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COLVIN R de SILVA



THEIR POLITICS — AND OURS

THIRTEEN ARTICLES FROM "SAMASAMAJIST"

CEYLON CP TURNS FURTHER RIGHT

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CEYLON C. P. TURNS FURTHER RIGHT

1. Ceylon Stalinism's New Line

A secret document of the Ceylon Communist Party has come into our hands. It is a stencilled document, containing 9 pages of matter hand-written in the Sinhalese language. It is entitled "Report On The Political Situation", and is sub-titled "Internal Bulletin". The Report occupies all except the last three lines in the nine pages. These last three lines are an appeal to return old membership cards along with membership dues for immediate exchange for new membership cards. A request is added that this should not be delayed for any reason whatsoever.

Both the 'Report On The Political Situation' and the appeal are signed separately by N. Shanmugathasan in his own hand. He signs in English though the document is in Sinhalese. He signs as "Organiser".

The "Report On the Political Situation" is dated 27-1-54. It states in its very first paragraph that the Central Committee met on December 9th, 10th and 11th and considered the political situation, taking special thought of the one-day Hartal of August 12th and the developments thereafter. The "Report" obviously embodies the Central Committee's considered views. The resolution itself which the Central Committee clearly passed on that occasion is with-held.

The Report declares that the post-Hartal situation in Ceylon must be looked at in the setting of the changes in the political situation in South-East Asia. It therefore summarizes what are thought to be the principal developments in the South-East Asian situation.

The document then turns to Ceylon. It sees Ceylon being rapidly dragged into the danger of war. It sees America gaining an increasing control of Ceylon's administration. It declares that the present situation in Ceylon must be considered with these developments in mind.

The Report sees two important events in post-Hartal Ceylon. One is the resignation of the Dudley Senanayake cabinet "due

to internal crisis" and the succession of Sir John Kotelawala to the Premiership. The other is the break-away from the LSSP of the "William-Reggie-Subasinghe-led group".

The Report goes on to characterise the significance of these two developments from the point of view of the Ceylon Communist Party's policies and tasks. It then moves on to an assessment of the position of the principal political parties in Ceylon.

The first political party to be dealt with is the UNP. Its position is considered in relation to the present 'economic crisis.' The decline in the UNP's position among the masses is stressed.

The Report passes on to the Indian question and links this question with the general question of the deteriorating situation of the minorities in Ceylon. The Report sees in this situation the reason why the Ceylon Communist Party is "obliged to set up a Democratic Front to save Ceylon from Fascism". This is a key sentence in the Report.

The Report also sees a change in the mass consciousness. This consciousness is seen to have passed beyond the *desire* to defeat the UNP to the *belief that the UNP can be defeated*.

At this point the Report sharply corrects certain "errors" about the Ceylon CP's own policy which are said to be prevalent within the Ceylon CP itself. It is stressed that the Ceylon CP's current governmental aim is no longer a "People's Democratic Government"; i. e. a government on the model of the so-called People's Democracies of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Eastern Germany). The current governmental aim of the CP is defined instead to be an "Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government". This is again described in the same paragraph as a "broad anti-imperialist government."

We thus have an *abandonment of the Anti-UNP Front for an Anti-Fascist Front* and the *abandonment of the People's Democratic Government slogan for the Anti-Imperialist Government slogan*. Further, we have, in the very next paragraph of this key section of the Report, the *abandonment also of any struggle for working class leadership* either of this broad front or of this broad government. The document roundly declares:—"A government of this nature (an anti-imperialist democratic government) can be set up without working class leadership of this (anti-Fascist) front" !!

The Report does not stop there in its *total abandonment of the working class' aims in contemporary Ceylon*. It goes further still. In the very next paragraph it sets out the programme

of the Anti-Imperialist Government. *In this programme there is no anti-capitalist measure whatsoever*; not a single measure against the capitalists; neither against the Ceylonese capitalists nor against the foreign capitalists. Nationalisation has disappeared altogether; there is no nationalisation measure proposed even against foreign capital. It is an "anti-imperialist" programme which is not anti-capitalist! Not even anti-foreign capitalist! It is indeed an "anti-imperialist" programme which is **pro-capitalist**. It is a **capitalist** programme of democratic reform.

From this statement of the Ceylon CP's political aims and tasks, the Report goes on to the Ceylon CP's organisational tasks. These are formulated as the strengthening of the CP itself and the building of a front around the programme we have noted and characterised above.

In this context, the relations within the Stalinist Front (the "Communist-Samasamaja Front") are discussed. It will interest our splitters, who claim to be still Trotskyists, to know that the CP Central Committee sees these gentlemen more clear-eyedly than these splitter gentlemen themselves would like. Declares the Report:— "These people have not got a sufficient knowledge of Marxism." We cordially agree; though, of course, for an opposite reason. The Report adds:— "It is we (the CP) which can fulfil this need." Apparently these gentlemen are not yet Stalinist enough!

The Report goes on to a central question of the working class struggle in Ceylon; the question of the CP's relations with the LSSP. Here, let it be said, the Report does not mince its words. Says it:— "It is natural (after the break-away of the Stalinists in the LSSP) that our (the CP's) principle in relation to the NLSSP (!) should change." It declares forthrightly:— "The NLSSP is not a Left party"! It continues:— "We shall not henceforth call for a united front with the NLSSP or summon them to united front talks." The most that will be done is to "hold the door open" for any person or persons from the LSSP to join the present Stalinist Front called the "Communist-Samasamaja Front". The CP will also seek to join in any "common" struggle which LSSP-controlled unions may engage in. But *the united front policy in relation to the LSSP stands abandoned*. The CP's abandonment of the current aims of the working class in Ceylon politics is thus complete.

The Report goes on from its declaration that the LSSP is not a Left party to refer to arrangements for a "Left United Front" Conference towards the end of March. It is, of course, to be a 'Left United Front' Conference *without the principal Left party in Ceylon*; namely, the LSSP! The way to this imposture

is opened by the simple device of blankly denying to the LSSP its Left character.

The Report goes on to note certain problems of CP work and then makes a declaration which should interest Stalinism's current and prospective allies. Says the Report:— "While developing the Left United Front, our task should be to win the major section of the working class to us" A special campaign in relation to the Ceylon Indian Congress is therefore projected. The Federal Party too is to be subjected to a similar process. Incidentally, the fact that the CP has not yet worked out a language policy, that is, a policy on the swabasha question, is admitted and the difficulty this creates in the way of the CP going to the Tamil masses past the Federalists is noted.

The Report passes on to deal with the SLFP and stresses the importance of work among its members and sympathisers. It then makes the following fundamental pronouncement:— "It should be shown that the united front (i.e., the so-called Left United Front without the LSSP) can be formed *on the basis of the SLFP's own programme and no more*". In other words, the SLFP becomes the hinge and foundation of the "Left" United Front sought by the Stalinists. Not the working class but the capitalist and middle classes are to be the basis and core of their "Left" front!

From this grand climax of class-collaborationism leading to class betrayal, the Report moves to quieter themes. The Queen's visit gets reference; but only as an occasion for anti-imperialist **propaganda** and not for any sort of political **action**. The question of local government work is mentioned. In conclusion, the Party's own internal organisation is referred to.

The Report ends on a complaining note. It bewails that the activity of the CP membership is low and demands that instead of "staying asleep" they should be-stir themselves to join in the mass struggles which arise. The final sentence is an exhortation to work for the coming into being of the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government.

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The above extensive summary of this secret Report will make clear to our readers the importance of the secret document which has come into our hands. The line laid down in it is obviously of the greatest significance for all political folk whether they are revolutionaries or not. An assessment of the impact of this Stalinist line is obviously essential if we are to guide ourselves correctly in the coming period both in general politics and in Left politics. Such an assessment will be the task of the articles to come in this series.

2. Stalinism Turns Towards UNP Again

IN the first article in this series, we described Ceylon Stalinism's new political line as set out in a secret circular from the CP Centre, dated 27. 1. 54. We also characterised this new political line as a further turn to the Right.

A turn to the Right by a working class party signifies a turn away from the class struggle towards class-collaboration. It signifies specifically a turn away from struggle against the capitalist class towards collaboration with the capitalist class.

Moreover, such a policy also signifies a betrayal of the interests of the working class in the class struggle. The capitalist class is at all times the direct foe of the working class, the workers' inveterate class enemy. It is manifestly impossible for the CP or any other working class party to follow a policy of collaboration with the class enemy without involving itself in the betrayal of the working class to the capitalist class. Mr. Goonesinghe's fate is the best proof of this !

Let us remind ourselves that the CP involved itself in such betrayals of the working class to the capitalist class during the Second Imperialist World War. After the USSR was drawn into the Hitlerite war, the CP refused to recognise the imperialist nature of the war of the imperialists who were fighting Hitler. The Stalinists claimed that the attack on the USSR by Hitler converted the previously imperialist war on the side of British, French and American Imperialism also into a so-called People's War. The Stalinists made this claim not only for the war of these so-called democratic imperialisms against Fascist Germany. They claimed that the war of these "democratic" imperialisms against Japanese Imperialism was also a People's War. They made this claim although the USSR was not at war with the Japanese at all ! The Stalinists therefore collaborated whole-heartedly with the British, French and American imperialists in the Second Imperialist World War. Moreover, in furtherance of that class-collaboration, they sabotaged and betrayed every strike of the Ceylon workers during the war. (In India, they actually **helped** the British imperialist Government to suppress the great mass up-rising of 1942 which demanded India's freedom from Britain.)

The new political line of the CP works on the same principle of class-collaboration. The policy is now directed especially at collaboration with the capitalist class of Ceylon.

The central and dominant section of the capitalist class in Ceylon is represented politically by the UNP. That is why the anti-capitalist struggle of the Ceylon masses has taken, in the political field, primarily the form of a struggle against the UNP. The working class in particular has always been in the fore-front of the anti-UNP struggle for this reason. Indeed, the working class seeks the leadership of the anti-UNP struggle precisely because it sees the anti-UNP struggle basically as a part of its anti-capitalist struggle. To the working class, not only is the anti-UNP struggle vital; its own leadership of that struggle too is vital.

What, then, is the new CP line in regard to the anti-UNP struggle of the anti-capitalist masses? The answer is short. **The CP is in fact turning away from the anti-UNP struggle altogether !**

This turning away is done cunningly. It is accomplished by the trick of adopting the objective of an Anti-Fascist Front in place of its former objective of an Anti-UNP Front.

The UNP is not defined by the CP as a Fascist party. Therein the CP is certainly correct. But, since the UNP is not a Fascist party, a front against Fascism cannot be a front against the UNP. On the contrary, a front against Fascism can well **include** the UNP in accordance with past CP practice and standard CP theory. Herein lies the deception. Let it not be forgotten that the CP, continuing into the post-war period its alliances of the so-called anti-Fascist People's War, put forth during the 1947 General Election the demand for a UNP-CP-Ceylon Indian Congress Government. That is to say, the CP looked on the UNP as an ally at the time !

The new CP line certainly has not gone so far as yet. The Anti-Fascist Front policy does not **yet** aim at drawing in the **whole** of the UNP. It aims at present only at drawing in the so-called non-Fascist sections of the UNP. Which sections these are can be gathered from current CP propaganda. The only person they attack in the present UNP Government as a Fascist is Sir John Kotelawala, with Mr. J. R. Jayawardene sometimes tacked on. It is the group around Sir John which is sought to be isolated through the Anti-Fascist Front.

Now, Sir John's group within the UNP is known to be relatively small. This was demonstrated by the ease with which Mr. Dudley Senanayake cheated Sir John of the Premiership after Mr. D. S. Senanayake's death. It was also demonstrated by the difficult manoeuvres and un-easy alliances in which Sir John had to engage in order to succeed to Mr. Dudley Senanayake in the Premiership. Clearly, therefore, **the Anti-Fascist**

Front is designed to draw in the majority of the UNP. It is the projected UNP-CP alliance of 1947 in a form modified to deceive the anti-UNP masses.

We shall see in due course who the other parties are that are to be brought into this Anti-Fascist Front. We shall also see the nature and programme of the Government which is to emerge from this Anti-Fascist Front. Suffice it to note at this stage that the new Anti-Fascist Front policy is a betrayal of the anti-UNP struggle; an attempt at the betrayal of the masses engaged in the anti-UNP struggle; a noose cunningly prepared for the anti-capitalist masses in their struggle to re-place the capitalist UNP Government with an Anti-Capitalist Government. It is class-collaboration leading, as always, to class betrayal.

3. On The Betrayal Road

WE noted in the last article how the new CP line gets the Stalinists on to the road of political betrayal of the working class to the capitalist class. In particular we noted how the new policy of building a so-called Anti-Fascist Front constituted a betrayal of the anti-UNP struggle of the anti-capitalist masses.

Let us remind ourselves at this point that the old CP line of an Anti-UNP Front was itself a fundamentally class-collaborationist line. This is manifest from the fact that their line of an Anti-UNP Front was **counterposed** by them to the LSSP line of a United Left Front and a United Front of the Working Class Parties.

The LSSP came to its policy of a United Front of the Working Class Parties along its fundamental line of consistent class struggle. The aim of this policy was nothing less than the unity of the working class in political action and struggle. (The same aim of working class unity in action was pursued in the economic field by a policy of trade union unity. The LSSP demanded a single union in every trade, leading up to a single national trade union centre for the Island.)

The United Front of the Working Class Parties was **not** regarded by the LSSP as a **substitute** for a broader Anti-UNP Front. On the contrary, the LSSP struggled for a United Front of the Working Class Parties as **the necessary pre-condition** for ensuring that the interests of the working class in struggle would not be subordinated, either in the broad Anti-UNP Front or in the anti-UNP struggle, to the interests of the workers' class enemy; namely, the capitalist class. What is more, the working class is the only consistently anti-UNP class. Accordingly, its leadership is vital to the success of the anti-UNP struggle. The LSSP struggle for a United Front of the Working Class Parties was therefore also a struggle for the leadership of the working class in the anti-UNP struggle and in the Anti-UNP Front.

It was precisely this aim, however, which the CP steadily opposed with its policy of an Anti-UNP Front **counterposed** to the United Front of the Working Class Parties. Unlike the LSSP, the CP did not see the working class as the **necessary** leader of the anti-UNP struggle. The CP therefore did not struggle for the leadership of the working class either in the anti-UNP struggle or in the Anti-UNP Front.

On the contrary, the CP actually struggled for the leadership of the **capitalist** class in the anti-UNP front and struggle. More precisely, they struggled for the leadership of the so-called progressive section of the capitalist class in the anti-UNP front and struggle.

The means they adopted towards this end were twofold. On the one hand, they sought an alliance with Mr. Bandaranaike's SLFP; seeking to make this alliance the pivot of the Anti-UNP Front. On the other hand, in the interests of this alliance and with a view to drawing the "progressive capitalists" into the anti-UNP Front, they resisted every effort to provide this Front with a programme of anything more than radical **capitalist** measures.

The Anti-UNP Front policy of the CP was thus already a **Rightist** policy; that is to say, a policy of collaboration with the capitalist class; a policy of **confining** the aims of the mass struggle within the framework of capitalism. The new Anti-Fascist Front policy goes further along that road; further to the Right. It carries collaboration with the capitalist class still further. *It seeks in fact to turn the masses away altogether from the anti-capitalist struggle and to confine them wholly to tasks and aims which the capitalist class of Ceylon can endorse.*

The means by which this turn still further to the Right is effected is the formulation of a *new governmental aim* and a *new governmental programme*.

The new governmental aim of the new CP line is an "Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government". This is also called "a broad Anti-Imperialist Government" in the document we have been quoting.

Now, the CP top Centre itself stresses in the document we have been quoting that the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government is **not** to be confused with the "People's Democratic Government" for which they had hitherto propagandised. The Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government is described instead as a government to be established on the road to a People's Democratic Government.

Our readers may well wonder what all this jargon means; and, in fact, the purpose of all this jargon is precisely to **hide** what the CP actually means. However, we must trouble to get down to the true meaning; and this means that we must first understand their old People's Democratic Government slogan.

The People's Democratic Government slogan echoed the idea of the "People's Democracies" such as are said to be constituted by Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other Eastern European countries which have come under Soviet domination. The essential fact about a People's Democracy is that the capitalist class is still assigned a function in it. The class-content of a People's Democracy is a multi-class alliance **including** the capitalist class. Such a state, building **capitalism** for a whole period, will in the due course give way to a workers' state. The basis for the switch-over will be laid by the development of the state-owned sector of the national economy to a position of dominance.

The class-collaborationist line under-lying the People's Democratic Government slogan will now grow clear. The People's Democratic Government of local Stalinism was obviously designed as a guarantee to the so-called progressive capitalists of Ceylon whose alliance they sought for the Anti-UNP Front. It was an undertaking that their **capitalist** interests would be **safe-guarded** within the Front and within the Government which would emerge from the Front.

The Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government which has now been substituted for the People's Democratic Government is a further guarantee to the capitalist class. It is a guarantee not merely that their interests will be safe-guarded under the new Government. It is a guarantee of more. *It is a guarantee to the capitalist forces which are sought to be drawn into the Anti-Fascist Front that the Government which is designed to emerge from this Front will be under their leadership and domination.* In other words, the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government is to be a *capitalist* Government; that is to say, a Government under capitalist leadership, pursuing wholly capitalist aims.

We shall see in the next article that even the capitalist aims are limited to so-called democratic aims in this Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government. This grows clear from the programme which the CP formulates for its Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government. That, however, will be the subject of our next article. It will therefore be sufficient to conclude this article with another point which also relates to the question of the leadership of the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government.

In an introductory sentence to the programme of the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government, the CP Centre Circular expressly declares as follows:— "A government of this nature can be set up even without working class leadership of this (anti-Fascist) front." In other words, it is not necessary to have working class leadership of the Anti-Fascist Front in order to ensure the emergence of an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government. Still less therefore is the leadership of the working class necessary in the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government. The guarantee to the capitalist class of leadership in the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government is complete !

4. The Great Betrayal

WE noted in the last article how the new CP line of an Anti-Fascist Front leading on to an Anti-Imperialist Government expressly abandons any struggle for working class leadership of either the Government or the Front. We noted that this was an **additional guarantee** to the **capitalist** forces sought to be drawn into the Front that the Government which is to emerge from the Front will be under capitalist class leadership and under capitalist class domination.

We shall now turn to the programme proposed for the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government, of the CP. Here it is in the very words of their secret Circular:—

"The tasks of such a Government are as follows:— Keeping Ceylon out of the war. Taking back the war-bases from the foreign imperialists. Making Ceylon a republican state. Establishing trade relations with all countries which accept our independence. Establishing special relations of this nature with the Soviet Union, People's China and Eastern Europe. Systematic industrialisation of the country. The development of agriculture by assistance to the peasants and by cleaning and renovating tanks and the like. Abolition of feudal landownership. The complete grant to all sections of the masses of political freedom and the freedom to form trade unions. The grant of complete freedom of functioning to the Left and democratic political parties."

What is immediately noteworthy about this programme is not what it includes but what it omits. As can be seen, there is here *not a single measure against capital; neither against Ceylonese capital nor against foreign capital.* There is also *not a single nationalisation measure; no nationalisation even with compensation; no nationalisation of even foreign imperialist property.* Incidentally, not even the familiar and universally popular nationalisation of the bus companies is included. The bus mudalalis are presumably anti-Fascist capitalists or anti-imperialist capitalists; we do not know which. Anyhow, they certainly will not be able to find any reason to oppose this Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government!

It will be seen that the tasks of the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government in relation to imperialism lie entirely in the field of *foreign policy*. It will keep us out of the war. It will take back our war-bases from the foreign imperialists. It will make Ceylon a republican state. It will establish trade relations with all countries accepting our independence and special relations of this nature with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. That is all.

It will **not** touch the banks, business houses, import and export trading institutions, the plantations. All these foreign-imperialist-owned enterprises in Ceylon, which are the real means of imperialist control of the Ceylon economy and imperialist influence in Ceylon politics, are un-touchable; sacrosanct; taboo!

Only the war-bases; only the war! And special trade relations with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. These are what constitute the anti-imperialist nature of this "Anti-Imperialist" Democratic Government.

To those who know their Stalinism the matter is as clear as day-light; but not every-one knows his Stalinism. Let us therefore explain.

All contemporary Stalinist thinking proceeds from their so-called Two-Camp theory. The world, it seems, is divided into two camps; the Imperialist Camp and the Soviet Camp. These, moreover, are said to be **class** camps and not merely military camps. The Soviet Camp is declared to be the camp of the international working class. The Imperialist Camp is of course, the camp of international capitalism. The CP's claim plainly is that, if a **capitalist** Government stays out of the Imperialist Camp **militarily**, it becomes an anti-imperialist government. If it also goes on to trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc, then its "anti-imperialist" nature is obviously strengthened.

The test is thus clear. The test is **not** the character of a country's economy; whether it remains under the direct control and domination of imperialist capital. It is not even a question of the country's political set-up. Note that in the CP's programme for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government *even the demand for getting out of the British Commonwealth is dropped*. The test is military; almost wholly military except for the establishment of trade relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc. (This trade question too is in fact a military question to a degree. The only embargo at present imposed by the Imperialist Camp on trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc is on "strategic materials"). In any event, the test is wholly within the bounds of foreign policy. Take back the war-bases; keep out of the war; become a Republic; establish trade relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc; and you are an "anti-imperialist" government even if you stay within the British Commonwealth! Remember that India is a republican state within the British Commonwealth.

The test is thus the test of *military neutrality* or *foreign policy neutrality*. Be neutral in the Cold War (and in the hot war to come), and you are an "Anti-Imperialist" Government, although you are also a capitalist government. That is the sum

and substance of the CP's "anti-imperialism" in relation to the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government!

It is not necessary to go far afield to discover an actual "Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government" of the CP variety. You have only to cross Palk Strait. You have only to look at the Nehru Government. *Although this Government stays within the British Commonwealth*, it has taken back its war-bases. It is keeping out of the Cold War; and expresses its determination to keep out of the hot war when it comes. It has special relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc. It has announced a policy of abolishing landlordism with compensation and has even passed certain legislation on the subject in certain states. It seeks industrialisation of the country. It assists agriculture through irrigation works and village community projects. It permits trade unions and it permits Left political parties to function. In short, the Nehru Government answers the CP's specifications for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government pretty well; although, with some short-comings here and there, of course! And that is precisely what the CP wants for Ceylon; a Nehru-type capitalist government tailored to Ceylon's measurements.

The aim of the new CP line in Ceylon is a **capitalist** Government which will keep out of the war. But it dare not say this clearly to the country. It dare not; because even a section of the middle classes, suffering from high prices, inadequate salaries and growing un-employment, are anti-capitalist today. The broad masses in struggle are certainly anti-capitalist; and consciously anti-capitalist in their advanced layers. To come out **openly** for a **capitalist** Government is therefore impossible in the situation; it would be suicidal. The task has therefore to be performed deviously. The masses have to be tricked. Accordingly, the CP sets out to trick them.

The trick is worked through a false *counterposition* of imperialism to capitalism. The suggestion is that a Government can be anti-imperialist without being anti-capitalist. But this is false. Imperialism is not a *contrasting* phenomenon to capitalism; it is capitalism itself at the highest stage of its development. It is capitalism in its monopoly stage; monopoly capitalism, ranging the world for fields of investment and trade; monopoly capitalism, partitioning and re-partitioning the world between different competing sections of itself. To counterpose imperialism to capitalism is therefore false; and to suggest that a government can be anti-imperialist without being anti-capitalist is to engage in a deception. Nevertheless, that precisely is the deception the Stalinists are engaging in with their new line. We shall make this clearer when we analyse in the next article the meaning of the democracy referred to in the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government of the CP's new line.

5. The Mass Movement Sold

IN our last article we analysed the so-called anti-imperialist side of the CP's programme for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government; and we found it to be a deception. In this article we shall take up the "democratic" side of the programme.

We have already pointed out that the programme for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government contains *not a single measure against capital: whether indigenous or foreign*. It is necessary now to stress that capital is not only to remain intact under the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government but also to be left free to function and **grow**. This becomes clear from the measures proposed.

Note that the only type of property to be abolished in this programme is feudal property. No other aspect of Ceylon's property-system is even mentioned. The abolition of feudalism stands starkly alone.

The significance of this self-confinement of the programme to the abolition of feudalism grows clear when one remembers that contemporary Ceylon's property-system is mainly and predominantly a capitalist property-system. This is so even in respect of land. The **ande** system and the like, which constitute the main forms of **semi-feudal** property in contemporary Ceylon, are at all wide-spread only in respect of paddy cultivation. The *nindagama* system, even to the extent that it prevails, has been completely penetrated by capitalism and has indeed been placed on a wholly capitalist basis. Feudal lord and feudal tenant have both become straight capitalist private proprietors; save in certain exceptional cases. Accordingly, except for the semi-feudal **ande** rights, both agriculture and the land system in Ceylon are capitalist. The **confinement** of the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government's programme to the abolition of feudalism is therefore only a way of guaranteeing that the capitalist property-system of Ceylon will not be interfered with or attacked. Capitalist private property is sacrosanct; un-touchable; taboo! The capitalist class in Ceylon is guaranteed both its property and its power!

The property-guarantee, note you, extends also to foreign imperialist capital, as we have repeatedly pointed out; and there is a good reason for it. Ceylonese capital, though it seeks sometimes to compete with foreign capital if possible, does not in fact exist in the main in **conflict** with foreign capital. The two do not even **co-exist** in some non-competitive way. On the contrary,

the characteristic fact about Ceylonese capital, especially big capital (which is the decisive section of Ceylonese capital), is that it exists in **combination** with foreign imperialist capital. Ceylonese capital and imperialist capital in Ceylon are in the main not competitors but **partners**; and such competition as exists is generally *contained within the framework of this general partnership*.

Ceylonese capital is therefore un-able to maintain either its property-system or its power in conflict with imperialist capital. Ceylonese capital can maintain its property-system and its power only by maintaining its combination with imperialist capital. We shall see the importance of this fact later in relation to the question of the **practicability** of the CP's policy of neutralising the Ceylon capitalist class in the war. Suffice it to point out here that Ceylonese capital cannot and will not consider as a serious guarantee any undertaking to respect its property-rights whilst its imperialist partner's property-rights are brought under attack. The property-interests of the partners are **in-separable**, whatever may be said of their political rights. Accordingly, if the Ceylonese capitalist class in its decisive sections is to be brought into the Anti-Fascist Front and the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government, the property-guarantee has to cover the **partnership** and not merely the Ceylonese capitalists. Hence the omission of any measure against any section of capital, including foreign imperialist capital. The CP is nothing if not logical in its sell-out!

The rest of the programme is one of **promised** economic development and **promised** full democratic rights. It is a programme of promised full democratic rights for the masses under a straight capitalist government pledged to aid agriculture and to develop industry. Indeed, it is an **undertaking** by the CP to **support** a capitalist government in the task of maintaining and developing the capitalist system **against the masses** in exchange for a **promise** of full democratic rights for the masses.

But can a capitalist government really develop Ceylon's economy and can a capitalist government really grant full democratic rights to the people?

Note well; the economic measures are no more than Mr. D. S. Senanayake's Government aimed at: he also set out to industrialise the country and to develop Ceylon's agriculture by assisting the peasants and by clearing tanks and the like! So

too did Mr. Dudley Senanayake: he in fact gave the necessity of giving these objectives priority as his excuse for cutting down on other objectives like the social services. Indeed, even Sir John Kotelawala talks the same language. The CP programme for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government says no more

than these gentlemen on the economic side; and indeed says less, in as much as there is no mention even of distribution of Crown lands to the landless peasantry. What is more, there is *no more guarantee of these aims being achieved under the CP's Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government than they have been achieved under the various capitalist UNP Governments.*

The reason is simple. The reason is that *capitalism, in this its era of general world decline, cannot achieve any of these aims any more in any under-developed or backward country.* Indeed, even in the developed or advanced countries, industry and agriculture are either stagnant or declining under capitalism despite the tall claims of imperialist propaganda. (This is now becoming clear in the case of the USA too.)

Further and more particularly, capitalist Ceylon has already shown itself un-able even to face up to the problem of economic development despite un-precedented capitalist prosperity. Industrialisation has in fact had to be given up for lack of funds even before it had been truly attempted. Agricultural development, into which the prosperity-full coffers of the Government were un-restrainedly poured, has suffered only a little better fate when compared with Ceylon's actual and growing needs. Capitalist Ceylon has therefore already "surrendered un-conditionally" in this matter and has turned to foreign capital and enterprise as the only means of developing the country's resources.

How does the CP expect another **capitalist** Government to do better *with the same methods* just because it takes back war-bases, keeps out of the war, engages in trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc, abolishes feudalism and gives full democratic rights to the masses? Indeed, one can see that precisely the foreign policy measures of this capitalist Government, **if carried out**, will result in a flight of capital (against which no measure is included in the programme for an Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government.) Such, in fact, has been the experience of India. Whence, then, the capital required for developing the economy? From the USSR? But the USSR is already under the terrific strain of seeking to meet even a part of the foreign capital requirements of China! (China herself is at this very moment of writing compelled to extreme 'austerity measures' to find capital for her own development.) Whence, then, the capital? It cannot be from extraordinary internal resources; because nationalisation is cut out; all nationalisation! Whence, then, the capital? We are left with the resources of the capitalist class as before, with some aid perhaps from the USSR in substitution of imperialist capital in flight. Can any-one accept this as a **real** programme of development just because it is the CP which sponsors it now, and not the UNP? It is a mirage of development designed to deceive the people.

It is the same with the programme's guarantee of full democratic rights for the masses. To suggest that capitalism can any longer guarantee democracy **anywhere**, leave aside Ceylon, is to fly in the face of facts! One universal characteristic of capitalism in general world decay is that the democracy which characterised capitalism's rise and growth is itself being circumscribed; under-mined; destroyed. There is no full-blown capitalist democracy anywhere in the world today; not even in Britain. Witch-hunts, passport restrictions on Communists, and the like have begun to appear in Britain too; although not yet with the rabidness of the USA. Nevertheless, what the CP wants believed is that a capitalist government in a semi-colonial country can create, maintain and guarantee full democratic rights to the anti-capitalist masses! The programme is impossible for a capitalist government: for, there is no **democratic** way any more for a capitalist government to hold the anti-capitalist masses in check. The great August 12th Hartal taught the "democratic" Mr. Dudley Senanayake himself that lesson; and the CP will not be able to make the Ceylon capitalist class un-learn that lesson merely by asking the capitalists to read a new Stalinist thesis.

The programme of full democratic rights too is thus a mirage and a deception; just like the programme of economic development. They are thrown in to deceive the masses; to deceive the masses into permitting the CP to trade the real interests of the mass movement to Ceylon's capitalist class in return for a guarantee of keeping neutral in the war. The heart of the programme (and the heart of the CP!) is not in the domestic measures but in the foreign policy measures; that is, neutrality in the war between the imperialist and the Soviet blocs. On that altar, the CP is willing and ready to sacrifice every single basic interest of the Ceylon masses!

6. Why This Betrayal?

IT is time we turned to the motivation of the CP's further Right swing. Whence does it derive? Why this jettisoning of every political aim of the Ceylon working class and anti-capitalist masses in struggle against the UNP? Why this open offer of direct service to the capitalist class of Ceylon?

Those who seek to find the CP's motivation in the national interests of Ceylon or in the revolutionary interests of the Ceylon working class will only mis-lead themselves and bring themselves face to face with in-comprehensible mystery. It is manifest even to non-proletarians and non-revolutionaries that what Ceylon needs is an Anti-Capitalist Government in place of the capitalist UNP Government. It is manifest to every thinking person that there is no fundamental solution of Ceylon's economic problems possible within the frame-work of capitalism.

Why then this sell-out?

The answer is to be sought abroad and not at home. It is to be found in the aims and manoeuvres of contemporary Soviet foreign policy.

The answer is also to be sought in the nature of the Ceylon CP as a political organisation.

The Ceylon CP is not primarily a creation of the Ceylon masses. The Ceylon masses had already built the LSSP as their fighting political party when the CP first came into existence; and the Ceylon masses were actually in the full flow of their faith in the LSSP when the CP was launched. The Ceylon CP was therefore not born of the Ceylon masses as the LSSP was. It was born in quite another way—as we shall see.

Further, the Ceylon CP was not created, by those who founded and fashioned it, as an instrument in the service of the Ceylon masses. Its creators had quite a different purpose. The party they launched and built was designed and intended to face elsewhere.

The Ceylon CP did not come into existence as a creation of the Ceylon masses. It came into existence as a projection of the Soviet bureaucracy in Ceylon. This was its nature from its very inception; and this continues to be its essential nature even today, despite such mass following as it may have acquired since.

The purpose of the Soviet bureaucracy in fashioning the Ceylon CP was certainly not to serve the interests of the Ceylon masses. On the contrary, the Soviet bureaucracy was fashioning an instrument to serve itself.

The Soviet bureaucracy's purpose in fashioning the Ceylon CP was to **utilise** the mass movement in Ceylon in the Soviet bureaucracy's own interests. Men like Mr. Vythilingam (the former CP boss), Mr. Pieter Keuneman and even Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe (despite his LSSP past) were long trained abroad for their later tasks here in Ceylon; trained into blind loyalty to the Soviet bureaucracy as the very condition of their being. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe in fact became a Stalinist during his long sojourn in London after his defeat in the 1936 General Election. He came back to link himself with Mr. Vythilingam and a faction he had built within the LSSP. This faction was expelled from the LSSP in 1940 in the course of the LSSP's preparation for struggle against the Second Imperialist World War. They thereupon launched the United Socialist Party which openly served Imperialism in the war as required by Moscow foreign policy. These folk even entered the Ceylon National Congress, the UNP of that time, in pursuance of their Moscow-dictated policy of collaboration with the capitalist class. Later, as their collaboration with the imperialists became more intimate and as the imperialists themselves learnt what ready instruments they were against the masses and their Party, the LSSP, they were permitted in the very midst of the war to launch the Ceylon Communist Party, whose only consistent policy at all times has been a bitter anti-Samasamajism.

Thus was the Ceylon CP born; under imperialist patronage and in the imperialist service at the dictate of the Soviet bureaucracy in alliance with Anglo-French-American Imperialism at war with the Hitler coalition. It was born when the LSSP stood banned and when the LSSP was working underground. It was born as the Soviet bureaucracy's instrument to betray the Ceylon masses to Imperialism when the chosen leaders of the masses and their Party, the LSSP, could not be there or function effectively in defence of the masses.

The CP was able to do its betrayal fairly efficiently during the war because the LSSP had been driven underground and into the jails of Imperialism. It was even able to get a fair footing in the trade union field by functioning as a mediator between the Government and the workers. But its efforts to dis-credit the LSSP before the masses as a party of Fascist agency failed miserably. The masses knew the lie for what it was. They flocked to the LSSP with tremendous enthusiasm when it re-emerged as a legally functioning party after the war. The masses had not deserted the Party they had built. On the

contrary, their confidence in the LSSP had increased as it proved its quality in the fires of an anti-war struggle in the midst of a fierce and all-embracing war.

With the return of the LSSP to legal functioning, the Ceylon CP found betrayal no longer as simple or easy as during the war when the LSSP was underground. They were taught this lesson sharply in the 1947 General Election when the LSSP forced them off their line of a UNP-CP coalition against the LSSP. Nevertheless, they contrived to obey their Moscow dictate and continued to serve the UNP by putting up candidates against the LSSP in the interests of the UNP. In Horana and in Negombo, the UNP won and the LSSP lost in the 1947 General Election entirely because of the CP's splitting tactic against the LSSP.

The CP has not changed its essential nature today. On the contrary, its new shift further to the Right **proves** that its essential character as a projection of the Soviet bureaucracy in Ceylon has not changed. The new shift is in fact in consonance with the requirements of the current foreign policy manoeuvres of the Soviet bureaucratic Government.

It is essential to understand that contemporary Soviet foreign policy is **not** directed towards spreading the World Revolution. Despite every imperialist assertion to the contrary, this has never been the Soviet bureaucracy's aim; and is not its aim today either.

The aim of the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy is essentially to **maintain** the new international balance of power between itself and its allies on the one side and World Imperialism on the other. This is the real content of the theory of peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism.

In pursuit of the above aim, the Soviet bureaucracy is compelled also to prepare resistance to the developing imperialist on-slaught against it. This resistance it prepares in conformity with its over-all aim of **maintaining** the present balance of power between its orbit and the imperialist orbit. In the capitalist sector of the world, therefore, the Soviet bureaucracy seeks **capitalist** allies and not revolutionary allies; the alliance of capitalist governments and not the alliance of revolutionary mass movements seeking to set up **anti-capitalist governments** in conflict with their present rulers. Indeed, it seeks to **trade** the mass movements in the capitalist countries for agreements with their **capitalist** governments. And the instrument through which the bargain is sought to be implemented is the Communist (Stalinist) Party of the given country.

The source and motivation of the Ceylon CP's current line are now manifest. It is seeking to carry out the task set for it in Ceylon by the Soviet bureaucracy—a task determined by the Soviet bureaucracy's interests and not by the interests of the masses or the working class of Ceylon.

What is this task? It is the task of bringing into being at **any cost** in Ceylon a **capitalist** Government which will fall into line with the Soviet Government's effort to isolate American Imperialism in war against the USSR. In other words, it is the task of bringing into being *and supporting* a *capitalist* Government in Ceylon which will be neutral in the cold war that is and will remain neutral in the hot war to come. And by support here is meant *support against the masses* in struggle against the capitalist Government for its overthrow. The line is once more, as in the notorious People's War days, "social peace" — social peace in return for neutrality; that is, the abandonment of the class struggle in Ceylon in consideration for a *promise* of neutrality of the Ceylon capitalist class in a war between the USA and the USSR.

7. The Obstacle In Their Path

IN our last article, we showed that the root of the Ceylon CP's betrayal of the mass movement in Ceylon is to be found in Soviet foreign policy. It is now necessary to understand that this policy of betrayal is not peculiar to the Ceylon CP. On the contrary, the Ceylon CP is only getting into step with the CPs of the rest of the capitalist world.

The aim of the new world line of Stalinism is to isolate the USA in war against the USSR. This aim involves two tasks.

On the one hand, every effort has to be made to break the USA's present allies away from her. On the other hand, every effort has to be made to prevent the USA finding fresh allies in the USA's attempt to encircle the USSR militarily.

In both cases, the Soviet bureaucracy's method is to seek a political deal with **the capitalist class** of the given country at the cost of the working class and mass movements in that country.

With regard to the USA's present allies, the powerful mass CPs of France and Italy, for instance, have already abandoned any steps based on **developing** the class struggle in these countries toward the seizure of power by the working class. They have openly declared their readiness to serve any capitalist Government in these countries which will break its alliance with the USA. They seek to trade the class struggle and the mass movement in these countries for a promise of neutrality by their **capitalist Governments**.

The position is similar in countries like Britain. There, the CPs are weak and are not mass parties. The working class in these countries follow reformist parties; like the Labour Party in Britain. The effort of the CPs in these countries is to push these reformist parties into participation in **capitalist Governments** which undertake to break the alliance with the USA. The CPs themselves stand ready to **support** such Governments. In Britain they are already fighting against every Leftward drift in the Labour Party by launching an attack on "Trotskyism" in the Labour Party. By Trotskyist they mean, of course, every consistent adherent of the class struggle in the British Labour Party. These, they hate; for it is a neutral **capitalist Britain** which the Stalinists seek, and not a revolutionary socialist Britain.

The Stalinist line is no different in the countries which the USA is seeking to bring into the World Imperialist Military Alliance. The CPs offer loyal service to the existing **capitalist**

Governments of these countries in return for a promise of neutrality.

The best example of this policy is in India. The capitalist Nehru Government is already neutral. And the Indian CP has pledged itself at its recent Madura Conference to confine itself to Parliamentary methods of opposition in relation to the Nehru Government. In other words, the Indian CP's new line abandons all direct struggle and revolutionary struggle.

However, the Ceylon CP finds itself in a difficulty such as no other CP faces in any other part of the world. This arises from the presence of the LSSP in Ceylon. Let us explain.

We have referred to the CPs of France and Italy. Now, the point about them is that they are *accepted mass parties of the working class*. The main working class mass in France and Italy follows the CP. Accordingly, the CPs of these countries can offer to the capitalist class in them a genuine *quid pro quo* in a deal to sell the mass movement in return for neutrality. Certainly, they can restrain powerfully any revolutionary development of the class struggle.

The position in India is similar in some ways. No doubt the Indian CP has not yet won a decisive working class following or gained control of the mass movement in the way that the French and Italian CPs have done. Nevertheless, the Indian CP, too, is in a position powerfully to restrain and gravely to confuse the Indian masses. The Madura line can give a grave set-back to the Indian mass movement.

However, when the Ceylon CP tries to apply the Madura line in Ceylon it finds itself facing two fundamental difficulties.

The first difficulty which faces the Ceylon CP is that it cannot even hope to control or decisively influence either the working class or the mass movement in Ceylon. *The leading force and by far the most powerful party in the working class and the mass movement in Ceylon is the LSSP*. As the great August 12th Hartal showed, the LSSP continues to be the organiser and the leader of the Ceylon masses in struggle. Neither the CP nor the Stalinist Front can compete with the LSSP in this field.

The second and grave difficulty which faces the Ceylon CP flows from the fact that the LSSP is a **revolutionary** party. In other capitalist countries where the CP is in a minority, the majority mass party is **reformist**; and the essence of a reformist party is that it *collaborates with the capitalist class*. When, therefore, the CP itself turns to collaboration with the capitalist class, the reformist party is in no position to expose the CP before the masses. On the contrary, the CP is able to hide its

own collaboration with the capitalist class by taking refuge behind the collaboration of the reformist party with the capitalist class. The CP joins the reformist party in betraying the working class.

In Ceylon, this manoeuvre is not available to the CP. In Ceylon, every time the CP turns towards collaboration with the capitalist class, the LSSP, with its policy of consistent class struggle, is able to expose the CP before the masses as a betrayer of the working class and the mass movement. Indeed, the masses themselves discover the betrayal; because, every time the CP swings Right, it comes into direct and open conflict with the consistent class-struggle policy of the revolutionary party of the Ceylon masses, the LSSP.

In the result, the Ceylon CP has to engage in the most complicated manoeuvres in order to go Right. As we shall see in the next article, their manoeuvres on this occasion are not only complicated but despicable.



8. The United Front Rejected

AS we pointed out in our last article, the presence of the LSSP in Ceylon compels the CP to the most complicated manoeuvres when it turns to direct collaboration with the capitalist class. These manoeuvres have to be aimed in two main directions.

On the one hand, the CP leadership has to manoeuvre the rank and file of the CP itself into accepting the policy of direct collaboration with the capitalist class. On the other hand, the CP as a whole has to endeavour to manoeuvre the masses into abandoning, or at least slowing down and limiting, the anti-capitalist struggle.

Neither manoeuvre is easy for the CP leadership in the present circumstances.

The present situation in Ceylon is characterised by a pronounced resurgence of the class struggle, especially in the working class field. The long torpor within the working class movement, which followed on the defeat of the 1947 General Strike, is over. There is a definite revival of trade unionism; a great new influx of working people into their unions at every level (manual, skilled, white collar, governmental, private). There is also a new fighting spirit. Dismissals have been resisted by direct action on a wide scale. Strikes have been tenacious and have also shown preparation. Those in struggle have not feared to act in the political field in accordance with the political implications of the questions in issue. In a word, the working class is going into action once more; and is doing so at a higher level of consciousness than in 1947.

It is plain to the most casual observer that greater working class struggles are in the offing. Wage cuts are being prepared openly by the capitalist class. The implementation of these cuts is being pressed for through the Wages Boards. Mass dismissals are also developing. The working class not only has to resist; it **will** resist the developing capitalist onslaught. Indeed, it is already engaged in such resistance. And there is not a worker but realises that this is an anti-capitalist struggle and that the struggle must be developed on the widest possible **co-ordinated** scale.

Now, co-ordination spells to every worker the united front of the Left parties. Specifically, it raises the question of a united front between the LSSP and the CP. And this question arises not only for the working class in general but also for the rank and file of the CP itself.

It is necessary to understand that there is an important distinction between the CP leadership and the CP rank and file. The CP leaders are not merely Stalinist in the broad sense of having faith in the ruling Soviet bureaucracy. The top CP leaders in particular are nothing but a Soviet agency consciously seeking to manipulate the mass movement in Ceylon for the purposes of their Soviet bureaucratic masters.

The CP rank and file do not all fall so readily into the category of a conscious agency of the Soviet bureaucracy. Many of them, especially those in the workshops, do also reflect the pressures of the Ceylon working class. They reflect, **within the CP itself**, the anti-capitalist mood and the anti-capitalist consciousness of the working class. They also reflect within the CP the interests of the working class in actual struggle with the capitalist class.

To these sections of the CP rank and file, the united front with the LSSP is a real question and not a mere pretence. It is otherwise with the CP leadership.

To the CP leadership, the slogan of a united front with the LSSP has always been a pretence. Their hostility to Trotskyism and its Ceylon party, the LSSP, is too deep for it to be otherwise. But a series of circumstances enabled them to hide, both from their own rank and file and from the masses, their actual hostility to a united front with the LSSP.

The principal of these circumstances was the series of splits in the Samasamaja movement.

Post-war Ceylon saw the LSSP broken into two; with each wing claiming to be the LSSP. The two wings re-united in 1947; only to break apart again as LSSP and BSP. When these two parties united again in 1950 as the LSSP, Mr. Philip Gunawardena's group refused to come into the unification. Moreover, this group insisted on continuing to call itself the LSSP.

Amidst all these splits and these splinterings, the CP leaders were able to hide their hostility to a united front with Samasamajism. They hid their own **basic** differences with both wings of Samasamajism by keeping up a yell about the **secondary** differences between the two wings of Samasamajism. And they deliberately left the impression that these splits were the only thing which stood in the way of a Left United Front.

Then, Mr. Philip Gunawardena gave them a new cover. He and his group entered into a so-called united front with the CP.

This united front was in fact not a united front at all. It was a **unification** in the form of a united front. The programme on which the two sides agreed was so comprehensive that Mr.

Philip Gunawardena's group in particular had no room left for any sort of independent action. Besides, the programme itself was so completely **Stalinist** that the pretence of a united front became merely a device to hide Mr. Philip Gunawardena's own **capitulation** to Stalinism. What the CP and Mr. Philip Gunawardena had fashioned between them was not a Communist-Samasamaja Front, as they claimed, but a Stalinist Front; not a front between two independent parties, one Stalinist and the other Trotskyist, but a pretence of a front between a dominant CP and a dependent satellite group of ex-Trotskyists turned Stalinist.

One important result of this manoeuvre was that the CP leaders were provided with a new means of masking their hostility to a united front with the LSSP. They were able to hide this hostility behind an invitation to the LSSP to come into the Stalinist Front.

This invitation to the LSSP to come into the Stalinist Front was, of course, not an invitation to a united front at all. On the contrary, it was an invitation to the LSSP to capitulate politically to the CP in the same way as Mr. Philip Gunawardena had done.

The invitation was issued by the Stalinists in the hope and certainty that the LSSP would refuse it; because the Stalinists themselves well understood that it was an invitation to the LSSP to commit political suicide. The LSSP, however, did not simply refuse; it put forward proposals for a genuine united front between itself and the Stalinist groupings.

These were the talks that broke down over the celebrated question of "the right of criticism". The Stalinists demanded that the LSSP should give up its right to criticise the Governments of the USSR, China and the Eastern European states and also the right to criticise the CPs abroad. The LSSP refused. The Stalinists thereupon refused a united front even on the **domestic** questions on which agreement had previously been registered. And then they went out howling to the world—though not so very successfully this time!—that the LSSP and the LSSP alone prevented a united front between the CP and the LSSP!

For many a long year the CP leaders were able in this way to hide, both from the masses and from their own rank and file, their actual and deep-going hostility to a united front with the LSSP. Not only so. They were also able to trick a section of the LSSP itself into the ridiculous belief that it was the LSSP leadership and not the CP leadership which stood in the way of a united front between the two parties. This section, led by an inner core of un-declared Stalinists, who worked in close liaison with the CP and Mr. Philip Gunawardena's group, finally broke

away from the LSSP and went over openly to Stalinism. They joined the Stalinist Front in late 1953.

However, 'tis an ill wind which blows nobody any good! And as for this particular wind, it was found ultimately to have actually cleared the air on the united front question; for, with the very departure of these cover-Stalinist from the LSSP, the CP leaders were finally deprived of their **alibi** on the united front question. The LSSP, cleansed of all Stalinist elements, stood forth once more, for the first time since 1945, as a consolidated **Trotskyist** party. The Stalinists all stood on the other side, consolidated in a single organisation under CP leadership; in the Stalinist Front (mis-called the Communist-Samasamaja Front). The question of a united front between them stood posed clearly and in a principled manner as the question of a united front between a straight Trotskyist party and a straight Stalinist organisation. The LSSP stood publicly and un-equivocally ready for a united front with the CP. It was up to the CP to express itself equally un-equivocally on the subject.

Is the CP ready or not for a united front with the LSSP?

At long last the CP leadership had to answer the question directly. There was no more room for them to play hide-and-seek on the matter.

And what is their answer to the question, now that it has been directly and un-avoidably posed? Here is the answer in the very words of their circular:—

'We shall not hereafter invite them (i. e., the LSSP) either to a united front or to united front discussions.'!

The long masquerade of the CP leadership is ended. They stand exposed at last and for ever as **declared** opponents of a united front with the LSSP. They are back on the pre-1947 road of open and virulent anti-Samasamajism as part of their line of direct collaboration with the capitalist class against the masses.

9. CP's Own Rank And File Cheated

IN our last article we noted that the CP leadership has come out directly against a united front with the LSSP. In making this turn, however, they come up against a difficulty not only with the masses but also with their own rank and file.

The CP rank and file have been trained for several years now in the conception that a united front with the LSSP is the central question of revolutionary politics. The CP leadership itself gave them this training; involuntarily: the CP leaders could not cheat the world on this question without also cheating their own rank and file! Now, the chickens have come home to roost. The CP leaders cannot carry many of their own rank and file into an anti-united front position by mere fiat. They have to explain their "turn" to their rank and file. Here is their explanation:—

"Since the strength of the Left (i. e., the Stalinist) Front has changed in this way (by the entry of the Reggie Perera-William Silva-Subasinghe group), a change in the tactic we should adopt towards the sections remaining in the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party (i. e., the LSSP) is natural. The LSSP is not a Left party. On the contrary, it is a party consisting of virulent anti-Sovietists and Trotskyists and with a virulent anti-Communist (i. e., anti-CP) leadership. Further, the strength the NLSSP had among the masses has been reduced because all the honest sections which were within this party have come into the united (Stalinist) front. For these reasons, we shall not hereafter invite them either to a united front or to united front discussions."

The explanation is not as frank as it seems. It is nevertheless revealing. The deep hatred of the CP leadership for the Trotskyist LSSP is manifested in the very language they employ. Further, they tacitly admit that the whole object of their tactic towards the LSSP was never a united front but only a split in the LSSP. This will be a revelation to many in their own rank and file and also to many who left the LSSP in genuine search of a united front between the LSSP and the CP. The only people to whom this is not a revelation are us Trotskyists. We knew the Stalinist tactic all along — and explained it even when the credulous were being tricked by it.

In the above passage the anti-united front CP leadership give three reasons to their rank and file for refusing a united front with the LSSP. These are (1) that the LSSP is not a Left party; (2) that the LSSP is an anti-Soviet party; and (3) that the strength of the LSSP among the masses has declined.

This is strange reasoning.

Elsewhere in this same document, as we shall later show, the CP leadership treat Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party as a **Left** party. Mr. Bandaranaike, that principal crusader against the Indian workers, who is a declared anti-Marxist, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet politician, and his equally anti-Indian worker, anti-Marxist, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet party, are "Leftists"! But the LSSP, which has consistently based its policy on the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack despite the bureaucratic dictatorship which prevails there, the LSSP, whose policy has been based consistently on the class struggle, this LSSP is not a Left party!

This is not analysis of the nature of a party. This is not class-characterisation of a party. This is not even slander of a party. This is simply politics gone hay-wire.

But it is also politics with a purpose; and the purpose is deceit—deception of the CP's rank and file by their own leadership. Not one among these leaders will dare stand before any serious working class or mass audience and say that the LSSP is not a Left party. If they are not hooted and stoned it will be because this nonsense is beneath contempt. But, **within their own party** and before their own deluded rank and file — that is a different matter! After all, whoever dares to disagree can always be denounced as an American agent!

In their second reason the CP leadership aver that a united front with the LSSP is impossible because the LSSP is an 'anti-Soviet' party. The toe of truth peeps out here from under the cloak of deception. Although it is false that the LSSP is an anti-Soviet Party, it is quite true that the LSSP sides with the Soviet masses in their developing struggle against the dictatorial bureaucracy which today governs the Soviet Union and which crushes the Soviet masses under its iron heel. The LSSP is with the USSR against the imperialists; but it is also with the Soviet masses against the Soviet bureaucrats and their totalitarian dictatorship.

The CP chooses to call this simple line "anti-Sovietism". It does so because the CP is with the Soviet bureaucrats against the Soviet masses; with the dictatorial Government against the masses struggling for the restoration of Soviet democracy. And

what the CP leadership admits here is that, *even on the question of a united front here in Ceylon on issues wholly domestic to Ceylon, it places the defence of the totalitarian bureaucracy of the USSR from revolutionary criticism above the defence of the Ceylon working class and general masses from the attacks of the capitalists.* No united front in any form with a revolutionary working class party except on the footing of silencing that party on the dictatorial rule of the Soviet bureaucrats ! That is the real line of the CP leadership on the question of a united front with the LSSP — the line which first became clear to the world when the CP refused, *despite agreement*, to form a united front with the LSSP *on issues wholly internal to Ceylon* unless the LSSP agreed to give up its right to criticise the Soviet bureaucrats and their allies and agents throughout the world.

If the first and second reasons given by the CP leadership for their anti-united front policy are deceitful, the third reason is simply silly. This "reason" is that the LSSP's influence among the masses has "declined". But this is irrelevant, quite apart from the fact that it is un-true. The need for the united front of the working class parties does not arise from the respective strength of these parties within the working class or among the wider masses. That question has no relevancy at all to the united front question. It is irrelevant whether the LSSP or the CP is the stronger party. Indeed, it is irrelevant that the LSSP is an enormously stronger party than the CP. The only question which has relevancy to the united front question is that *both the LSSP and the CP have a following among the working class and the masses*, even though the CP following does not at all compare with the LSSP's following. It is this fact which makes the united front between the CP and the LSSP necessary; necessary, that is to say, as a means to ensuring united action by the working class and the masses in resistance to the developing capitalist onslaught.

The point, of course, is that the CP leadership does not look at the united front question in this way at all. The CP leaders do not look at the question from the point of view of the **Ceylon** working class or the **Ceylon** masses. They are not interested in forging working class unity in Ceylon in resistance to the developing capitalist onslaught. They look at the question from the point of view of their Soviet bureaucratic masters. And from the point of view of their Soviet bureaucratic masters, their first and only task in Ceylon today is to crush the revolutionary LSSP which stands in the way of their selling the Ceylon mass movement to the Ceylon capitalist class in exchange for a **promise** of Ceylonese capitalist neutrality in a war between Imperialism and the Sino-Soviet Bloc. It is this fact which the CP leadership is seeking to hide from its own rank and file.

10. The Effort To Cheat The Masses

FROM deception of their own rank and file to the attempt to deceive the masses is a necessary step for the CP leadership. The document we are studying shows how they propose to take the step.

The method chosen is to summon a so-called "Left United Front Conference".

The object of this Conference is said to be twofold. On the one hand it is to "bring together the Left forces in Ceylon and to demonstrate their combined power." On the other hand, the working class is to be harnessed to a programme of "just national demands which are common to all sections".

The deception in this plan is also twofold.

In the first place, it is a plan to hold a "Left" United Front Conference without the principal Left party in Ceylon; namely, the LSSP. This is to be achieved by the simple and naive device of denying to the LSSP its Left character. "The LSSP is not a Left party," declare the CP leaders; and therefore, of course, there is no question of their being brought into a "Left United Front Conference"! Plain deceit can no further go.

The second deception is lodged in the objectives of the Conference. The true objective of this Conference is not to bring the Left forces in Ceylon together on a common programme of action. On the contrary, the true object of this Conference is to try to hitch the working class in particular and as large a section of the broad Left as possible to the capitalist waggon through a programme of so-called "national" demands.

The matter becomes clearer from the following passage in the document we have been quoting:—

"It should be shown that the building of the united front can be achieved by making the programme of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party itself the basis of the Front.

Thus, the "Left" United Front of the CP conception finds a sufficient basis in the SLFP programme!

The CP game is now clear. Its whole aim is to hitch the working class and the general masses to the SLFP under cover of a fake "Left" United Front.

But what is the SLFP as a political party? What is its class character?

The answer is that it is a **capitalist** party; though, like every major capitalist party, it has also a wide petty bourgeois membership and following.

The SLFP is in fact *the alternative party of the Ceylon capitalist class*. It is nurtured and maintained by the capitalist class itself to hold the Leftward moving masses within capitalism's general framework, if and when the capitalist UNP Government is defeated or overthrown. In other words, it is the Ceylon capitalist class' alternative to the UNP; the alternative capitalist party held in reserve by the Ceylon capitalist class—and its foreign imperialist masters! — against the eventuality of the UNP going down in defeat before the masses.

The mechanics of the CP's further turn to the Right thus stand exposed. It has to find a way to enter the service of the capitalist class. It cannot, as in the immediate post-war period, do this by coming out in open support of the UNP. The anti-UNP movement has gone too far and the memory of the great August 12th Hartal of 1953 is too fresh and recent for it to be possible to come out in open support of the UNP. The CP has therefore to find some other way to its objective. And history has presented it with the SLFP.

The SLFP is indeed a God-given gift to Ceylon Stalinism. Previous to the SLFP's emergence, the CP had no effective means of masking its turns towards collaboration with the capitalist class. It had no capitalist party to collabore with except the UNP; and collaboration with the UNP was easily recognised by even the politically un-educated as service to the capitalist class. Further, when the CP required to cover up the **reformism**, and therefore the pro-capitalist nature, of its policies behind calls for a broad anti-UNP front, it came up against the difficulty that the only party with which an anti-UNP front could be built was the LSSP; and a front with the LSSP **had** to be on an anti-capitalist basis while the CP avoided an anti-capitalist front like the plague.

The emergence of the SLFP solved both problems for the CP. The SLFP is a party in **Parliamentary** opposition to the UNP. The UNP is impressed clearly with its **capitalist** character. The leading parties in opposition to the UNP in Parliament itself were Left. The people of Ceylon were new to Parliamentary institutions and to Parliamentary politics. Never having had the experience of **capitalist** parties in opposition to each other, as in England for instance, it was easy for them to mistake the SLFP too for a Left party just because it was a party in Parliamentary opposition to the UNP.

The CP was thus gifted with a capitalist party which could be **palmed off** as a Left party. The CP was thereby enabled to cover its **pro-capitalist** reformism behind a mask of anti-UNP-ism. It could also counterpose a **pro-capitalist** anti-UNP Front with the SLFP to the anti-capitalist anti-UNP Front for which the LSSP struggled. It could, in short, manoeuvre with the capitalist SLFP against the LSSP, yet pretend it was on a Leftist course.

This move has now been brought into the open. That is what the acceptance of the SLFP programme as the basis for a "Left" United Front signifies. Coupled with the denial of any Left character to the LSSP and the refusal of any united front with the LSSP, it is the announcement that the CP seeks **capitalist** allies as against the LSSP and the anti-capitalist movement generally. The old CP-UNP **Capitalist** Front against the LSSP is to be re-placed by a new CP-SLFP **Capitalist** Front against the LSSP. It is only a new road to an old objective. The only beneficiaries of the line can be the capitalist class.

11. Their Line Will Fail

THE new CP tactic is doomed to ir-remediable failure. It will fail for three principal reasons.

The first reason is that the LSSP, and not the CP is far and away the leading party of the Ceylon working class. Despite all CP boasts to the contrary, the CP's strength in no way compares with the LSSP's strength either within the working class or among the masses generally. In any event, the CP simply hasn't the strength to put across a class-collaborationist line *in direct conflict with the LSSP*.

The second reason which fore-dooms the new CP line to ir-remediable failure is that it runs counter to the direction of the actual development of the class struggle in Ceylon today. The CP is turning to direct and more open collaboration with the capitalist class just when the working class is moving into direct and extending clashes with the capitalist class. The CP is moving further Right just when the masses are moving further Left.

There is a third reason which is of a more fundamental character. The aim of the new CP line is impossible of achievement. *The capitalist class of Ceylon, despite every protestation from any quarter, cannot be kept neutral in a war between Imperialism on the one side and the USSR and its associated states on the other.* The intimate inter-twining of the economic and political interests of the Ceylon capitalist class with the interests of World Imperialism in general and of British Imperialism in particular render impossible any question of the Ceylon capitalist class standing neutral in any major or global military enterprise of Imperialism. And even a war confined to the USA on the one side and the USSR on the other will be a major military enterprise of Imperialism into which the rest of World Imperialism will tend to be irresistably drawn. The Ceylon capitalist class can no more resist being sucked into such a war than a cork can resist being sucked into a whirlpool. It will be sucked in irresistibly and inevitably.

Signs are not wanting already that the new CP line will fail.

To begin with, the Ceylon capitalist class itself spurns the proffered new servitorship of the CP. Each wing of the capitalist class has shown this in its own way.

The UNP has in fact launched an offensive against the CP just when the CP is offering to enter the capitalist service. Sir

John and his associates refuse to have any truck with the CP just as Mr. D. S. Senanayake did! (On an historic occasion, Mr. D. S. Senanayake walked out of the old Ceylon National Congress when the Stalinists walked into it.)

As for Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, he is obviously ready to accept aid; but not on terms! He refuses a united front with the CP; but he invites the CPers to come into the SLFP and work under him. In other words, Mr. Bandaranaike wants prisoners, not allies; and the CP leadership is in no position to lead its rank and file into the SLFP prison — at least as yet. Time may, of course, take them into the SLFP just as the war took them into the Ceylon National Congress. But if they do go into the SLFP openly in that way, the true meaning of their line will stand exposed even to the politically ignorant.

It is necessary to bear in mind another secret CP hero: Mr. R. G. Senanayake or "China Dicky" (as opposed to "American Dicky", that is, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena). It was Mr. R. G. Senanayake who carried through the rice-for-rubber deal with China; and nothing would give the CP leadership more pleasure than if some new turn in events brings "China Dicky" to the top, along with Messrs. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Mr. Dudley Senanayake. They can serve this combination plausibly in the name of fighting Fascism and isolating Sir John. They can also serve the combination as a handy means of serving the capitalist class and deceiving the masses into swinging behind a capitalist government.

In relation to the capitalist class, therefore, the CP is really in the position today of hawking its support to the SLFP for acceptance. They woo Mr. Bandaranaike even while Mr. Bandaranaike refuses to woo them. Witness the ludicrous spectacle of Mr. Pieter Keuneman publicly protesting to Mr. Bandaranaike in pained tones that Mr. Bandaranaike is following an anti-Indian worker line. As if Mr. Bandaranaike did not know it! And as if an appeal from Mr. Pieter Keuneman in his best "Mamma-is-shocked" tone will deter Mr. Bandaranaike!

Let us turn to the ranks of Stalinism itself. The Colombo Committee of the CP has already put the secret Circular's instructions obediently into action. It issued a leaflet to the SLFP Conference declaring:—

"The Communist-Samasamaja United Front has always maintained that unity could be achieved on the basis of the political programme of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party."

But there is a manifest un-happiness among the more honest sections of the CP rank and file, especially on the united

front question. And as for the general new turn further to the Right, there obviously is friction within the Stalinist Front. Some at least of the neo-Stalinists who renegaded to Stalinism from the LSSP in the post-war period have apparently not un-learned completely the class-struggle lessons they were taught by Samasmajism in the past. Besides, these gentlemen are not sustained from Moscow and Peking in the same way as the official Stalinist leadership is sustained. They cannot therefore act as independently of their rank and file as the CP bureaucrats can; and they also have to respond more directly to mass pressure. Thus, the new CP line not only imposes a strain on the Stalinist Front; it also subjects the neo-Stalinists, who fled from post-war Trotskyism, to their first major test in the mass movement. Will they go with the CP bureaucrats into the capitalist service? Or will they go with the masses at whose head is the LSSP? It is a test in real life of the reality of their professed adherence to the united front policy. United front with the LSSP in the service of the masses; or united front with the CP in the service of the Ceylon capitalist class against the masses? That is how the question stands before these gentlemen. On their answer to this question will depend the further question whether they have any role whatsoever to play in the coming period.

12. They Shall Not Pass!

In this final article, we shall discuss the possible impact of the new CP line on the mass situation.

We have already noted that the CP is turning to direct and open collaboration with the capitalist class just when the working class is moving into direct and extending clashes with the capitalist class. It is now necessary to stress that the struggle conditions into which the working class is moving are not determined by the workers' own choice. On the contrary, direct struggles are being **forced** on the workers by the capitalist class.

The economic situation has already deteriorated so seriously for the capitalist class in Ceylon that the capitalists cannot—even if they wish it—any longer avoid a sharp and direct onslaught on salaries and wages. The wage and salary cuts are not merely coming; they are in process of being imposed.

It is the same with dismissals. Not little dribblets here and there but **mass** dismissals are on the order of the day. Mass dismissals in a setting of sharp wage-cuts; or rather, wage-cuts in a setting of mass dismissals. It is a situation which will require the utmost resolution and the greatest class-consciousness in the working class if the working class and mass movements are not to suffer damage irreparable for a whole period to come. (The damage of the 1947 defeat took fully five years to repair despite capitalist prosperity conditions).

As for the masses generally, the sharp cuts in their living standards, which brought about the great August 12th Hartal in 1953, were not the end of a process; mere cuts are in process of being imposed and still more cuts will undoubtedly come. For, the already deteriorated economic situation is in fact continuing to deteriorate, despite all assertions to the contrary. The Ceylon capitalist class cannot maintain the wage and social services structure of its prosperity period. "Re-adjustment" to their new situation has to be carried out. And capitalist re-adjustment means, always, the attempt to restore profits at the expense of the masses!

The situation is one which will require **defensive actions in the economic field** (against wage-cuts and dismissals) to be combined with **offensive actions in the political field**.

Work or Maintenance! No Dismissals and No Wage Cuts! Reduce Hours Without Reducing Earnings! Place the Depression Burden On Those Who Can Bear It! Cut Profits; Not Wages! Let the State Take Over and Run the Workplaces Whi-

ch the Private Employers Seek To Close! These will be the political demands of the hour; demands for which the working class will have to fight with every means at its disposal.

And herein precisely lies the utter traitorousness of the new CP line. *By the CP's political capitulation to the class-enemy in the very midst of the developing onslaught of the capitalist class and its Government on the working class and the general masses, a terrible confusion can be sown in the working class and mass movements just at the moment when the utmost clarity is needed as to means and ends and strategy and tactics. A certain tendency to passivity can also be induced thereby at the very moment when the working class and mass movements require to be actively aggressive in action. Above all, the higher direction of the struggle can be gravely hampered when most this higher direction is vital.*

It is necessary to say again and again that no mere "spontaneity" can take the working class and the general masses triumphantly or even adequately through the developing situation. Action will not only have to be bold; it will also have to be prepared. That is to say also that action will have to be directed to clear-cut objectives definitely formulated in advance. Planned action; organised action; co-ordinated action; these are the essential needs of the situation. And these are not possible unless the leadership is clear and decided on a higher strategy and an over-all tactic. And these in turn are not possible unless there is a united **political** leadership which bases itself consistently and fearlessly on the *development* of the class struggle.

What the CP has done with its new line is to place the working class and the general masses before a choice between two ir-reconcilable lines; the line of class capitulation and the line of class struggle. But let none imagine that the CP will flaunt its newest sell-out banner in a readily recognisable form. It will do nothing of the sort. On the contrary, what it will seek to do is to echo old formulae in the context of a new meaning; thus hoping to cheat the masses into a false impression as to the actual line.

How this deception is to be carried out in one field and another is carefully explained in the document we have been studying and quoting. We have already illustrated it from the united front field where the CP continues to echo the Left United Front slogan, but only to deceive the world on the 'Leftism' of the front. We have also illustrated it from the field of the anti-capitalist struggle where the anti-capitalist sense of the anti-imperialist struggle is echoed in a call for an "Anti-Impe-

rialist" Government whose programme, however, is not anti-capitalist, not even anti-foreign capitalist, at all !

This course of double dealing and deceit is carried even into the trade union field; that field of fundamental immediate importance in the class struggle because of the great economic battles which are proceeding and pending. The sheer cynicism of the CP line here deserves to be underlined.

Every worker knows that the crying need of the trade union movement in Ceylon today is unity. Not a united front, note you, but actual organisational unity. A single union in each trade linking up with a single national trade union centre or federation ! This is the need and demand of the working class; the actual need and the correct demand.

How does the CP relate its new line to this need and call ? By sheer deception. Note the following passage in their secret document:—

"Since the estate employers do not recognise the (CP controlled) Ceylon Plantation Workers Union, it has been proposed that we should get our estate-workers to join the All Ceylon Estate Workers' Union which is under the leadership of the United Front Samasamaja Party (that is, the Reggie Perera-William Silva-Subasinghe Group). Details of this will be given later." This is both cynicism and deception triumphant. It is dis-unity masquerading in garb of unity. The "Estate Workers' Union" referred to in the above passage represents the effort of a splitter group literally to steal a union. Although this effort to split the workers organised all these years in the All Ceylon Estate Workers' Union into two has not been successful, it has enabled the employers to undermine the rights won by a whole body of workers over a number of years. The CP sets out to encourage this split in the name of unity ! And even this "unity" flows not from the acceptance of the aim of trade union unity but because 'non recognition' by the employers drives the Stalinists to seek cover. Unity is for them only a form of camouflage.

Note further the calm disposal of "our" workers by simple Party decision. The union they control is dealt with as a mere ancillary; a tail which wags as the CP dog wills. The CP outlook in regard to the unions, namely, that they are mere instruments for CP control of sections of the workers, is here manifested clearly, and obviously continues.

It will be the same in every sphere. The CP will set out not to clarify but to confuse ! It will echo the class struggle to prevent the class struggle. It will echo unity to maximise dis-unity. It will talk anti-imperialism to cover pro-capitalism. It will talk Left while going Right.

In this situation a great task falls to every class-conscious worker in Ceylon. They must learn to face the fact that the

CP is engaged in a sell-out of the class struggle and the mass movement; and they must set out resolutely to combat the sell-out.

The class-conscious workers in every Party, group or organisation can set out on this task with confidence. They need not fear; they need only act. For, although the CP may **formulate** a sell-out line, **it cannot deliver the goods.**

It cannot deliver the goods for the simple reason which we have throughout emphasised. The defection of the CP to the capitalist side of the class struggle does not leave the working class and the general masses either leaderless or even irretrievably disabled. On the contrary! The leadership of the working class and mass movements in Ceylon remains where it has always been; namely, in the LSSP. The main mass of the workers and toilers, in so far as they are organised, stand organised under the aegis of the LSSP. And the whole mass of the workers and toilers in Ceylon, when they go into action, turn instinctively and naturally to the Party they built up for struggle, and in struggle, over nineteen years of self-sacrificing effort — the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. That is what the great August 12th Hartal of 1953 showed and that is what the coming period will show again in full measure.

The CP can rat on the struggle; the LSSP cannot prevent that when even the CP rank and file cannot prevent it—the CP is not a democratic party controlled by its rank and file: it is a direct agency of the Soviet bureaucratic Government. Those within the CP who oppose the new line will simply be flung out and also called American agents into the bargain!

No; the LSSP cannot prevent the CP leadership ratting on the class struggle in Ceylon. But the LSSP can and will expose the rats. And by that exposure, the LSSP will succeed in preventing the CP from being successful even as a brake on the class struggle. The fight is on. The struggle with the class foe is again breaking into the open. Whoever is not on the side of the workers in this struggle is against them. But also, whoever does not side with the workers while seeking to root themselves in the working class, will be uprooted and flung aside by the workers themselves.

The masses of Ceylon are moving once more into battle: moving in to battle on a higher level than ever in their history. At their head, as always in these nineteen years, with its unstained banner aloft, marches the Lanka Sama Samaja Party!

DOWN WITH STALINIST CLASS-COLLABORATIONISM!
DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST UNP GOVERNMENT!
FORWARD TO AN ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT!

The Anti-Capitalist Government Slogan

THE guiding slogan of our Party today runs as follows
"RE-PLACE THE CAPITALIST UNP GOVERNMENT
WITH AN ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT!"

A correct understanding of this slogan and a full understanding of its complete significance is essential for every Samasamajist.

The first point to grasp about this slogan is that it does not re-place our slogan of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT. On the contrary, the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT slogan continues to be our over-all and basic slogan. The WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT slogan crystallises our ultimate revolutionary objective. This ultimate revolutionary objective is the creation in Ceylon of a PEASANT-SUPPORTED WORKERS STATE. The workers and peasants **Government** is the governmental instrument of the workers **state**.

Obviously, there can be no question of the Party re-placing its basic slogan of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT with any other slogan. The Party cannot abandon its basic slogan of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT without also abandoning its basic programme.

The task of the Party in each period of its activity is to apply the basic slogan of the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT to the concrete situation and to show **the concrete way to achieve the workers and peasants Government in the given situation**. To express the point in another way, the task of the Party in each period is to show the masses the concrete steps to be **immediately** taken in order to reach their ultimate objective of a workers and peasants Government. And this precisely is the function of the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT slogan in the present period.

It will be useful to illustrate the point we have made in the previous paragraph from history. We shall take our example from the Russian Revolution of 1917.

As everybody knows, there were really two revolutions in Russia in 1917. These were the February Revolution and the October Revolution.

It was only in the October Revolution that a Workers and Peasants Government came into being in Russia. This did not happen in the February Revolution.

What happened in the February Revolution was that **two competing centres of power** came into existence after the overthrow of the Czar. These two centres were known respectively as the Provisional Government and the Soviets.

The Provisional Government was a **bourgeois** centre of power. On the other hand, the Soviets had the faith of the masses. The Soviets therefore became the centre of **revolutionary** power. And a great struggle developed between these two centres for **exclusive** power. One or the other of these two centres had to go down before the other. Both could not exist for long simultaneously.

It is clear that, in this situation, the task of revolutionaries was to struggle for the Soviets to prevail over the Provisional Government. This was the concrete task which the situation posed for those struggling for a Workers and Peasants Government. The Bolsheviks, who were of course fighting for a workers and peasants Government, therefore then came out with the slogan: "ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!" They did **not** simply keep on repeating their slogan of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

The reason why the Bolsheviks demanded ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS at this stage was because they saw in the Soviets the frame-work of the new Russian peasant-supported workers state. The Government they formed in October 1917 was actually a revolutionary **coalition** Government or a revolutionary united front Government. They brought the Left Social Revolutionaries into their Government **on the basis of a joint revolutionary programme**. (This fact too is not without lessons for us when we come to consider the question of the **party composition** of an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT.)

In this concrete way it was that the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT was brought into being in Russia. And the lesson we have to learn is that we too have to provide at each stage a **slogan of concrete action** which can lead to the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT, instead of simply repeating parrot-like our habitual over-all propaganda slogan of a WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT.

To express the point differently, it is necessary to learn at each stage, **when the situation enables us to do so**, to give an **agitational** shape to our propaganda slogan of a WOR-

WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT. In agitation you always pose a concrete practical task and not a broad theoretical task. In agitation you always say *how to achieve* an objective instead of merely stating what the objective to be achieved is. Agitation is directed primarily towards action; propaganda is aimed primarily at education.

If we return for a moment to our illustration from the Russian Revolution, we can under-line the point we have made about agitation and propaganda. For long years the Bolsheviks did propaganda for a **WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT**. In that way they educated large sections of the masses to the idea of creating a revolutionary Government of their own. And then the opportunity came to form that Government. Thereupon, the Bolsheviks showed them the exact way to form that Government; they showed them the concrete way to achieve their objective. Take **ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS**, they said, and you will thereby achieve your objective of a **WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT**.

The position with regard to the **ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT** slogan of our Party is very similar. For long years we have taught the masses the idea of a revolutionary Government of their own by ceaseless **propaganda** for a **WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT**. Now the situation is developing in which the task of actually struggling to bring such a Government into existence is being immediately posed in life. We have to prepare the masses for that task on the basis of their present understanding and the actual situation which prevails. This cannot be done on the basis of propaganda alone. Even if the task remains propagandist to a degree in the sense that the task is still one of educating the masses to the need of an **ANTI-CAPITALIST** Government, nevertheless, this task now requires at least to be given an agitational form. The **ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT** slogan fulfils this requirement. It brings the **WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT** question into the field of agitation as a task to be done instead of keeping it in the field of propaganda as a distant objective to be aimed at. In other words, the **ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT** slogan gives to the *idea* of a Workers and Peasants Government a certain **concreteness** of meaning.

This concreteness of meaning is given by indicating the **class nature** of the **programme** of such a Government. The programme is to be **anti-capitalist**. That is to say, the programme is to be directed **against the capitalist class**.

It may be asked why the slogan is phrased in this **apparently negative** way. The answer is twofold.

In the first place, the demand is not in fact negative. An anti-capitalist Government is a very positive idea to that working class in particular and also to the masses in general. Secondly, the demand corresponds closely to the present level of mass-consciousness on the question of the kind of Government they want. The masses can understand that an **anti-capitalist** Government is necessary. They are interested in the question of the programme which would make a Government anti-capitalist. They are not yet directly interested in the question of the classes on which such a Government would be based. And they have not yet got round to the question of who the political parties will be which will form such a Government.

Why can the masses understand today that an anti-capitalist Government is necessary? Why can they understand it today although they could not understand it yesterday; e. g., during the last General Election when this same demand was put forward by us in the form of the call for a **SAMASAMAJA GOVERNMENT**?

The answer to the above question lies in the record of the two UNP Governments which succeeded Mr. D. S. Senanayake's administration. Both the Dudley Senanayake administration and the present Kotelawala administration have already struck so many blows against the masses **in order to safeguard the interests of the capitalist class** that the capitalist class-nature of these Governments has been completely exposed. The people have thereby learnt in life and experience that the UNP Governments have all been **capitalist** governments and that the essential fact about the UNP Government is not the fact that it is just UNP but that it is **capitalist**. The reason for our insisting on always calling the UNP Government the **capitalist** UNP Government is to keep this fact in the fore-front of the consciousness of the masses. The reason for always insisting on this fact that the UNP Government is capitalist is that it also brings home clearly that **another capitalist** Government cannot really or radically change the situation for the masses, whatever the promises it may make.

It is necessary to understand at what stage we are in the struggle for an **ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**.

In the first place, it would be a mistake to think that the struggle has altogether passed the stage of getting the need for an anti-capitalist Government accepted by the broad masses. The working class certainly sees the need clearly and is already interested in the next question; namely, the question of the **programme** of such a Government. But in the case of the broad masses, particularly in the country-side, the need for an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT still requires to be properly driven home.

Further, there is the counter-position of their "Democratic Government" slogan by the Stalinists. It is still necessary to expose thoroughly the **pro-capitalist** nature of this Stalinist slogan to the working class; and it is also necessary to prevent the Stalinists deceiving the broad masses on the question of their slogan's true content.

In many a place, therefore, we have still to explain the demand for an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT in a broad way **without** at all entering into the question of the concrete programme of such a Government. In other places, however, and particularly to the working class, we have to explain the concrete programme of an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT.

We are not concerned in this article with going into our programme for an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT. It is sufficient to stress that its central and distinctive point is **the programme of nationalisations**. This is the one issue which brings out the fundamental class-nature of the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT; and, therefore, it is also the one issue which contrasts clearly and directly with the Stalinist programme for a "Democratic Government" within capitalism's framework. To express the point differently, it is the one issue which brings out clearly that our programme is based on the **development of the class struggle** while their programme is built on the **abandonment** of the class struggle against capitalism.

As the struggle progresses and the masses begin to accept the programme for an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT, we shall of course have to learn not only how to explain the programme simply in our agitation but also how to summarise that programme into a set of simple, short and easily-remembered slogans. This will enormously facilitate not only the general acceptance of the programme but also the development of the struggle around its demands. (It is worth stressing that the Bolsheviks were able in 1917 to summarise their entire programme into three words! These were:- "Land! Bread! Peace!" These were in turn the summary of the three central slo-

gans of their programme: "Land For The Peasants! Bread For The Workers! and Peace For All!" We shall need to achieve such summaries for our own struggle too.)

As the struggle for the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT gets actually launched, there will arise the further important question of the **composition** of that Government. By what parties will it be formed?

This is a question which it is impossible to answer in advance: and it is particularly impossible to answer it in advance today because of the directly class-collaborationist line of Stalinism. We cannot therefore say in advance whether it will be a united front Government or a straight LSSP Government. The only certainty is that it will be a Government in which the LSSP will be the leading force. The masses who built the LSSP as their fighting instrument will certainly demand and ensure that!

There is one further point concerning the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT slogan which requires consideration before we end this article. That is the question of the relationship between the struggle for the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT and the struggle to overthrow the UNP Government.

The relationship is already clear from the full slogan itself. This slogan, let it be stressed, is not merely FOR AN ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT! The slogan is REPLACE THE CAPITALIST UNP GOVERNMENT WITH AN ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT! In other words, the task of overthrowing the capitalist UNP Government is directly related to the task of setting up an ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT.

The point here, of course, is that we are struggling to have the anti-UNP struggle directed along the line of the class struggle instead of along the line of class collaboration. To express the point differently, we are struggling to give the anti-UNP struggle an anti-capitalist programme.

Why is this struggle fundamental? Why do we not fall into the easy course of agreeing to **postpone** the anti-capitalist struggle to the anti-UNP struggle?

It is necessary for us to realize that this is not a mere question of doctrinal or political purity. It is a vitally practical question. The struggle to give the anti-UNP struggle the correct programme is a struggle for the success of the anti-UNP movement itself!

What, after all, is the anti-UNP movement? From the point of view of the masses, who really constitute that movement, it is only an aspect of their general anti-capitalist struggle in the cities and in the country-side. From the point of view of the real interests of the masses it **cannot** be a struggle merely to re-place one group of capitalist rulers with another group of **capitalist** rulers. Whoever poses the question of the anti-UNP struggle in that way **deceives** the masses.

Those who talk of the necessity to postpone the anti-capitalist struggle to the anti-UNP struggle in fact deceive the masses on a number of matters.

In the first place, they sow illusions as to what the **capitalist** groups who claim to be anti-UNP will do in a crisis. We can take two situations.

Let us first take the situation where an "anti-UNP" capitalist group has been placed in power by the masses. When a question of wage-cuts, without which capitalist profits **cannot** be maintained, arises, dare anybody argue that such a Government will side with the workers against the employers? Nobody dare argue that. Then, when the so-called "anti-UNP" Government moves to the attack on the workers, and the workers resist, dare anybody suggest that this "anti-UNP" Government will not ally itself with the UNP capitalists against the workers? Only a fool or a knave will dare to suggest that.

Take again a situation which can well develop even before such an "anti-UNP" capitalist group gets into power. Take the case of a great up-rising of the masses such as we saw in the Hartal. Dare anybody suggest that these "anti-UNP" capitalist groupings will side with the hartal against the UNP? We had the answer in Mr. Bandaranaike's behaviour during the great August 12th Hartal in 1953! We also have the answer in his consistent and persistent attacks on the Hartal ever since it took place.

Thus, to run the anti-UNP struggle on class-collaborationist lines is to deceive the masses as to the real nature of the so-called "anti-UNP" capitalists. It will be to betray the masses to their class-foe, the capitalists; for it will be to teach the masses that the supposed "anti-UNPism" of these capitalists is **deeper** than their **capitalist-ness** (if we may coin a word).

The deception of the masses also comes in another way. To demand that the anti-capitalist struggle be postponed to the anti-UNP struggle is in fact to demand that the anti-capitalist struggle be **subordinated** and even

abandoned for the anti-UNP struggle. And for what sort of anti-UNP struggle at that? For an anti-UNP struggle which is reduced wholly to the level of a struggle between two sections of the capitalist class as to who shall govern the country in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole. The task given to the masses is simply that of helping one capitalist grouping against another capitalist grouping *without seeking to use the struggle between the two groups of rival capitalists for the purpose of the masses trying to take power themselves.*

Those who demand that the anti-capitalist struggle be postponed to the anti-UNP struggle are thus seeking to limit the very nature of the anti-UNP struggle of the masses. They are seeking to **prevent** the struggle becoming a revolutionary struggle. They are seeking to **prevent** the struggle from developing into an anti-capitalist struggle. They are seeking to keep the anti-UNP struggle within the framework of capitalism and to prevent it developing beyond that framework.

We are not ready to engage in these deceptions of the masses. On the contrary, we insist that only the masses in struggle against capitalism will carry the anti-UNP struggle itself consistently through to the very end. We insist that **no capitalist group** can be trusted to carry this anti-UNP struggle through to the very end and that, on the contrary, every capitalist group is sure to betray it as soon as the masses begin to struggle for their own demands. We therefore insist that the effort must be made from the beginning to win for the masses themselves the control of the anti-UNP struggle; and this means an effort from the very beginning to win the leadership of the anti-UNP struggle for the working class. The ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT slogan is a means of winning this leadership of the anti-UNP struggle for the working class. Whoever resists the ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT slogan in the name of the alleged interests of the anti-UNP struggle therefore betrays the working class, the general masses and the anti-UNP struggle itself!

FORWARD TO AN ANTI-CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT!

