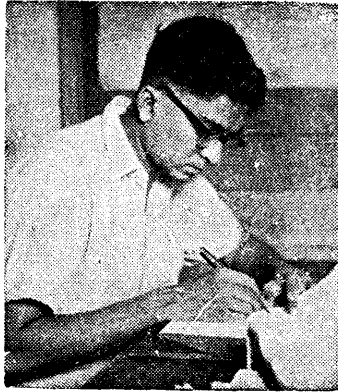


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# WHAT WE STAND FOR



by

**Leslie Goonawardene**

Secretary LSSP

-/25 cts.

# Leslie Goonewardene

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

What a political party stands for cannot be judged only from what it declares on public platforms and what it announces through the printed word. That is quite clear, especially after the experience we have had of the UNP Government of 1952 and the MEP Government of 1956. What a party really stands for has to be judged also by examining to what extent its actions in the past have accorded with its professed aims and objectives. It is therefore only proper that this short summary of what the Lanka Sama Samaja Party stands for should commence with a brief incursion into history.

### I. Historical

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party was founded in December, 1935, with the aim of National Independence and Socialism. Today, after a period of twenty three years, it can boldly say with pride that never once has it betrayed or swerved away from its fundamental aims. On the other hand, looking back on twenty three years of struggle and sacrifice, of victories and defeats, it can point to a record in service of the toilers, of which any party can be proud.

At the time the LSSP was founded, politics in Ceylon was confined to a small coterie of English-educated people of the upper class. Even though universal adult franchise had been introduced in 1935, elections continued to be conducted on personal and not political issues.

It was the LSSP that first brought political consciousness to the masses of both town and countryside. Speaking to the common man for the first time in a language which he could under-

stand, it was the LSSP that laid bare the facts of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation and aroused the common man to a consciousness of his rights and his true position in society.

It was not through propaganda alone, however, that the LSSP functioned. Its words were matched by its actions. Since its inception, the LSSP has been in the forefront of every mass struggle against injustice and oppression. The All Ceylon Motor Strike of 1936, the Bracegirdle episode of 1937, the Mooloya strike of 1940, the peasant movement of 1945-46, and the general strikes of 1946 and 1947 are but highlights in a long series of struggles.

During the war years, because it stood fast to its principles and condemned the predatory war of the imperialists, because it refused to betray the struggle for national independence, and because it continued to support the struggles of the masses for better conditions, the LSSP was declared illegal, its paper banned, its press seized, its leaders imprisoned, and the party was compelled for a number of years to function illegally under grave hardships as an underground organization.

After the war, when the capitalist politicians who had been hand in glove with the imperialists during the war, formed the United National Party in preparation for the elections of 1947, it was the LSSP and the LSSP alone, which exposed the UNP as the party of the Ceylonese capitalist class and the arch enemy of the Ceylonese masses. From the very inception of the capitalist UNP, it was the LSSP that gave the lead in the struggle against it.

When the UNP, returning to power in 1952, imposed intolerable burdens on the back of the masses in breach of all its election promises, and the people rose in protest, it was the LSSP that emerged as the leader and organizer of the masses in the Great Hartal of August 12, 1953. The Hartal broke the myth of the omnipotence of the UNP and gave the masses a new confidence in their own strength. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Hartal of August 1953 laid the foundation of the electoral defeat of the UNP in 1956.

More recently, after the bitter controversy over the state language question, friend and foe alike is compelled to admit

that the LSSP is the only political party in Ceylon which stands by its principles. It is becoming increasingly clear that the only party which speaks the truth to the masses is the LSSP. Today the LSSP stands out as the only political party in Ceylon which can preserve the unity of the Ceylonese nation, and which can lead all the oppressed, irrespective of caste, race and creed, in their forward march to a socialist society.

## II. Taking Back of the Bases & an Independent Republic Outside the British Commonwealth

The LSSP considers that the completion of our national independence demands the taking back of air, naval and military bases handed over to the British Government and the transformation of the status of Ceylon into that of an independent republic outside the British Commonwealth. Further, the continuance of these bases in the hands of the British Government or any agreement granting it the use of these bases as a matter of right, constitutes a serious threat to Ceylon in the event of war. In this age of atomic warfare this is a matter of the most vital concern.

Our international agreements and connections if they are to serve our interests and not those of others must be entered into of our free will.

Our connection with the British Commonwealth is not a tie that was created in this manner, but was a position that arose from Ceylon's position as a colony of Britain. Membership of the British Commonwealth has no reality for a country like Ceylon. It is possible that a vast country like India finds it advantageous to remain within the Commonwealth because she is in a position to influence Commonwealth policy. However a small country like Ceylon cannot expect to be in a position to do likewise, and her membership of the British Commonwealth only means that she suffers all the disadvantages of this connection, without any commensurate advantage. Imperial preference and other obligations like participation in the dollar pool are examples of economic disadvantages that have flowed from the Imperial (or Commonwealth) connection.

Our foreign policy should be one which aims at having friendly relations with all countries which respect our independence. And in the first place, we should attempt to have treaties of friendship with the politically independent countries of S. E. Asia and with China.

### III. A Democratic Political System

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party stands for a democratic political system. It rejects the one-party system of government as being harmful and dangerous to a country embarking on the socialist road. Not only is such a system an unjustified denial of the democratic rights of the masses, but history has shown that it becomes a channel for hideous bureaucratic distortions and for impeding the free development to socialism. The active initiative and participation of the masses is needed at all levels and at all stages in the development to socialism. This can be assured only under a democratic political system.

At the same time the present political system obtaining in Ceylon has to be branded as undemocratic and weighted at every turn in favour of the propertied classes. In the first place, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few give these few an influence and power which is entirely disproportionate to their numbers. It is sufficient to point out that the press, the radio, etc. act as the direct or indirect instruments of the propertied classes.

The absence of real democracy in Ceylon is not the result only of concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. The constitution itself is undemocratic. It is sufficient here to mention the examples of the Senate, whose only purpose is to sabotage progressive legislation on behalf of capitalist interests, and the undemocratic delimitation of constituencies, which gives weightage to the sparsely populated backward rural areas at the expense of the thickly populated advanced areas in the country.

The present Constitution is a creation of the British Government and not of the representatives of the Ceylonese people.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party has always considered that the best way to secure a free constitution suitable for Ceylon,

is through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of a secret, adult and equal suffrage. This does not mean that the LSSP will not be prepared to support all efforts to amend the existing Constitution in the right direction. But it is necessary to point out the following serious limitation of this method. (a) The present elected Members of Parliament have been elected, not on an equal suffrage, but on a grossly unequal suffrage, due to the grossly unfair delimitation of constituencies. (b) The present elected members have been elected by the people not for the purpose of drafting a constitution, but on very different considerations. (c) And, most important of all, the need for obtaining a two third's majority to amend the Constitution as well as the desire to get such amendments through the Senate, must result in compromises which will detract considerably from the democratic character of the amended constitution.

## IV. Local Government

The present system of local government is still to a great extent a continuation of the system that existed under British colonial rule, wherein local self-government was thwarted by a bureaucratic Central Government. The kachcheri system, operating through the village headmen, helped to perpetuate the colonial administrative set-up. This system not only acts as an administrative bottle-neck ensuring that everything proceeds at bullock cart pace, but it is also admirably suited to deny to the common people the fruits of the political power that has come to them through universal franchise.

The extension of local government is necessary if there is to be genuine democracy. More powers have to be granted to local bodies if these bodies are to function effectively. Not only the present inadequacy of funds of local authorities but also their abject dependence on the Central Government for financial aid should be removed by earmarking suitable sources of funds for the benefit of local authorities. The present headman and kachcheri systems have to be abolished and these functions developed on local authorities as part of a general process of democratising the administration and bringing it closer to the people.

## V. The Question of Citizenship and Voting Rights for Those of Indian Origin

The denial of citizenship and voting rights to permanent residents of Indian origin, who are principally plantation workers, is an ugly blot which disfigures the present political structure of Ceylon. The very people\* who in 1937 defeated the LSSP resolution in the then State Council for a complete ban on the recruitment of workers from India have, after the transfer of political power to them in 1948, denied these workers, who constitute an important part of the working class of Ceylon, their civic and political rights. This measure, inspired by the twin purpose of weakening working class representation in Parliament and of dividing the toiling masses by rousing racialism, has resulted in a gross injustice in particular to the plantation workers of Indian origin, the majority of whom have actually been born in Ceylon.

The present situation is that while a small number of these workers have become Indian citizens and an equally small number have become Ceylon citizens, the vast majority who applied for Ceylon citizenship have had their applications rejected and are going to remain in Ceylon as a stateless section of the community, deprived of their civic and political rights. This is not only a human injustice, but it also creates a situation that is extremely unhealthy for the body politic.

Parties based on Sinhalese communalism, like the MEP and the UNP, not only are incapable of providing a solution to this problem, but do not find it in their interest to solve the problem. For, unable as they are to solve a single one of the pressing economic problems, they need issues such as the language question and the Indian question which they can exploit in order to win electoral support on a communal basis among the Sinhalese masses. From the early days when the LSSP was striving to be born, racial issues have been a favourite weapon of the capitalists

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\* Both Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake, Prime Minister in the MEP Government, and Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister in the UNP Government of 1952-53, belong to this category.

and their politicians against the working class movement. And if the raising of such issues leads periodically to racial disturbances, there will be not a few among the privileged sections of society who would consider that this a price worth paying for a perpetuation of the privileges they enjoy under capitalism.

On this question the LSSP has a position which, in addition to being in accordance with its socialist principle of uniting all sections of the oppressed regardless of differences of race, caste or creed, is the only solution to the problem from the point of view of the interests of the Ceylonese nation as a whole. While recognising the need to have a proper enforcement of the ban on immigration, on the other hand the LSSP stands for the granting of citizenship and voting rights to all residents of Indian origin who have resided in Ceylon for a minimum number of years and desire to make Ceylon their permanent home. It is only by action on these lines that the so-called Indian problem is capable of solution, that these permanent residents of Ceylon who along with their children are going to continue to be permanent residents of this country can be welded into the Ceylonese nation with a proper consciousness of their rights and obligations, and that the efforts of the capitalists to perpetuate their rule through the division and weakening of the working class movement can be defeated.

## VI. Sinhalese and Tamil as State Languages

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party declares that both Sinhalese and Tamil should be State Languages in Ceylon. The attempt to make Sinhalese the only state language in Ceylon in the face of the opposition of the Tamil speaking minority is unwise, unjust, and in any case an attempt that cannot be carried out in practice.

The Tamil-speaking citizen should have an equal right to the use of his language as the Sinhalese-speaking citizen. This means that just as Sinhalese-speaking people should possess the right to have their dealings with Government and vice versa conducted in Sinhalese, so also Tamil-speaking people



8

should possess the right to have their dealings in the Tamil language. This principle should apply to the various fields of state activity, including the courts and education. Specifically in relation to education the two linguistic groups should have the right not only to education through the medium of the mother tongue, but also of competing for the public service by means of examinations held in the medium of the mother tongue.

It would be impracticable, of course, to attempt to work out in advance a blueprint of such a language policy. The practical working out has to be done on the basis of experience. But this much can be said. It is only on the above-mentioned lines that a just and lasting solution of the state language question can be achieved.

Any effort to resolve this problem without the recognition of both Sinhalese and Tamil as official or state languages can only lead to disunity and perhaps ultimately even to division of the country. The Sinhala Only Act passed by the votes of the governing MEP and of the UNP has already ruptured the unity of the Ceylonese people. The fact that the Government has today been compelled to retreat from the position of 'Sinhala Only' only provides further proof that the policy of 'Sinhala Only' is not only unjust but also impracticable and that no solution can be found on these lines.

As in the case of the Indian question, so also in this case, the language question is a convenient instrument for parties wedded to the system of capitalism to distract the masses from the real problems and to gain their support by rousing racial antagonisms. Our own bitter experience has shown that this path is fraught with the dangers of widespread racial disturbances, division of the country, and its return to foreign rule and ultimate national disintegration.

It is worth noting that while the parties of capitalism can only save their system by travelling the road of national destruction, not only the task of economic reconstruction but the task of national preservation itself, is assumed today by the party of socialism, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Is any further proof needed by us in Ceylon of the bankruptcy of decrepit capitalism and the progressive nature of advancing socialism?

## VII. Religious Freedom

The LSSP has always considered religion to be a private matter. The duty of the state in this connection is to guarantee the right of everyone to practice his religion without hindrance from others. The propaganda carried on by our enemies, from the very commencement of the party, that the LSSP is against religion and would destroy religious liberty once it came into power is belied by not only the pronouncements but also the actions of the party over the past 23 years. Such fairy tales stand exposed today as the crude propaganda of those who wish to protect, not religion, but capitalist property, against the LSSP and the forces of progress.

## VIII. An Educational System Geared to the Needs of the Nation

It is not sufficient that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue. It is also necessary that English should be made a compulsory second language. For, not only will it be a long time before sufficient extra-curricular literature in the form of books and periodicals is available in sufficient quantity in the mother tongue, but a knowledge of a foreign language like English will enormously facilitate and improve the education of our student population.

If Ceylon had been a vast country where all necessary publications, including technical publications, could be made available in the mother tongue, the study of a foreign language would not perhaps be necessary except for a restricted few. However, for a small country like Ceylon her forward development will depend to a very large extent on her ability to teach an increasing number of her population one of the major international languages. It cannot be gainsaid that for us the most convenient and suitable foreign language is English.

The educational system has also to be altered so as to fit the student better for the life before him. Above all, this means that education has also to be of a vocational character with a

technical bias. There is little use, however, of an education of this nature if the student on leaving school is not going to find an occupation in which the vocational training he has received is put to practical use. Therefore such a system of education has to be worked out in close relation to a scheme for the planned economic development of the country.

Finally, it would not be out of place to mention a word about state education. Education is the duty of the state, and this is a duty the state should assume. This is the only way of granting a very important right — the right of children to the best education which the state can afford to give them. The LSSP therefore stands for a system of state education.

This means that the present assisted schools would have to decide whether they will hand over their schools to the state or whether they will continue to run them without the grants which they now receive. If these private educational bodies are prepared to run their schools without a grant from the State, they should be free to do so. But they should not expect the state to continue to finance an education which they give. The state does not, unfortunately, have unlimited funds to spend on education. It must ensure that the limited funds it has at its disposal for education are spent in the best possible manner to provide the maximum benefits to the largest possible number on the principle of equality of opportunity for all.

Such a policy in relation to the present assisted schools will also have to be combined with measures to provide sufficient schools for the entire school-going population.

## IX. A Programme of Measures of Social Relief

While it is true that measures of social relief in Ceylon are in advance of what exists in most South East Asian countries, nevertheless it is also true that these measures are still far from adequate. It suffices to state that 81 percent of deaths are due to preventable bowel diseases, preventable principally by better

housing and environmental sanitation; that infantile mortality, though reduced, is still as high as 68 per thousand; and that there are well over a hundred thousand *registered* unemployed.

It also necessary to remember that Ceylon is a poor country. And in a poor country, much more than in a well-to-do one, a comprehensive system of social relief measures introduced by the state, is essential if every person is to be guaranteed even the bare essentials of a human existence.

Accordingly, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party fights for an adequate programme of social relief measures in order to protect and to improve the living standards and conditions of the vast majority of the people. Among these measures the following deserve special mention :-

- 1 An adequate national minimum wage
- 2 Security of service
- 3 Old age pensions
- 4 8 hour day for all workers
- 5 A national provident fund with provision for past services
- 6 Provision by the state of low rent houses
- 7 Provision of work or maintenance
- 8 Effective control of the prices of essential commodities.

## X. Stagnating National Production

If a scheme of social relief measures such as mentioned above is to be put into effect, and if a rising standard of living is to be provided for the people of Ceylon, it is necessary that our present stagnating economic system be converted into an expanding economy. That is to say, our national production should increase year by year at a rate faster than that of our growing population. This is not taking place in Ceylon today.

The real position in relation to our national production is partially hidden by the fact that in the post war years, especially after the Korean War, the prices of our export commodities have risen. This is not, however, a situation that can continue for ever. In the present conditions of stagnating productive forces,

a fall in prices of these export products will have a catastrophic effect on the entire economy and the living standards of the people. Today, with a rapidly increasing population, the rapid expansion of our total national production becomes an urgent task.

New investment is necessary if national production is to be increased. But the capitalist class in Ceylon has signally failed to invest its profits in new industrial and agricultural enterprises. These profits are largely frittered away either in unnecessary expenditure or by investments in loans at high rates of interest on mortgages of already developed land. The latter process generally does not lead to new production but results in the lender becoming the owner of the property after a number of years.

Faced with this situation, all schools of political thought in Ceylon have now appeared to accept the conclusion that some kind of state planning is necessary if economic development is to go forward at an accelerated rate. However, agreement seems to end here. The widest divergences appear when we face the crucial question of where the money is to be found to finance new development.

## XI. Foreign Capital to Finance New Development

The argument is constantly advanced, especially in capitalist circles, that private capital from abroad can come to our rescue in the matter of new development, **provided of course that a favourable atmosphere that can attract such capital is created in Ceylon.** To expose the hollowness of this argument the Samasamajists need only point out that in the years 1947 to 1956 everything possible was done to create such an atmosphere by a Government which was the acknowledged representative of the Ceylon capitalists and which openly aligned itself with the Western Imperialists on all important questions. Nevertheless the foreign private capital that was attracted to our shores in this period was practically nil. The fact of the matter is that the big capitalists of the West consider the entire region of South East Asia as a politically unsettled region in which it is unsafe to invest their capital, and they prefer the relative safety of Africa and South America and the relatively higher rate of exploitation possible in those continents.

Samasamajists decisively reject the argument that, in present day world conditions, foreign private capital can play a role of any importance in supplying the finance needed for Ceylon's economic development. The specious argument in favour of creating a favourable atmosphere which can attract foreign capital stands exposed as a thinly-veiled effort to forestall those anti-capitalist measures which, as we shall see later on, are the only way out of the impasse that Ceylon's economy faces.

## **XII. A Socialist Plan of Development**

If the economy of Ceylon is to get out of the rut into which it has fallen, it is essential that large scale new investments in industrial and agricultural undertakings be embarked upon according to an over-all national plan of development. The LSSP believes that such a plan is possible only on a socialist basis. In the first place there is the question how the capital is to be found for a plan of such dimensions.

As we have seen earlier, one cannot expect private capital from abroad to flow into Ceylon in any appreciable measure with the present trend of development in Asia. As for Government to Government loans, all opportunities should surely be availed of to obtain such credits on suitable terms in order to finance development. However such loans are unlikely to be forthcoming on any really big scale if political obligations are not attached which jeopardise our own interests. The fact has therefore to be faced that if we are to have a development plan adequate to our needs, it will be necessary for us to depend principally on our own resources for the capital that is required.

### **ANTI-CAPITALIST MEASURES NEEDED.**

How is the needed capital to be found in our own country? The LSSP believes that in order to secure this capital it is absolutely essential to embark on a series of radical anti-capitalist measures. Capitalist profits will have to be taxed, and capitalist concerns nationalised in the manner stated below in order to obtain the funds necessary for a plan of development which can set the country on the road of economic progress.

It is often stated by the defenders of the present system that even these profits of the capitalists would not provide sufficient funds to finance an adequate plan of development. This may well be so. But our reply to this argument is that the Government has the right to call for sacrifices from the masses before it has first compelled those who are able to pay to disgorge their wealth. We are confident that after the necessary anti-capitalist measures have been taken the masses will be prepared to make their own sacrifices to bridge any gap that might exist between the funds so made available and the amount needed for the plan of development.

It should be added that if such a national plan of development is to be a success, the active participation and initiative of the masses will be necessary both in the elaboration and carrying out of the plan. It is the task of the Government in collaboration with trade unions and other mass organisations to provide the opportunities for this participation and initiative.

### **XIII. Nationalization of All Banks & Insurance Companies**

The nationalisation of all banks and, in particular, of the exchange banks is essential if the state is to obtain that control over the economic system which will make national planning possible. In particular such a measure will be necessary in order to control inflation which any big long-term plan of development will inevitably have the tendency to produce.

Insurance concerns are a source of fabulous profits to capitalists and—in Ceylon—particularly to foreign capital. The nationalisation of insurance companies will on the one hand ensure that these profits will be available to help finance development, while on the other hand it will be possible to extend insurance schemes to wider sections of the population.

## **XIV. Taking Over of the Import and Export Trade**

The import and export trade of Ceylon is almost entirely in the hands of foreign capitalists. The taking over by a state trading corporation of the import and export trade would in the first place put a stop to an important drain of wealth from this country. Secondly, it would prevent profiteering by wholesale traders. It can also be used as a weapon to prevent exploitation of the rural poor by the money lending retail trader. And finally, it will be a very necessary instrument in the hands of the state to control prices. In view of the high degree to which Ceylon is bound up with the international market, an effective control of the prices of imported articles is essential if the economic plan is not to be upset.

## **XV. Steepening of Income Tax with a Ceiling on Income**

Income tax on higher incomes should be raised on a steeply gradated scale with a ceiling on maximum incomes. Such a measure is essential if the common man is to feel that a real effort is being made to abolish the gross inequalities that exist in our society. It would also be an important method of obtaining funds for development.

## **XVI. Nationalisation of Large Estates**

Large tea, rubber and coconut plantations over a certain acreage should be nationalised. The precise acreage above which estates will be nationalised would probably have to be decided on separately for each of the above categories, taking into account that the nationalisation of concerns below a certain size is likely to be uneconomic.

In addition to directing the vast profits from these concerns into those channels of development that are the most desirable in the national interest, such a measure of nationalisation will



(a) make possible many economies which flow from the working of large scale units,

(b) ensure the efficient functioning of the three major industries of Ceylon which also are her main sources of foreign exchange, and

(c) prevent the flow out of the country of the vast profits made annually on foreign-owned tea and rubber plantations.

Any plan of nationalisation, however, to be a success needs to have the enthusiastic co-operation of the workers. This can be achieved only if the workers feel in their day to day lives the radical change that has taken place, only if the consciousness is created in them that now, together with the rest of the working people of the country, *they* are the real owners of the nationalised concerns. The examples of the nationalisations and running of the bus services and the Port of Colombo, where workers have no say whatsoever in the management, show that mere state ownership is woefully inadequate to guarantee the success of a venture.

It is therefore essential that the elected representatives of the workers be made partners with the state in the management of nationalised concerns. And this partnership should be established at all levels of management. This will bring about a revolutionary change in the attitude of the workers to their work, ensure the running of the nationalised concern in a more successful manner than was ever possible under private ownership, and be the surest guarantee that any open or covert attempt at sabotage of the working of the nationalised undertaking will be promptly discovered and checked.

## XVII. State & Collective Farms

In the alienation of Crown land to peasants, the "two acres and a cow" policy inaugurated by the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, which is still being carried on, has proved its bankruptcy over the years. Far from creating the sturdy peasantry which, it was expected, would be a bulwark against radical economic and social change, this policy has only aggravated the problems of the country. Without capital, the owner of the small allotment either sublets his land to another, becoming a

parasite, or soon falls into difficulties and has to appeal over and over again to Government for aid. In the long run, this policy will solve neither the problem of landlessness nor that of low production.

On the other hand, a policy of giving a small plot of land to each peasant allottee for the purpose of his house and vegetable garden, while forming the bulk of the alienated Crown land into state farms or collective farms, run on modern lines, with all the advantages of large-scale undertakings, is much more likely to be a success. It is true that this requires a fair amount of capital which will have to be provided initially by the state; but these are the only lines along which any real solution can be found to the problem of landlessness as well as that of village agricultural production.

It is desirable not to be too dogmatic on the question of state farms and collective farms. Indeed, in the initial stages it may well be advisable in settling cultivators on Crown land to set up, not state farms with paid workers, but collective farms, in which the farmers will collectively work the land. The collective farm would receive loans from the state for the hire of modern implements, purchase of manure, payment for technical assistance and for other needs, and after the sale of the crops, the profits could be divided among the farmers. The success of such farms would act as an inducement to the owners of private plots to work their land similarly on a collective basis.

## **XVIII. Abolition of the 'Ande' System and Other Measures to Increase Peasant Production**

The 'ande' system of tenure that exists with regard to paddy production is not only a parasitic exploitation of the cultivator but also a barrier to increased production. This system should be abolished and the land vested in the tiller of the soil. It is only then that the cultivator will be prepared, with the necessary

encouragement and advice from the state, to utilise more modern methods of cultivation which are so essential if yields are to be increased.

The provision of seed paddy and manure and advice with regard to new methods of paddy cultivation in a simple and practical manner, which the rural cultivator can understand, guaranteed fair prices for the various kinds of peasant produce, combined with the provision of adequate marketing facilities, are also measures that have to be energetically proceeded with by the state in order to increase production and raise living standards in the rural areas.

The co-operative movement will have an important part to play in all the above. But if it is to play this role, it should appear not as something imposed from above but as a movement springing from the people and having their active participation. This popular participation will be forthcoming only when reforms in the rural areas are a part of a vast and co-ordinated state plan of development which can offer a solution to the basic problems of the people and thus inspire hope and confidence in them.

## **XIX. Elimination of Corruption**

Corruption has seeped into the administrative machinery of the state and is unfortunately to be found at all levels. It exacts a heavy toll of the community and has to be eradicated if any real progress is to be made. It suffices to point out that the best conceived plans of economic development cannot be successful if a goodly portion of the money spent by the state finds its way by irregular means into the pockets of private individuals.

The sternest measures are necessary to fight corruption. And the cleaning-up has to commence by action against those at the top who are found guilty of corruption. The law has to be suitably changed providing for deterrent penalties against the guilty. In other words, a veritable campaign against corruption will be necessary if this corroding disease is to be stamped out. However, two conditions are necessary for the success of such a campaign. The first is that those conducting such a campaign should themselves be free from the disease and have the political

courage to act firmly without fear or favour. The second condition is that the active co-operation of the people is mobilised in carrying out the task. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party justifiably takes pride in the fact that it is the only political party in Ceylon which can provide the fulfilment of the above two conditions.

## XX. The Only Way Forward

It is only a programme of anti-capitalist measures and other social reforms such as has been outlined above that can provide a road out of the present economic and social impasse and secure the active participation of the common people of this country in the mighty task of building a healthy, prosperous, and free nation.

Only such a programme can lead to:—

- ★ Genuine independence and the preservation of that independence,
- ★ A real contribution to the cause of world peace,
- ★ The building of a united Ceylonese nation out of the different racial and religious groups that exist,
- ★ The active co-operation of the vast majority in the task of national reconstruction,
- ★ The progressive abolition of the glaring economic inequalities and social injustices that exist and the provision of equal opportunities for all,
- ★ The progressive abolition of unemployment and the provision of a rising standard of living to the people, and
- ★ The provision of the material basis and free atmosphere that is necessary for the development of the best in everyone.

The path to this goal is not an easy one. Powerful vested interests, both local and foreign, will fight desperately in an effort to cling on to their privileges. The path to the goal is one of struggle. But the Lanka Sama Samaja Party is convinced, whatever may be the vicissitudes on the journey, that the final victory will be with the people.

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