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THE
UNITED NATIONAL PARTY

GENERAL ELECTIONS

1952 ARCHIVES

**WHY THE
U. N. P. ?**

BY

C. E. MACKENZIE PEREIRA

The writer gives you the reasons why you should vote for the U. N. P. and encourage others to do the same.

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THIS booklet contains a series of articles contributed by the writer to the U. N. P. Journal since the dissolution of Parliament. They have been re-issued in the present form in the hope that they will be useful to Party candidates and supporters of the U. N. P. at the forthcoming general elections.

The writer takes this opportunity to state that all these articles with the exception of the postscript have been taken down originally to dictation without the aid of a note and therefore hopes that the reader will look at any mistakes and the want of polish with an indulgent eye.

C. E. M. P.



FOUNDER OF THE U. N. P.
AND
HIS SUCCESSOR

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT GENERAL ELECTIONS 1952

THE sudden passing away of our beloved Leader, the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, P.C., first Prime Minister of independent Ceylon and President of the United National Party, has contributed to a dissolution of Parliament and an earlier General Election. Although Mr. Dudley Senanayake, on whom the mantle of his father has fallen, had the popular support of his Party and the country he decided to seek the mandate of the people and advised the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament. It is interesting to recount the incidents which lead up to this event.

Lord Soulbury was in England on a well earned holiday when the sad news of the Prime Minister's death reached him. Within four days he was back in Ceylon to perform the very responsible task of appointing a Prime Minister. Being convinced that Mr. Dudley Senanayake commanded the confidence and support of the Parliamentary group in power he invited him to form the new administration. We all know that Mr. Dudley Senanayake was greatly hesitant to undertake this grave responsibility ; nevertheless he bowed his head to the popular cry and accepted this high office in a spirit of piety, decorum and religious awe. We are proud to record that our country has the good fortune to find a new leader of this calibre. By his own utterances he dedicated himself to the people and guaranteed to the nation to uphold the aspirations and ideals of his great father, who was loved by all and acknowledged as the liberator and father of the new Ceylonese Nation.

A leader in a democracy achieves most for a nation when he seeks to consolidate his position by being assured of the nation's backing. Our constitution has devised a most convincing method by which this can be ascertained and that is by a General Election. It is helpful at this stage to get a correct perspective of the setting in which our new Prime Minister advised a

dissolution of Parliament. He was constitutionally appointed Prime Minister. He had proof of support not only from his party but from all sections of the community, which was made manifest by the messages of goodwill and co-operation he received from many quarters. Instead of carrying through the administration to its full term, resting on these advantages, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, proved himself a true champion of democracy when he sought General Election. A General Election is in fact the election of a Prime Minister, for the reason that the leader of the party which counts the majority in Parliament, as a rule is invited to form the Government. We hope that all voters, in the various constituencies to which the U.N.P. nominates candidates, will remember the implication, which appears to have been lost sight of in the past, and act towards the attainment of a hundred per cent U.N.P. Government thus avoiding a coalition. Coalition Governments in modern democracies have never proved satisfactory in peace times ; it would be most unfortunate if we are compelled to accept such a condition in our second Dominion Parliament, when we must consider ourselves sufficiently mature in parliamentary practice to bring ourselves into line with older and experienced democracies.

The U.N.P. stands for and has endeavoured to give effect to policies which are very fundamental. if our present heterogeneous society is to stand, and mould itself to the common good. These are (1) Elimination of communal and racial discrimination in public life. (2) Universal Education to promote the cultural and economic advantages of all people by affording to each equal opportunities to pursue his individual bent (3) Religious toleration and sympathy towards the moral aspirations of all (4) Assurance of personal freedom, liberty of speech and the development of individuality without let or hindrance (5) Encouragement and support of private enterprise in professions, Industries, agricultural and commercial undertakings.

(6) Encouragement of the advancement of the Arts and Sciences (7) Securing pride of place as a free nation in the family of free nations. These were the ideals which inspired our great leader Mr. D. S. Senanayake. He inculcated them

into the U.N.P. when it was first formed and its activities were directed towards their realization. But unfortunately death intervened before he could achieve them in full measure. Now the U.N.P. stands pledged to these ideals and hopes to achieve them by the unqualified and unstinting co-operation of the nation. It is relevant at this stage to ask which other Party offers to our countrymen these or similar ideals which are the accepted hallmark of all progressive peoples. If the answer to this vital question is in the negative we have no alternative but to support the U.N.P.

The Leftists groups although sponsoring a variety of ideologies may generally be regarded as parties opposed to the fundamental idea of personal liberty and individual enterprise. They are opposed to the democratic way of life which our great leader pledged himself to maintain. These groups envisage for mankind a cultural level prescribed by the State, an idea entirely at variance with the dignity of man's psychic stature. The leaders of these groups seem to forget that democracy is still a militant force and is leading mankind towards the realization of the *summum bonum* of his spiritual being which raises him above the limits of materialism. It is not possible within the limited space of the present article to examine in detail the ideologies of the different parties operating in our midst, but in general, it is possible to state, that there is no major democratic party which offers a reasonable alternative to the U.N.P. Some of these parties while claiming a democratic ideology are so closely identified with anti-democratic movements that they beg the question of their democratic setup. They bear the stamp of racial and denominational creeds which are utterly at variance with modern democracies.

The U.N.P. enters the Election arena with a record of past services and achievements for the betterment of the living standards of the children of Lanka unprecedented in her modern history. It stands pledged to the ideals which the writer has set out in no uncertain terms. Now it solicits all patriotic Ceylonese towards the attainment of the goal which the late Father of the Nation put before its people—"A Greater Lanka with a Greater People."

WHY THE U. N. P.?

I

WHEN the United National Party issued its first Manifesto in 1947 it undertook to work for Five Freedoms. These are Freedom from foreign control ; Freedom from want ; Freedom from unemployment ; Freedom from ignorance, and Freedom from disease. Within the first year of the assumption of office it secured for the Island, the first of these Freedoms.

There is a considerable body of opinion advancing the view that Ceylon is still under foreign control. This suggestion is so ridiculous and the arguments adduced in support so untenable that to refute them is waste of time. Suffice it to say that Ceylon is an independent Dominion within the Commonwealth of free nations. In the modern world there is no such thing as absolute independence. We have to depend on foreign nations for technical, financial and intellectual aid and other nations depend upon us for our exports such as tea, rubber, coconut. etc. In this respect the whole world is interdependent and the economy of all free nations intermingled. Therefore we must not confuse this type of dependence with our political independence and our separate entity as a free nation.

Some of our critics have advanced the argument that Ceylon would have obtained her independence as a matter of course without the efforts of our late Prime Minister who is justly acknowledged as the Liberator of Ceylon and the Father of the Nation.

The part the late Prime Minister played in obtaining our freedom is too wellknown to recapitulate. Therefore we must not allow thinking people to be misled by such statements and deny our Party's claim that we are justly entitled to, as regards the first of the Freedoms we envisaged in our first Manifesto.

Freedom from want is one of the ideals which all free nations aim in regard to their domestic policy. The

U.N.R. administration during the last four and a half years was signalled by the watchword—self-sufficiency. Despite the obstacles which were almost insurmountable Government made such astounding progress that no right thinking person can claim that Government has not done its best. Freedom from want covers an enormously wide range and with the complexities of modern life, that range has considerably widened. Therefore we must not be judged by the standard that we have completely eliminated want. We have made ample strides towards reaching this goal, It would take far beyond the limits of a single article to specify the activities of the various Departments under this head, Therefore, it is only possible to deal with a few of the problems. The first and most striking is the question of Food. We have opened enormous acreages of land; paddy cultivation has progressed to a great degree ; the Gal Oya Scheme which is well-known to all is in progress. But in spite of these efforts it is necessary to import a very large tonnage of rice. Subsidies had saved our people from star-vation.

Government has shouldered this responsibility right through the period and in spite of the manifold difficulties and heavy competition for rice as a world product, our Government has kept up supplies regularly and no individual can claim to have starved. Government not only subsidised rice but two other products such as flour and sugar. No doubt the subsidy is an item of very heavy expenditure, but this is not due to any fault of the Government but to circumstances beyond its control, because the world has not completely recovered from the devastating effects of the last War. Food production is not only undertaken by the State, it is even encouraged among private individuals. New Agricultural Schools have been inaugurated, State Farms have been established, Colonization Schemes have been set up, peasant settlements and rural reconstruction projects have engaged the anxious attention of Government and nothing but progress made in these directions. Individual initiative in food production has been secured by the guaranteed purchase scheme. All these major projects have been made possible by the establishment of sliding scales of taxation which aims at the

redistribution of the national wealth by imposing heavy taxes on those whose income exceeds a prescribed amount. A similar sliding scale has been adopted in regard to export duties on our major products such as tea, rubber and coconut.

The scheme has been so scientifically designed as to encourage the small producer and to exact from the large producer an equitable share of his profits for national purposes. It would appear that this is one of the ways in which the Communist cry against Capitalism and their claim to appropriate private property for equal distribution is met in a practical manner. Thus the U.N.P. has not committed itself to the Utopian policy which our opponents vehemently urge. Even those leaders who are generous to distribute other people's properties and save their own, are not exempt from this scheme of heavy taxation.

It will, therefore, be seen that the policy of the U.N.P. is not designed to protect and pamper the Capitalist as its opponents allege.

The problem of unemployment is one which has engaged the attention of Government right through its period of office. In order to eliminate unemployment, various schemes have been devised and their working has proved successful, such as slum clearance, land reclamation, the use of human labour in large undertakings in lieu of mechanization. Above all, unemployment exchanges have been inaugurated throughout the Island to enable the workers to secure employment according to each person's particular skill. A Commission was also appointed to examine social welfare problems such as National Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, schemes for the care of the aged. These recommendations have engaged the anxious consideration of Government and they are awaiting fulfilment.

The last State Council adopted the policy of free education for all from the nursery to the University with professional and vocational training thrown in. This ambitious scheme which appeared to be so unwieldy and beyond the realms of realization, was undertaken very boldly by the U.N.P.

Government when it assumed office in 1947. The task before Government was to evolve order out of chaos because the scheme was originally launched without due regard to the full implications involved. Difficulties were increased when it became necessary to change the medium of instruction. Although many were willing to learn there were neither teachers to teach nor schools to house pupils.

One need only take note of the number of new schools established during the past four years throughout the Island and the number of Training Colleges. They have been established in order to secure an adequate supply of teachers. The problem of elementary education has been handled with remarkable efficiency while progress of secondary education is rapidly maintained having due regard to the long established denominational schools which were in positive danger of extinction under the free education policy the old State Council launched. Alongside Central Schools which are purely Government institutions denominational schools have been allowed to carry on their activities unimpeded. In fact, they have been justly regarded as a national asset, so that under the U.N.P. Government all religious denominations need have no fear in regard to the continuance of their educational institutions.

The University of Ceylon is today an accomplished fact. It is a growing institution with Faculties in various branches of learning. When dealing with the problem of freedom from ignorance we must not confine ourselves to education which equip students for higher studies and professions but also to education which equip the less intellectually gifted members of the community to earn a livelihood and make themselves useful citizens. To meet such needs vocational schools for carpentry, cottage industries, arts and crafts have received the greatest encouragement from the State. A comprehensive Health Act recently became law. Proposals for the enlargement of the General Hospital have already been accepted by the Government. When dealing with the problem of freedom from disease we must not overlook the fact that there has been a very considerable increase of population and

an increasing desire for hospital treatment. These factors have rendered the task of Government considerably more difficult than would have been in the years before 1947, so that the criticisms of our opponents in regard to insufficiency of equipment and lack of efficient treatment must be examined in the light of these facts.

These five Freedoms have been redistributed in a Seven-Point programme assigned to the relevant Ministries, namely, Agriculture, Fisheries, Industries, Local Government, Health, Education, Communications and Transport. It is impossible to sketch the progress of these Ministries and the contributions made towards the attainment of the Freedoms which appropriately come within the policy of each of these Ministries. They have been publicised from time to time and are wellknown to all sections of the community but when assessing the achievements of the U.N.P. Government as a whole we must remember that the schemes undertaken are long term policies. It would be incorrect to judge their achievements without due regard to this fact. Complete success must therefore depend upon the unstinted support and co-operation of the electors for the U.N.P. Government which we solicit.

Every sensible elector must put before him the problem which faces him at the polls. When approaching this problem the elector be he a town dweller or a villager, will do well to understand that the contest which faces him or her is a choice between Democracy and a Totalitarian form of Government.

We boldly challenge anyone to show us that there is in Ceylon operating today any major democratic party which offers an alternative to the U.N.P. We venture to say there is none. If there was we would not hesitate to say so, because our system of Government works best when it is faced with a democratic opposition. On behalf of our country, no one will be happier to see a democratic opposition than ourselves. The U.N.P. has stood the test for stability, consistency in a crisis and diplomacy whenever splinter parties raise their ugly heads!

LET us now focus attention on more vital issues. The daily press on several occasions pointed out that the contest in the next election is a contest between democracy and a totalitarian form of Government. A reading of the aims and objects of parties combined to offer to the U.N.P. a vigorous opposition, shows that this view is a correct appraisal of the position which faces the country.

A decision in favour of the opposition groups can only produce one tragic result and that is the end of democracy and a change of our constitution based on the democratic ideal. It is unfortunate that the grave implications of this issue have not been brought home sufficiently to the voting public. We cannot afford to take chances even though we who stand for democracy are optimistic that it is on a safe wicket. Therefore no stone must be left unturned in our efforts to clarify this issue. That is a duty which lies not only with the U.N.P. candidates but on every one who is a member of the U.N.P. and a supporter of democracy.

We have long passed the stage of communal representation in this country. Every right-thinking political reformer in Ceylon throughout the ages realized that religious, communal and racial differences have been and still are the greatest, obstacles to democracy. These differences are not peculiar to Ceylon. We have examples in other Asian countries such as India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaya. Fortunately we in Ceylon in spite of difficulties steered clear of some of the tragic incidents of bloodshed which these countries have experienced. It would be most unfortunate if we are called upon to face similar events, after freedom, peace, tranquillity and goodwill have been established among our heterogeneous people. It is because we desire to maintain this atmosphere undisturbed that we press so much on our electors the claims of democracy.

One of the deep-seated problems raised is religion. The U.N.P. stands for religious toleration and

mutual respect for each other's religion. This spirit of tolerance is centred in the idea of freedom of worship without let or hindrance for all, whatever may be his religious persuasion. The U.N.P. does not hinder even an atheist or an agnostic from pursuing his views. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party on the other hand places religion in the forefront of their domestic policy. They realize the value of all religions to help mankind to deal satisfactorily with the manifold and fundamental problems. They claim that religion is particularly necessary in the new age. We all agree with this laudable aspiration. In fact it is the hope of all right-thinking people throughout the modern world.

But they go further when they express the view that all necessary steps must be taken both by the public and the Government to revive and assist religion and make it a living force amongst the people. Obviously they have committed themselves to the view that the clergy and spiritual advisers are not doing their duty and are allowing religious fervour in this country to sink into a moribund state. They overlook the fact that Buddhists, Hindus, Christians and Muslims will resent any interference by the State. There is a great deal of wisdom in the thought that religion are things which do not belong to Caesar. Logically there is also wisdom in the expression that he who pays the piper has the right to call the tune. If religion has to depend on State aid it will meet with the same repercussions which educational policies have met in the modern world. Therefore the Sri Lanka Freedom Party misses the mark when they place a religious crusade in the forefront. By a process of elimination the Buddhist population will find this proposition to their advantage because they constitute the majority. While courting Buddhism they prefer not to antagonize other religionists but right-thinking Buddhists themselves are likely to be apprehensive of this gift like "the Wooden Horse of Troy".

The Sama Samajists and Communists on the other hand have no religion. They treat religion as something outside their political ideology their religion being the State, which is the religion of Marxist Philosophy. Such a conception is entirely antagonistic and opposed to the genius of Eastern

peoples in whom spiritual values are inborn. The U.N.P.'s ideal is religious toleration. It was put to a supreme test, when Negombo called "Little Rome" returned a Buddhist to represent them in Parliament at the last General Elections and there is every prospect of history repeating itself in Negombo again at the forth-coming Elections. There is wisdom in the principle that Buddhists in a Catholic Electorate must respect Catholics and the Catholics in a Buddhist electorate must respect Buddhists. Therefore when the matter is looked at objectively it proves by comparison that the attitude of the U.N.P. towards religion is the best and no substitute can be offered acceptable to sensible people, by any other party, because we in Ceylon must live in peace and harmony with people of other religions.

The second item of importance in their domestic policy is to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages, overnight. They rely on Burma for a precedent. This proposal is obviously a vote catching slogan and has no practical basis.

It is an admitted fact that for four centuries under foreign rule our national languages have fallen into decay. Any student of language will admit that the strength and vitality of a language depend upon constant usage. Even in England during medieval times the official language was not Anglo-Saxon but Latin, and today the liturgy of the Roman Church is in that language. While it is true that Sinhalese and Tamil ought to be the official languages it is equally true that revival is a slow process. The U.N.P. has recognized this fact and steps have been taken to achieve this end.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party incorrectly states that those educated in Sinhalese and Tamil have been condemned to occupy the lowest walks of life, whereas the U.N.P. is making every endeavour to give them their legitimate place in the administration consistently with their attainments in the two languages. The people will be well advised not to be misled on vital issues by such irrelevant and baseless suggestions.

In regard to education, taxation and agriculture the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in their Manifesto outlines schemes of

what they propose to do. As against this the U.N.P. justly claims in its Manifesto a record of achievements. This record is the best guarantee of what Ceylon can hope for in the event of their being returned to power in the next Parliament. Within the comparatively short period of four and a half years the U.N.P. has achieved progress in each of these spheres unprecedented in the Island's modern history.

There are, however, other proposals dangerous and productive of evil consequences which claim our serious attention.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party proposes to nationalize all essential industries. Within this category they bring large plantations, transport, banking and insurance. Nationalization has been one of the boldest experiments of the so-called Socialist State. It has failed as an answer for private enterprise. Nationalization is an undemocratic measure which throws out of gear individual initiative and private enterprise. The State has never emerged satisfactorily from industrial undertakings. There is proof of this not only in Ceylon but in other countries. Therefore, no Government can be too cautious when embarking upon nationalization. While advocating nationalization, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party with equal vigour advocates steps to eliminate control by non-Ceylonese of business and trade.

We cannot overlook the fact that our national prosperity and domestic economy will be paralysed if we make it impossible for foreign capital to be invested in this country. The immediate danger is withdrawal of foreign capital, particularly British capital. The withdrawal of such capital must result in isolation, appropriation of sterling balances and loss of interest in our country by foreign shipping firms. We cannot expect foreigners to invest capital in our country and take controlling power into our hands. On the contrary our aim ought to be to encourage foreign investments to the mutual advantage of ourselves and of the investors. Full control by Ceylonese is undoubtedly very attractive propositions from an electioneering point of view. Electors must have before them

practical schemes and not attractive suggestions. There are no doubt large enterprises beneficial to the public which no voluntary organization can undertake, such as Health Services, Unemployment Relief, Health Insurance and Old Age Pension Schemes.

The U.N.P. has not lost sight of such undertakings. The Social Services Commission's Report is before Government and no doubt its recommendations will take practical shape. If the extent to which nationalization is envisaged by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party is given effect to, we shall be saddled with a large body of undemocratic legislation and an increasing number of administrative tribunals. Such schemes of nationalization do not commend themselves to a democratic party. Therefore no one who values individual initiative and private enterprise can support such a policy.

The Sri Lanka Party is not the only political body which advocates policies of this type. They stand closely identified with the Sama Samajists and the Communist Party. Should these three parties combine and form a Government, we shall be faced with a planned existence, with this coterie constituting themselves planners and managers and all individuals pawns and victims of the State. In fact their ideology is that the individual exists for the State, and not the State for the individual. If this fact is sufficiently clarified to the electorate we are confident that no individual voter who cherishes his liberty will agree to submit himself to such a set-up.

The U.N.P. gave reality to our independence by the Citizenship Act. Every free nation has and must be allowed the right to determine who its nationals are. It would be a sad day for this country if it was overrun by Indians, Chinese or Russians. The U.N.P. proved its capacity by this Act to give the people reality of the nation's independence. If the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Sama Samajists and the Communists combine to form a Government danger of losing our independence will become not merely a risk but inevitable.

This fact must generate much hesitation in true patriots to support them. It is unfortunate that a number of Indian leaders have taken upon themselves at this juncture the franchise question. Since the days of the Donoughmore Constitution Indians have had ample opportunity to register themselves as Ceylon citizens. They did not avail themselves of this opportunity. When we obtained our independence we afforded further opportunities to Indians to declare their claims for citizenship of Ceylon within the qualification set out, but they did not take the necessary steps. Shortly however, before the elections the Indian population saddled the Government with a number of applications which no Department could have handled within the period. And now they suggest that the elections ought to proceed on the old Electoral Register, and even suggest summoning a dissolved Parliament, to pass amending legislation to meet this so-called emergency. It is a waste of time to consider these suggestions which have no substance. But writing on the eve of elections it is not unlikely that parties attempting to defeat the U.N.P. will take advantage of this contingency to mislead the electorate.

It is very necessary that candidates in those particular areas where Indians predominate, should caution the electorate from being misled by such suggestions.

The Communist Party and the Sama Samajists are professed enemies of private enterprise. They advocate confiscating lands and equal distribution of wealth. It is amusing that some of the leaders of these parties are great capitalists. They strive hard to amass wealth for themselves but are extremely generous in advocating a policy to distribute other people's wealth. An even distribution of wealth and the even distribution of all the amenities of life are ideals to which no State known in history has yet attained, nor is there even a hope of realising such a state.

This is a very attractive offer which appeals to every man and woman overtaken by the difficulties of life, its hardships and burdens. Therefore it is good election propaganda. But representatives of these ideologies did find their way into

the last Parliament. The electors will naturally ask for an account of their stewardship when they come round again seeking support. Can any of them point to a single constructive measure for which they can claim credit in the entire life of the last Parliament ?

They have been vociferous and vituperative critics of the Government in season and out of season. They have never been able to combine themselves to offer a united opposition, because their quarrels and dissensions among themselves have been so acute. Their one policy throughout has been an anxiety to capture the Government, to overthrow the Constitution, to convert this Island into a Republic, to sever its connection from the Commonwealth of Nations, to come to an alliance with China and Russia. In short, their design has been and is chaos and revolution at home and discord and animosity abroad, but fortunately for this country by the wisdom and foresight of our late Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, these possibilities have been averted. It is now left to the electors to guard themselves and their posterity against these parties getting the better of the U.N.P.

III

ALL the Opposition Parties advocate for Ceylon an Independent Republic and withdrawal from the Commonwealth of Nations. They claim that the best evidence of independence is reflected in an independent Republic outside the Commonwealth of Nations.

The questions whether we are a Republic with an elected President or whether we are in the Commonwealth of Nations or outside strictly do not concern the average voter. But according to the practical view we have the advantage of a constitutional Governor-General who represents the Monarch in British politics.

The advantage of this system is that the Governor-General who is the Head of the State is free from Party ties. The Governor-General accepts the decision of the Government

conveyed to him by his Prime Minister. The Cabinet in turn is responsible to Parliament and Parliament in turn is responsible to the people. The Government, therefore, is ultimately the choice of the people. Whether we have a Governor-General at the head of the State or elected President makes no real constitutional difference. We must realize that we are a small country with limited resources, dependent on other foreign countries for many essentials. Therefore these deficiencies make it incumbent on us to align ourselves with a bigger power.

The Leftists though not slow to recognise this fact oppose Ceylon's membership in the Commonwealth. If we align ourselves with India, we expose our country to the danger of being overrun by Indians and Ceylon becoming annexed as a Province of India under a federal system of Government. On the other hand an alliance with China or Russia will antagonize the great democracies such as England, France and the United States. Therefore there is no reasonable alternative for us but to remain within the Commonwealth. We need not enumerate the advantages open to nations within the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister of India realising the advantages of membership of the Commonwealth, did not withdraw his country from the Commonwealth even though it became a Republic under a Constitution which his country-men drafted. We do not think that Ceylon can go any better.

There is unfortunately in our country too much clamour for personal power. One could imagine what confusion we would have to face, if we were to have an elected President. Therefore, there is much wisdom, in the principle of a Constitutional Governor and membership in the Commonwealth. Although our opponents claim to do away with the Ceylon Constitution which they describe as reactionary, they do not suggest an alternative; this is due to the obvious fact that they have no alternative to offer except a Government without opposition; a Government which denies the right of the public to criticise its measures or suggest alternative proposals; a Government which controls the entire Press, thereby preventing the dissemination of opinions contrary to their views. All lovers of democracy will admit that a Government of the

type proposed by the Leftists is really no Government at all. It is the rule of total dictatorship, where the entire population will be inside an Iron Curtain.

There are some who take the view, that although the Leftist groups formulate proposals which are either impractical or cannot be given effect to without revolution, they do not mean what they say. This is a most extraordinary position to take, for they must stand or fall by what they write and publish or what they declare on public platforms. The story that they do not mean what they say is quite understandable during a period of election fever. That is a kind of propaganda designed to cloud the issue and propagate the view that there must be an Opposition regardless of the source from which it comes.

When a General Election takes place the question before the voter is not whether he should vote for the Government or the Opposition, because neither a Government nor an Opposition strictly exists. He has to ask himself the question to which party he should give his vote. At the forthcoming General Election we have before us a number of parties and a still larger number of "independents" who belong to no party but claim to be "independents."

Although it is unfortunately true that the prestige, personality and various other attributes of an individual candidate are still the governing, if not decisive, factors in the choice, we must nevertheless strive to impress on the voter the implications of voting on party labels. So far as parties go we have made it abundantly clear that the U.N.P. represents democracy and that the remaining parties from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party to the Sama Samajists are all anti-democratic. Therefore whether one votes for the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Communist Party or the Sama Samajist Party he votes anti-democracy. But in the case of the "independent" candidate, the voter really does not know on which side he is voting, unless the candidate himself clarifies his position, because his political inclinations so long as he does not come on party labels are within his peculiar knowledge. It would be manifestly unfair for him to withhold this information from the voter and rely on merely his personality, influence and prestige to be returned to Parliament.

Such a course of action would amount to nothing short of misleading the electorate. The "Independent" candidate has introduced into our political set-up a further danger that is, splitting up the votes and thereby, giving the opportunity for a candidate who would not generally be acceptable to the electorate being returned to Parliament. Though it is impossible to eliminate this danger steps ought to be taken to minimise it as much as possible to enable the choice of the electoral area to be properly reflected in Parliament.

Undoubtedly the claims for the U.N.P. are very high not only by reason of its policy but also by its achievements and the large contribution it has made to internal peace and stability of Government.

The Leftist groups on the other hand have not shown that degree of unity which entitled them to be returned as a Party capable of forming a Government under our Constitution. They, therefore, are now combined to defeat the U.N.P. and prevent them forming a Government. They rely not so much on the mistakes committed by the U.N.P. Government but on what they have failed to do. They do not rely on mistakes that no Government is free from them. When one looks at the mistakes of the U. N. P. Government they are what one might call—curable irregularities—mistakes which are naturally to be expected from any Government during its teething stages. It is easy for any Opposition Party to point its finger to what the previous Government has failed to do, but when the achievement of the U.N.P. are compared with its mistakes we cannot help concluding that the successes are so great within the short time as to overshadow its failures.

What is yet to be done cannot be regarded as failures because the U.N.P. is in the process of achieving the great objectives of the Seven-Point Programme placed before the electorate in 1947. So that the proper time to judge the success or failure of the U.N.P. will be after a sufficiently reasonable time has been allowed for the Seven-Point Programme to bear fruit.

The question is whether the U.N.P. is proceeding on correct lines in regard to the social, political and economic development of our nation. There can only be one answer to this question and that is in the affirmative. Therefore they ought to be returned to power.

The Leftist groups claim that they never had the opportunity of putting their programme into effect. On examining their programme in the view of the writer, it is the good fortune of the country that they did not have the opportunity. But that does not conclude the matter because the writer's opinion is not binding on the electorate. The voters are the best judges.

Much reflection is not required to conclude that the promises they make are incapable of fulfilment. such as equal distribution of wealth, a classless society, the removal of economic inequalities and so forth. But every properly conducted Government which concerns itself with the happiness, peace and prosperity of its people will direct its actions to secure the best possible in an imperfect world with all the stress and severities of unfair competition, and that the U.N.P. is striving to do and will continue the effort, having profited by its mistakes.

But on the other hand if the electorate does give the combined Opposition an opportunity of running the Government, in the process of attempting to achieve the impossible, they will throw out of gear the entire social and economic structure of our society.

It is legitimate, while preserving what we have, to strive to give what others need and have not ; while it is equally improper to secure to those who have not and who will not try to help themselves, advantages which they have not earned.

While the U.N.P. is striving to achieve the former, the Leftist groups are assuring the electorate a shorter cut by offering the latter. This is as senseless as offering the Moon.

OUR opponents say that we have not placed before 'the electorate a definite programme and that our Manifesto is a mere record of achievements. The simple answer to this comment is that our achievements are the best guarantee of what the nation can expect when the U.N.P. is returned to power. The U.N.P's record for the past four and a half years is well-known throughout the Island and more recently the millions who visited the Colombo Plan Exhibition were afforded full opportunity to judge for themselves what Government is doing for the social, economic and cultural upliftment of the people.

Our opponents on the other hand must place before the Electorate a definite programme of what they propose to do, because they have no record of achievements to rely upon. No political party which places a programme before the electorate in a representative democracy can ignore the social, economic and cultural issues. While all parties are agreed on these fundamentals, differences arise in the method of executing. There are two methods which are foreshadowed by all parties. These can be described as "evolutionary" and "revolutionary". The U.N.P. comes under the first category, while the rest of the opponents, the Freedom Party, the Sama Samajist Party and the Communist Party come under the second category.

This distinction faces us with the further problem, the right and the wrong way of doing the right thing and the right way of doing the wrong thing. We have already commented on the approach of the different opposition parties to the problem which face the country that it is unnecessary to repeat them.

The Sama Samajists seek to establish in Ceylon a Workers' and Peasants' Government by destroying Capitalism. They assert in short the worn out Marxian theory. It is unnecessary to comment on this theory. The first objection against this Party is that the claim comes neither from the peasants nor from the workers but from the self-appointed leaders who are themselves capitalists. They live, they move and have their

being in a strata of society far removed from the worker and the peasant. They practice the very doctrine which they condemn, Such an attitude is far from convincing in practical politics. Unfortunately they are able to gather considerable momentum because of their technique in anaesthetising the uninformed masses, particularly in the urban areas, but the plainest counter-attack is that throughout their four and a half years' career in Parliament, the Leftist leaders who now seek re-election cannot point to a single constructive scheme they have put forward to improve the condition of the peasant or the worker. As against this the United National Party can point to a splendid record of service.

To begin with the U.N.P. realises that the peasant and the worker are valuable assets to the State and that their happiness and welfare indispensable to its progress. On this assumption the U.N.P. Government has done everything possible within four and a—half and has launched schemes which are bearing fruit to the advantage of the peasant and the worker. These achievements were realised with all the handicaps of a changing world not yet recovered from the devastating effects of total war.

The contribution of the U.N.P. is indeed remarkable. Let us examine these achievements in the light of the minimum requirements of life—Food, Clothing and Shelter.

Food is a world problem today. It has been so for the past few years. Government subsidises rice, flour and sugar. These commodities have become a State monopoly and a vast revenue is expended on their purchase in order to keep the standard of living as low as possible by making these available at a price much less than what Government actually pays. In addition to importing these commodities, Government has speeded up food production with a view to attaining self-sufficiency, but this is a far cry in view of the increasing population and climatic difficulties, Government is contending not only against local insufficiency but also world shortage. It has ensured supplies through its own Co-operative Societies to every individual that so far no one can say that there is a single instance of starvation in the country.

Moreover, statistics indicate that the living index in this country is the lowest in South-East Asia. The U.N.P. does not claim to have achieved maximum success. It must be remembered that no amount of revolution, confiscation of property or re-distribution of capital can increase the food supply. Therefore, it is ridiculous to imagine that the Leftists can suggest any practical scheme for reducing the cost of living overnight. We must admit that we have to depend on foreign countries for our textiles. When there was a shortage Government lost no time in adopting control measures but no sooner conditions eased controls were lifted and import licences issued to Ceylonese traders ; it even encouraged the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment to import textiles and today we unhesitatingly say that there is an appreciable drop in the price of textiles.

One of the biggest problems which faces the Government in the postwar years is Housing. There are many factors which contribute to the scarcity of houses, over which Government has no control. During the war years building operations were suspended, but the population continued to increase and Government departments and other public activities also became complicated, accommodation had to be found with the result that exploiting landlords took advantage of the situation and began to demand fantastic rents for their houses. Government stepped in and introduced legislations. Rent Control Boards have been established; housing schemes have been inaugurated in all local areas sponsored by funds from the Central Government. Even private individuals have been encouraged to seek assistance from Government to build houses through the Housing Loan Scheme.

On the other hand Government has adopted its own housing scheme for employees of all grades and there is no doubt that similar housing schemes would be made compulsory on mercantile and business organizations. One therefore would ask whether any Government could do better to ease the situation.

The peasant population throughout the Island are fully alive to the efforts made by the U. N. P. Government for their Social, Economic and Cultural upliftment.

The Leftists very conveniently overlook the work done by the Rural Development Societies, the Community Centres and the Cottage Industries Organizations. Government has encouraged Animal Husbandry, Farming and are sponsoring colonization schemes, Village Expansion and Rural Hospitals. Before long Government will take up Welfare Work on a comprehensive scale and establish Adult Education Centres. It is also proposed to adopt insurance schemes against ill-health and old age, and when the Hydro-Electric Scheme is completed, every village home will have the opportunity of enjoying the modern amenities of electricity. These are no mean achievements for any Government within a period of four and a half years.

It will be well for peasants and workers to ask whether they could have, assuming they run the Government planned and achieved all these successes. They would do well to realize that the U. N. P. represents them in Parliament and their needs have been and will be given the fullest consideration. These are a few instances of doing the right thing in the right way. The Leftists are down on the Capitalists, down on Imperialism and down on everything foreign. We may well ask the question whether without foreign assistance, without ideas borrowed from states more developed than ourselves, could any Government have achieved these. They are down on everything foreign. What particularly irritates them is the so-called British Imperialism. We have outlived the old fashioned conception of British Imperialism as centred on territorial acquisition and Colonial rule. British Imperialism exists throughout the world in quite another form, that is by its contribution to legal systems and its larger contribution to modern civilization. If we isolate ourselves we could never hope to make any progress.

By adopting what modern civilization requires us to adopt from foreign sources we are not destroying our nationalism but are giving nationalism a living force to our people. Above all we give them reality to the freedom.

The Freedom Party, on the other hand, has also put forward a wholesome programme towards the upliftment of

the workers and the peasants. So far as aims and objects go they do not differ materially from the U. N. P. programme but their main difference lies in the method of execution.

The U. N. P. endeavours to reach the same goal through private enterprise, whereas the Freedom Party endeavours to achieve their object through public ownership, State monopolies and State appropriation of the means of production. All these are undemocratic measures. These ideas owe their origin to the totalitarian State.

The use of the expression Social Democratic cannot disguise this fact. If the small man is to be protected, monopolies must be curbed. The U. N. P., realizing this adopted a judicious policy—restricting interference to industries and enterprises of public utility. The World War, however, has compelled private individuals to surrender a great deal of their economic independence to the State. Consequently Government was saddled with the necessity for interference in private enterprise but no one can deny that the U.N.P. is gradually encouraging people to regain their economic independence by removing a large number of restrictions and controls and the encouragement it gives to Ceylonese traders and business men. The removal of these restrictions had to be gradual in view of the extraordinary conditions imposed by the last war. We must not forget that the U.N.P. took the reins of Government at a time when the World was still in a state of economic chaos and much of the evils arising from controls and restrictions have left their mark. The Freedom Party on the other hand, claims to have diagnosed these troubles. They propose to overcome them by re-organising the economic life of this country in the manner set out in their Manifesto, that is by nationalization and a planned economy. This is the method they suggest and yet they call themselves the "Freedom Party". The title Freedom is altogether misleading because the writer asserts that nationalization and planned economy would make self-government a farce and destroy political as well as economic liberty.

Let the voters ask how, while advocating such a policy, the Party can claim the title Freedom. Let not the voters be misled by such titles.

Mr. W. D. Wade writing on democracies pointed out that once a Socialist State was set up it would be easy for some future Dictator to take control of the whole structure of the society and the economy of the country, however blameless had been the intention of the original founders of the Socialist State. These observations are sufficient to show that it is fantastic to suggest that the Freedom Party is the Middle Way in relation to the U.N.P. and the Leftist Group.

The truth is that the Freedom Party is a Leftist organization because the points at variance are negligible. The present writer, therefore reaffirms his original thesis that the U.N.P. is the only major Democratic Party in our country today. Let us face the polls with courage and confidence and in the hope that the parties who are grouped together to offer a challenge to democracy will not achieve their object.

It is appropriate to conclude this series with a tribute to our Propaganda Chief who is mainly responsible for the continued existence of this journal and who has been and is the live wire of the Party. It has been truly said that but for Sir John Kotelawala's organizing capacity and tireless energy the U.N.P. would not be what it is today. It is the writer's hope that the contribution Sir John has made in the cause of democracy will be reflected in the Second Dominion Parliament of Ceylon and Parliaments to come.

V

POSTSCRIPT

L EFTIST leaders are daily giving proof of their incapacity to combine together to form a government. The so called pact, between the Sama Samajists and the Freedom Party, the details of which the public have not been informed, is designed to defeat the U.N.P. on this, the parties seemed to agree but the public would like to know what alternative government these parties offer, they propose a coalition government which we all know is an exception to the normal rule

of party government, a coalition takes place in a state of war or national emergency, on the principle that parties sink their differences to enable government to concentrate attention on the supremely total issue which affect the very existence of State, neither of these conditions exist in our country today, but the ground on which a coalition is sought is that neither party has put forward a sufficient number of candidates to capture the requisite number of seats to form a government, the U.N.P. on the other hand is the only political party which has put forward the largest number of candidates and so have very good reasons to believe that they will obtain a majority to form the government. This fact ought to inspire confidence in the various electorates, apart from the many reasons, already urged to support the U.N.P. especially, because they seek no alliance, nor have they entered into pacts, secretly or otherwise with other political groups whose ideologies differ from theirs.

Dr. N. M. Perera, referring to the Communists, asks, whether they are human beings, and points out that in a country with a great culture, the Communists cannot go on. This observation sounds excellent but Dr. Perera overlooks the fact that religion and culture are so closely linked, that one cannot exist without the other, but Dr. Perera is the leader of a party, which does not recognise religion in any form on the contrary, according to his party principles, religion is the opium of the people and therefore ought to be destroyed and annihilated, but you cannot annihilate religion and retain culture. Therefore, accepting Dr. Perera's thesis, in his own words, his party also cannot go on, this statement is obviously made in the hope of getting the Communists out of the way. Dr. Perera's comments on the Sri Lanka Freedom Party are equally illuminating ; he observes that there is no organisation called the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, but that, it is a collection of "sticks in the mud". Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, he observes "is a man, who is not sure of what, he thinks, talks or does". Dr. Perera further observed that "the Freedom Party, has no organisation, discipline, or a leader, in the true sense of the word leader." Dr. Perera further enlightened his hearers when he says that the N.L.S.S.P. has put forward over forty five candidates for the elections and are working

with the support of Mr. Bandaranaike's party, the S.L.F.P. but that he would not however say that a complete understanding, had been reached with that party, we are unfortunately not told what the understanding is to enable us to judge, to what extent it is incomplete, it is further interesting to note, that this same Dr. Pereira in the course of an election address, pointed out that if his party won thirty seats at the coming elections, they would form a coalition government with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. It would appear from these comments that Dr. Perera has betrayed the technique of Marxist-totalitarianism: which aims at liquidating all other political parties; this is the very antithesis of democracy. The Freedom Party Leader will soon discover that discreditable demagogue calculating ways and means of capturing more seats for his party, in the hope of telling Mr. Bandaranaike that he has more men on his side, and therefore his claims to be Prime Minister of Ceylon are superior but the ideas of a coalition, with such a party is even more fantastic if we take the Freedom Party Manifesto seriously when it claims to encourage and revive all religions in Ceylon. How does the Freedom Party hope to get over this deadlock? When Dr. N. M. Perera starts destroying all religions, on the one hand while Mr. Bandaranaike's party will start reviving them on the other. Both leaders will find themselves in the anomalous position. Where, when one is constructing the other is destroying, this is bound to produce chaos and disorder, but, the anomaly does not end here.

The Freedom Party in endeavouring to establish in Ceylon a Social-Democratic State which recognises a system of Parliamentary government, whereas the N.L.S.S.P. and the L.S.S.P. aim at establishing a Marxist totalitarian form of government, which does not recognise a parliamentary system, it is a one party rule which permits, neither an opposition nor a right to criticise the party running the Government. Where are the prospects of a coalition? The N.L.S.S.P. policy is to concede unrestricted rights of citizenship to all foreigners who wish to settle down permanently in Ceylon, whether Indians, Russians or Chinese. The voters would like to know the views of these parties on this vital issue, but find themselves in the horns of a dilemma. If the Freedom Party supports the Citizenship

Act openly they will incur the displeasure of the Indians, if Dr. Colvin R. de Silva parades his key by which he promised to open the door for the free ingress of the Indian population the N.L.S.S.P. will lose the Ceylon vote. These are all vital issues on which the electorate has a right to be enlightened. Their silence gives rise to only one conclusion and that is that they are seeking to obtain the support of the electorate on false pretences ; the U.N.P. is indeed a study in contrast they stand by the Citizenship Act. Here is consistency and stability not only in their words, but in their actions. It will indeed be a sad day for the future of our country if the voters, even by chance, were to make the wrong choice.

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva claims most vehemently the upliftment of the working classes, and boldly asserts that it will restore full employment within twenty-four hours, if his party gets power he is fully aware of our growing population, the difficulties which face the government to obtain food supplies for the existing population, in the same breath he advocates granting unrestricted rights of citizenship and free ingress to millions of Indians, his utterances cannot be reconciled with the policy of his party. One of the greatest dangers of democracy is that it affords scope for discreditable demagogues to sway the electorate, especially when their greater numbers are the uninformed masses, to a wrong choice.

The elements of religion, morality and spiritual values fortunately still survive in this country despite the disruptive forces, which are working their way through Marxist and Communist leaders. Enough has been said to show that Marxism and Communism are against all religions, they go further, their policy is to destroy religions, and with the destruction of religion, morality and spiritual values will also disappear. Therefore no Buddhist, Christian, Muslim nor a Hindu, with a conscience can support a Marxist or a Communist candidate at the general elections, the Ceylon labels attached to these parties such as Nava Lanka and Lanka Sama Samajist cannot disguise the Marxist elements of their political ideologies. Even those who uphold moral and spiritual values cannot vote for candidates who belong to such parties, and retain their loyalty to moral and spiritual values. The only way to show that we in

Ceylon do not tolerate such doctrines is to vote against them and deny them a place in our legislature. Unless we are prepared to take this course we can never hope to remove the evils of Communism and Marxism from this country. There are two errors to which even intelligent observers are victims, one is based on the intellectual attainments and the debating capacity of some of the Marxist and Communist leaders. They argue that a strong opposition is necessary and therefore these leaders ought to be returned to Parliament, their argument is based on the wrong perries that if these do not find a place in opposition, parliament will have to carry on without one. When the U.N.P. forms a government there will be a sufficient number left to form the opposition, we will then have paved the way for a democratic opposition, which all right thinking people desire. His Majesty's Opposition must criticise the government and detect errors and corruption in the administration, it is not its function to overthrow the Constitution and attempt to destroy the Parliamentary system. When these leaders enter Parliament with these aims, it is not surprising that they fail to do anything for their Constituencies, the second point is that considerations of friendship, relationship, influence and other ties condition the choice, however strong such ties might be, the intelligent voter's consideration must be his own conscience, he must realise that by voting for a Communist or Marxist he takes responsibility for all their evil measures in Parliament. So long as we allow such irrelevant considerations to determine the choice of our representatives we can never hope to progress. There is only one answer to the Marxist and Communist and that is "political ostracism". The duty of producing this result rests mostly on those who do not go to the polls, they must realise that by keeping away they are doing the country the greatest disservice. If the informed and enlightened of our people think thus, how can we expect anything better from the uneducated masses, there is the further important duty which we owe to our country and that is to advise the uninformed to act correctly and warn them against the evils of Marxism. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva now says that his party is not against religion, this is preposterous. The voters must not be misled.

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