 number of the " Young Ceylon " the organ of the youth of Ceylon.

The scandalous manner in which the Kandy Hospital, the second largest hospital in the Island is run is the subject of a public memorial by the leading residents of Kandy, of all classes and creeds. In view of the scanty attention shown to the unfortunate inmates in certain wards of the Kandy Hospital, these memorialists made the suggestion that these wards be given over in charge to a religious sisterhood, as already done in other towns in Ceylon.

As the memorialists who helped Mr. de Silva to become a minister, did not get the attention they deserved at his hands I was asked to intervene and the Minister's reply to me dated 24th May, 1943 stated: " The matter that you refer to is one on which the State Council has already given its decision and there is no alternative. In every case where we have to recruit a person who is a non-Ceylonese special permission has to be obtained from the State Council. It is therefore not a matter left to my discretion."

In reply I stated to the Minister on 14th June 1943, " The principle you speak of, as I admitted to you before, is excellent. But what I say is as every rule has exceptions, in works of mercy of this kind there should be exceptions too. If it is necessary for you to obtain the special leave of the State Council to employ these Religious Sisters as prayed for by the memorialists, then what is the difficulty in doing this ? You can easily do this, as you have ample grounds to go upon and I am sure the State Council would be reasonable.

If there is a will there is always a way. Even Acts of the British Parliament can be altered according to circumstances, so can also State Council decisions."

The decisions of the Ceylon State Council are not like the laws of Medes that cannot be altered, but this minister would not stir his finger to relieve the sufferings of the poor in the manner asked for by this most influentially

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signed memorial (a great majority of the memorialists were prominent Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims) when there was no other means available for properly caring for these unfortunate people.

The Minister's ruling practically come to this—that the poor must be allowed to suffer and languish in hospital in order to satisfy a supposed principle which appears to exist only in his imagination. I say supposed very advicedly because, there is no such principle by the State Council that foreigners should not be employed by the Ceylon Government. What it has laid down is, that foreigners should not be employed *without the leave of the State Council.* There was no reason for the Minister not to place this before the State Council in a matter of life and death to the poor patients, except his own stupidity. (The report goes on to complain of the Minister's unreasonable discrimination even in this work of mercy, placing Ceylon even behind the " Native " States of India, where religious Sisters are employed in Hindu and Muslim States to work in hospitals.)

The note that follows shows the pitiful state in which Ceylon hospitals are now run without adequate Nursing Staffs.

Note—The " Ceylon Observer " in an editorial dated 2nd November, 1944 has set out so clearly the position of the Nursing Sisters in Ceylon, that I would like to quote the actual figures here, which would prove beyond doubt the stupidity of the Minister in charge, who evaded with lame excuses the help proffered to him to run the Kandy Hospital in an efficient manner, by providing Religious Nursing Sisters for certain of the wards. Government Hospitals in Ceylon have accommodation for 12,200 patients. It is pointed out that at the rate of one nursing sister for every three patients, a minimum of about 4,000 nurses will be required ! Of a total of 800 nurses at present in Ceylon, only 488 are qualified ! ! Eighty new comers are in training, though Government has sanctioned 136. These figures will prove how absurd is the situation in the hospitals run by the Ministry of Health !

The reform of the State Council is therefore imperative, to get in a better class of men who will be alive to their responsibilities, who are intelligent enough to know what they should aim at and are not merely bent on making hay while the sun shines and having a good time while the going is good and at the expense of the land that gave us birth !

THE STATE COUNCIL

I propose to refer now to the reform of the State Council—a matter of vital concern to Ceylon. In criticising the State Council and its members, I have been impelled by no other motive than the performance of a public duty and a service to the country at large, as I have been wont to do during these last 25 years and more, without an eye to any office or any hope of reward ! In the matter of criticism I am following the principle laid down by my political " Gurus, " Sir P. Ramanathen and Sir P. Arunachalam, which is " private friendship should have nothing to do with public duty." The criticisms therefore should be accepted in Ceylon and in England in the spirit in which they are offered.

It is wrong to suppose however that nothing good has come out of the State Council ! On the whole the present State Council, it must be

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admitted, has done more for the people of the country than the previous administrations by the British Civil Servants. The latter were of course very educated and honest men and nothing could be said against their sense of honour and honesty, but generally speaking they lacked vision and enterprise. Being foreigners in this country, living a life of their own, without much contact with the people, they did not very much understand the people of the country. **Note**—This was proved by their actions during the dark days of 1915 ! They were content to do routine work and longed to get back to their own country and enjoy their pensions. When they retired after long service they took their experience with them, which was lost to the country.

They opened no new industries, no new banks, no new enterprises. Under the present State Council, large areas have been opened up in food cultivation, a number of new industries have been started, and this policy will be continued.

New banks and other enterprises have been opened up. My argument is, if so much good can come out of a class of men in the present Council who, generally speaking, are not the best brains and the most suitable in the country, how much more good can be done for our Island home, if it is made possible for the right class of men to enter the Council, high souled independent men, with a sense of responsibility, men of sincere patriotic endeavour unlike spurious nationalists, men who will not make public life merely a cloak for personal advancement and men who will place Ceylon above self ! There are many such men in this country and means must be found for them to come into Council by some manner or other. Caste, creed or race of these men do not matter, so long as they look upon Ceylon truly and sincerely from the very bottom of their hearts—as their common motherland. By the coming of these men into Council the country would be vastly benefited.

How this is to be done is for the Government to devise and prepare the necessary machinery for the purpose. I have lost one who would have been very useful to me, now, in the matter of reforms for Ceylon. I refer to the death of Lord Lloyd, Secretary of State, my friend for over 20 years from the time he was Governor of Bombay. Through him I was expecting to get a great deal done for Ceylon, but his unfortunate death, intervened. I had time to send him only one report from Ceylon. I must now look upon my friends in Parliament, *to place my independent views before the proper authority and do all that is necessary in that connection, in the best interests of Ceylon.*

I must not fail to refer here to an event of great importance to Ceylon, the opening of

THE CEYLON UNIVERSITY

The agitation for a University in this country began at a time when I was quite a young man and its realisation was reached by the authorities responsible only in my middle age ! The public address that I delivered on the subject on 10th November, 1923 over 20 years ago is printed in full in my Ceylon book published for me by Sir John Murray. My views expressed therein had the full support of the men of the greatest culture that Ceylon possessed at the time—I refer to the Very Revd. Father

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M. J. LeGoc, O.M.I., M.A., B.Sc. Ph.D.etc., who was Rector of St. Joseph's College in Colombo, now Vicar General of the Archdiocease, the Hon. Sir P. Ramanathen, Kt., K.C., C.M.G., Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Kt. M.A., President of the National Congress and the Hon. Sir Anton Bertram Kt.,K.C. Chief Justice whose reviews of my address also find place in that book.

The University is now placed under the supervision of a great Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Jennings, a man of even European reputation. If he is left to himself without much interference he will make a good job of it. At its opening I sent my greetings as coming from a member of the oldest seat of learning, the Pontifical Academy of Rome, to the youngest seat of learning the Ceylon University. The Vice-Chancellor sent me a charming letter in reply.

A University for Ceylon was a great necessity where Ceylon leaders in years to come could be trained. It should never be a mere degree factory. Further, leaders should come out of it with their minds broadened by culture and they themselves hardened by discipline. As recommended by the Norwood Committee for Britain, in Ceylon too, every youth coming out of the University should be trained to render some sort of public service. Young men will have to face a different world after the war and they need to get well equipped for the battle of life. At this new centre of culture let us hope they will learn the great fact that the noblest way of serving the Almighty is by service to man. It will be the duty of these young men to carry into the dismal squalid areas of our villages and towns something of the amenities and discipline which has added joy and beauty to their university life. These young people should take the fullest advantage of scientific knowledge and discovery. They should strain every nerve to build up national unity in the country. It would help them greatly, if they have at their university a faculty for intellectual nation building.

Tolerance and respect in the sphere of religion and co-operation for common ends in the everyday life of the people should be the Keynotes and in the realm of culture they should make a worth while contribution to human progress. Undue importance should not be attached to nationalism, which has been the cause of wars and friction among peoples and communities. Nationalism is good up to a certain limit. All countries have come to realise this now. A spirit of inter nationalism should be cultivated which is the ideal that both Pandit Nehru and Rajagopalachari, the great Indian Statesmen, have set up for India, as they told me themselves. After their training is over and they pass out of the portals of the University, our young men of culture should make an attempt in however small a way to reform mankind and to render service to humanity. This is the least that Ceylon expects of them.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

At this moment a great deal of attention is being devoted to the report produced by the Special Committee on education for Ceylon. The recommendations of this Committee have to be critically examined and tested. The report may be taken however at its first reading as the educational Utopia that this Committee wishes to establish in Ceylon ! A great fault with our planners of the future is that they fail to take into

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consideration the resources at their disposal and cut their coat according to their cloth ! This is a general failing among the ministers too, as they want to trim their sails to catch the passing breeze of popular applause !

Education has hitherto been planned as a concession to the masses and a sort of insurance to those comfortably placed, but what is required today is a comprehensive scheme to develop all the powers of the people of the Country. A new order in Education. The Ceylon report on education under notice here, is not without its usefulness, it has many good points that should be adopted. But without free education for all as recommended from the Kindergarten to the University, free bursaries and scholarships should be provided by the Government to all deserving pupils, who have a chance of becoming a credit to Ceylon. We have much to learn from other countries as to how these questions are tackled, but our schemes must be kept within the resources of the Country.

The existence of the denominational schools should be encouraged. These schools have rendered great service to the country in producing men of character, whatever the ravings of the Minister of Education against them may mean ! In the present Minister of Education again we see how the mass vote has gone astray ! We see in him the ludicrous spectacle of a Country Solicitor blossoming overnight into a Minister of Education ! His further attempt to establish himself as an educational Dictator of Ceylon, can be compared to one, who is intellectually only a Liliputian mascarading in the armour of a great intellectual giant and contending for weapons he cannot wield ! His threat to the abolition of Denominational Schools must eventually lead to his own abolition as a Minister of Education, innocent of what real education means ! Coming to education in other countries during my visits to Norway, Sweden and Denmark, countries which are run by small people like ourselves, I found that we had much to learn from them as regards the tackling of the educational problem. I sent a report on the subject from there to Sir Baron Jayatilaka who was then the Minister of Home Affairs and the Leader of the State Council, recommending the good points that should be introduced into Ceylon. As suggested by the Very Rev. Father Peter Pillai, one of the greatest educationalists in Ceylon and Father Nicholas Perera just retired who are the true nation builders and " the truest nationalists " (" Times " tribute), this report of the Special Committee should be examined by a " small non political expert group.. in order to sift the chaff from the wheat and preserve for us what is really valuable ". In whatever scheme of education, the rights of the parents should not be ignored. **The State must respect the rights of the parents.**

THE INDO-CEYLON QUESTION

I must find place in this report to say something on this subject, considering its importance to both countries. There is no anti-Indian feeling in Ceylon as such, whatever unscruplous polititians, may try to make out of it. But what Anti-Indian feeling there is, is directed against unscrupulous Indian merchants ! I shall refer to that aspect later.

The natural sympathy of Ceylon for India is a well established fact. Perhaps no people outside India have shown such sympathy with the Indians in the present famine in Bengal as the people of little Ceylon. In a letter I have received from the Civil Defence Commissioner dated

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4th December 1943 he states " I have already remitted Rs. 300,000 (about £22,200) to the Viceroy and hope to send a further Rs. 25,000 this week ". This is only from one fund, the Central Relief Fund, while there are about four other funds operating and contributions are yet pouring in rapidly to all these funds in aid of Bengal Relief. This, in spite of the fact and at a time that people have given already so generously to all War Funds and War Loans raised in Ceylon which has taxed the pockets of our people so much. Coming to the Indo-Ceylon question it should however be understood that Ceylon is a small country, unlike India which is vast. There is a thing called self preservation in every country. The natives of Ceylon who are increasing rapidly, have no other place to go and earn a living. Besides they are more home birds and like to live in their own country. Their rights have to be protected. There is nothing anti-Indian in that. There is too much vision and intelligence in India not to recognise the justice of Ceylon's position in the matter. Whatever outstanding differences there were between the two countries, these have been settled for all time when the Statesmen of both countries met at a Round Table Conference in Ceylon, when matters were fully discussed and settled.

India sent some of her most distinguished sons to settle the differences. The delegation consisted of Sir Giraj Bajpai, now the India representative to the U.S.A., Sir Mirza Ismail former Diwan of Mysore, Mr. Sastri, former Advocate General of Madras. The British representative in the delegation was Sir Rutherford, then Adviser to the Governor of Madras, presently Acting Governor of Bengal.

I had the pleasure of meeting them all while in Ceylon. Now the " Agreed Conclusions " that these distinguished men signed with the Ceylon representatives, cannot be thrown away as a " mere scrap of paper ", but the Indian Government must take steps to implement those recommendations. **Note**—I do not know what the " Agreed Conclusions " were as I have not seen that report but I was assured by the leaders on both sides who took part in the matter that the above mentioned document settled the differences that arose between the two countries, satisfactorily.

Meanwhile Sir Baron Jayatilaka who has gone out to India as Ceylon's representative is doing all what he could to remove misunderstandings there. In the course of a long review of his work in India sent to me, he states :

" When I came over here last December there was widespread hostility to Ceylon which found expression in newspapers throughout the country and at public meetings. I gave some press interviews, and towards the end of January I spoke at a meeting of the Rotary Club of Delhi on Indo-Ceylon Relations. On that occasion I gave the history of relations between India and Ceylon during the past centuries, and fully explained the present situation. A fairly long summary of my speech was published in all the leading newspapers in all parts of the country, and I believe it has helped to remove serious misunderstandings that previously prevailed. Today there is a new spirit of friendliness towards Ceylon. Columns of newspapers are not filled daily with attacks on Ceylon, its Government, the Ministers and the Sinhalese people especially. There are, of course, a few die-hards like the Bombay knight who want to keep India and Ceylon at loggerheads with each other, but I do not think these individuals

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have much of a following. The Government pays little attention to their fulminations against Ceylon. During the past few months it has helped Ceylon considerably in regard to its food supplies, and in the future too I expect that sympathetic attitude will be maintained.

Both the Government and the public have welcomed my appointment as the Representative of the Ceylon Government. I receive nothing but courtesy and consideration from the officials with whom I come into contact. Leading men both official and unofficial always extend to me a kindly welcome whenever I have occasion to meet them. I am very hopeful that in a short time the misunderstandings that existed in the past will disappear, and the friendliest relations will be established between the two countries for the good of both."

India too sent to Ceylon a distinguished Statesman in the person of Mr. M. S. Aney, who was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, to represent India in Ceylon. I have had the pleasure of meeting him and having a long talk with him. He promised to come again later and continue our talks. I found the Indian representative amiable and very cultured and tallied in every respect with what Sri Rajagopalachari, the ex-Premier of Madras, had stated in his introduction of Mr. Aney to me. It is hoped that with these two distinguished elder Statesmen residing in India and Ceylon, representing their respective countries, there will be no room left for any future misunderstandings and misrepresentations by mischief makers, who were out to set both countries on fire so long as there were no official representatives to safeguard the interests of both Ceylon in India and India in Ceylon.

RAPACIOUS INDIAN BORAH MERCHANTS

The anti-Indian feeling in Ceylon as I said before is directed against the rapacious Indian merchants, mostly of the Borah Class. They have exploited cruelly even the war situation in Ceylon to their own advantage and added vastly to the hardship and misery of the poor. (The report deals further drawing from personal experience of the unscrupulous business methods of the Borah Merchants and their want of a sense of honour for their spoken and even written word). In my recommendation to the Civil Defence Commissioner I have advised that all the trade, they are doing in Ceylon should be taken into the hands of the Government or run by Co-operative Societies.

Now I come to the present War situation.

THE WAR AND THE BATTLE FOR CEYLON

Ceylon had not witnessed the tragedy of War on her soil for about 150 years. Even the passing of the Island to the British Crown in 1815 was not accompanied by war.

The Sinhalese kept the European powers. The Portuguese, Dutch and British in turn at bay for over 300 years. Every attempt to conquer them by force of arms was defeated with heavy losses to the European powers. To mention only one episode. During the early part of the 18th century a force of several thousand strong, was sent with Major Davy and other officers to take the interior of the Island. It was completely annihilated

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and only one man was sent back to tell the tale. The people of Ceylon fought courageously for their independence. The lion race of Ceylon never capitulated !

Even in the British Partliament, during those early days it was discussed and settled as a matter of policy that no further attempts should be made conquer the Island.

But, Ceylon passed peacefully to the British Crown when the Chiefs and the people of their own free will accepted the British Sovereign as their own, in place of the last King who reigned at Kandy—not too wisely and was therefore dethroned, the terms being settled by agreement as already mentioned between the Chiefs and Britain's representatives, under a document known as the Kandyan Convention of 1815.

When the present war commenced I wrote at the end of the year 1939 to my old friend the Most Honourable the Marquis of Crew K.G. our former Secretary of State and later for India, now leading the Liberal party in England, as to how long this war was going to last,. To this His Lordship replied early in 1940 and in the course of it he stated : " I see no prospect of an early termination of this struggle ".

More than three years have passed since that letter was written and still the war rages with greater fury than ever.

Ceylon too was gradually got ready to meet the prospect of war that was looming in the horizon, under the direction of H. E. Admiral Layton, the Commander-in-Chief for Ceylon, a model of efficiency, who by his humane nature and friendliness, to the people of this country had made a big impression on their minds, and won their hearts.

At the outbreak of war, I offered my personal services to care for the wounded by converting my own country seat— Richmond Castle, at Kalutara about 25 miles from Colombo, into a war hospital for 100 patients. The Minister for Home Affairs Sir Baron Jayatilaka in his letter dated 15th February 1942 spoke with deep appreciation about the offer made, and the press in announcing the offer stated that I have placed Richmond Castle, Kalutara, and its extensive grounds at the disposal of the Government to be used for any purpose in connection with the alleviation of human suffering during the present emergency. He has also offered his personal service in the same cause. The property which is situated on the banks of the Kalu Ganga is one of the largest private residences in the Island. The building has accommodation for over 100 beds and is equipped with a library, a spacious billiard room and private Chapel. (In addition to a museum devoted to ancient Sinhalese Arts and Crafts from the time of the Sinhalese Kings and a picture gallery of Old Masters which had taken over 20 years to be collected in Europe).

The Chapel houses among other religious treasures the Most Precious Relic of the True Cross, a gift of His Holiness Pope Pius XI.

The Castle and premises are now used for other purposes in connection with the war.

Ceylon received the first baptism of fire after 1½ centuries of peace on that fateful Easter morning of the 5th April 1942 !

A large Japanese invasion fleet, secretly approached her shores. One hundred Japanese planes were sent over from the 5 aircraft carriers that accompanied the invasion fleet, to pound the Island and its defences. How Ceylon stood the test do not bear repetition here as it was flashed

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all over and Ceylon received the world's applause. Ceylon came out of the ordeal well and the Japanese made no further attempt to land.What there is in store for the future it is difficult to say, but our faith is in God in whose hands lie our ultimate fate and destiny. Messages of sympathy to me personally and to Ceylon in our ordeal came from various parts of the world; among the first to arrive was one from the Pope's Representative in the East. Lord Crewe who as Secretary of State first conceded the elective principle to our Council, yet follows our fortunes with sympathy. On this occasion he wrote to me " We have all looked with sympathy and regret at the trouble, you have had to face in your beautiful Island ".

CEYLON'S SUPPORT IN THE WAR

Truly Ceylon has played her part well in this war as in the last, according to the limited resources at her disposel. It must be remembered that Ceylon is a small country with a population of about 6,000,000 inhabitants all told. Before the war it had a normal annual income of about £7,000,000 per annum.

Large number's of the people of Ceylon have joined the forces both here and abroad, some proceeding to England especially to join the R.A.F. and have even taken part in the bombing of Germany. The Government on behalf of the people made a first contribution of Rs. 5,000,000 for the purchase of bombers and other aircraft. The war loans that were floated in Ceylon, for Ceylon and on behalf of the Imperial Government were all over subscribed running into many millions of pounds sterling. Various other funds started in connection with the war are all flourishing and I give some particulars here up to December 1943 of only some of the funds started in this connection.

The " Times " "Send a Plane Fund " which has already provided 39 Aircraft stood at	.. Rs.	3,090,771.00
The Gloucester Fund in aid of the British Red Cross stand at	.. „	1,108,293.52
St. Dunstan's Fund	.. „	142,927.70
The Ceylon Government War Purposes Fund has brought in a sum of	.. „	5,722,842.92
King George's Fund for Sailors	.. „	350,683.35
Air Raid Distress Fund	.. „	396,895.16

(Rs. 13,500/- approximately £1000-0-0).

Of the many tributes paid, by the Colonial Office to the generosity of Ceylon War Funds, in Britain, I make mention here of only two.

TRIBUTE TO CEYLON'S GENEROSITY

Latest Gift to Fund for Sailors

Ceylon's latest gift to the King George's Fund for Sailors—a cheque for £5,000—was gratefully accepted by the Chairman of the fund at the Colonial Office last week.

The cheque from the Ceylon Government War Purposes Fund was presented to Admiral Sir Aubrey Smith by Rear Admiral Sir Arthur Bromley, on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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Also present at the ceremony was the Right Hon. Sir Sidney Abrahams, P.C. former Chief Justice of Ceylon, and Lieut.-General R. S. Hickson, Secretary of the Fund, and Mr. J. B. Sidebotham, Assistant Secretary in charge of the Ceylon Department, Colonial office.

Sir Arthur Bromley said the cheque was but a fraction of Ceylon's contribution to the war effort, and he went on : " It is a matter of pride to us all that Ceylon, conscious of her importance as a bastion in our defences in the Eastern theatre of war, should crown her war efforts by these generous contributions for war purposes in this country.

Sir Arthur spoke of Ceylon's age-long connection with the sea* a fact of which we in this country were perhaps too little aware. There was a flourishing and highly cultured civilisation in Ceylon long before the Anglo-Saxons were established in England.

Ceylon, Sir Arthur went on, had lain for centuries on one of the great trade routes of the world and was now one of the focal points of our convoy route to the East. ***Note**: In the year 50 A D King Sandhamuna of Ceylon sent 4 Ambassadors by sea to the Court of Emperor Claudius Caesar at Rome, which is recorded by Pliny the great historian.

WORK OF C. N. V. F.

Sir Arthur continued : " Ceylon has a special pride today in the Ceylon Naval Volunteer Force. Half the officers and all the men of this splendid force are Ceylonese. They man the mine-sweepers and the harbour services, and they did yeoman service when the Japanese attacked Colombo by air last year and were so soundly thrashed.

" Her peoples will hear with pleasure of today's ceremony, as evidence of the appreciation felt here of her help towards the welfare of the men of the Royal Navy who keep open our life lines and protect our convoys: the merchant navy who man our transport, those men who go down to the sea in ships know that with such a wonderful organisation as King George's Fund for Sailors their dependents, should anything happen to them, will be cared for.

Admiral Sir Aubrey Smith said he hoped Ceylon would hear adequately of the Fund's great appreciation of Ceylon's generosity. The cheque, he said, was the Island's 14th gift to the Fund.

Sir Aubrey said he himself had been in Ceylon, as a civilian but he had heard continually from his naval colleagues of Ceylon's great kindness and hospitality to naval men from his country. This latest gift, concluded Sir Aubrey brought the Fund's total to nearly £1,080,000."

SECOND REFERENCE

By REAR-ADMIRAL BROMLEY

(on behalf of the Secretary of State)

" Ceylon, equal in size to Holland and Belgium, with a population of over five millions, was the first Colony to deliver a serious blow at Japan and this brought her to our notice in the earlier part of this year.

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" She is now our chief source of rubber, and since the fall of Malaya planters in this Colony are forcing their rubber trees to a maximum output for the war effort.

" Ceylon is one of the more advanced territories of the British Colonial Empire and its administration has been for years past largely carried on by the Ceylonese officers born in the country. She possesses her own fully recognised University and Medical School and her various social services are being extended and improved.

" A MARVELLOUS EXAMPLE "

" The people of Ceylon will be very interested when they hear of this ceremony and will welcome the facts that part of their contribution has been allotted to the W.R.N.S. Ceylon itself is of course one of the most important Naval bases in the East."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION

Once the war is over it is to be hoped that British Statesmen will put Ceylon's Constitutional question into proper shape and form. The Franchise as I have stated before should be so arranged, that Ceylon's best sons will have a chance of serving in her Councils. There are only too few of them in the Council today. There is no dearth of good public men of culture, vision and understanding in the country, but they do not come in generally by the mass vote, until the voters are well educated to exercise the privilege of the vote. The nett result of this mass vote today has been to deprive the country of the valuable services of a host of really good men. When such men good and sincere as a whole run the country, the fears of the minorities who form about 2,000,000 of the Island's population, will disappear completely, but until that time comes proper protection should be given them, and also protection for religion as well. A majority can always afford not only to be just but even generous to the minorities. Practically all the differences that now exist between these two divisions of the Island's population could be traced to the work of unscrupulous polititians, who came in by the mass vote and who have placed self above the country ! Public life in Ceylon has not only to be purified but even spiritualised as has been done in India. Whatever else may be said of the Indian leaders, no one can doubt their sincerity or their patriotism to the land that gave them birth. They have realised that to give sincere and patriotic and devoted service to their motherland, is the greatest and the most glorious triumph of life.

Bribery and corruption is not in their composition. The Indian Congress Ministers even reduced their salaries by 90 per cent. from Rs. 5,300/- per month to Rs. 530/- to ease the financial burden of the country. Ceylon politicians have yet to show such patriotic spirit !

The present State Council which came into being in 1935, was only elected for 5 years. But it is now good for 9 years as its term has been extended on two occasions already by two years each time. Sir Baron Jayatilaka the former Leader of the State Council when he was in it and before he left for India declared that the present Council had become " stale " and unrepresentative of public opinion, but still it is kept on by the authorities ignoring public opinion, although general elections have taken place in war time in other civilised countries.

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Members elected for a peace time administration though unsuitable for a wartime administration are kept up by the officials administering oxygen ! in extending their periods of service, at a time when the Council should be filled with men of highest intellect who are alive to the great forces that are at work re-shaping and re-moulding the world. This state of affairs is not fair by the country or the members themselves who have asked for a general election and many of whom are ill-equipped to handle the conditions created by the war. Another consideration is and a very weighty one too, the members themselves know that the Bribery Commissioner's report has discredited the Council so completely that they no longer have the confidence of the people. Further a new Constitution for Ceylon is on the anvil and what the letter to the press, (The Ceylon Daily News) that follows, states may be taken as the view of the mass of voters in Ceylon.

" THE STATE COUNCIL AND ITS DISSOLUTION

Sir, As the Ministers have now decided to take up the challenge of His Majesty's Government to frame a constitution which will be accepted by three fourths of the Members of the State Council, it is necessary that decisions of such far-reaching consequences to the future well-being of this country should be reached by a body which has the confidence of the country.

The Bribery Commissioner's disclosures have seriously undermined the confidence the people of this country repose, in their present representatives. That being so, it is imperative that the present Council be dissolved forthwith and the issue whether the Secretary of State's declaration on the subject of reforms is acceptable or not to the vast majority of the people, can only be decided when a new set of members are returned to the Council.

As you pointed out in your Editorial the other day, the epidemic of by-elections that have resulted by reason of the resignations and death of several members could be avoided if the present State Council is dissolved preparatory to a General Election. It is not quite clear why an examination of the reform question should await the end of the war. But even if there is some reason why the final settlement of the reforms should be delayed pending the war, no reasonable grounds can be urged against an immediate General Election. Yours, etc., C. M. FERNANDO. Negombo, June 9, 1943."

Although dissolution of the Ceylon Council is not going to end corruption, until the question of franchise is properly arranged to bring the best men, into the next constitution, every precaution should be taken in such a general election now to prevent bribery, corruption, intimidation, impersonation, the efforts to arouse racial, caste and religious antagonisms which will help to purge the undeserving to some extent at least and ensure a better Council than the present one. To keep on the present Council at such a momentous period of our history when great decisions have to be made, savours of lack of real interest in the future well being of the people of Ceylon on the part of the responsible authorities.

Another important question to be mooted here is that efforts should be made for at least the Premier Colonial possession of Britain, as Ceylon is,

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to be represented at the Peace Conference. The Colonies must be represented at such a discussion.

Such a responsible organ as the " London Times " has called upon the American people to take an active interest as well as responsibility in the progress towards freedom of Colonial territories. There is no reason why Britain and America alone should decide the fate of the Colonies which have contributed in no uncertain manner towards the cause and the winning of the war. The enormous help given by the Colonies in general to the success of the Britain's arms is acknowledged even in the 1943 Christmas message of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a portion of which I take the liberty of reproducing here.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MESSAGE
" GO ON GIVING OF YOUR BEST "

" In the course of a Christmas message to the peoples of the British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories, Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, states :

Since I talked to you all just under a year ago much that we dared hope has been fulfilled. The Italian Dictator is a fugitive and his Empire founded upon crime and aggression has collapsed. Germany is now at bay and Japan is feeling the blow that will ultimately beat her to her knees. During the coming year the onslaught of the United Nations will be strengthened and concerted, and we can look ahead with confidence to the day of retribution for these two aggressor nations.

In the successes which have been achieved up to date you in the Colonies have played a notable part. You have given freely of your man-power for the fighting services : you have worked hard and untiringly to produce essential foodstuffs and raw materials for the war : you have made generous gifts of money and in kind ; and throughout the long struggle you have constantly sustained us by your courage and comradeship. Thank you for your past effort ; and go on giving of your best. We cannot afford to relax our efforts for a moment, not until our enemies have been destroyed and the peoples they oppressed have been freed."

The peoples inhabiting those Colonies must have a large say in the matter. I shall refer to the question of the Colonies later in this report after dealing with Ceylon. Details of my campaign while in England, supported by the Beaverbrook Press etc. to send in members from the Colonies to the British Parliament had already appeared in the Ceylon " Sunday Observer " of 27th October 1940.

The question of the future of Ceylon has been the subject of a declaration in the House of Commons by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The declaration runs as follows :

" TEXT OF DECLARATION "
COMMISSION TO EXAMINE MINISTER'S PROPOSALS

The text of the Declaration by His Majesty's Government is as follows :—

In 1941 the following assurance was given to the Board of Ministers in Ceylon :—

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" His Majesty's Government have had under further consideration the question of constitutional reform in Ceylon. The urgency and importance of reform of the Constitution are fully recognised by His Majesty's Government ; but before making decisions upon present proposals for reform, concerning which there has been so little unanimity but which are of such importance to the well-being of Ceylon, His Majesty's Government would desire that the position should be further examined and made the subject of further consultation by means of a Commission or Conference. This cannot be arranged under war conditions, but the matter will be taken up with the least possible delay after the war."

" WITH GREATER PRECISION "

After further consideration His Majesty's Government have decided that it is in the general interest to give greater precision to the foregoing statement with the object of removing any doubts regarding His Majesty's Government's intentions. Accordingly His Majesty's Government have asked the Governor to convey to the Board of Ministers the following message :—

" (1) The post-war re-examination of the reform of Ceylon's constitution, to which His Majesty's Government stands pledged, will be directed towards the grant to Ceylon by Order of His Majesty in Council of full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration.

" (2) His Majesty's Government will retain control of the provision, construction, maintenance, security, staffing, manning and use of such defences, equipment, establishments and communications as His Majesty's Government may from time to time deem necessary for the naval, military and air security of the Commonwealth including that of the Island, the cost thereof being shared between the two Governments in agreed proportions.

" (3) Ceylon's relations with foreign countries and with other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations will be subject to the control and direction of His Majesty's Government.

" GOVERNOR'S POWERS "

" (4) The Governor will be vested with such powers as will enable him if necessary to enact any direction of His Majesty's Government in regard to matters within the scope of paragraphs (2) and (3) of this declaration ; and his assent to local measures upon these matters will be subject to reference to His Majesty's Government.

" (5) The present classes of reserved bills in the Royal Instructions will be largely reduced under a new Constitution. Apart from measures affecting Defence and External Relations it is intended that these shall be restricted to classes of bills which—

(*a*) Relate to the Royal Prerogative, the rights and property of His Majesty's subjects not residing in the Island, and the trade and shipping of any part of the Commonwealth ;

(*b*) Have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and in the Governor's opinion are likely to involve oppression or unfairness to any community ;

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(*c*) Relate to currency,

" (6) The limitation contained in the preceding paragraphs will not be deemed to prevent the Governor from assenting in the King's name to any measures relating to, and conforming with, any trade agreements concluded with the approval of His Majesty's Government by Ceylon with other parts of the Commonwealth. It is the desire of His Majesty's Government that the Island's commercial relations should be settled by the conclusion of agreements and His Majesty's Government will be pleased to assist in any negotiations with this object ".

" POST-WAR COMMISSION "

" MINISTERS TO SUBMIT COMPLETE SCHEME "

" (7) The framing of a Constitution in accordance with the terms of his declaration which require such examination of detail and such precision of definition as cannot be brought to bear so long as the whole energies of the Service and other departments of His Majesty's Government must remain focussed on the successful prosecution of the war.

" His Majesty's Government will, however, once victory is achieved, proceed to the examination by a suitable commission or conference of such detailed proposals as the Ministers may in the meantime have been able to formulate in the way of a complete constitutional scheme ; subject to the clear understanding that acceptance by His Majesty's Government of any proposals will depend, firstly, upon His Majesty's Government being satisfied that they are in full compliance with the preceding portion of this statement, and secondly, upon their subsequent approval by three quarters of all the members of the State Council of Ceylon excluding the Officers of State and the Speaker or other Presiding Officer.

" CONTRIBUTION TO WAR "

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

" ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARLIAMENT "

LONDON, MAY 26.

" A new Government announcement regarding a post-war constitution for Ceylon was made in the House of Commons today by the Colonial Secretary Mr. Oliver Stanley.

After making the statement, Mr. Stanley added that, rather than set up a British Royal Commission to work out the new Constitution, the Government would prefer that the people of Ceylon should put up their own ideas so that " after the war we can discuss the details together ".

It remains to be seen when the details are worked out, how the limitations that are to be imposed on Ceylon will be reconciled with the legitimate aims and aspirations of the people of this country. About the subject of Ceylon's foreign relations, though subject to the control of His Majesty's Government, I would like to state here, that these should be

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carried on in accordance with the wishes of the people of this country and chiefly in their own interests.

Once the Governor's powers are largely withdrawn on the Ceylon side, as a safeguard against the abuse of power, irresponsibility or ill advised and hasty legislation on the part of the State Council, there should be a Second Chamber as a necessary feature of the scheme of the reform of the Constitution of Ceylon.

In most of the great countries of the world such a Chamber functions and in Ceylon it is all the more necessary as it is not sufficiently mature in political wisdom. **Note.**—As there has been much discussion over the questions of a Second Chamber and free education, I would like to place here on record the views expressed by Sir Baron Jayatilaka, most revered of our elder statesmen, which I embodied in my letter to the " Ceylon Daily News " of 5th June, 1944 in connection with his sad demise, as a tribute to his merits and worth.

SIR BARON'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION AND A SECOND CHAMBER

Sir,—The sad death of Ceylon's elder statesman must send a pang of regret through the hearts of all who knew him ! As one who has been a co-worker with him, both from here and in England itself, in the cause of political reform for Ceylon, I always looked upon him as a safe guide in regard to Ceylon affairs, in the same way as I look upon Sri Rajagopalachari, the ex-Premier of Madras, as a safe guide in Indian affairs. Although we three belonged to three different religions, in political matters we always worked together in harmony and complete understanding C.R. during his recent visit here was pleased to pay public tribute to my humble services in the cause of India.....

Sir Baron was a great and good man ! In one of his letters to me, before he left Ceylon for India, he wrote :

> " I have no doubt that when the time comes for considering the reform of the Constitution, your friends in the British Parliament will be in a position to help us greatly."

He spoke from experience of our work together in the past.

Even from India he did not fail to exchange views with me often on political matters relating to Ceylon. **In one of his letters to me, written, mark you, as recently as the 14th of March this year, he has left his views so clearly about two matters that are agitating the public, i.e. the Education question and that of a Second Chamber for Ceylon, that I regard it as the fulfilment of a sacred trust and a solemn duty to the country he loved so dearly, to make known his views to a people whose minds have been confused by the machinations of petty politicians.**

Sir Baron wrote :—

> " I have carefully read your letters to the Press and also the other cuttings which you have sent me. As regards free education, though it is certainly a good thing, if it can be adopted, I doubt very much, if the country can afford it. The Special Committee's estimate of expenditure will, I think, fall very much below the mark. From the Ceylon papers received this week I find next year's Education Vote

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is estimated at 69 million rupees, that is about half the total revenue of the country. It is, of course, impossible to incur this huge expenditure on education without paralysing the other essential services of the Government, unless heavy additional taxation is imposed. The best thing to do at least for the present is, as you have suggested, to establish a very large number of free scholarships throughout the country, so that every boy or girl, who deserves to be encouraged, may not miss the chance of receiving a good education. There is one other possible result of making English education free as has been suggested. It is bound to increase very largely the number of English educated unemployed, which may develop to be a serious menace to the welfare of the country.

"When the Donoughmore Constitution was being discussed, I often spoke against the institution of a Second Chamber. To add a Second Chamber to the Governor with his special reserve powers and the Officers of State not responsible to the State Council would, I thought, be an expensive luxury, which might be a stumbling block in the path of political progress. But in a scheme which provides for full responsible Government the special powers of the Governor should find no place. To get the British Government to agree to the abolition of these overriding powers, which the Governor now possesses, some other democratic alternatives should be provided. So far as I can see, a Second Chamber is that alternative. I am therefore in general agreement with you as to the necessity of providing a Second Chamber in the new Constitution. Whether the Ministers have finally decided against the Second Chamber I do not know. If they have, I cannot help thinking the omission may vitiate the whole scheme of reform they have framed."

Those who love and cherish Sir Baron's memory should be guided by his wise words as quoted here, in regard to these two matters of importance to Ceylon.....

N. D. A. SILVA WIJAYASINGHE"

Ceylon Daily News,
5th June, 1944.

Now I come to the question of—

BRITISH COLONIES IN GENERAL AND CEYLON IN PARTICULAR

Important Official statements have been made during this war on the subject of the Colonies, by such political stars on the Government side as Lord Cranborn, Mr. Morrison, the Duke of Devonshire, Colonel Oliver Stanley to mention only a few, breathing a great deal of concern and full of good intentions as regards the Colonies.

These intentions are possibly sincere, but actual performance is better, especially in view of the fact that the same thing took place during the last war too, but once the war was over these intentions cooled down and British Statesmen got back to their old imperialistic frame of mind again. So distrust has crept into the promises of British Statesmen.

A case in point is India ! During the last war India alone gave more fighting men than all the British self governing Dominions and the

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Colonies put together. Gandhi himself became a recruiting agent for Britain and led an Ambulance Corps to the battle front. India gave countless treasure and millions of tons of war material. Mr. Lloyd George then Prime Minister, to mention only the chief spokesmen on behalf of Britain, made important declarations in Parliament about self determination etc., pledging the word of Britain. But once the war was over all these good intentions appeared to cool down. As a great Indian Statesman put it to me bluntly, during my campaign in India for a reconciliation with Britain " we fought under the promise of the full loaf, but in Victory, we were offered mere crumbs off the master's table."

Now is it any wonder that India does not trust Britain's word and want the constitutional changes to take place, before the war is over. There is an old English saying " Once bitten twice shy " ! This attitude is an apt illustration as regards the Sub-Continent of India.

Coming to the Colonies, what these people feel is that they have been largely patronised in words, but ignored in action !

The people of the Colonies have begun to compare all the fine declarations of the previously mentioned Government spokesmen with their Prime Minister's statement, such as holding on to what Britain has !

At present the Colonies really do not want to get out of the fold of Britain, which has inculcated in them, such grand and noble ideals of human freedom and liberty. What they want is the freedom to govern themselves, while yet remaining in the British fold. But when they are exasperated by the non-fulfilment of British promises and non-translation of British ideals about human dignity, freedom and liberty into actual practice, they too would want to get out of the British fold as India wants to do and as Burma has already done !

The Burmese are all one people and of one religion, speaking generally. There is no class and creed distinctions among them as in India. Even so, by the refusal of the British Government to give them full self Government or even to make a clear declaration on that subject Burma was practically driven into the arms of Japan ?

Mr. Churchill before he became Prime Minister in sending a message to the Glasgow Conference on Empire development stated that " The failure of England to observe her just commitments towards her Colonies might well tempt others to relieve her of the responsibility." As Mr. Churchill said, such has already happened. But judging him from his public declarations on the subject, as Prime Minister he appears to have forgotten whate he wrote to the Glasgow Conference. For, has he not declared that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India and the Colonies ?

However Mr. Roosevelt corrected him by declaring that the Atlantic Charter applied to all humanity but Mr. Churchill is yet silent on the subject. The British Labour Party has now taken up the question. The Labour Party conference of June, 1943 carried a composite resolution on Colonial Policy declaring that a special Charter should be proclaimed to the Colonial peoples and demanding that all " forms of political imperialism should be rapidly liquidated." Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism are all bad methods of Government, as to how bad they are, it is only a question of degree ! Therefore the sooner these methods of Government are liquidated, the better it is for mankind.

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What the Colonies have become under political imperialism, we have been told by an authority on the Colonies Mr. Mac Millan, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, himself. He states " The Colonies are poor because they are four or five centuries behind the times."

The Colonial peoples have been denied political power and their economic interests have been neglected, for such a length of time it is no wonder that they are so far behind the times.

About the British Imperial System of Colonial Government, we have it on the authority of no less a person than Lord Oliver, at one time Secretary of State for India that " The whole system of Colonial Government is subordinated to the idea of profits "..... not a very comforting reflection for the British people who are responsible for their proper administration.

Outside the Government circles various intellectuals of Britain have tried to do justice to the Colonies by forcussing public attention to the subject. All honour to them ! It shows that the intellectuals of Britain have not lost their love for humanity.

One of these great and humane intellectuals is Professor Julian Huxley, who in a communication to me states :" I am obliged to you for the document on Ceylon. As you know I am much interested in Colonial problems and though I have no special knowledge on the problems of Ceylon, shall continue working in this field to the best of my ability."

The learned Professor's recent article in the " Political Quarterly " on " Colonies in a Changing World " has created world wide attention.

I have gone fully into the question of British Colonial Administration as demonstrated in Ceylon, of which I claim special knowledge and of which I have made a special study, as in the case of the Indian administration.

This book as I stated before was published in London in 1938 by Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., D.S.O. and received wide support from Members of Parliament, the British and Empire Press and the public.

The book created great interest in the U.S.A. too. The President of the World League for Permanent Peace in the U.S.A. who reviewed it for the American Press, in the course of his review, stated :

" The Volume comes at a singularly auspicious moment when the question of Colonies is in everyone's mind. It examines and analyses the Governmental system as minutely and dispassionately as a scientist scrutinises a specimen under the microscope. It observes cause and effect, marks action and reaction, inspecting the situation from within and without. Clearly and concisely the author sums up his conclusions, setting them forth like processes in the solution of an algebraic equation. His remedies are those of the skilled physician and will make an instant appeal to British minds by their fairness, altruism and practicability. The work is freely illustrated by quotations bearing on the subject by statesmen and specialists. There is no assumption unsupported by facts, no hypothesis incapable of proof. The remedy alone awaits trail ". But unfortunately the trial was not made, error was persisted in. Now that most of the things I had predicted have come true and Members of Parliament themselves fully appreciate and are in agreement with the wise course of action I had recommended in pre war years and even sounding a note of warning, it is my fervent hope they will take due note of all what I have stated in this report and shape their action accordingly in connection with the Colonies.

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Finally I may state here that my plea on behalf of Ceylon itself comes to this.

Having arranged the franchise in such a manner as to enable her best sons to serve in the Councils of the country and with the additional safeguard of a revising Second Chamber, Ceylon should be granted full self-Government. In this way alone can she play her role and fulfil her great mission in the East. In this way alone can the current of mutual sympathy between Ceylon and the Mother Country increase in ever growing depth, volume and intensity. In this way alone can Ceylon pass on to her descendants a bright and glorious heritage, a future in every degree worthy of her great past.

CONCLUSION

I have still faith in the British Parliament having had pleasant and honourable associations with its members for a long period of years, hence this appeal from me at this fateful hour. I am grateful for the active interest and the action already taken in connection with my last statement of facts. But this is a fuller report and deserves still more vigorous action with the responsible authorities, in the light of the recommendations I have made in this document.

I feel I am addressing, lovers of humanity who have hearts, and hearts too that beat in sympathetic response to the miseries of an unhappy world, when nations today are submerged in a merciless welter of blood and hatred !

These miseries and disasters have been largely brought about by acting contrary to the Christian plan of life, which is that we should love our neighbour as ourselves, live by each other's happiness not by each other's misery, realising the great truth that joys shared are best enjoyed ! Such is the divine plan, placed before us by an all Knowing Providence.

This Divine Message cannot be adapted to suit men's wishes however great and powerful they may be. It has to be practised and lived, if mankind is to be happy.

But these great fundamental Christian truths have been largely forgotten or ignored, as a result of nations being caught up in the nightmare of meterialism and the fret and fever of speculation.

I have emphasised these great truths even in my long correspondence with the late Viceroy Lord Linlithgow as regards the solution of the difficulties brought about in India, which throw much light on the Indian political situation. The stumbling blocks in my way were Indian suspicion and British arrogance. In India largely the mistaken policy of indulging '' in national arrogance finding satisfaction in our power over others rather than in our ability to serve them '', as so well and truly set forth in the national prayer instituted by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, has brought Britain disaster and humiliation in its train. A new world is now being planned and in it, the world's destiny should not be made to depend on force at all times. The world' has to be built anew, wisely and well this time, in which great responsibility will fall to your lot as members of the mother of Parliaments ! This world plan to be successful has to be based upon truth and justice, from which alone can come the salvation of the world. By proclaiming, before God and man, these fundamental Christian truths in this decisive hour in history, when

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the world is at its crossroads, with a pledge to adhere to them strictly the hearts of the Colonial peoples will be strengthened to a remarkable degree with such action. Today they are in doubt as to what is going to be their future !

In my long audiences with the Holy Father Pope Pius XI of glorious memory, one of the things that he told me made a profound impression on my mind.

He said " The greatest evil of today is the ignorance of truth " and so it is. We have to be all seekers after truth and act according to the dictates of our conscience, if there is to be peace and happiness in the world.

Field Marshal Smuts said in a recent speech delivered, I believe before the Empire Parliamentory Association in England that Britain has come down in the scale of nations and that after the war her position will be worse. How has this happened ? It is largely because those who have guided the destinies of the British Empire during our generation, failed to reconstruct the Empire according to the changing times. They believed more in signing agreements with outside powers, than consolidating their power within by giving enough and in time what was due to the subject peoples. However much agreements may be signed, there can be no real peace or security so long as the old order of subjection and over lordship continues. It is not an enduring basis, for a partnership to be successful it must be on terms of equality. But British policy was differently conducted. Today we see the result. In this matter wisdom has come from the United States of America.

The recent publication of the book entitled ·—

" One World " by Mr. Wendell Wilkie has fired the imagination of the world and is an object lesson to those statesmen who are still persisting in their out of date ideas and in the error of their ways.

Mr. Wilkie has met Britain's pro-consuls guiding the destinies of her Empire both in the East and in England itself. The opinion he has formed of them, is as true as it is remarkable and it is worth while recording it here, for it is good to know, how men of Vision see these pro-consuls. He states " Their outlook was pure Rudyard Kipling untainted by the liberalism of Cecil Rhodes ".

Another American Pearl Buck, the famous author of the " Good Earth " in a new book entitled " What America means to me." states:

" Can white man and coloured man ever come together in any sort of co-operation ? If not we must prepare for a future of nothing but struggle and war on a stupendous scale. The day of little dark brother and the white man's burden is over " adds Mrs. Buck.

The coloured man should be made to walk erect hand in hand with the white man and not be put into the position of a mere creeping shadow by an imperialistic system of Government.

The nobility in human nature rebels against those systems and powers, however strong and well organised thy may be which ignore or outrage the spiritual dignity of man.

To have freedom from fear and want is not enough, but peoples the world over must be made to live in conditions, which will inspire them to seek that higher and greatest freedom of all—the freedom to be free.

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" In a slave country like India " said a great Indian leader at a public lecture there quite recently " death under restraint, was perhaps better than life outside ".

Such is the feeling of men the world over, who are held in bondage as it were by these various autocratic systems of Government. It has to be noted too that world freedom could be sustained only by world co-operation as between man and man and not as between master and servant.

The present Holy Father Pope Pius XII, not only asserts " the dignity and right of the human person " but actually calls for a New Crusade to vindicate those rights " with all the readiness for service and sacrifice of the former Crusaders ".

As custodians of the honour of England, far removed from local bias and prejudice who represent in a lofty sphere of responsibility the true greatness of England, I appeal to the members of the British Parliament to see that justice is done to the Oriental peoples !

This is my most earnest plea to the representatives of Britain, in the mother of Parliaments, about the Colonial peoples whom God has entrusted to their care.

The conviction, that a great statesman, in the person of Mr. Wendell Wilkie again, has brought back from his world tour is very revealing and I give it here in his own words. He states :

" That brilliant victories in the field will not win this war, now going on in the far reaches of the world, that only men and new ideas in the machinery of our relations with the peoples of the East can win the Victory, without which any peace will be only another Armistice."

Such is the naked truth ! At this moment we see how humanity's foundations have all crumbled, as the pre war world was built on false ideas. Peace then depended on readiness for war, the happiness of one nation, on the misery of others, the liberty of one on the enslavement of another, the high standard of living of one nation, on the low economic level of less developed countries as in the Orient. Such were the policies wrought by a privileged few whose minds were not working in sympathy with the East or with humanity the world over. Even in Ceylon under such systems, the breakdown of rural life, where the real foundations of every country truly rest, was apparent to my mind even as a youth. My first act on election as President of the Chiefs' Association of Ceylon, was to prepare a plan for the reconstruction of village life. This was duly published in the Ceylon Press, which still holds good in spite of its 24 years.

Britain cannot afford to risk the future again this time too, by a too simple and credulous dependence on meterialistic statesmen, who promise new worlds and new world orders ! They may give the assurance that they have no other ambition in life than bringing about the greatest good to the greatest number, but such statesmen are not always agreed as to what is the greatest good and it is rarely that the greatest number are ever consulted about anything, even their own good— for that is settled for them by others. The Oriental Peoples were simply made pawns in the Imperial game!

Peace and theNew Order has to be planned too on a world wide basis. There can be no peace, with freedom for Europe only and slavery for the

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East as some would have it ! Men must be made equal of whatever race or colour—white, black, yellow or brown. There are no "master races" in the world. Every nation that claimed it went under. Theories of racial superiority are contradictory to Christian belief.

As the great Sage-Poet of India—Tagore said : " There is only one history—The history of man " !

All men who believe in the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, will accept that. They will also admit that war is largely brought about by the inhumanity of man to man ! So long as the old outlook on world affairs does not change, wars will follow yet one after another in spite of agreements and treaties of friendship among nations, as it has been before, to mention only the period of recent history, commencing with the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the 18th Century. The same ideals continued, so the same war is still being waged, even unto our time ! Such is the tragedy of rank meterialism !

From the wreckage that will be left, after this war, a new and safe world has to be built, if war is to be avoided in the future. For this task the Allied Nations will require, a strength far greater and mighter than any which the engines of war could give them. The new world that will arise out of the ruins and ashes of the old, will become better or worse according to the degree that it will uphold the Christian and Divine plan of life.

May God grant the chosen builders of the New World Order, wisdom and understanding and that unity of mind and heart which will be so essential for the mighty task before them and for the security of peace when Victory has been won !

N. D. A. SILVA WIJAYASINGHE,

Special Envoy of over 6,000,000 *Oriental Catholics to the Royal and Internatioual Court of the Vatican and President of the Association of the Papal Knights of India, Burma and Ceylon*

President of the Association of the Chiefs of Ceylon (1921—28)

Patron (while in Europe) of the Association of the Ceylon Students in Great Britain and Ireland

Colonial Representative at the opening in London of the Peace Parliament of 1920 *after the last great war and received in Private Audience then by His Majesty King George V at Buckingham Palace.*

Kandy, 31st December, 1943.

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The Holy See and Its Place in International Life, By Grand Chevalier N. D. A. Silva Wijayasinghe—H. W. Cave and Co.

Perhaps no one else in the East is more entitled to attempt an evaluation of Papal influence on international life than the author of this book. Perhaps no other Oriental of modern times has been so conspicuously singled out for Papal honours or has moved more freely in the inmost circles of the Pontifical Court. Intimate knowledge and a close study of the subject have been combined to make this exposition of the Papacy a valuable Catholic document. . . . . .

The book has happily been published at a very opportune moment, when the eyes and the sympathies of the whole civilised world are centred on the Eternal City and its agonised peace-maker.

—" *Ceylon Daily News* "

A little known relationship, but one that has wielded a profound influence in world affairs in the past and, who knows, might have as deep and influential a significance in the chancelleries of today, is comprehensively dealt with by Grand Chevalier N. D. A. Silva Wijayasinghe, known in Ceylon as the Padikara Mudaliyar, who is probably the best informed authority on his subject in the East. " For nearly 2,000 years ", states the writer, " the Holy See has wielded international power....It is a great world power in acknowledgment of which forty-one of the world's governments have established diplomatic relations with it."

How many here know that, according to international law, the Pope is still regarded as the head of all Christian kings and that his official representatives are the heads of the Diplomatic Corps of each country, fifty-six in all, to which they are accredited ? The book, despite its modest war-time jacket, is nevertheless profusely documented with references from sources not normally available to the average reader. But this is by no means its only merit. It reflects the authority of the experience of Ceylon's best known ambassador abroad.

Away from the subject of the Vatican proper, it is interesting to learn from the Grand Chevalier that Ceylon's connexion with Rome began in 50 A. D. with the sending of three Sinhalese ambassadors to the court of the Emperor Claudius, an event which was important enough to receive mention from Pliny.

—" *The Times of Ceylon* "

" *I am sure it will be read by everyone with great interest.*"
—Sir T. B. Panabokke, Kt., Adigar, (Head of the Kandyan Chiefs)

" *The Roman Catholics should be ever grateful to you for the trouble you have taken in compiling this book.*"
—The Hon'ble Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council

" *You have written a very interesting account of the Holy See.*"
—Sir Mirza Ismail, K.C.I.E., Former Premier of Mysore

" *I have read your book with great interest. Please send me another copy.*"
—Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Ex-Premier of Madras

" *It is most interesting and instructive and it ought to do a lot of good. I trust it will be well circulated in many countries.*"
—H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, G.C.I.E., etc., Governor of Madras

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