

# KING ALREADY!

## Or How Does He Ignore the Law?

by Colvin R. de Silva

President J. R. Jayawardena is already behaving like an absolute monarch. He has changed the name of the Republic of Sri Lanka!

How many people, one wonders, observed—and themselves wondered—that, in the joint communique issued by President J. R. Jayawardena and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Sri Lanka was designated by a new name the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka"? When was the name of our Republic changed? How was it changed? Who changed it from the old to the new?

The constitution of Sri Lanka in its very first section, declares: "Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is a Free, Sovereign and Independent Republic."

In the very next section, it is declared: "The Republic of Sri Lanka is a Unitary State."

And section 3 reads: "In the Republic of Sri Lanka, Sovereignty is in the People and inalienable"

And so it goes on. The name and title is "The Republic of Sri Lanka." That, and none other. In particular, it nowhere and never is "the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka."

### His Own Fiat

So how? Simply by fiat of President J. R. Jayawardena. And remember, the communique is not some journalistic exercise. It is an official document.

There is only one authority that can change the name of the Republic of Sri Lanka validly and legally. That is the National State Assembly—the supreme instrument of State power of the Republic through which alone—until Mr. Jayawardena's Second Amendment—the Sovereignty

of the People was exercised Only NSA, acting by a two-thirds majority of its membership, can change the name of the Republic. Only the NSA—and no other institution or person. Any other person or institution who or which purports to do so, does so fraudulently or deceitfully—or in sheer irresponsible lavity.

One also wonders whether there is even more—and worse—to it than that. Was the sudden adoption of the new name a subtle means of our "strictly non-aligned" country allying itself with President Carter's campaign against the socialist countries on the "human rights and freedoms" question. To counterpose to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka" is indeed a clever, even subtle, move, entirely in keeping with the political ways of one who claimed in his inaugural Presidential speech that Sri Lanka is the freest country in the world. So free, incidentally, that, at this moment of writing, Mr. Jayawardena's police have refused permission to Mr. Bernard Soyza, ULF-LSSP candidate for Colombo West, to hold a meeting in a

long customary place in Wellawatte, because it is by the road-side and would therefore make crowd-control difficult! So free that, only the days back, the "Daily News" and "Dinamina," both directly under the President's ministerial control, refused to accept an advertisement of a public lecture on the subject "Government Offensive against Civil Rights," unless the words "Government Offensive" were cut off. Even there, one sees a Jayawardena—type joke because the subject that would have been advertised would have been: "Against Civil Rights"! Skiffal, is it not, to make a meeting for the defence of civil rights appear to be a meeting against civil rights?! Of such is Jayawardena "freedom."

### Gravely Misleading

It is, of course, no answer to all this that President Jayawardena has a built-in two-thirds majority—five-sixths, to be exact—in the NSA, and a totally obedient majority at that. He can, of course, rush through the NSA in a matter of a single sitting, an amended name for the Republic, by simply getting the Cabinet, over which he presides under his own "Second Amendment," to endorse the Bill for the Law: "urgent in the national interest". This in fact was what he set about doing with his Second Amendment Bill. All this is true. But, until he uses his majority and puts the amended name through the NSA as an amendment (third or fourth—whatever it is to be) to the Constitution, neither he nor anybody else, as a person or institution, has the right to pretend that the name of the Republic of Sri Lanka is the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka"

It is not only wrong; it is also gravely and misleadingly incorrect. The Republic of Sri Lanka certainly was a genuine parliamentary democracy under the 1972 Constitution; and even though, with the 2nd Amendment of 1977, it is moving away from democracy with gathering speed the Re-

public of Sri Lanka is still a kind of democracy with presidential autoocracy built into it. But, the Republic of Sri Lanka never was and even more, is not a socialist republic!

To those who have eyes to see, or rather, the understanding which alone enables "seeing" in such matters, the Republic of Sri Lanka is by description in Chapter V of the constitution, entitled "Principles of State Policy" still a Republic which is pledged to carry forward the progressive advancement towards the establishment in Sri Lanka of a socialist democracy, the objectives of which include (among others)—

"The development of collective forms of property such as State property or co-operative property, in the means of production, distribution and exchange as a means of ending exploitation of man by man"

### Yet to Be

In the first place, what you are pledged to advance is clearly what has not yet been established and is still to be

established. Today is no tomorrow; and constitutions register, or rather, consolidate, what has been achieved and not what is to be achieved, even though what is aimed to be achieved is stated—as in our Chapter on "Principles of State Policy".

Thus, we are yet to be a socialist republic: we still are not. And our aim is "a socialist democracy". The latter phrase—a scientifically accurate phrase—was, we may say, carefully discussed in the committees of the Constituent Assembly and deliberately adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The UNP, led by Mr. Dudley Senanayake opposed the inclusion of this Chapter, as committing the Republic to a particular political programme. They did not then realize that they had in their ranks a future Prime Minister who would teach them to interpret the

(Contd: on Page 4)

## FLOUR AND SUGAR PRICES

The Government is making serious efforts to mislead the public by talking about the increase in the price of flour and other grains in the Western countries. The London "Economist" of 16th February 1978 gives the lie direct to this false propaganda. The price of flour it states categorically has fallen by 20 per cent of the price of the high prices prevailing in 1972-1973. And farmers throughout the United States have organized tractor parades to protest against the fall in prices of wheat and other grains. The remedy of the American Government had been to limit the acreage devoted to the production of wheat by 20 per cent. Other grain production is to be cut by 10 per cent. The Government has also paid

substantial loans to farmers: 1, 2 billion dollars to wheat farmers and over 5 billion dollars to other grain farmers.

Wheat stocks in both the main exporting and importing countries rose in 1977 to levels that they had not witnessed for years. This is the categorical observation of the "Economist" of 25th February, 1978. Consequently, the price of a bushel of wheat in the E.E.C. countries has touched the low figure of 2 dollars and 80 cents in August, 1977. Every effort is therefore, being made by the United States Government to work out agreements with European farmers through the E.E.C. and other organizations in order to stabilize the price of wheat and other grains. To what extent these efforts will be crowned with success has yet to be seen.

(Contd: on Page 2)

### TWO PAMPHLETS

by  
Colvin R. de Silva

"APRIL 1971 — A FOREDOOMED  
ULTRA-LEFTIST ADVENTURE"

— Rs. 2/-

"THE POLITICS OF THE BUDGET"

— Rs. 2/50

### Order From

Publications Bureau  
Lanka Sama Samaja Party,  
457, Union Place,  
Colombo - 2

## 'THE LAP IS FRUITFUL YET...'

A GDR Film Referring to the case of Kappler Unmasks Neofascism in the FRG.

by  
Dr. Gunter Queibler

The documentary film "Kennen Sie Kappler" (Do you know Kappler) by the team Dr Sabine Katins of the GDR Television is a moving document. It shows which extent a development has reached in the FRG that has been observed with an increasing international concern for a long time.

Who, as matters stand, should not know him this man who still at present is called in Italy "Fright from Roma": SS-Obersturmbannführer Herbert Kappler, chief of the Gestapo in Roma, who in May 1944 ordered to kill 335 hostages in the Ardeatine Caves near Roma by shots at the base of the skull till the execution commandos waded in blood. An officer of the SS who, had cognac distributed among the hangmen and who himself lended a hand at this action.

This man who was sentenced to penal servitude for life by an Italian military court in 1947 escaped with the help of SS-companions to the FRG 30 years later. The federal government of this FRG refuses to extradite him. Everywhere in the world there is indignation at this.

For this man FRG citizens are asked in the documentary, inhabitants from Soltau, Kappler's residence, members and leaders of neo-Nazi organizations on the occasion of parades in the towns of Osnabrück, Munich, Fürstentfeldbruck and Nuremberg as well as delegates to the party congress of Mr Straub's Christian-Social Union in Munich. The answers are shocking. Palliation and defence of the war crimes, derision of the victims, nationalistic arrogance and aggressive anti-communism in one breath—all this is here quite frankly uttered before the camera and microphone and brings with a bang the realization how neofascism is advanced by manipulation. The film shows impressively the dangerousness of it. The documentary, however, shows also those democratic and anti-fascist forces who courageously and resolutely oppose to the "Rotfrontverreckte" roaring (red front croak) their determined "Faschisten raus!" (fascists get out!).

So this film goes far beyond the case of Kappler that only pars pro toto stands for a system which does not only tolerate such a development but sheer promotes it. Furthermore the film demonstrates quite clearly: the matter in question is not an unimportant marginal indication, an up-to-date wave of Hitler nostalgia but serious symptoms of a development that one day could become extremely dangerous to the peoples in Europe and all the world over. Officially one tries to make the public believe that here some incorrigible old nazis act.

In reality, however, they are backed by influential supporters, powerful press concerns, film distributors, publishing houses that on behalf of the most reactionary wing of the ruling class in the FRG infiltrate the poison of neofascism into men's brains by controlled measures without being bothered by police and justice. Together with the revenge associations the now nearly 150 neo-Nazi organizations and institutions are the top of the spear of those forces in the FRG who fight against the policy of peace, detente and co-operation. They want again a period of cold war because they believe to have better chances for realizing their expansive objects in an atmosphere of violence and hatred.

The facts shown in this film are in sharp contrast to a document of the FRG government which was sent to UNO in 1970 and that included the declaration that the FRG government intended to take effective measures against neofascism. This document was intended to have a soothing effect on the peoples in Europe, and first of all on the FRG citizens; but method and ideology are behind it—and first of all the attempt of diversion and palliation. By the aid of this document and other "apologies" it is intended to manipulate the

public opinion with most various means—this is again proved by the film. The older generation who themselves have experienced fascism and war are to forget that what has been once.

What about the young generation in the FRG? From what do they form their opinion of fascism? What conception of history is imparted to them at school especially since the participation in the subject history is now intended to become "voluntary"? Hitler films, records with Hitler's, Goebbel's and Goring's speeches and books on "heroic deeds" of the armed services do not miss fire in any case. The comments made by the juveniles in this film tell their own tales.

The team Katins, however, is not only interested in opinions. They produce iron-clad cases and have the spectators participate in a field exercise of the "military sports group Hoffmann". People between 17 and 35 years practice during their spare time close combat with kicks into the belly and slapping and beating around themselves, camouflage and "surviving according to SA and SS example. The equipment is partly taken by the Federal Defence Forces and partly by the Hitler Wehrmacht. Hoffman, who has himself called "Führer", as well as the other instructors are experienced "old soldiers" of the Federal Defence Forces; nearly all of them have been mercenaries in South Rhodesia. "In case of a civil war we would be the right People", Hoffman says "We have no scruples to take action against communists. We consider ourselves to be soldiers, to be a dike against the red flood?"

This is already industriously exercised by the group, as the film clearly proves, when they brutally act against demonstrating democrats and anti-fascists. Rowdy gangs of this kind can be found everywhere in the FRG. Only the group Hoffmann operates together with some dozens of such associations. Government agencies do not only tolerate these activities they make common cause with the rowdy gangs. During the last weeks this resulted again and again from news that seriously complete and verify the message of the film. According to these news the "military sports group" Hoffmann was able to hold its first public meeting under strong police guard. Both the District President and the district government of Central Franconia refused the democrats and anti-fascists to prohibit this riotous meeting. Instead 200 policemen were sent to keep in permanent wireless contact with the "stewards" of the Hoffmann-group and to care together with them for screening of the Nazi meeting.

Most impressive are probably those sequences showing the rowdy gang at training and in action. It is a characteristic feature of the Katins-films to have facts tell their own tale, to use extremely few comments and to induce the spectator to think and draw conclusions.

This working method is also characteristic for other films produced by the group Dr. Sabine Katins like, e.g., "Was denkt der Bundesbürger über die DDR" (What does the FRG citizen think about the GDR) or the reportings on Australia, Namibia, South Rhodesia and Portugal. In the GDR these films reached one of the largest numbers of spectators which could be recorded at journalistic telecasts during the last years. They met with an extremely lively response of spectators and press. As television broadcasts these films were telecast into the socialist countries, foreign organizations asked for prints.

Also in their film "Kennen Sie Kappler?" the group around Dr. Katins keeps consistently to their principle to exhaust the many opportunities offered by a TV reporting. To a great extent this constitutes the persuasive power of the film. It is excellent how the camera stalks up to details in order to make typical things visible, as e.g., the skull badges on cap and buckle or the black-white-red ties, or as it manages to capture in the neofascist faces falseness and brutality. Here the sequences speak volumes, one feels partisanship and even the camera man's breath.

The film of the group Dr. Katins proves unmistakably how great the danger of a brown revival is in the FRG, and which effects the fascist infiltration by the capitalist mass media has already reached. The film warns to be on the alert.

—PANORAMA DDR

## Flour and....

(Contd. from Page 1)

But the Government of Sri Lanka is striving to conceal from the consuming public the naked truth that the devaluation of the Rupee by 100 per cent is the true cause of the increased cost of flour imported into this country. We are unable to reap the benefits of the lower cost of arm products in Europe and America because of the stupid policy of the Minister of Finance: the 100 per cent devaluation of the currency. One need not be surprised, therefore, if before long flour and sugar prices are jacked up to meet the extra cost brought about by the devaluation. The poor consumer has to pay for the folly of an incompetent Government.

but neither had been received for sale to the public at the Government Publications Bureau.

"Even the requirement of seven days provided for in the Constitution is grossly insufficient, as the CRM has had occasion to point out in the past. The resort to emergency procedure in respect of Bills which do not appear to be of any pressing urgency is another matter which the CRM has had occasion to protest against, the most recent example being the Second Amendment to the Constitution, which brought about the far reaching change of introducing a Presidential form of government, and which was rushed through Parliament as an urgent measure in October 1977 although it came into effect only more than three months later.

"The CRM wishes to reiterate once again that democracy does not mean that people are permitted to exercise their vote once every so many years but are expected to keep quiet in between. True democracy requires that the people are enabled to participate in the decision making process of government at every stage practicable, and an opportunity to consider, debate and make representations on proposed legislation is crucial to this. Indeed, this principle has been expressed in our Constitution, which states that

"The State shall strengthen and broaden the democratic structure of Government and democratic rights of the people by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate at every level in national life and in government...."

## CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT PROTESTS

"The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka is currently studying two important pieces of legislation which have significant implications for the civil rights and liberties of the people. These are the Parliament (Powers and Privileges) (Amendment) Law and the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law," says the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka in a statement to the Press.

"The ORM will make available shortly the results of its study. In the mean time, however, the ORM wishes to

record its grave concern and disappointment at the undue haste with which these statutes were passed, which has

precluded the public and organizations such as ours from studying and commenting on the measures before they became law. Both Bills were presented in the National State Assembly only on the 30th of January 1978. The Parliament (Powers and Privileges) Amendment Bill was passed on 1st February and the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Bill

was passed on the 2nd of February. Both Bills had been categorised by the Cabinet as "urgent in the national interest", thus circumventing the usual constitutional requirement that a Bill must be on the agenda paper of the Assembly for at least seven days before it is debated. Representatives of CRM tried to obtain copies of the Bills while they were being debated,

# REVOLUTIONARY IMPATIENCE

**"An Impatient Revolutionary is a Disaster--Both to himself and to the Cause of Revolution!"**

by N. M. PERERA

At a time when there are so many hot-heads who see revolutions round every corner and who are calling for revolutions from every platform, it is most instructive to read soberly what one of the most profound revolutionaries of our time has written about those who are suffering from a not-unnatural disease called revolutionary impatience. Comrade Trotsky was the guiding star of the Third International set up with the benediction of Lenin himself. Its fundamental task was to advise and assist the young Communist Parties which started springing up in the wake of the successful Russian Revolution. In his book, "The First Five Years of the Communist International", Comrade Trotsky has set out with his customary clarity the advice he gave the comrades of three important countries in Europe, namely Germany, France and Italy.

All three countries had experience of devastating wars. In all three countries the working class and the masses generally were seething with discontent and broadly responsive to the kind of revolutionary change that eventuated in the establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia. Indeed, Lenin and the other comrades at the head of the Soviet Government eagerly desired and anticipated such revolutionary upsurges in the developed Western countries. They were banking on the success of these revolutions in order to ensure the smooth flow of re-construction in backward Russia. Actually, at the Third World Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Lenin himself remarked: "Comrades, our own position is of course bad, but if you require another year or two (for the revolution) we can wait." Trotsky himself drew attention to the fact that at that time, German comrades and a number of Italian comrades regretted this statement of Lenin as almost a betrayal of the proletarian revolution. Trotsky went on to point out that almost two years, had elapsed since the end of the war and they would be obliged to extend another moratorium for two more years, in any case until the next Congress, for the expected revolution. It was a matter of undisguised disappointment to the Russian leaders that the year 1919, the year after the First World War, ended without the expected revolutions. Trotsky himself says: "It was the year

when the entire structure of European Imperialism tottered under the impact of the greatest mass struggle of the proletariat in history, and when we daily expected news of the proclamation of the Soviet Republic in Germany, in France, in England and in Italy. The word 'Soviets' became terrifically popular; everywhere, these Soviets were being organized. The bourgeoisie was at its wit's end. The year 1919 was the most critical year in the history of the European bourgeoisie." Trotsky: "First Five Years of the Communist International" page 193.

## Causes of Failure

There were many clashes particularly in these three countries. But they all failed to reach the climax of a revolution. Trotsky did not hesitate to analyse the causes of these failures and to urge the comrades in these countries to profit by the lessons of these failures and prepare for the propitious moment when the power of the bourgeoisie could be overthrown. He dealt with each country in turn and did not hesitate to expose the mistakes each Party made. In all three countries, the Communist Parties were new. Their experience was limited and consequently they were likely to be carried away by the effervescence of the moment.

Let us consider what Comrade Trotsky had to say about the situation in each of these countries and why the Communist Party in each of them failed. In general, he was most insistent on exhorting all the comrades: "To learn the art of struggle, an art which by no means falls from the skies like manna for the working class or its Communist Party. The art of tactics and strategy, the art of revolutionary struggle can be mastered only through experience, through criticism and self-criticism." Struggle was not a fetish with Trotsky. "We desire not only heroic struggle. We desire first of all victory", asserted Trotsky with indignant firmness. "During the last few years, we have seen no few heroic struggles in Europe, especially in Germany. We have seen in Italy large-scale revolutionary struggles, a civil war with its unavoidable sacrifices. Of course, every struggle does not lead to victory. Defeats are inescapable. But these defeats must not come through the fault

of our Party. Yet, we have seen many manifestations and methods of struggle which do not and cannot lead to victory for they are dictated time and again by revolutionary impatience and not by political sagacity." (Ibid, page 10)

## In Italy

In Italy after the war the situation was certainly ripe for a major onslaught on the capitalist class and the overthrow of the Government. But unfortunately, the working class had no accepted revolutionary leadership. The majority of the workers were content to follow Serrati, a reformist leader who at crucial moments failed to give the leadership that would have carried the working class to the seizure of power. As Trotsky said, "The Socialist Party called for the revolution, but did not prepare for it."

Let me quote Trotsky himself: "In September 1920 the working class of Italy had in effect, gained control of the state, of society, of factories, plants and enterprises. What was lacking? A trifle was lacking—a party was lacking, which would, resting upon the insurrectionary working class, have engaged in an open struggle with the bourgeoisie for those remnants of material forces still in the latter's hands, destroying these forces, seizing power and thus consummating the victory of the working class. In essence the working class had already conquered or virtually conquered, but there was no organization capable of definitively consolidating this victory and so the working class found itself hurled back. The Party split into segments, the proletariat was smashed; and since then, throughout 1921 and 1922 we have been witnessing the most frightful political retreat of the working class in Italy under the blows of consolidating bourgeois and petty-bourgeois gangs, known as the Fascists." (Ibid, page 194).

Thus, the first attempts proved abortive. Attempts on the part of those who formed the new Communist Party and joined the Comintern to utilize the restiveness of sections of workers to carry out a major revolutionary struggle received a fitting rebuke from Comrade Trotsky. "The task of the Party in Italy," said Trotsky, "is to prepare for the revolution. That is to say, first of all conquer the great majority of the working class and organize its vanguard in a proper way..... Before calling for the uprising, we must first win over the worker socialists, cleanse the trade unions, elect Communists there in place of opportunists to responsible

posts, and conquer the masses." This would be the real road to the victory of the revolution. (Ibid, page 17) Undoubtedly, there were Left elements in the Comintern who saw in this tactic a shift to the Right, as he was quick to point out. Some young revolutionary comrades lacking in experience, but brimful of energy and readiness to struggle and self-sacrifice, literally felt their hair stand up on their heads when they heard the first critical and admonitory speeches of the Russian comrades.

## In Germany

Equally tragic was the experience of Germany. The end of the war was also the end of the monarchy in Germany. The resulting confusion induced conditions that favoured a revolutionary situation in Germany and, in March 1919, there were bloody battles launched by the proletariat against the slowly consolidating bourgeoisie. Once again, the leadership fell into the hands of the Social Democrats who talked of revolution but always pulled back at the crucial time. In the earlier skirmishes the best leaders of the German working class, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were foully murdered, and therewith began the slow ascendancy of the bourgeois democratic state. Although in March 1920, the workers were able to sweep away a counter-revolutionary putsch organized by some Army officers by a successful general strike, all these efforts ended in failure. Partial uprisings in the Ruhr Coal Basin and in other areas with a half-hearted leadership led only to one defeat after another. The final defeat came in March 1921 when a partial civil war emerged and was successfully defeated by the growing consolidation of the bourgeois regime. Germany provided a good object lesson in the futility of sporadic outbursts without a well-coordinated plan of revolutionary action. As Trotsky has asserted over and over again: "Every serious mass action must obviously be preceded by large-scale energetic agitation, centering around action slogans of hitting on one and the same point. Such agitation can lead to a mere decisive course of action only if it reveals, after probing, that the masses have already been touched to the quick and are ready to march forward on the path of revolutionary action." (Ibid, page 20)

## Inadequate Preparation

Repeatedly, Trotsky criticized the tendency of the German Communist Party to utilize the weapon of the general strike without adequately preparing the ground for launching a major general strike "It (the German Communist Party) gives the appearance of pouncing upon the very

first pretext; and even before this pretext has become known to workers or assimilated by them, the Central Committee hurls the slogan of the general strike. And even before the Party had a chance to rally the workers of Berlin, Dresden and Munich to the aid of the workers of Central Germany—and this perhaps could have been accomplished in the space of a few days, provided there was no leaping over the events, and the masses were led forward systematically and firmly before the Party succeeded in accomplishing this work, it is proclaimed that our action is an offence. This was already tantamount to ruining everything and paralysing the movement in advance." (Ibid, page 22) It is this endeavour in an impatient and amateurish way to call for revolutionary onslaughts where no revolutionary situation exists, that destroyed any hope of a serious revolutionary conflagration in Germany after the First World War. "Through such methods", continues Trotsky, "that is through an impatient application of the most drastic forms of revolutionary struggle, at a time when conditions have not yet matured for a decisive collision, one can obtain negative results, and even bring about a revolutionary abortion instead of a mighty revolutionary birth." (Ibid, page 32)

## In France

France was a victorious country in the First World War and, therefore, her Government was more strongly entrenched than either in Germany or in Italy. Nevertheless, the disorganization and the hardships accompanying a war-ravaged country created the conditions for militant action by the working class. The Socialist and Communist Parties increased their strength, but the Communist Party that obtained membership recognition in the Comintern did not carry the same weight as the Socialists in the country. What was most noticeable was the very rapid expansion of the power of the trade unions immediately after the war. As was to be expected the Communists, eager to emulate the revolutionary set-up in Russia, embarked on various adventurist tactics which did not enhance the cause of the revolution. Trotsky had no hesitation in condemning these puerile tactics. For instance in March 1921, a situation arose there following a stubborn strike. There had been bloody clashes with the military and the Police. Three strikers were killed. The trade unions backed by the Communist Party thereupon issued a call for a general strike immediately, but no general strike was forthcoming. The workers did not respond without the proper preparation for such a massive working class activity.

(Contd. on Page 4)

# King Already!

(Contd. from Page 1)

"Principles of State Policy" to signify a neo-capitalist policy carefully adapted to neo-colonialism and flying in the face of every principle of scientific—and even utopian—socialism. Just see how he has taken from the "Principles of State Policy" section 16 (2) (d) the Sinhala phrase; or *dharmika jeevitthayask*, linked it with the Buddhist concept of a *"dharma samajaya"*, and put the latter forth to cover the most *"adhmista"*, acts which the UNP and its followers have engaged in since they came to power. This should not be difficult to grasp in a country where the Buddhist concept of the Middle Way has been misapplied to politics in order to justify, especially in the case of Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, sheer rightist and utterly capitalist policies. See again how he goes forward in the name of socialism to erode, undermine and even to liquidate one socialist achievement or another of the People's Government of the United Front of the SLFP, LSSP and CP See.....

## Capitalism, not Socialism

But let the list stop there, against some other occasion. The point is that what we have today in Sri Lanka is not socialist democracy but capitalist democracy—and more and more imperfect democracy at that. By Capitalist democracy is meant a form of democracy which functions within the framework of capitalism or rests upon capitalism. It will be readily seen that, in a similar way, socialist democracy signifies a form of democracy which functions within the framework of socialism or

rests upon socialism. The task, then, in a country of capitalist democracy which has by Constitution itself set itself the aim of carrying forward the progressive advancement towards socialist democracy is to move out of capitalist democracy into socialist democracy.

In that connection, let us remember that capitalist democracy provides the most advantageous political conditions in which to carry forward the revolutionary struggle for socialism. From one point of view, historically, the mass movement in Sri Lanka—especially in its advanced sections—has sensed this truth and set about the task of utilising the conditions of capitalist democracy which have prevailed in Sri Lanka since 1947/8, to bring about the political and social overturn which is necessary to enable the masses to set out on the task of building the socialist society. This is a course which they have not abandoned despite the serious setback of the sharp rightward shift within the electoral mass which we have seen at the July 1977 general elections.

What is important at the present juncture is to realize that the capitalist class of Sri Lanka, the UNP and the UNP Government, and not the least, Mr. Jayawardena himself, fully realize the fact that their electoral victory has not snuffed out the mass movement for socialism in Sri Lanka and that, unless they utilise right now what could be a fleeting victory to take the maximum precautionary steps in the minimum possible time, the next electoral overturn will probably bring in the Left or a Left-led and dominated Government which will spell the doom of capitalism in Sri Lanka.

## Smothering Democracy

Every step that Mr. Jayawardena has taken since he came to power has been directed at closing every avenue of parliamentary democracy available to the mass movement to carry forward the revolutionary struggle for socialism and at undermining, neutralising and, if possible, destroying the fighting organisations of the masses, especially of the working class. That is the meaning and intent of his constitutional amendments, already implemented and on the eve of being implemented. That is the meaning and intent of his developing attack on the trade unions and trade union rights and the building up and use of the police to stifle especially the political activity of radicalised youth in the country-side. That too is the meaning and intent of his administrative and legislative offensive against long-won democratic rights and freedoms.

The task before the left and the wider progressive forces is to stop Mr. Jayawardena in his reactionary career, to turn the mass political process from the deflection it has undergone back to its original direction, so that all of capitalist reaction, including J. R.'s adroit constitutional amendments, are thrust into the limbo of forgotten history and power comes truly and lastingly into the hands of the democratic masses, that is to say, the people.

King Jayawardena absolute monarch though he aspires to be, cannot be allowed to sit securely on his throne. As it happens, it is beginning to be apparent that he is neither as secure as his followers thought in the first flush of overwhelming electoral victory nor as politically sure-footed as his admirers would have us believe. Other forces, both domestic and from outside are beginning to assail him and shake his power-structure. Beggars at the door of international big capital are always expendable—be they as stick as him who thought up a non-existent Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to counterpose to the Socialist Republic Vietnam.

*Fic transit omnes*: or if you wish it in English and in Buddhist term: All Things are Transient. No less Mr. Jayawardena and his neo-compradore capitalist Government.

# REVOLUTIONARY IMPA.....

(Contd. from Page 3)

Only a very small fraction of the French proletariat participated in the general strike and Trotsky confessed that one has to scratch one's head ten times in recognizing how young and inexperienced are the Communist Parties of Western Europe."

(Ibid. page 207)

Expanding on the subject of the general strike as a weapon to be used in furthering the revolutionary cause, he says: "A general strike is a component and dynamic part of the proletarian revolution. Out of the general strike, there arises clashes with the troops and the question is posed as to who is the master in the country. Who controls the Army? the Bourgeoisie or the proletariat? It is possible to speak of a protest general strike, but this is a question of utmost importance. When a despatch comes over the wires that three workers have been killed at Havre and when it is known that there is no revolution in France, but instead a stagnant situation with the working class just beginning to stir slightly out of a passivity engendered by events during the war and the post-war period—in such a situation to launch a slogan for a general strike is to commit the greatest and crudest blunder which can only undermine for a long time, for many

months to come, the confidence of the masses in a Party which behaves in such a manner." (Ibid. page 207) He goes on to point out that this was an occasion to get together with the Socialist Party and other working class organizations to confer as to the method of withstanding this aggression of the capitalist regime. Clever propaganda has to be employed to touch the hearts of the broadest working masses and there-through swing them into motion. It is only after such preparation that a general strike might have eventuated. It may have been only a one-day protest strike.

## Patient Build-up

From the above, it is clear that Comrade Trotsky placed great emphasis on the careful preparations for revolutionary action. An impatient revolutionary is a disaster both to himself and to the cause of the revolution. This is a lesson that he has tried to inculcate over and over again. If he pleaded for patient building up of the organization at a time when there was so much seething mass discontent after the war, particularly in Germany and in Italy, how much more apt is that advice to those of us living in more normal times in countries like Sri Lanka. It is in the interest of revolutionary socialism that comrades should read and digest the lessons that outstanding revolutionary leaders like Comrade Trotsky have taught us through their unrivalled experience in carrying through a successful revolution in Russia.

## 'SUBSCRIBE TO 'SOCIALIST NATION'

1 year : Rs. 30/-  
6 Months : Rs. 16/-

Foreign Air Mail (Annual) :—

India : Rs. 88/40  
Europe : Rs. 130/-  
N. America : Rs. 156/-

Manager,

"Socialist Nation"

457, Union Place,  
Colombo 2

## NEW EDITION

"THE WAY OUT FOR THE  
TAMIL - SPEAKING PEOPLE"

INCLUDING POST - SCRIPT: 1977

by

V. Karalasingham

— Rs. 15/-

International Publishers  
457, Union Place,  
Colombo 2.