

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: New Year and May Day Greetings; Left Unity; Impact of Left Unity Trend; The Oil Question; Government retreats on Coupon Question; Prices, New Year and the C.W.E.; The C.T.B. Strike; The Federal Fiasco; Algeria takes the road of Proletarian Revolution; A new and bigger U.A.R.; Army Socialism in Burma; Malaysia; Guerillas in Latin America.

The Sino - Soviet Dispute  
by William F. Warde

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Whither Sinhala Drama?  
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An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism (Part iv)  
by R. S. Baghavan

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# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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Volume 2 Number 4

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## *Editorial Notes*

### NEW YEAR AND MAY DAY

#### GREETINGS

THESE notes are being written during the Sinhalese and Tamil New Year (starting April 13th) and in preparation for publication on May Day. We therefore take the opportunity to extend to our readers our New Year and May Day Greetings.

#### LEFT UNITY

IN OUR last issue we concluded the section of the "Editorial Notes" concerning domestic affairs with the following sentence:—"The task is to provide a clear, active and fighting centre as a rallying point on the Left for the masses of the country." The ten weeks which have elapsed since that sentence was written have witnessed a literal surge forward of dramatic developments in the direction indicated. There has in fact been set going what may well be called a movement for Left Unity whose flow can well transform the period ahead into such another political turning point as the 1953-56 period was in its time.

The taking off point of this new departure—for that is what the development really constitutes—was provided by a mass rally held on the Galle Face Green on Sunday 16th February in regard to the Oil Issue. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, along with numerous trade unions, conducted a united mass demonstration in the streets of Colombo that day and wound up with a really huge meeting on the Galle Face Green. There were to be seen on the platform that day, for the first time after perhaps ten years, the leading personalities of these three parties who had once been together in a single Left party, the LSSP, previous to World War 2. The masses at the meeting reacted emotionally to the spectacle and transformed the meeting into a demonstration of their desire and demand for Left Unity. The platform responded enthusiastically—and the current movement for Left Unity was born.

Those who demand Left Unity are, in their widest section, demanding specifically the unity of the LSSP, CP and MEP. This demand can be met

fully and dynamically by the formation of a United Front of the three parties, that is to say, by a United Left Front.

The formation of a United Left Front will have manifold advantages and, in fact, none of the disadvantages of the alternatives proposed, namely, a single Left party on the one hand or, on the other, a spasmodic coming together for activity on this or that as may happen to be handy. The first of these two alternatives is unrealistic and the second is grossly inadequate and far short of the possibilities and necessities of the current situation. As against these alternatives, a United Left Front will enable the immediate provision of a United Left lead against the SLFP Government and the forces of capitalist reaction and in relation to the major political issues of the day and of this period. It will enable immediate united action on issues rooted in the areas of agreement between the three parties while leaving them free from unprincipled commitments in respect of matters of serious disagreement. It will help in the course of further activity to widen the area of co-operation and unity and also, possibly, to set going processes which may serve to restore some or all of the issues arising in relation to the possibly narrowing area of disagreement. In this way, the United Left Front, by systematically providing a United Left lead on an ever growing number of inter-related issues within an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist perspective, will help to unite the working class and the wider toiling masses in a struggle for a Leftward move that will break through the hard shell of capitalism within which the activities of all governments in Ceylon have hitherto been confined.

#### IMPACT OF LEFT UNITY TREND

THE United Left Front is, at the time of writing, still under negotiation; but the power of the unity development has already been demonstrated. There is little doubt that the very possibility of the emergence of a United Left Front has already served to arrest substantially the dangerous drift to the Right which had begun to manifest itself in consequence of the utter failure of the SLFP Government to tackle at all the fundamental issues that have been brought to the surface of politics by the financial crisis of the Government. There is no doubt what so ever that the forces of the Left have already undergone a process of enheartenment which, on the concrete achievement of the United Left Front, is likely to develop into positive enthusiasm. The process will naturally and inevitably merge with another process of the greatest importance which has been repeatedly manifested in the last two years and to which we have repeatedly drawn attention in "Young Socialist". This is the process of unity

in strike action which the working class has repeatedly operated without exception in all major strikes since December 1961 right down to the recent 19 days strike of the Ceylon Transport Board workers in January-February this year. The manner in which a working class movement ridden with trade union rivalries uniformly achieved unity in strike action demonstrated the growing consciousness within the working class of the need to move massively, and also determinedly (every strike was

inordinately prolonged by the obstinate recalcitrance of wooden-headed government), if a strike was to have any chance at all in the present context of governmental policy. With the failure of the strikes to achieve their objectives, the working class has drawn the two-fold conclusion that on the one hand the trade union movement must move on a broad front instead of in narrow sectors and on the other that the principal obstacle in the way is the policy of the SLFP Government. The latter understanding, coupled with the sense of danger arising from the Rightward drift manifested in the electoral field, has considerably fed the demand and movement for Left Unity. The working class will naturally and inevitably be the leading force among the forces that will be brought into action by Left Unity.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST

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The movement for Left Unity has already created wide and serious alarm on the Right. A clearly conceived and conducted campaign, aimed at the bedevilment of the moves and negotiations for Left Unity, has been launched by the entire capitalist press in a wholly co-ordinated fashion. All that is hurtful in past controversy has been raked up. Whatever issues are divisive in the Left movement are being highlighted through utterly false reports invented in editorial offices. Public speeches are being misreported or slanted through tendentious summaries. In a word, a cloud of newspaper lies has been brought down on the movement for Left Unity. It is a tribute to the seriousness and determination of the Left parties on the Unity issue that they have not fallen for these lies either in the way of wrangling over them or in the way of providing further opportunities for fresh lying by endeavours to resort to controversy in the capitalist press. This is eminently an occasion when the Left parties should rely on their own press, meagre though that medium is.

There are signs that the prospect of Left Unity has already set going processes of political realignments. For one thing, the crisis in the Government party has welled up anew. Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, SLFP M.P. for Ratnapura, has broken with the Government and joined the Opposition in Parliament. It is a straw in the wind that he has shown an active desire to be associated with the Left parties. Mr. Hugh Fernando, M.P. for Nattandiya and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, has publicly loosened his ties with the Government party. His Left leanings are well known and were sharply demonstrated in the struggle against the proposal to cut the rice ration. Mr. Asoka Karunaratne, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and M.P. for Rambukkana, has carried his defiance of Party and Governmental authority to the point of challenging expulsion. His criticism have all been from the Left. He has been now sacked from the post of Parliamentary Secretary and he has announced his decision to sit with the opposition.

Another important consequence of the movement for Left Unity is the disintegration before formation of a racist Front hinging around the Jatika Vinukthi Peramuna of Mr. and Mrs. Rajaratna, the M.Ps for Welimada and Uva Paranagama. This does not of course mean that racism has declined. Mr.

R. G. Senanayake M.P. for Dambadeniya, himself peddles it actively; as do innumerable SLFPers. However, the Left Unity movement has served to draw away from further drift in that direction various politicians of the Left or with Leftist associations who had succumbed or were succumbing to the fatal view that socialism and racialism could be combined into revolutionism. These are myths which are being laid. The socialist movement can go forward only in struggle against racism.

The Left Unity movement has brought embarrassment to another group with Leftist claims and associations. This may be designated the "Tribune" group or those associated with the trend which the "Tribune" represents and reflects. These people are consistent backers of the SLFP Government which they seek to present as socialist and Leftist. However, the Left Unity movement has arisen as a movement from the Left against the SLFP Government. One aim of the Left Unity movement is clearly to replace the SLFP Government, which is neither socialist nor Left, with a genuinely socialist Government. This is no doubt expected to emerge from the United Left Front's activities. The "Tribune" seeks to meet this situation by trying to pretend that the Left Unity movement is a movement for uniting not only the LSSP, CP and MEP but also the SLFP. This is a political acrobatic feat worthy of a journal which has contrived constantly to denigrate the LSSP under the appearance of general support for the Left parties. "Tribune" will have to think again and decide whether it is for genuine Left Unity or only for the fake article.

## THE OIL QUESTION

A powerful impetus to the Left Unity movement was provided by the Oil Issue. Not unnaturally! The Oil Issue pinpointed the anti-imperialist struggle for the completing of Ceylon's independence and the anti-capitalist struggle in the form of the nationalisation question. From either point of view, here was a matter on which the Left could unite in action. As it happened, opportunity came in the correct context and therefore the opportunity was fully used.

The Oil Issue has proved a test-stone of Ceylon politics. To begin with it highlighted the meaning of foreign aid when the United States of America insisted that aid was conditional on the Ceylon Government's conforming to an American law which was passed only after her aid agreement with Ceylon. The U.S.A. was only demonstrating that American aid at least was certainly not without strings. This was not a case of conditions attached to aid and freely accepted in negotiation; this was a case of subsequent imposition of a new condition of aid already undertaken by formal agreement. The withdrawal of the promised aid in such conditions was indefensible either morally or legally. Not all the special pleading of the U.S.A.'s hangers-on in Ceylon can alter this fact.

The perils of aid, when development is made to depend principally on aid, have also been highlighted. The economy of the aided country as well as the policies of its government, come, in such conditions,

under the weight of the policies of the aiding country in circumstances which leave little choice to the aided country.

In its own way, the case of Ceylon illustrates the last point also. Although Ceylon does not depend wholly on foreign aid or even primarily on American aid for her development effort, nevertheless, in the conditions of the Government's protracted financial crisis, foreign aid had become a substantial factor in the Government's development effort. The consciousness of this fact has caused the SLFP Government to back down after its first show of resistance. The country's demand on the Oil Issue was the taking over into the hands of Government's Lanka Petroleum Corporation of the entire business of importing and distributing oil, including the bunkering of ships. In this respect the SLFP Government, true to its character, has not dared. Instead, it turned to import price control; but even on this it backed down under pressure from the combined forces of Anglo-American Imperialism. The C.I.F. prices to be imposed on the foreign companies are both so high and so delayed that the oil companies will in effect continue in both the import and distribution business. In the meantime, the oil companies' compensation claims look like being settled outside the law in fact, although under the appearance of the law's procedures. In a word, the Sirima Bandaranaike Government has placed its own need for foreign aid before the country's independence and long-term politico-economic interests. We shall continue to be in the position of an aided country as outlined above.

## GOVERNMENT RETREATS ON

### COUPON ISSUE

THE SLFP Government has had to back down on an important domestic issue, also; only, this time it backed down in the correct direction. Faced with the now customary yawning Budget gap, which is principally attributed to the rice subsidy and to the Guaranteed Purchase Scheme for paddy, the Government tried out a device for depriving paddy producers of rice on the ration. Every producer of paddy above a certain minimum was to be deprived of a certain number of ration coupons. When the scheme became known all the signs of a possible rural convulsion began to appear. Frightened out of its electoral wits the Government hastened to withdraw the scheme and thus arrested the restlessness that was growing not only in the countryside but also within its own party.

The position of the UNP in this matter is curious. Although it uses any stick to hand with which to beat the government, nevertheless its entire supporting press has consistently backed every blow aimed at the rice subsidy and the Guaranteed Purchase Scheme for paddy. They demand both a cut in the rice ration and a reduction of the Guaranteed Price of paddy. Apparently the UNP wishes to have it both on the swings and on the roundabouts. This is in keeping with its general denunciation of Government policy without putting forward a concrete alternative.

As it happens, the oddities of rice politics are not confined to the UNP but are to be found within the Government itself. In recent weeks, the former Finance Minister, now Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, has been again calling publicly for a cut in the rice ration. Everyone of his calls has been made in the immediate presence of the Prime Minister herself and without dissent from her. Other friends of his have joined in the chorus. In the meantime, the present Finance Minister, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalla has categorically declared that he will not touch the rice and paddy subsidies. But why this resuscitation of the Post-Budget controversy? And why the silence of the Prime Minister when her Finance Minister's policy is challenged in her very presence by another member of the Cabinet who is moreover her own Parliamentary Secretary? Incidentally, does she agree with Mr. Kalugalla's recent claim that 1962, far from being a crisis year, was a boom year? If so, why is she wandering about the country talking of a crisis and demanding sacrifices? Or is it simply that this government is double-tongued?

#### PRICES, NEW YEAR AND THE C.W.E.

The duplicity of the SLFP Government was manifested in another field on the eve of the Sinhalese and Tamil New Year. This is a period of heavy purchases, and also of heavy rackets. This time the preparation to rook the public had been made early by corrupt private traders and corrupt C.W.E. officials. C.W.E. stocks of cloth, tinned fish and other commodities simply disappeared into the hands of private traders, with and without payment. Then, as the New Year drew nigh, the Stocks in the hands of private traders disappeared underground. What with the denuded C.W.E. stores, the organised artificial scarcity became acute and prices were driven up inordinately, to the equally inordinate profit of the private traders and speculators. When the scandal broke to the world, Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Commerce, Trade, Food and Co-operative Undertakings, blandly admitted the racket and announced that stocks of cloth in particular would be available shortly before New Year. He certainly kept this promise and in consequence the last week before New Year gave a signal demonstration of how the C.W.E. and Government sales points, if only run honestly could hold down prices. The last week before New Year saw the C.W.E. shops crowded out while the profiteering private traders saw more flies than customers. What could not a truly socialist Government do to beat down the price level!

#### THE C.T.B. STRIKE

THE fundamental class character of the SLFP was once again demonstrated during the 19-days-long strike of the C.T.B. workers. Unlike in the strikes of late 1962, which were concerned with managerial oppression, the C.T.B. workers were out for wage increases also this time. Their demand was rooted in the co-existence of inflation and the achievement of substantial profits by the C.T.B. However, the men came up head-on against the Government's wage-freeze policy, which was

dressed up on this occasion with references to previous C.T.B. wage increases and previous C.T.B. losses. Government not only stood firm on its initial refusal to make any adjustment but also went into battle as if it was faced with civil war. Troops and armed police were introduced into the depots. Armed men travelled in scab buses which were moreover often driven by military men in civilian clothing. Everything was done to encourage scabbing: the depot staffs, often former bus owners and managers, particularly distinguished themselves in strike breaking processes characteristic of the bus barons of old and utterly unnatural in a nationalised concern. Above all, the Government clamped down not only on the strikers but also on the country as a whole, with regulations under the Emergency laws of which the most repressive was the press and publications gag. No independent news of the strike was permitted to be disseminated. News from the strikers' end was completely barred. Only the lying hand-outs of the Government and the Corporation were put forth to the public for over three weeks. Parliament stood muffled by simple non-assembling. The intention obviously was not merely to defeat the strike but also to crush the workers' organisations and to administer a blow to the trade union movement as a whole and the Left Parties which stood behind the strikers in active support.

The Government's plan failed of its true objectives. The men struck as one and showed no signs of wavering. Depots which had substantially stayed out of previous strikes, came out solidly. The obstinacy of the Government only brought out the determination of the men. Right to the end, no major cracks appeared in the Strikers' ranks; and when they went back they went in a body comprising at least 75 percent of the work force.

The only people who made unmitigated profit from the strike were the private transport owners. Vans, lorries, buses, cars and every variety of transport that could convey passengers made hay while the strike sun shined. They had the fullest encouragement of Government and certainly prevented a level of traveller inconvenience which might have made the strike unpopular. For the rest, Government slumped heavily in working class acceptance. The embittered bus workers have become an all-pervasive army of propagandists against the SLFP Government. The meaning of the wage-freeze policy has been highlighted, and the working class organisations have begun consciously to face up to the policy and structural changes which are called for if the wage-freeze is to be fought successfully. The bus workers themselves have learnt a political lesson and also a lesson in distinguishing friends from foes. Even though the strike failed of its immediate objective, it is already clear that it has done the service of stimulating an understanding of the need to bring the united power of the organised working class to bear on determined objectives in a systematic, purposeful and long-term way. It must always be borne in mind that in the context of a wage-freeze every wage demand acquires a political flavour.

## THE FEDERAL FIASCO

In the meantime, as these notes are written, the Federal Party has announced the call-off of its previously announced Satyagraha Campaign. Apparently it has evoked little or no response. As a substitute, the Federal Party has launched a sort of Tamil Only Campaign for the Tamils, and has been busy writing letters to Government in Tamil. There is a certain pointlessness in this campaign; for the right to address the Government in Tamil is already there: the need is to ensure a prompt answer in Tamil from the Government. This is not to be achieved by a useless fluttering of hands in mimicry of a direct action campaign. It is better to refrain from direct action openly than to make a pretence of it.

The truth is that both the Tamils and the Federal Party feel frustrated and see no immediate way forward. Both have put in, each in its own way, a tremendous effort—without proportionate or even discernible progress. The Tamils remain an oppressed minority against whom Government's discrimination is now flagrant, shameless and heartless. Whatever the failure of Federalist policy, it is idle for anybody to imagine that the Tamils will take this injustice lying down. On the contrary, they will continue to resist as best as they can.

Nevertheless, the time for the Tamils to take a new step in a new direction has patently arrived. The old course has only led to frustration and despair. A new course has to be found and embarked upon. For such a new course and a new lead it is not only idle but futile and foolish to look to old and discredited politicians whom the Tamils have long outgrown. The return of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam to activity after a period of political hibernation bodes no good for the Tamils or their future. This is the man who sold the pass to the most subtle Sinhalese racialist of them all—Mr. D. S. Senanayake. Today, Mr. Ponnambalam is manifestly Mr. Dudley Senanayake's man. In other words, he and the Tamil Congress thinks he can compete successfully with the Federal Party for UNP favours. We say "compete" because the Federal Party has plainly been working some kind of unofficial understanding with the UNP in recent times. This capitalist party, conscious of having been cheated by the SLFP, has no other course than to swing to the UNP in the same way as the proper section of the population have done.

The time has come when the Tamils can see that Mr. Chelvanayakam, no more than Mr. Ponnambalam in his day, can lead the Tamils to deliverance from the present evils. What has been shown up is that the Right has no solution to the minorities problem. The capitalist economy of Ceylon cannot provide the framework for a solution. In other words, the minorities in search of justice must turn to the task of bringing into being the socio-economic framework which alone can enable the permanent solution of their problems. To that end, they must turn to the political movement of the anti-capitalist forces in Ceylon. Linking up with them and becoming part of the movement for social emancipation, the Tamils and the minorities generally can enter upon a new course which can bring them hope

immediately and anew as well as justice ultimately and in full. The emergence of the United Left Front can be and must be a beacon-light for the minorities too as for all the exploited and oppressed.

## ALGERIA TAKES THE ROAD OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

ALGERIA takes pride of place in the field of international revolutionary developments. On March 29th last, the Government of the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic, led by Ahmed Ben Bella, published a decree dealing with "the organisation and management of industrial, mining and artisan enterprises as well as vacated agricultural undertakings." In this connection the decree establishes four institutions:—(1) The General Assembly of Workers, (2) The Workers' Council, (3) The Management Committee, (4) The Director."

The General Assembly of Workers adopts the enterprise's development or cultivation plan as well as the rules in regard to the organisation of work. It elects the Workers' Council which is set up in every enterprise where more than 100 workers are employed. The Workers' Council, or where it does not exist, the General Assembly, elects and controls the Management Committee whose duty it is to run the enterprise. The Director represents the state in the running of the enterprise, sits in the Committee of Management of which however he cannot be Chairman, and is nominated and withdrawn by the Government body in charge of the enterprise in agreement with the Council of Communal Initiative and Self-Management. Finally, the decree sets up in every Commune a Council of Communal Initiative and Self-Management composed of the Chairman of the Management Committees, a representative of the Party, of the unions, of the army and of the administrative authorities of the Commune. The Communal Councils aid in creating management bodies, in interesting the workers in the problems of self-management, and in co-ordinating the activities of enterprises. They have the power to accord or withdraw approval of Directors appointed by the Government.

The structure of organisation and management setup by the decree is obviously modelled on the Yugoslav system of self-management. Its true importance and significance however are to be found in three other facts. Firstly, the "vacated agricultural undertakings" refer to some one-fourth of all the land under cultivation in Algeria, consisting of holdings and estates vacated by the European colonialists when they fled Algeria after the Evian Agreement. These as well as a large number of important industrial enterprises have been taken over by popular Management Committees whose rights were ultimately legalised by two decrees of 22nd October and 23rd November, 1962. Thus the present decree is really the legalisation of the outcome of a spontaneous mass movement. This last is the second fact referred to above. The third fact is that the popular masses have not stopped with the occupation of vacated properties. They went on to the seizure of the big properties of colonialists who had stayed on. Under pressure of this move-

ment, the Government itself moved into take over several hundred farms, some of them literally giant farms, and various enterprises such as movie houses, hotels, restaurants and businesses which Algerian speculators had purchased at bargain prices from fleeing European colonialists.

The anti-capitalist character of these measures is manifest. That they are born of a mass revolutionary movement for social change is also clear. That these developments impress the Algerian state with a proletarian class character or at least places it in the direct process of development into a worker-state can hardly be challenged. Revolutionary Algeria is being transformed into a working people's Algeria. Listen to the closing passage of Ben Bella's Radio Speech announcing and explaining the March 29th decree:—

"Working men and women of Algeria. It is upto you and only you to prove to the world that the Algerian Revolution wants to be and can be in the vanguard of the socialist experiments of our times. Close your ranks, demonstrate to the world that you are masters of your destiny, united, vigilant and conscious of your duties and your rights; organize yourselves so that everywhere, over the whole Algerian territory, the General Assemblies of the Workers can join together and that everywhere, throughout the Algerian territory, the Management Committees, democratically elected, can harness themselves to the exalting task of the socialist construction of our country."

One final word of our own. Deepgoing social changes, even in revolutionary conditions, generate political tensions that reach right up to the leadership. It has to be so; has always been so, and will always be so. Contemporary Cuba herself has demonstrated this fact anew. It appears to have been no different in Algeria; for we have the announcement that the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the F.L.N., Ben Khider, has resigned from his post due to "fundamental divergencies of viewpoints which have appeared within the Political Bureau."

#### A NEW AND BIGGER U.A.R.

OTHER important developments worthy of note have taken place in the Arab world. In order of time, the first of these is the emergence of the Sallal regime in Yemen in direct conflict with British imperialism and its allies, the Saudi Arabian and Jordanian Governments. The Sallal regime has prevailed over the feudalists by reason of military assistance from Nasser's Egypt. There followed a break up of the anti-Nasser Government in Syria which had broken up the U.A.R. The Ba'ath socialists, who had been pro-U.A.R., returned to power. Then came the violent liquidation of the Cassem regime in Iraq. The new Government, headed by Colonel Aref, also reflected Ba'athist influence but has also been characterised by a violent anti Communist Party repression which, however, is also not incompatible with Nasserism. Now

it has been announced that Egypt, Syria and Iraq have agreed to federate in a new U.A.R. which aims to be the framework of a wider unified Arab state. Yemen will no doubt come in at the earliest opportunity. For the rest, King Ibn Saud and King Husain, Britain's satellites in the Middle East, must be trembling for their thrones. The trend towards Arab unity in the Middle East is proving more powerful than was realised. What will Israel's countermoves be ?

#### ARMY SOCIALISM IN BURMA

THE armies of the newly independent countries have so often proved to be carriers of social change that a wide-ranging unified study of the phenomenon seems required. The latest example is General Ne Win's military regime in Burma. The world was surprised to hear one morning a couple of months ago that the Ne Win Government had decided to nationalise forthwith all the banks in Burma as also the entire export and import trade. This was carried through although it precipitated the resignation of the ablest economic administrator in the Government. The latter wanted "mixed companies" in the export and import field instead of nationalisation. These are far reaching measures which constituted a development that can never be stabilised at the point already reached. Will Ne Win go the Nasser way ?

#### MALAYSIA

NEXTDOOR to Burma is the Malay Archipelago, the heart of South East Asia. Here, British imperialism's effort to perpetuate itself indirectly in the region has come up against many a snarl and snag. Brunnei is in rebellion and the rebels admittedly rely on Indonesia. On the Indonesian side, it has been officially admitted that they cannot be indifferent to these developments. Therewith, Tungku Abdul Rahmin, Premier of Malaya, exploded in annoyance publicly, thus precipitating a further stiffening of President Sukarno's policy of "confrontation". Amidst it all, repression descended on Singapore's militant Left which opposed the official Singapore Government line on Malaysia. To add to the complications, the Philippines are coming in with claims in Borneo; so that the fat seems in the fire. The great Malay mass of these regions may yet get moving in a new and wide upsurge which can transform world politics.

#### GUERRILLAS IN LATIN AMERICA

THE Cuban revolution is begetting strong echoes in Latin America. Guerilla movements are admitted to have begun in Venezuela and Peru; and the world will not forget that it was thus the Cuban revolution began. On Cuba's side, Fidel Castro has never hesitated to appeal openly to the Latin American masses to rise in rebellion and revolution against their local regimes and their United States Patrons. There is a race in Latin America between Castroism and Kennedyism as represented by the Alliance for Progress. Africa has already shown us who is likely to win.



# THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

## THE BREACH WIDENS

**T**HE tenth anniversary of Stalin's death coincides with a new phase in the prolonged international crisis of Stalinism. This is being brought to a head by the sharpening of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The present differences between Moscow and Peking date back to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party held in 1956. They first came into the open during 1959 and 1960. In the three years since, their disagreements have deepened to such an extent that the contending parties have edged close to the breaking point.

Every major collision in world politics involving the workers' states pulls the two sides farther apart. The tension between them has been most acute over the Cuban affair and the India-China border dispute.

After withdrawing the Soviet missiles from Cuba, Khrushchev felt obliged to take the offensive in defending his policies against his Chinese critics. The Chinese suggested that the Kremlin had been "adventurous" in placing the rockets in Cuba and "cowardly opportunistic" for removing them under Kennedy's ultimatum.

The platforms of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and Italian Communist Party congresses were used to assail the Chinese positions. This concerted campaign culminated in the booing of the head of the Chinese CP delegation at the East German Communist congress in January and the refusal of the directors of that congress to permit the North Korean and Indonesian CP representatives sympathetic to China to speak there.

The Peking *People's Daily* declared on Dec. 15, 1962: "The minimum demand that can be made of a communist is that he should make a clear distinction between the enemy and his own comrades."

The Kremlin certainly failed to do this in the boundary clash between India and China. The majority of the Indian CP backed Nehru. Moscow took an equivocal diplomatic posture which was tantamount to supporting capitalist India against Communist China. Its followers joined Nehru in the anti-China chorus. The Peking press correctly characterized this line of conduct as a betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

On several occasions both sides have called for a cessation of the polemics. According to a Peking report, the central committees of the Communist parties in both countries have "affirmed the necessity" of exploratory talks. This restriction of negotiations over the controversial issues to bilateral talks indicates that Khrushchev is most reluctant to consent to another gathering of all the Communist parties. He wishes to defer that as long as possible.

As matters stand, such a conference would be more likely to deepen and hasten a split than to ease the differences. The Communist parties have already held three such conferences, one at Moscow in 1957, another at Bucharest in 1959, and a third at Moscow in 1960. Although the statements issuing from the two Moscow meetings were unanimously adopted, they did not dispose of the differences. On the contrary, these flared up more fiercely afterwards.

Today each side keeps citing passages from the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 to justify its course and views. Obviously, these documents, as was noted at the time, merely papered over the underlying disagreements and unsuccessfully attempted to combine two divergent and irreconcilable lines.

These developments signify that the Great Debate now going on is irrepressible and cannot be arbitrarily suspended or suppressed. Issues of immense magnitude regarding the interests and policies of great states, of entrenched bureaucratic formations, of powerful parties and of revolutionary mass movements throughout the globe are involved. The dispute has raised for consideration many of the most fundamental questions confronting the world struggle for socialism. Every partisan of socialism has a stake in this historic controversy and should carefully weigh the arguments presented from all sources.

### DISCUSS FREELY

It would be most beneficial if this discussion could be conducted freely, openly, and democratically without disrupting the unity of the workers' states against the imperialist coalition and without reprisals on either a state or party level against any of the participants. The Cuban revolutionists have tried to steer such a course.

Moscow, however, has severed all relations with Albania and even called for the overthrow of Hoxha's regime, although Khrushchev modified this intransigence in his East Berlin speech two months ago. China, in turn, has said that Yugoslavia has reverted to capitalism, is carrying on "subversive work against the socialist camp," and should be excluded from the fraternity of socialist nations.

Now the Chinese spokesmen have bitterly attacked Khrushchev for causing disunity in the Communist world as far back as 1959 by condemning China in its border dispute with India shortly before he talked with Eisenhower at Camp David. This was taken as evidence that, to implement the aims of its "peaceful co existence" with imperialism, the

Kremlin was willing to bargain away without consultation not only the international revolution but even the immediate national interests of the other workers' states. This suspicion has been hardened into mistrust by Moscow's disregard for Cuba in the negotiations with Washington last October and by its attitude in the Indian affair.

Pekin has chosen this moment to divulge that Moscow "perfidiously and unilaterally" tore up hundreds of its economic agreements with China. It was known that the Soviet government had withdrawn its technicians and reduced aid to a minimum. But this is the first official confirmation of the full scope of the economic and political pressure it has been applying against China while that country has been undergoing grave economic difficulties.

Apart from intermittent expressions of the need for maintaining unity, neither side shows any sign of conciliating the other or yielding its ground. For the first time Peking is appealing over the heads of the Communist leaderships to their ranks, seeking support for its views against Moscow. Except for Albania, the Chinese have met with hostility within the official circles of the European Communist parties. The U.S. and the Canadian CPs have also come out for Khrushchev.

#### COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS

But on the other continents, in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the colonial revolution is at full flood, Communist China's views are finding a most responsive audience. In Asia only the Ceylonese CP, the majority of the split Indian Communists, and the ruling party of Outer Mongolia speak for the Russians. All the other Communist parties are either aligned with Peking or maintain an uneasy neutral stance which actually conceals sympathy for the Chinese.

The latest developments in the dispute are bound to accentuate the divisions between the pro-Moscow and the pro-Peking forces which can lead to new differentiations and splits within, as well as between, the Communist parties.

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As the heads of giant states representing hundreds of millions of people, the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaders are the principal protagonists in the Great Debate. They have regulated its unfolding to date and their decisions will shape the main lines of its next stage.

But they are not the only participants in the discussion. In fact, five distinct political and ideological tendencies have already been drawn into the dispute. In addition to the positions advocated by Khrushchev's and Mao's regimes, there are those put forward by the Yugoslav Communists, the Fidelista Cubans and the Trotskyists.

The issue of Trotskyism was first introduced into the debate by the Yugoslavs early in 1960 when Vice-President Kardelj, their leading theoretician, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and War* in which he charged the Chinese with "Trotskyist"

adventurism and ultra-leftism for their refusal to accept the consequences of Moscow's concept of "peaceful co-existence." Recently Khrushchev and *Pravda* have echoed these accusations in connection with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 1918.

#### CUBAN CRISIS

Not to be outdone, the Chinese publication *Red Flag* has just accused Khrushchev of playing a role like Trotsky's in the Cuban crisis. In all three cases the term "Trotskyist" is bandied about as an epithet designed for abuse rather than enlightenment, in the still living tradition of Stalin. The actual ideas and positions held by Trotsky in the past are misrepresented and distorted. The present views of world Trotskyism on the questions under dispute are ignored.

It is no accident that Trotskyism, even though in falsified shape, has appeared from the first on the arena of the debate. Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Russian CP and the de-Stalinization processes have already opened the eyes of many Communists to the correctness of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism and broken down the ban upon the ideas of the Fourth International.

This interest in Trotskyist views will receive another powerful impetus from the progress of the Sino-Soviet dispute and the vital issues it has posed to the world Communist movement.

#### AFTER LENIN

An editorial in the Jan. 6, 1963 *Red Flag* recalled that "shortly after Lenin's death a serious struggle between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists arose in the international communist movement. That was the struggle between, on the one hand, the Leninists head by Stalin and, on the other hand, Trotsky, Bukharin and other 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. In conjunction with that struggle was the protracted struggle in the Chinese Communist Party which the Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung waged against the 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. Now another serious struggle lies before us, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the anti-Marxist-Leninists, i.e. the modern revisionists."

*Red Flag* errs in placing Stalin along with Mao at the head of the Marxist-Leninists, and in lumping the Trotskyist Left Opposition with the right-wing Bukharin faction, in the struggles of the post-Lenin period. The reverse was the case. But it is correct in pointing out the linkage between the fateful struggle within international Communism during the 1920s and the current conflict.

These are not only comparable in political importance but present many of the same issues: conservative bureaucratic nationalism versus socialist internationalism; a policy of accommodation to imperialism or class struggle against it; the attitude toward the colonial revolution and the colonial bourgeoisie; the problem of war and peace; workers' democracy.

The Stalin faction broke with the Bolshevik line on all these questions after 1923 and conducted a vindictive and victorious struggle for power against all those who would not budge from the Marxist-Leninist positions, Trotsky foremost among them. Now the issues, which were thereafter considered forever settled, have again come to the fore under different world conditions and at a far more advanced stage.

Both Moscow and Peking have raised the slogan: "Back to Lenin." This is an excellent goal. Still the question remains to be answered: "In what

respects and to what degree do they, and others, still adhere to the positions and policies of Stalinism and where are they breaking away from these and moving toward a Leninist line?"

As the debate continues, the Trotskyist movement will put forward its own views on these and other questions. The voice of Trotskyism deserves to be heard in this multi-sided argument, not only to set the historical record straight, but because it has a special contribution to make toward clarifying the controversial issues in accord with the methods of Marx and Lenin.

## A MARXIST EVALUATION OF CHINESE STAND

On Jan. 9 the U.S. Communist party leadership declared its solidarity with Khrushchev in the Sino-Soviet dispute. The March 8 Peking *People's Daily* replied by attacking Soviet "cowardice" during the Cuban crisis and the notion that "every matter under the sky can be settled if the two 'great men' (Kennedy and Khrushchev) sit together."

It was to be expected that the U.S. Communist leaders would fall in behind Moscow. This accords with their whole past and their present opportunistic policy of seeking salvation for the American people through the liberal and "left" forces within the Democratic party whose pressure will supposedly convert Kennedy from a "captive" of the militarists and monopolists to keeper of the peace. This line logically flows from Khrushchev's course of conciliating the imperialists which is so vigorously repudiated by the Chinese.

New issues arise as the rift between Moscow and Peking widens. Last December Khrushchev taunted the Chinese for being bellicose over distant Cuba while refraining from expelling the British and Portuguese from Hongkong and Macao. Now, in reply, the *People's Daily* has gone so far as to raise the question of Russia's annexation through unequal treaties in the latter half of the 19th Century of Chinese territories which are presently incorporated in Soviet Siberia. The matter of Macao, and Hongkong was dragged in, says the Chinese paper, "as a fig leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis."

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How should the essence of the Chinese positions be appraised? The most significant feature about them from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics is this. On most of the key issues of the international class struggle in dispute Peking is to the left of the Kremlin and takes more militant stands. The Chinese Communists have thereby moved closer to correct Leninist positions on these points, although they have by no means arrived at a consistent Marxist outlook.

The radicalism of the Chinese in contrast with Soviet conservatism accounts for the warm response to their views among the forces fighting for national and social liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed masses of "the hungry bloc" striving to end neo-colonialism and

imperialism welcome the counsels of struggle coming from Peking more than the privileged workers in the wealthier industrialized countries.

What are the main points on which the Chinese Communists have put forward more progressive views than the Khrushchev tendency?

(1) **The nature of imperialism.** Khrushchev contends that, since Lenin's day, the world relationship of military, political and economic forces between the capitalist and socialist camps has altered to such a degree that imperialism can be neutralized and world peace assured even though imperialism continues to survive in its major strongholds. Therefore the most urgent central task of both Soviet diplomacy and working class politics is no longer the struggle to abolish capitalism. It is the need to induce "progressive" and "peace-loving" statesmen among the capitalist powers to recognize the wisdom of peaceful co-existence with the workers' states.

The Chinese answer that imperialism has not changed its fundamentally aggressive and warlike character, as the record of the Cold War and U.S. interventions in South Vietnam and Cuba freshly demonstrate. Therefore, in the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, it would be a fatal illusion to base socialist policy upon the peaceful inclinations of any capitalist group.

These differences are focused around the nature of U.S. imperialism today. The Chinese consider the rule of the American monopolists as the greatest threat to world peace and the colonial revolution and Kennedy as their executive head in the White House. Wu Yu-Chang, member of the CCP Central Committee and—ironically—Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, declared last November that the attack on Cuba "is another proof that Kennedy is more wicked, more reactionary and more adventurous than Eisenhower."

### DIFFERENT ATTITUDE

The Soviet leadership takes quite a different attitude toward the Democratic president. It has never characterized his administration in such terms or placed full responsibility for the aggressions of U.S. foreign policy where they really belong. Khrushchev wants to keep the road clear for summit conferences with Kennedy which will success-

fully crown his course toward peaceful co-existence.

(2) **The struggle for peace.** The Khrushchev tendency argues that the risk of nuclear war can be averted while imperialism and capitalism are left intact. The war-making potential of the profiteers can be nullified without destroying the capitalist system and transferring supremacy to the working people.

The Chinese answer that there cannot be any guarantee of world peace, no end to war, until and unless imperialism is overthrown above all in the underdeveloped countries where the colonial revolution is in progress. The only reliable anti-war force is the people engaged in struggle for their own ends against the representatives of the rich.

(3) **Attitude toward the colonial revolution.** In its search for diplomatic allies, the Kremlin, fearful of upsetting the status quo, has not hesitated to set aside the claims of the colonial revolution and subordinate them to the alleged needs of "peaceful co-existence." To curry favor with de Gaulle and lure France out of the Atlantic Alliance, the Soviet government and the French CP refused until the last hour to aid the Algerian fight for independence. In the Middle East the Iraqi CP, guided by the Kremlin, kowtowed to General Kassim before its illegalization and helped prepare the conditions for the recent overturn of his regime by a counter military coup.

The Chinese, who supported the Algerian rebels from the first, say that the aims of the colonial revolution should be given priority over diplomatic considerations. The two sides clash most sharply on this question in Southeast Asia and in Latin America where the Communist parties under Moscow tutelage are opposed to the development of the revolutionary movements along Cuban lines which the Chinese spokesmen encourage.

(4) **Attitude toward the colonial bourgeoisie.** Where the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is neutralist or friendly toward it, the Kremlin counsels the resident Communist parties to go along with them. The new program of the Soviet CP adopted at the 22nd Congress in 1961 even set up a special category of "national democratic states" of indeterminate socio-economic nature which all progressive forces were duty-bound to support. The support accorded Nehru by the Soviet government and most of the Indian CP leaders in the border conflict with China is the ripe fruit of this policy.

The Chinese advocate distrust of the national bourgeoisie and reliance upon the independent struggles of the masses to secure national and social emancipation. They point out that a colonial revolt which begins with the struggle for national independence, unity or agrarian reform cannot be halted at the elementary democratic stage but tends to pass over into the socialist stage where capitalist power and property are eradicated and economic planning through control of all national resources can be instituted.

This pattern of the colonial revolution unfolding in an "uninterrupted way," empirically deduced

from the experience of their own revolution and now extended to cover the struggles in other colonial lands, comes close to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. However, the Maoists obstinately refuse to acknowledge this similarity and continue to denounce Trotsky as a "traitor" who prefigured the path of Tito.

(5) **The road to power.** At the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP Khrushchev proclaimed the doctrine that a "peaceful road to socialism" is now possible in the imperialist countries through purely parliamentary means. He has since stated that this revision in Communist theory was introduced by Stalin in the advice he gave for drafting the current program of the British CP.

The Chinese, although they still praise Stalin as the foremost disciple of Lenin, correctly state that this is a relapse into the Social-Democratic reformism flayed by the Bolsheviks. The Chinese like Castro, do not exclude the theoretical possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the workers but, they say, the capitalist rulers have not yet provided any example and it would be folly to base the strategy of struggle upon such a prospect. They insist that socialism cannot achieve victory without breaking up the bourgeois state apparatus and creating a new type of regime based upon the workers and peasants.

(6) **The Cuban crisis.** Khrushchev has tried to cover up his retreat and his disregard for Cuba's sovereignty in the Caribbean crisis by arguing that all the concessions he made were needed to save world peace. The Chinese have firmly backed the Cubans on all those points where the Fidelistas have been at odds with the Russians. They censure Khrushchev, not for removing the missiles, but for hesitating to give immediate support to the "five conditions" presented by Castro; for spreading the illusion that Kennedy had given a "guarantee" not to invade Cuba; and for not opposing unilateral inspection by the United Nations of military installations in Cuba.

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The sum of these positions put forward in their polemics shows that the Chinese CP advocates a far more aggressive class-struggle policy than the utterly opportunistic and reformist course pursued by the Soviet leadership and its followers from Calcutta to New York. Having recognized this, it must be noted that on a number of crucial questions the Chinese CP has far from cast off its bureaucratic character and Stalinist heritage either in its principles or practices.

(1) Khrushchev, the American C.P., Kennedy and the capitalist press all accuse the Chinese of wanting to foment world war in order to achieve socialism. This is a falsehood and slander. The Chinese have carefully explained in recent statements that they favor the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and do not view world war as a necessary or desirable means of bringing about the downfall of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the Chinese statements consistently underrate the costs of nuclear war. They sometimes speak as though capitalism alone would crumble in

the atomic blasts and then socialism might be erected on radioactive ruins. The grim fact is that nuclear war would be the greatest of all defeats suffered by the working people, even if humanity should somehow survive its terrible effects. This underestimation of the perils of nuclear war has helped the Kremlin and others to confuse the issues by playing up "the nuclear teeth" of the imperialist "paper tiger" as a cover for its opportunism.

How is imperialism to be disarmed? The Chinese have a deficient perspective on this crucial question. They effectively develop the argument that only the revolutionary struggle of the masses can defend world peace and that these progressive movements should not be suspended or sub-ordinated for fear of "nuclear blackmail". At the same time they imply that the achievement of military preponderance by the "socialist camp", plus the "people's revolutionary struggle," can pull the nuclear teeth of imperialism.

There are two wrong assumptions implicit in this position. First, that a drastic shift in the "balance of terror" between the opposing power blocks can by itself compel imperialism to surrender its war-making capacities. Second, that the successes of the colonial revolution, plus the economic and military advances of the "socialist camp," can change the international balance of forces enough to paralyze imperialism and prevent the button from being pressed.

This line of reasoning leaves out of account the paramount factor in the world situation: the class relations in the imperialist strongholds. The development of the workers' movement there will be decisive in determining the destiny of mankind in the nuclear age. No matter how many economic, military and political successes are registered by the workers' states and in the colonial lands, the key to permanent peace and a world socialist society of abundance lies within the centers of capitalism, above all, the United States. The war-making powers can be taken from the atomaniacs only through the struggle for the conquest of power by the socialist workers' movement there. The Chinese do not see or clearly state this fundamental fact. Moreover, in so advanced a capitalism as Japan, the Chinese take no exception to the line of the Japanese C.P. that the main task there is, not the fight for workers' power and socialism, but to win national independence from U.S. imperialism.

(2) Most reprehensible is the refusal of the Chinese to favor the de-Stalinization moves taken in the Soviet bloc since 1956. The continued cultivation of the Stalin cult and antagonism toward the liberalization of authoritarian rule places them at odds with the most progressive forces and anti-bureaucratic tendencies within the Soviet bloc and the Communist parties. This serves to counteract the support which revolutionary militants might otherwise be disposed to give to the Chinese criticisms of Moscow's line.

This reactionary attitude is symbolized on the state level in Peking's unprincipled bloc with Hoxha's Albania, one of the most despicable Stalinized regimes in Europe. In the factional fight against Khrushchev the Chinese may also be giving aid and comfort to the discredited Stalinist die-hards in the Soviet Union headed by the deposed Molotov "anti-party" group.

Mao stands at the opposite pole in this respect to Castro who has not only supported the de-Stalinization processes in the Soviet bloc but has taken prompt and energetic steps to check any spread of the bureaucratic infection in Cuba.

(3) While Peking praises Albania as a model Marxist-Leninist state, it unwarrantedly dismisses Yugoslavia as a capitalist state which should be ejected from the "socialist camp." Yet the internal regime of Communist Yugoslavia is much freer than the unmitigated despotism of its Albanian neighbour.

(4) Although the Chinese Communists attack political submission to the colonial bourgeoisie, they are not consistent in this regard. For example, they do not object to the craven support given by the Indonesian CP to the government of Soekarno who is Nehru's counterpart in that country. It appears that, even in the colonial sphere, Peking's principles are tailored to fit the momentary needs of its foreign policy.

(5) Most important of all is the status of the internal regime of the Chinese workers' state and its ruling party. The obdurate resistance of the Chinese CP leadership to de-Stalinization and its proponents is connected with the strict maintenance of its own bureaucratic hold. Since the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the quick withering of the "hundred-flowers-bloom" experiment in 1957, the Mao regime has been very apprehensive of opposition and has maintained rigid control over all domains of social and political activity. Its refusal to abandon such Stalinist practices not only offends powerful progressive currents in the Soviet bloc but runs counter to its own conduct in the dispute with Moscow. The Chinese have declared that they are now a minority in the world communist movement and have the right to be so. They assert that a majority and minority can co-exist in a communist movement and that sometimes a minority can be correct against the majority.

This is a far cry from the monolithism of Stalin's era. It can help pave the way for a return to Leninism which permitted the free organization and expression of minority views and the formation of tendencies and factions around them.

Here again the inconsistency of the Chinese CP shows up. What they demand and defend in the international sphere, they refuse to permit within their own party and country. Views dissenting from the official line have not been authorized for publication in recent years.

The exigencies of the contest against Khrushchevism have placed the Chinese CP leaders in the awkward posture of calling for inter-party democracy abroad while denying it at home. However they may work out this particular contradiction, it is plain that the Great Debate has forever pulverized Stalinist monolithism and opened up new channels of free expression in the communist world.

This is one of the most important progressive consequences of the dispute, even though it was not expected or intended by its prime participants. For, if all views have the right to be voiced, if disagreement is legitimized and minorities permitted, it will be increasingly difficult to keep the expression of differences and the exercise of these rights restricted to the state powers and official positions within the international Communist movement.

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## ROOT CAUSES OF SINO-SOVIET RIFT

It is easier to grasp the ideological issues in the forefront of the Sino-Soviet dispute than to get at the complex and hidden causes underlying the growing conflict. The divergent interpretations of Marxism-Leninism and the opposing conclusions drawn from the joint Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 themselves indicate that the two sides are being driven apart by something deeper than mere doctrinal differences. These compelling reasons are to be found in the very different national and international situations of the two workers' states which give rise to conflicting interests, aims and policies of their ruling strata.

It would require a long probe into the past relations of the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaderships to uncover the beginnings of their antagonism. The seeds of mistrust were sown as far back as the Yen'an period before the Second World War. Suspicion that Moscow did not care about the requirements of the struggle in China was reinforced by Stalin's advice to maintain a postwar coalition with Chiang Kai-Shek which the Maoists tried to secure but had to discard. It was fed by the Soviet dismantling of plants in China's Manchurian industrial base and Russian occupation of Port Arthur, Dairen and other ports. At the time of Stalin's death, relations had become so strained that Khrushchev flew to Peking in 1954 to reassure the Chinese that improvements would be promptly forthcoming.

### INDEPENDENT LEADERS

As organizers and directors of a victorious revolution, Mao and his colleagues cannot highly esteem the present helmsmen in Moscow who inherited their powers instead of conquering them in battle. As heads of a powerful nation of 700 millions they feel on a par with the Soviet leaders, are able to act independently of them, and even, if necessary, in defiance of their wishes. They have relied upon Soviet economic, military and diplomatic aid without being straitjacketed by it.

In the first decade of the triumphant Chinese Revolution the points of friction between the foremost members of the Soviet bloc were submerged by their mutual interests. What has intervened since then to drive a wedge between them so deep and sharp as to override the need for a common front against imperialism and place them on opposite sides of the battlefield in the India border clash?

The Chinese now assign the origin of the disagreements to the eve of the Camp David talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev in September 1959. Washington and Moscow found a common language, they say, at the very time that Khrushchev contravened in word and deed the main theses of the 1957 Moscow statement.

Other analysts trace the birth of the present schism to Khrushchev's enunciation of revisionist theses and denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet C.P. in 1956. This made it necessary to convene a meeting of all the Communist parties the following year. The Chinese were

offended, not simply by the smashing of the idolatry of Stalin, but because they were not notified in advance of this abrupt turnabout. They are very sensitive to manifestations of arrogant or high-handed behavior on the part of the Soviet "elder brother." They have just censured the Thorez leadership of the French CP for reversing its positions on Cuba, Tito, Algeria and China at Moscow's command and they praise the Albanians (though not the Yugoslavs) for refusing to grovel when the Russians "brandish the baton."

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More important than Soviet disregard for inter-party consultations and transgressions of equal relations between fraternal parties have been the frictions generated by the disparity in the economic levels of the two countries. Communist China had to start modernizing and industrializing its economy after 1949 on a more primitive foundation than the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Its more rapid rate of development in the early 1950s has been interrupted and set back by the failures of the Great Leap Forward and the widespread distress caused by the natural disasters since 1959. Today the Chinese have living standards far lower than the Russians.

At the 22nd Congress in 1961, while China was suffering from hunger and its economy was in a critical slowdown, Khrushchev announced that in 20 years the Soviet Union, having already achieved socialism, would approach communism. The Soviet people were promised the highest living standards in the world.

Imagine the Chinese reactions as the Soviet leaders go ahead with this perspective, callously disregarding China's massive material needs and its somber difficulties! Hit by poor harvests and plagued by mounting millions of mouths to feed, Peking has had to spend scarce foreign exchange to import grain from Canada, Australia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union has none to spare for China. Moreover, it has given more aid in the past decade to such neutralist nations as India, Egypt and Indonesia. Now the Peking *People's Daily* has revealed that, after the Bucharest Conference of 1960, Moscow broke hundreds of economic contracts with China and cut its trade to a minimum. It has also insisted on repayment of the Korean War debt and for the goods provided in recent years.

What a mockery of socialism and fraternity it is to say that one people, a third of mankind, must live on 15 cents a day while the other is being lifted to Western standards? If the economic resources and conditions of the two nations cannot be immediately equalized, as they cannot, then the Chinese would at least like to see Soviet foreign aid reallocated with a greater percentage going to them and the revolutionary forces in the colonial areas than to the neutralist bourgeois regimes.

The Khrushchev faction cannot meet the requests of the Chinese Communists for many reasons. It is bound by the policy of building "communism in a single country" at the fastest pace. More sub-

stantially, the Soviet Union does not possess the capacities to increase its production, raise the living conditions of its people, sustain the expensive nuclear arms race, go to the moon, implement its diplomatic objectives in the "third world"—and take care in addition of the immense and pressing requirements of 700 million Chinese. The Chinese come last in the priorities of the Kremlin's planners.

China's poverty and underdevelopment as well as Russia's inadequacies have been inherited from their pre-socialist pasts. Even if the two countries were led by men of the calibre of Lenin and Trotsky, the objective difficulties created by the disparities in their development would present excruciating problems not susceptible of easy solutions.

The truth is that the unevenness between the two countries and the frictions these engender cannot be finally eliminated except through the extension of the socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Mutual aid and planned co-operation could then place the necessary productive forces of the wealthier lands at the disposal of the poorer ones and narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots in the shortest possible time.

#### PARAMOUNT TASK

Ironing out the vast disproportions between the two sectors of humanity is the paramount task of the entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism. A genuine Marxist leadership would at least acknowledge the existence of this problem and honestly explain its gravity to the working-class public, as Lenin's Bolsheviks did. But the false orientation of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have kept them from even mentioning this fundamental issue. It smacks too much of the "heresy" of Trotskyism.

Khrushchev's line of building "communism in a single country"—and devil take the hindmost—plays a large part in the breach between Moscow and Peking. In complaints about their economic mistreatment at the hands of the Kremlin, the Chinese expose some of the consequences of this Stalinist policy. But they have not delved into its root causes.

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The dissimilarities in the international positions of the two nations are as estranging as the disparity in their economic situations. The Soviet rulers are far more privileged, conservative and contented with the status quo than the Chinese. As one of the two Great Powers, they participate in parleys at the summit and in the UN which decide the destinies of nations from Laos through the Congo to Cuba.

Communist China is the outcast of world politics among the workers' states. It is diplomatically and economically isolated and militarily encircled. The U.S. stations its forces in South Korea, sustains Chiang in Formosa, and has its Seventh Fleet in adjacent waters. The Pentagon supervises anti-guerrilla operations in South Vietnam, intervenes against China and its allies in Laos and neighbouring countries and rushes arms to India. Today China is not only excluded from the councils of the major

powers and cut off from American trade but also from Soviet aid.

In response to these conditions the Soviets and China have developed divergent foreign policies and asserted different attitudes toward U.S. imperialism and Western capitalism. Despite the rebuffs encountered along the way, the Kremlin has persistently sought to reach a *modus vivendi* with Washington since the 1955 Geneva summit conference. Meanwhile, it wants to confine any changes in international relations within the compass of its special aims and interests.

Peking, on the other hand, has to break through the blockade imposed by a hostile U.S. Neither the neo-colonial bourgeois governments nor the Soviet Union, it has found, will help it enough to serve that purpose. To disrupt the Pentagon's strategy and beat back its enemies, China has no recourse but to turn towards the colonial revolutions, above all in South-east Asia. The expansion of the anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial lands is today a life-and-death matter for Communist China.

The Chinese Revolution bears the same relation to Asia as the Cuban Revolution to Latin America. Both must spread in order to survive and counter the aggressions of U.S. imperialism which wants to stop any imitation of their example.

The Kremlin is caught in the crossfire of this combat between revolution and counter-revolution. While it is busy placating Washington, neither Peking nor Havana have any faith in the Kennedy administration's benevolence or peaceful intentions. They are on guard not only against Washington but against Moscow's diplomatizing. The Chinese have seen Khrushchev negotiate before without concern for matters most important to them (admission to the UN, return of Formosa, etc.) Now the unilateral action on UN inspection of Cuba and other impermissible concessions he made in the Caribbean crisis convinces them that Khrushchev would sacrifice vital interests of the other workers' states to "peaceful co-existence" with Washington. That is why they speak so bitterly of "appeasement."

The attitude adopted towards the colonial bourgeoisie is decisive in colonial politics. Here the Chinese have sharp differences with the Russians. They have extorted a grudging admission from Moscow that it supports "just wars of colonial liberation." But they are aware that the Soviet leaders are more intent upon lining up uncommitted governments behind their diplomatic objectives than encouraging forces and movements which aspire to go beyond the neo-colonial status of the national bourgeoisies and take the socialist road to liberation.

As Cuba indicates, the Kremlin will ally itself with victorious revolutions and use them insofar as they can be fitted into its overall diplomacy. But it casts a cold eye on uncontrollable revolutionary movements and regimes from which it can derive no immediate advantages and which hinder its course of conciliation with Washington. The Soviet bureaucracy has shown that it values bourgeois India as an ally more than its solidarity with the Chinese workers' state.



Since the erosion of the agreements reached at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Peking has looked upon most of the neo-colonialist bourgeois regimes as actual or prospective tools of Western imperialism. Nehru's conduct in the border dispute has fortified this view. The spread and strengthening of the worker-peasant movements in Asia offers Peking the most effective means of "neutralizing" governments inclined to play imperialism's anti-China game.

\* \* \*

Their possession of the H-bomb and the means of delivering them give the U.S. and the USSR an equal stake in maintaining the present "balance of terror" as part of their condominium over the rest of the world. So long as universal disarmament is not enforced, the Chinese believe they have as much right and need as any other power to atomic bombs.

However, the Soviet chiefs are even less disposed to help China acquire nuclear weapons than Washington is to let the West German Republic have them. Communist China is unmanageable enough as it is.

The Soviet removal of its missiles from Cuba under Kennedy's threat has intensified Chinese resentment against the Russian resistance to its independent nuclear development. They feel that Khrushchev cowers before the imperialist "paper tiger" and in the showdown yields too readily and too much to its blackmail. While China insists upon acquiring nuclear arms as indispensable for checking further imperialist aggressions and altering the balance of forces in its favour, the Soviet statesmen and generals see its candidacy for the "nuclear club" as a profoundly disturbing factor threatening the established big power setup.

\* \* \*

Finally, the two sides are divided over de-Stalinization. The Khrushchev tendency is committed

to doling out concessions to the masses which are carefully regulated to keep intact the pillars of its rulership.

Pressed by the imperialist blockade and by the sullen mood of hungry masses at home, Mao and his colleagues hesitate to relax the strict controls of their regime over the party and people. They fear that criticism of their policies would be even more vigorous than in 1957.

They are antagonistic toward Yugoslavia, not simply for its ideological deviations and excessive adaptation to capitalism, but because its decentralized administration, experiments in workers' control of enterprises, and flexibility of agrarian policy stand in such contrast with their own supercentralization and monolithism.

Both protagonists have agreed upon a high-level meeting to compose their differences as a preliminary to another international conference of all Communist parties. It remains to be seen on what basis it will be held.

According to the February issue *Marxist Review*, published in Prague, China has created "difficulties" in the Communist international labour unions, youth and women's organizations, and in the peace movements and called for the "removal" of Soviet party leaders. Peking is also demanding that Albania be accepted as an equal, that the Yugoslavs be branded as "traitors", and that "revisionism" not "sectarianism," be acknowledged as the "main danger" facing the Communist movement today.

Reconciliation on such terms is highly unlikely. They would give Peking the paramount ideological role in the Sino-Soviet alliance, a veto-power over Soviet foreign policy, and even over its leadership. Nor would another compromise like those of 1957 and 1960 remove the economic, political and military sources of dissension which have produced the present cleavage.

## DISPUTE POSES BASIC PROBLEMS OF EPOCH

What is the essential meaning of the Sino-Soviet dispute?

It is not a mere personal quarrel between two ambitious heads of state. It is more than a conflict between the two Communist governments and parties of China and the USSR. It goes beyond a division between East and West, prosperous and poor peoples, colonial rebels and metropolitan conservatives. It concerns nothing less than the fundamental problems of our epoch.

This dispute extends and deepens the historic controversies which have shaken and reshaped the world socialist movement at previous turning points in its development. Most notable have been those between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism-reformism at the beginning of this century, between Bolshevism and Social-Democratic chauvinism and centrism during the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and between the Communist Left

Opposition and Stalinism after Lenin's death. The current debate has grander dimensions since it directly involves 40 per cent of the world's inhabitants. And it will have even more portentous consequences for the fate of mankind.

The political and ideological crisis convulsing the Soviet bloc is—next to the Polish and Hungarian revolutions of 1956—the most striking manifestation of the death agony of Stalinism. For 25 years political life and thought in the world Communist movement was deceptively simple. Under Stalin the line transmitted from the Kremlin to all Communist parties was accepted as infallible and incontrovertible even if the ukase completely contravened yesterday's policies or cut across the interests of the workers' movement elsewhere. Dissenters were branded as "Trotskyite disrupters," counter-revolutionary agents of the class enemy, and were summarily expelled, even assassinated.

## SHATTERED

This ultra-centralized command and uniformity of line has been shattered by the colossal changes since the end of World War II. The Russian Communists may still retain the honorary title of leading party. But, like other monarchs who have seen their absolutism wane, their writ does not compel instant and total compliance. Worker-peasant revolutions have established independent Communist regimes in Yugoslavia, China and North Vietnam. East European countries like Poland have wrested a measure of autonomy from Moscow. In Western Europe, Togliatti's Italian CP Preaches "polycentrism."

Still more important has been the emergence of strong revolutionary mass movements and states free of Stalinist tutelage in Cuba, Algeria and elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

De-Stalinization is proceeding, not only in the relations between the rulers and the people inside the Soviet Union but also in Moscow's relations with other workers' states and Communist parties. It is no longer enough for Krushchev to acknowledge the legitimacy of "different roads to socialism" or even "the possibility that Communists in different countries may hold different opinions on specific questions, including some very important ones," as he did before the East German CP Congress in January. Moscow's hegemony is challenged by rival centers of authority in Peking, Havana and Belgrade. The dispersion of power among the workers' states is expressed in their doctrinal differences and growing disunity.

The spectrum of tendencies which have already issued from the decomposition of Stalinist Monolithism and the Kremlin's incapacity to cope with the revolutionary developments of our time can be seen in the three movements now contending in Brazil. The Brazilian CP headed by Prestes follows Krushchev in calling for "an alliance with the bourgeoisie and other progressive elements." A pro-China split-off, which goes by the name of the CP of Brazil, assails this treacherous policy of trailing behind opportunist politicians like President Goulart. Then the leadership of the peasant leagues, organized by left Socialist Francisco Juliao, which also sympathizes with Peking, proposes to emulate the Fidelistas in promoting the Brazilian revolution. Similar divisions are emerging elsewhere in Latin American from Mexico to Chile.

\* \* \*

Every Communist leadership and membership now has to decide: which is right and which should be supported?

Sincere seekers are not given much help by the voluminous overheated polemical exchanges between Moscow and Peking, or Belgrade and Tirana. Tiresome, tendentious quotations from Marx and Lenin, appeals to the identical resolutions, distortion of each other's positions, and sallies against unnamed opponents do more to obscure than clarify the basic issues. In any event, the literary arguments are less important in determining the directions of the different tendencies than the test of

crucial events like the Caribbean crisis and the India-China border clash. Marxism is a guide to revolutionary action—and the real content and worth of any general proposition set forth in its name is validated, not by the pretensions but by the practice of its proponents.

## TWO CONTRADICTIONS

Why haven't either the Russian or the Chinese Communist leaderships given consistent and correct answers to the problems of world politics involved in their dispute? There are two main reasons. One is the contradiction between the narrow national interests of the ruling groups they represent and the requirements of the international struggle for socialism. The other is the contradiction between the Stalinist ideology and methods they cling to and the program needed to fulfil the evolutionary tasks of our time.

These same factors likewise prevent them from offering a Marxist explanation of their differences. Khrushchev stutters as badly when he touches on the reasons for the breach with Peking as he does on the causes of the personality cult. Thus, in a speech published March 9 he warned the restive Soviet intellectuals: "This is a very dangerous theme."

To be sure, an unrestricted investigation into Stalinism does imperil the prestige and monopoly of decision held by the Krushchev faction. But the Soviet people demand to know how and why Stalin's crimes could happen and what must be done to prevent their recurrence. They want to go to the root of the evil. The fearful Kremlin vacillators are trying to hold them back.

The lack of clarity and candor around the Sino-Soviet debate likewise flows from the refusal of the official participants to throw off the Stalinist ideology which nurtured them and, to one degree or another, keeps them captive.

This comes out, among other things, in their failure to recognize that the two main issues at the bottom of their dispute are the same as those which pitted Trotsky against Stalin in the 1920s. These are the questions of socialist internationalism and workers' democracy. Are the interests of the world struggle for socialist emancipation to be paramount in the conduct of the workers' states and the policies of the Communist parties—or are these to be subordinated to the nationalistic outlook of conservatized bureaucrats and the opportunism of servile followers? Are democratic or bureaucratic methods to prevail in the government and economy of the workers' states, within the workers' parties and in their international relations?

## ACCUSES MOSCOW

The Feb. 27 Peking *People's Daily* accuses the Soviet leadership of abandoning proletarian internationalism and violating "the normal relationships of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal parties." The editors refer to the Soviet treatment of Albania, the withdrawal of economic aid to China, the supplying of war materials to Nehru, the unilateral rejection of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the master-servant

relations with the French CP, under Thorez, as evidences of these "abnormal feudal, patriarchal relationships."

But they do not explain why the Russian leaders have departed from Marxist-Leninist principles. They talk as though all this degeneration began with Khrushchev's rise to the top in 1956-1959. In reality, the men in the Kremlin are continuing what they learned in Stalin's school. The Soviet premier has repudiated the idolatry of Stalin and remedied many of the most loathsome abuses of his era. But his regime has not abandoned the fundamental Stalinist policy of giving priority to the upper crust of Soviet society regardless of the effects upon other sectors of labor's struggles and the cause of socialism.

Those critical-minded socialists who want to understand the root-causes of Khrushchev's deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles will therefore have to uncover their material foundations in the stratifications of an inadequately productive Soviet society and the inequalities between the privileged governing minority and the worker-peasant majority. They will have to see the precedents of his revisionism in the ideological and political division within international communism after Lenin's death. They will have to review the whole nature and history of Stalinism from its birth to its present death agony.

This should logically go with a reassessment of the Trotskyist movement not only in the past but in the present. The youth organization of the Italian CP has already ventured the first significant steps in this direction.

Others who may be opposed to the Khrushchev line are still held back by prejudice from undertaking this re-evaluation. They persist in viewing the Trotskyist program and positions through Stalinist glasses. Nevertheless, light does break through. The Chinese Communists have just assailed the attitude of the U.S. Communist Party toward the Kennedy administration along lines which have hitherto been dismissed as "Trotskyist sectarianism." Shouldn't this coincidence of criticism lead to some reconsideration of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party among those who value Peking's opinions for other reasons?

How should Marxists orient themselves in the crossfires and complexities of the Great Debate at its present stage?

In determining which of the contending parties take the most progressive stands, the Fidelista Cubans can usefully serve as a standard of measurement. They not only have a record of persistent advance toward revolutionary Marxist positions but have the most correct attitudes on the two most important aspects of the dispute: workers' democracy and international class-struggle policy. Peking and Albania default on the first; Moscow and Belgrade on the second.

#### CLOSE TO CUBANS

The Chinese Communists have views close to the Cubans on a series of key issues connected with

the major problems of anti-imperialist action, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But, apart from their inconsistencies in these areas, their resistance to the Processes and proponents of de-Stalinization arrays them against the forces striving for democratization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and harms the Chinese People's Republic itself.

The Khrushchev tendency is the official banner-bearer of liberalized reform in the Soviet bloc. But its opportunistic and even treacherous course in foreign affairs has a pernicious influence upon the progress of the mass revolutionary movements against U.S. imperialism and Western capitalism.

The Tito leadership, allied with the Kremlin, has introduced significant innovations in workers' control of industries and other fields. But it stands at the far right of the Communist states in its positions on the nature of imperialism and its policies toward the revolutionary movements against capitalism.

\* \* \*

The best service Marxists can render in the Great Debate is to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the views and conduct of the various participants. The Cuban leaders have not treated any of them as immune from objective criticism when this was warranted. In remarks to Claude Julien recently published in *Le Monde*, Castro, for example, not only repeated his censure of Khrushchev for withdrawing Soviet missiles without consulting the Cubans but also chided Communist China for minimizing the power of U.S. imperialism. "The Chinese are right in saying one should not yield to imperialism," he is reported to have said. "But we here are well located to know that imperialism is not a paper tiger," as Mao has contended.

The truth is that the leaders in Moscow, Belgrade and Peking have not been able to provide a comprehensively correct program and model of action for the world working class. Fortunately, the future of international socialism is not concentrated entirely in their hands.

The crisis of Stalinism is being deepened by the growing differences among the officialdoms headquartered in the Communist capitals. The break-up of the old monolithism is encouraging anti-bureaucratic sentiments down below and stimulating bolder currents of dissent which tend to go beyond the limits set by Moscow or Peking.

A world-wide realignment of revolutionary forces is being set into motion by the same vast changes of recent years which have brought about the Sino-Soviet conflict. In Latin America such groupings have already begun to draw together under the impetus of the Cuban example. The task is to see that this process of reorientation and regroupment is consummated by a return to the genuine Leninism formulated in the program and envisaged by the movement of the Fourth International.

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# THE PATTERN OF TRADE

BY N. M. PERERA

IT is commonly stated that ours is an export import economy. What is meant by this? Except for largely self-sufficient countries like the United States and Soviet Russia, most countries in the world have export-import economies. That is to say, their economic well-being is dependent upon this import and export of commodities.

The peculiar position of Ceylon arises from the fact that we import all the essential commodities like food and clothing from abroad. If these imports are reduced or stopped, the people will have to starve and go about in semi-nudeness if not nakedness. The payment for these imported commodities can be made only by the export of three products, tea, rubber and coconut. Any reduction in the volume or value of these exports will seriously affect our ability to purchase the essentials needed for the country.

In the past as a colony of the British we had a pattern of trade imposed on us by virtue of our political subjection. We evinced a preference for goods produced in Great Britain and other countries of the Empire or Commonwealth. Indeed we provided a tariff preference for such goods, commonly designated as Imperial Preference. On the other hand articles produced by other countries had to pay a higher tariff. At a certain stage the British

government was not content with imperial preference, but actually imposed quotas on manufactures of other countries. This was particularly done in the case of textiles imported from Japan.

In the days of the State Council the L.S.S.P. waged a relentless struggle against quotas in particular and imperial preference in general. The then Board of Ministers accepted without a demur both, and allowed Mr. Huxham, the Financial Secretary, to get his motion through in the teeth of our opposition. The interests of the poor people of this country were sacrificed in order to placate the vociferous Molochs of Lancashire.

This imposition by Britain created a pattern of trade in the country which was aptly described as a colonial economy. The chief feature of this was that Ceylon, like other colonies, became the dumping ground of the various manufactures of Britain. In return for this benign act we provided some of the raw materials which formed the basis of these manufactures exported to us from Britain. We would continue to be the market and Britain the manufacturer.

If we study the pattern of trade of this period we will see how neatly this is borne out.

	Imports							Exports						
	1934	1935	1936	1937	1946	1947	1934	1935	1936	1937	1946	1947		
United Kingdom ...	39.8	46.8	45.2	53.8	110.2	153.4	123.9	118.9	119.8	143.3	400.5	305.2		
Australia ...	5.1	5.2	5.2	6.2	74.7	115.7	8.9	10.2	11.1	13.1	73.4	70.4		
British India ...	43.7	44.3	46.0	53.3	162.6	126.7	9.1	12.0	15.4	14.7	35.4	34.6		
Burma ...	31.6	39.8	32.4	33.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Maldivé Islands ...	3.6	3.7	3.2	3.6	4.0	4.1	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Straits Settlements ...	2.6	2.1	1.6	2.6	2.9	2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Union of S. Africa ...	2.6	3.8	3.6	1.6	12.7	14.4	5.6	7.6	8.1	9.4	23.3	42.1		
Other Empire Countries	3.2	3.9	3.1	5.6	58.6	73.1	3.7	4.2	3.7	4.8	7.3	29.5		
Total British Empire ...	132.5	149.8	140.7	160.7	425.9	557.2	163.2	167.1	175.2	209.4	570.5	562.0		
Canada ...	—	—	—	—	—	66.9	6.6	7.6	10.0	16.2	12.8	56.6		
New Zealand ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.0	6.4	6.9	7.6	17.5	23.3		

In the pre-war period our total trade was:—  
Millions of Rupees

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1946	1947
Imports ...	216.9	227.4	214.2	242.5	796.7	1000.5
Exports ...	240.3	229.5	243.8	309.2	842.4	946.3
Total ...	457.2	456.9	458.0	551.7	1639.1	1946.8

The first point to be noticed is that the post-war period beginning with 1946 had a total trade four times the value in terms of money of the trade before the war. This was due to the inflationary position created by the war, when prices of all commodities mounted up. It is also noteworthy that there was a visible balance of trade taking into account merely the imports and exports of the country in the years prior to the war. The first adverse balance begins in 1947.

Let us analyse further. In 1934, out of a total import figure of 216.9, the British Empire countries provided 132.5 millions, while other countries sent us only 84.4 millions worth of goods. Roughly therefore over 60% of our imports came from the Empire and less than 40% from the rest of the world. In 1935 the figure was over 65% from the Empire and less than 35% from the other countries. In 1936 this percentage had risen to over 75% from the Empire and about 25% from the rest. In 1937 the empire imports had dropped to 66%.

\* If we probe these figures further one finds that the bulk of the imports in the pre-war years came from three countries: the United Kingdom, British India and Burma. Their contribution was nearly 90% of the total imports from the British empire. From Burma we obtained mainly rice, from India we had rice, dried fish and other subsidiary foodstuffs like chillies, grains etc. The United Kingdom supplied us with all sorts of manufactured goods like cement, textiles, machinery etc.

Let us now look at the exports during the pre-war period. In 1934 over 75% of our exports to the British Empire went to the United Kingdom, it dropped to about 71 per cent in 1935, to about 69% in 1936 and 1937. Of these exports over 90% of the value came from the tea and rubber we sent. Tea formed the main export to other Empire countries like Australia, Union of South Africa, Canada and New Zealand.

If we consider the total exports, the British Empire countries took over 68% in 1934. In 1935 this percentage rose to over 72. It dropped slightly to about 71.5 in 1936 and it dropped again to about 67% in 1937. The over-whelming proportion of these exports was tea.

In the case of some countries our trade was very one-sided, while we imported 31.6 million rupees worth of goods (almost exclusively rice) from Burma in 1934; 39.8 millions in 1935; 32.4 millions in 1936, and 33.6 millions in 1937, we exported to Burma or rather Burma bought nothing at all from us. This is true also of Maldiva Islands and Straits Settlements, although our purchases were not as extensive as in the case of Burma. In the case of India the visible trade balance was very much in her favour. In 1934, while we bought 43.7 millions worth of goods, India bought from us only 9.1 millions; in 1935 the figures were 44.3 and 12 millions; in 1936, 46 and 15.4 millions; in 1937 53.3 and 14.7 millions.

On the other hand we purchased nothing from Canada and New Zealand while they bought from us 11.6 millions in 1934; 14 millions in 1935; 16.9 millions in 1936 and 23.8 millions in 1937. The

United Kingdom was also a good customer. She bought 123.9 millions worth of commodities in 1934, while we bought only 39.8 millions; in 1935, 118.9 millions as against 46.8 millions bought by us; in 1936, 119.8 millions and 45.2 millions and in 1937, 143.3 millions as against 53.8.

The pre-war trade pattern is fairly clear. Well over 60% of our imports came from the United Kingdom and the British Empire countries. Similarly well over 60% of our exports went to the United Kingdom and the Empire countries. Out of a total trade of 457.2 millions in 1934, the share of the British Empire countries was 295.7 millions; in 1935, out of 456.9 millions, it was 316.9 millions; in 1936 out of 458 millions, it was 315.9 millions; and in 1937 out of 551.7 millions, it was 378.1. That is, it was nearly 65% in 1939; nearly 70% in 1935, and 1936, and over 67% in 1937.

One would have thought that with the obtainment of Dominion Status in 1948, we would have so modified our trade pattern as to have broad-based it, and spread it out in a manner that would have relieved us of the need to depend on one group of countries. In particular we should have diversified our exports so as not to be a slave to the old nexus, and should have followed generally the trite maxim: buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest. There is nothing to indicate that the last 15 years have made a significant inroad into the accustomed pattern of trade. Let us look at the figures and take imports first.

In 1946, the total imports were 796.7 millions, of this the British Empire countries sent 425.9, i.e. over 53%; in 1947, the total was 1000.5 millions with a British Empire contribution of 557.2 millions, i.e. a little over 55%. This does not however give a true picture, because from 1946, Burma which was always a heavy importer gets into the category of non-Empire countries. If we then include Burma as belonging to the old pre-war pattern of Empire trade, the picture is somewhat different. The percentage immediately rises to 62% in 1946 and 73% in 1947. This is very much the pre-war pattern.

With regard to imports from non-Empire countries one further feature is noteworthy. In 1946 we get the U.S.A. becoming a substantial supplier of goods. Whereas in 1936 and 1937 she supplied 4.8 and 6. millions worth of goods, her contribution had gone upto 112.4 in 1946 and 75.4 millions in 1947.

In the first two years after the war our exports like our imports showed a big jump in value, consequent on the war period general inflation of prices. The exports of 209.4 millions in 1937 to the empire countries had jumped to 670.5 and 562 millions in 1946 and 1947 respectively. Out of the total exports of 842.4 millions in 1946, over 67% went to Empire countries. We have seen this pattern conforms to the pre-war export pattern. In 1947 this percentage dropped to about 60%, due largely to a substantial increase to the U.S.A.

As we have already adverted earlier, 1948 should have been a major point of departure for us. Was it? From 1948 to 1961 the total trade is as set out below:

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Imports	983.7	1028.2	1166.0	1557.9	1702.2	1607.0	1396.4	1459.5	1629.7	1803.9	1716.6	2004.9	1959.5	1631.3
Exports	935.6	1001.7	1489.0	1818.2	1407	1484.4	1713.5	1866.3	1642.9	1585.1	1647.8	1689.4	1772.5	1678.2
Total	1919.3	2029.9	2655.0	3376.1	3109.2	3091.4	3109.9	3325.8	3272.6	3389.0	3364.4	3694.3	3732.0	3309.5

It will be observed that the Korean war boosted both our imports and exports. The total trade expanded by about 1400 million rupees between 1948 and 1951. Even when our exports dropped in 1952 with the termination of the Korean war our imports continued to rise to 1702 millions. We topped the Rs. 2000 millions in 1959 during the interim government of Mr. Dahanayake when indiscriminate imports were encouraged and allowed entry. Since then there has been a steady drop in imports.

From the above figures we can also observe the fact that our balance of trade has been unfavourable for the major part of this period. Except during the years 1950 and 1951 when our tea rubber and coconut exports experienced a boom we have had adverse trade balance from 1948—1953. Then during the three years 1954, 1955, and 1956 the trade balance became favourable largely due to the severe curtailment of imports. Then once again upto 1961 our balances were adverse.

Now let us analyse the imports and exports separately to see how far our pre-war pattern of trade has changed, if at all. For a correct comparison we must include Burma among the Empire countries. Since her independence politically she should be grouped among the non-empire countries, but the economic nexus remains as pre-war. It would therefore be more accurate to include the imports from Burma as part of the Commonwealth trade.

Thus in 1948 out of a total import bill of 983.7 millions, the Empire share is 540.4 millions without Burma and 711.7 millions with Burma. Percentage wise 72% of our imports came from Empire countries, inclusive of Burma. This would drop to 55% if we exclude Burma. The figures on the same basis for 1949 are nearly 69% and 54%. For 1950, 72% and 53%; 1951, 71% and 56%; 1952, 65% and 54%; 1953, 64% and 51%; 1954, 58% and 50%; 1955, 60% and 52%; 1956, 55% and 46%; 1957, 55% and 46%; 1958, 52% and 46%; 1959, 55% and 48%; 1960, 54% and 48%; 1961, 59% and 48%.

From the above it would be observed that right upto and including 1955 over 60% of our imports came from Empire countries inclusive of Burma. Indeed in the years 1950 and 1951 this percentage rose to over 70%. If Burma is excluded the percentage drops, but is still well over 50%.

From 1956 onwards there is a slight change. The share of the Empire countries begins to drop below 60%, but it is still over 50%. Indeed in 1961 it was 59%. If Burma is excluded the drop in this share goes down to round about 46 to 48%.

Three countries have provided the bulk of the Empire imports. England, India and Burma. It would be correct to say that over 80% of our imports were provided by these 3 countries. This was precisely the position in the pre-war period. Except for very slight modifications the pre-war or colonial pattern persists in the matter of our imports from Empire countries.

Let us now turn to imports from non-Empire countries. As I have already considered Burma as within the Empire group, her imports have not been brought in at this stage. The main countries from which we got imports were: Belgium, China, Egypt (after 1955), France, Germany, Holland, Iran, Italy, Japan, Thailand, United States of America and Indonesia. Then from 1957 after the Bandaranaike government we get the addition of Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Spain, Yugoslavia and Hungary. The U.S.S.R. comes into the picture from 1959; Austria, Switzerland and Denmark since 1960, and Eastern Germany since 1961.

Some attempt has therefore been made since 1957 and after the defeat of the U.N.P. to widen the sources of our supplies to the countries of the socialist bloc. Unfortunately the quantity and the value of these imports are not appreciable to make a vital inroad into the traditional pattern. As in pre-war days the chief exporting countries to Ceylon were the United States, Japan, Germany and Iran.

Let us now look at the export side of the picture.

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Empire Countries	551.3	599.0	761.9	1003.2	756.0	767.4	983.8	1016.2	928.6	848.6	954.9	881.3	911.3	907.5
Non-Empire	384.3	402.7	272.1	815.3	651.0	717.0	729.7	850.1	719.3	736.5	692.9	808.1	861.2	770.7
Total	935.6	1001.7	1489.0	1818.5	1407.0	1484.4	1713.5	1866.3	1647.9	1585.1	1647.8	1689.4	1772.5	1678.2

The exports to the empire countries have always been greater in value than to the non empire countries. In 1948 it was nearly 60%; so it was in 1949. Since then it has been round about 55%. In the pre independent period the bias towards the empire countries was more marked, as I have already pointed out. The exports to the Empire countries came sometimes to 70% and more of the total exports. Although the concentration is not so marked, even today the bias is unmistakable.

Of the Empire countries England takes pride of place as the chief importer of our goods, and this is overwhelmingly tea. Very nearly 55% exports go to England. Next comes Australia and the Union of South Africa. With regard to exports to empire countries the pre-war pattern was well maintained from the point of view of value, quantity and the kind of goods that we exported.

We also followed the other traditions of the pre-war period. We bought from Burma from 1948—1961 inclusive over Rs. 2200 millions worth of goods and sold less than Rs. 20 millions, and even this has been during the years 1960 and 1961. Similarly to Malaya, Singapore and Maldiva Islands. Though the trade was not extensive, we never gave but only received. In the case of India although there has been a better exchange of goods, the difference is so glaring that one must not ignore. During the period 1948—1961 we have bought nearly Rs. 3000 millions worth of goods, and sent out to India a little more than Rs. 600 millions. On the other hand New Zealand has been very generous. We have continued to export mainly tea, but we have brought very little from her, and the little we bought was only in 1960 and 1961.

In the matter of our exports to non-Empire countries, the United States has as before the war been the leading importer of our goods; rubber and tea were the chief commodities. She was followed by Egypt, Holland, Italy and Germany. Except for Egypt, this was the pre-war pattern also. Egypt became one of our good mid-country tea consumers after 1946. In the last few years she has fallen away very much. The other significant addition is China consequent on the barter agreement of 1953 involving the exchange of rice for rubber.

It is heartening to note that the U.S.S.R. and Poland have been figuring in both exports and imports in recent years, especially after 1959. In 1961 Poland has bought 22.0 million rupees worth of goods from us and sold to us 24.1 million rupees worth of goods. Russia has done much better, she has imported from us to the tune of 23.8 millions in 1959; this jumped to 39 millions in 1960, and jumped substantially again to 65.1 millions in 1961. Her exports to this country have been more modest: 1959, 23 millions; 1960, 6 millions and in 1961, 9.4 millions. The trade with the other socialist countries has not been very significant. Three other European countries: Austria, Switzerland and Denmark have shown some trade activity during 1960 and 1961.

There are still countries like Thailand, Ira and Indonesia who send us goods of a fair quantity, but buy nothing from us in return. This one-

sided trade has continued from pre-war days, and we have made no attempts to rectify the position.

From the foregoing facts and figures we can conclude that no serious attempt has been made to break into the pattern of trade that has prevailed from the colonial times. If indeed any efforts were made, we have achieved little success, and that little has been achieved during the last few years, especially after 1959. The U.N.P. governments have been content to carry on the old colonial trade relations, while prating glibly about independence. The substance of independence was more important than the forms. In this regard the United National Party was concerned with the pretence and not the reality. Had the U.N.P. continued in office our dependence on the imperialist countries would have strengthened rather than weakened, and we would have been powerless to stand up to their threats.

We have already witnessed how neatly this was exposed over the petrol question in recent months. We have seen how promptly the U.N.P. sided with the American government in her menacing attitude to extort unreasonable compensation from this country. This is the danger to which we are exposed by our failure to broad base our trade, seek new markets and break the old colonial dependence. We must urgently set about garnering the substance of independence, if we are to exist as a sovereign independent nation.

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*(Continued from page 217)*

be done by incorporating fundamental rights and emergency laws into our constitution, like in India. This would remove the necessity for a harsh law like the Public Security Ordinance.

The Ordinance contains all the requisites for the establishment of a dictatorship. We in Ceylon are wedded to Parliamentary democracy, and this type of Government can function effectively only in an expanding and developing economy. With economic conditions becoming worse in our country we may be faced with a situation where only a Government armed with immense powers can govern, against the pressure of mass discontent. At a time of this nature, it may very well be that, ambitious men, may make use of the Ordinance to clamp down a dictatorial Government in our country. The history of our country in the recent past has shown that parliamentary democracy is not functioning very well. We may have good reason to believe the truth of Cicero's adage that "amidst the clash of arms the laws are silent, the still small voice of the law is quelled while men kill and destroy in defence of its dictates."



# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY DAY

By EDMUND SAMARAKKODY

**T**HE month of May is connected with the name of the Goddess Maia, the mother of Mercury and a deity of growth and increase. From primitive times the revival of vegetation in certain countries had been celebrated with various ceremonies and with great merry-making. In mediæval and Tudor England May Day was a great Public holiday. All classes of people were up with the dawn and went "a Maying". Branches of trees and flowers were borne back in triumph to the towns and villages, the centre of the procession being occupied by the May Pole glorious with ribbons and wreaths. The height of the celebrations was the crowning of the fairest maid as the May Queen.

This picture of all classes of people moving and mixing more or less freely and without serious antagonisms soon changed. And moreover as economics is basic to all human culture, changes in the foundations of a social structure receives sooner or later its reflections and imprint on the former customs habits and ceremonial of a people. By the 17th century Capitalism with its own class structure was very much a fact in England and after the Bourgeois Revolution of 1688 the development of capitalism was irreversible. The Industrial Revolution that began in England in 1765 ushered in the era of the factory system. The small producer was gradually driven off the market, the independent or semi independent artisan began to be transformed into a proletarian while the rural population began to flock to the towns in search of employment. As early as 1770 the city dwellers in England were as much as 60% and the working-class emerged as a distinct class in society with its own special problems, outlook and aspirations. The British working class inevitably developed class consciousness and the class struggle soon posed itself sharply and emphatically. After 1830 rights of labour and the emancipation of labour was very much in the consciousness of the English proletariat. When Labour was becoming articulate it gradually but inevitably developed its own philosophy. It was in this context that we find the great utopian Socialist Robert Owen declaring the 1st of May as the day for the commencement of the millenium (Socialism). And when after 1837 the class struggle in England reached great heights in the famous Chartist movement it was obvious that the working class was to intervene in a big way in the affairs of the Nation.

## AN EIGHT HOUR DAY

May Day was born as a result of the agitation of a strong section of the American Workers for an eight hour day. May 1st 1886 was the appointed day on which the American workers were going to down tools in their first organised and united effort to win this demand. It seemed so revolutionary that not all sections of American workers supported this demand. Opposition to this came not from altogether

unexpected quarters. The Press and the Catholic hierarchy. For example said the *ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER* "that the demand was so silly that it did not merit the attention of a body of lunatics." Despite the opposition an estimated number of over 500,000 workers in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Milwaukee and Baltimore downed tools on May 1st 1886.

## THE HAYMARKET TRAGEDY

American Capitalism was panic stricken. Meetings were broken up and clashes between the Police and the workers ended up in the arrest of Union leaders. In many cities, the strike was continued till on May 4th at Haymarket an Agent Provocateur hurled a bomb near a peacefully conducted meeting, killing seven and injuring seventy seven mostly Policemen. The Police opened fire and killed several more and injured over 200. Thus culminated the first May Day in a bloody tragedy.

## WORKING CLASS ENTERS POLITICAL ARENA

By the year 1889 the International working class had through the first Paris Congress of the 2nd Socialist International selected the 1st of May as the date for the annual international celebrations. From the outset these celebrations were confined to the working class. Furthermore these celebrations did not assume the character of a labour festival. Enjoyment and merry-making was never a part of the May-day celebrations of the working class. The reason was not far to seek. The conditions of the working class arising out of the exploitative Capitalist system was day by day propelling the working class towards rebellion and revolt against their employers and exploiters. The International working class intended by direct action—symbolic of the coming civil war between Capital and Labour—to enforce a holiday on the 1st of May. Often direct action ended in sanguinary conflicts with the Police. Thus from the outset, for the working-class May Day was a day of taking stock of their situation, the strength or weakness of their class organisations and of promoting and inculcating a sense of fraternity and solidarity of the working class irrespective of caste, creed, nationality and sex. The problems of the working-class—wages, working hours, holidays, security of service, housing and health needs of the working class came more and more prominently into the picture on May Day or Labour Day.

## WORKING CLASS AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

With the birth of Scientific Socialism or Marxism the working class or the Proletariat gradually acquired consciousness of its role as the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The role of the Industrial Proletariat

was worked out by the founders of Scientific Socialism not out of an idealisation of the working class but out of a profound understanding of the nature of capitalism and the laws governing its development growth, decline and eventual destruction. And this world shaking prognosis was not to remain long a mere prophesy. In the October Revolution of 1917 the dictatorship of the Proletariat passed out of the realm of speculation and theory into the realm of reality.

But the working class accepts scientific Socialism in and through struggle. Two broad currents in the working class movement showed itself from the beginning of the movement for the emancipation of the working class—the Reformist or Menshevik current and the Revolutionary or Bolshevik current. Functioning within the framework of capitalism the Reformist current conformed to a policy of co-existence with the capitalist class. The Labour movement in the hands of the Reformist leaders was committed to a perspective of winning concessions from the capitalist class. The leadership was concerned not to allow “labour to go out of hand”. Thus the organisation of labour and working class action was strictly within bounds. The May Day activities led by Reformist leaders was an occasion for promoting class collaboration and not class struggle. The “labour leaders” utilised the occasion to help labour to forget their problems and to take their minds away from struggle and Labour was encouraged to amuse themselves and amuse the capitalist class on May Day. Hence the festival atmosphere sought to be created on May day by Reformist Labour leaders. The working class made merry and danced on the public roads. The May Day March and demonstration which should be the occasion for heightened class consciousness, for the closing of the ranks of the working class with the aim of the seizure of state Power now degenerated into a public holiday and a festival for general merriment—class collaboration was carried so far and so openly that the representatives of the employers were even accommodated on the workers platform on May Day. The May Day demonstrations and meetings organised by the long defunct labour Party of Ceylon led by Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe were typical of the activities of Reformist labour leaders.

#### CEYLON'S WORKING CLASS AND MARXISM

With the coming of the Sama Samaja Movement (Marxist) in 1935 even a small minority of the working class of Ceylon saw for the first time a glimpse of the new perspective of the seizure of political power through class struggle and civil war. This new perspective for the working class of Ceylon was brought out without equivocation in all the activities of the Sama Samaja Movement. The May Day meetings of the Sama Samaja Movement reflected this new outlook. Here was displayed a new militancy and a growth of the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed masses through class struggle and the overthrow of capitalism; and the establishment of Socialism became the aim of the working class. And after the first decade of the Marxist movement the achievement of socialism through class struggle generally passed the stage of controversy in the

labour movement in Ceylon. This is far from stating that class collaboration and reformism has disappeared from the Ceylon working class movement. On the contrary whilst the influence of the LSSP (Marxist) was considerable in the Ceylon Labour movement Reformist and bourgeois influence on the labour movement assumed new names and new forms. Stalinist influence on the working class in Ceylon dates from the time of the 2nd World war (1939). Thereafter Stalinism was the major reformist influence in the Labour movement. Functioning within the frame work of capitalism with slogans of Anti-Imperialist and Anti-UNP Front and Peoples Front the CP pursued the path of Reformism.

Since 1956 bourgeois influence on the Ceylon working class was strengthened through the SLFP which for various reasons acquired a left coloration. As a Party in power the SLFP was able to attract certain layers of the working class who hoped for benefits from collaboration with the Government of the day. For the first time there were Government sponsored Trade Unions and also for the first time a section of the workers held a government-sponsored May Day. But this development could not be but temporary as the Government could not make concessions to labour. Today SLFP unions do not count.

Though bourgeois and reformist influence remains in the labour-movement in Ceylon the stage is already reached when the conditions that favoured reformism among the working class are fast disappearing. The submitting of memorials, petitions and asking for conferences is over. Commissions on working class problems have time and again produced voluminous reports. Both the capitalist class and the SLFP Government have adopted a common wage freeze policy. In the situation the realisation is dawning on the working class that only militant massive struggles with a high degree of working class unity and solidarity could even prevent the further lowering of living standards.

The Ceylon working class has still a long way to go before reaching unity in struggle. Racialism and chauvinism is the biggest obstacle in the way of working class unity. Over eight lakhs of plantation workers on the Tea and Rubber plantations are in conditions of semi-slavery. Having been deprived of citizenship rights by the Ceylonese bourgeoisie these workers are now without human rights. Is the rest of the organised working class ready to take up the cause of this sector of their own class? All talk of united action against the forces of Capitalist Reaction is empty phrase-mongering if working class leaders and Parties play hide and seek on this burning question for the Ceylon working class.

#### REVISIONISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Supporters of Marxism might have expected that all theorising and speculation on the role of the Industrial Proletariat in the struggle for socialism was over after October 1917. But Revisionism is a canker that followed scientific socialism from the very outset and will continue to appear in new forms and speak in new accents. It is now an old story

how Stalinism relegated the working class in the colonial countries to a subordinate role in the struggle against imperialism and the fight for socialism. The tragic consequences to the world Revolutionary movement of this Stalinist betrayal by handing over the working class bound hand and foot to the National bourgeoisie is now beyond question. But the Reformist wing of the world labour movement have now a host of new revisionists who seek to prove that the Marxist concept of the role of the working class is out of date. These Revisionists seek to cite the cases of Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and Cuba to prove that the leading role in the Revolution in these countries was not taken by the Industrial working class but by peasants and petite bourgeois intellectuals.

Ceylon has had its own Revisionists on the role of the Ceylonese working class. Those who split away from the Marxist movement in 1953 did so in the name of a new theory that there is no real working class in Ceylon. Others of their ilk have sought to sing the same song saying that Ceylon is a unique place where the working class is not revolutionary. These Revisionists say that the Plantation workers of Indian origin are separated from the rest of the working class and will remain so far ever. All this is old wine in new bottles.

With regard to the alleged role of Peasants and petite bourgeois intellectuals it is a fact that the most oppressed sections of the people in the backward countries the poor peasants and suffering petite bourgeois intellectuals can rise in revolt against their intolerable burdens. That such revolts in which these oppressed sections will fight arms in hand against their oppressors can rouse into political consciousness sections of the proletariat is also not denied. But the further development of the revolution and the road to the establishment of socialism is conditioned by the Industrial proletariat taking over the leadership in the struggle and in obtaining a decisive control of the state power have been proved in the case of Yugoslavia, China Vietnam and Cuba. In the case of Ceylon the working class—the Industrial workers and the agricultural labourers have shown their capacity for militant struggles. The chief obstacle has been the opportunist leadership of large sections of the working class. Ceylon is “unique” only to those who have abandoned the class struggle and the Proletariat for ministerial portfolios. Opportunist leaderships can delay and obstruct the revolutionary process but the working class on its road to power and the building of Socialism will sweep away these people and throw them into the dust-bin of history and fulfil its dynamic role and lead the oppressed masses to the building of a New order and into a New LIFE.

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# 7 TH NOVEMBER 1917

By V. KARALASINGHAM

THE day was carefully chosen. In the words of Lenin quoted by John Reed "6th November was too early and the 8th was too late." It had therefore to be the 7th November 1917! On this day the intolerable situation which had existed in Russia since the overthrow of the Czarist monarchy in February 1917 was to be resolved. And the very logic of events was moving relentlessly towards the final denouement, the inevitable showdown between the two centres of power: the regime of the "middle-path" of Kerensky representing the old and dying power and the revolutionary Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants deputies representing the rising forces of the proletarian revolution. Each looked on the other as an impediment in the way of the consolidation of its power. Each sought to use force to strike at the other and settle the question of power, supreme and undivided, finally and irrevocably. Accordingly feverish moves were afoot in both camps to bring matters to a head.

There was of course an important difference between the contending camps in the use of military force. The "middle-path" Kerensky with all the reactionary elements behind him wanted to employ violence against the mass movement in a desperate attempt to behead the class conscious leadership. It was a belated and futile bid to hold back the flood tide of revolution and conserve capitalist property and capitalist democracy against the revolutionary masses. On the other hand the military conspiracy of the Bolshevik Party and the resulting employment of violence merely climaxed a natural development which was inherent in the very character of the Kerensky regime. The Bolshevik resort to force on the 7th November was to assist the processes already at work and was comparable to the calculated and deliberate intervention of the midwife in a *accouchment*.

By a pure accident the insurrection of 7th November, 1917 commenced under the

offensive of the Government and in the initial stages had the appearance of a purely defensive action. Little after midnight on 6th November, that is, in the very early hour of 7th November the Battleship *Aurora* which was a stronghold of the Bolsheviks was given orders to leave the Neva and join the rest of the fleet, the military schools of Petrograd were given battle orders, the guards in the Winter Palace (the headquarters of the Kerensky government) were increased, troops reliable to the government were summoned from the Northern Front, officer cadets from Oranienbaum were called to defend Petrograd and little before the dawn of November 7th, Government troops smashed the printing press of the Bolsheviks and sealed up the establishment under the "authority" of the Government.

The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet under the chairmanship of Leon Trotsky promptly answered every move of the Government. Firstly the Battleship *Aurora* was ordered to remain in the Neva to "defend Petrograd against the counter-revolution," and a company from the Lotivsky regiment and the 6th Battalion of the Sappers were ordered to the defence of the Bolshevik printing press and under their protection the workers broke the government seals and commenced producing their papers. And from the battleship *Aurora* now taking orders from the Military Revolutionary Committee broadcast messages went to the garrisons in Petrograd to hold up all "counter revolutionary troops summoned by the Government," and if necessary to "employ force."

Simultaneously, but in some places a little earlier, other measures worked out by a sub-committee of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee under the leadership of Antonov Ossvenkov a former Czarist officer, later revolutionary exile and Bolshevik leader, were carried out. Beginning at 2 A.M. on the 7th November, small military parties with a nucleus of armed workers

(the Red Guard) under the leadership of political commissars occupied the strategic positions in the city. Railroad stations, electricity plants, munition and food stores, the water works, the important bridges, The Telephone Exchange, the Post offices, the State Bank, and the big printing plants were taken over, the government guards disarmed and men loyal to the Revolution put in their place. All these operations proceeded painlessly, smoothly and expeditiously, that a contemporary observer later declared that the operations "resembled a changing of the guards" (Sukhanov.) By morning troops of reliable military units and sailors and armed workers were maintaining revolutionary order in the streets of Petrograd, and the anticipated looting by anti-social elements and the pogromist activity of the notorious Black Hundred gangs were thereby completely smothered.

By 10 a.m. on the morning of the 7th November only three important institutions of counter-revolutionary power remained. They were the Winter Palace, Marinsky Palace which now housed the bourgeois Pre-Parliament and the City Duma. Soon all the roads flanking the Marinsky Palace were patrolled by troops of the Military Revolutionary Committee, and the members freely arrived to begin their "deliberations." News had already come through to these bourgeois phantoms of the quick work of the Revolutionary Military Committee and all that was required for their dispersal was the presence of armed men in the Palace. By 12 noon sailors of the Marine Guard and troops from the Litvosky and Keksglomsy regiments soon lined the corridors and staircases of the Palace, and this proved sufficient for members to scatter after passing a mock heroic resolution of protest.

In the meantime in the early afternoon the Petrograd Soviet met. Its chairman Trotsky announced: "In the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee declare that the Provisional Government has ceased to exist. Individual ministers are under arrest, the others will be arrested in the next few hours. The revolutionary garrison has dispersed the Pre-Parliament. . . . The Winter Palace has not yet been taken but its fate will be decided in the course of the next few

minutes. At the present time the Soviet of Soldiers, Workers and Peasants, Deputies faces the historically unprecedented experiment of the creation of a regime which will have no other interest but the needs of the workers peasants and soldiers. The state must be an instrument of the masses in the struggle for their liberation from all bondage."

Lenin making his first public appearance after several months of hiding from the Police of Kerensky declared: "The oppressed masses themselves will form the government. . . Now begins a new era in the history of Russia and this third Russian Revolution must finally lead to the victory of socialism. One of our routine tasks is to end the war. . . Our capitalism itself must be conquered. In this task we shall be helped by the world wide working class movement which has begun to develop in Italy, Germany and England" and he concluded with the words: "Long live the world wide socialist revolution."

But the taking of the Winter Palace ran behind schedule. The Palace itself was soon encircled by soldiers, sailors from the Naval base of Kronstadt, and armed workers from the Red Guards. The Guns of the Battleship *Aurora* directly faced the Winter Palace and its presence in the Neva more than warned the Government who were in session within the Palace walls. Artillery from the Peter and Paul fortress from across the Neva boomed and the firing of blank shots from the *Aurora* soon enveloped the Winter Palace in darkness. Besides the Ministers of the Government in the Winter Palace, there were the shock troops of the Government, the Cossacks, the Women's Battalions, the Officer cadets who had successfully evaded the revolutionary encirclement, and cyclist regiments. Earnest preparations were in hand to put a "last ditch" defence, and reliance was placed on the City Duma bringing in reserves to strengthen the defence. Wave upon wave of Bolshevik agitators were sent into the Palace employing one ruse or the other. These agitators soon demoralised even the best fighters of the Government by the simple device of acquainting them of the conquests already made. The moral surrender was complete when the dim candle lights replaced electric lights in the Winter Palace.

Late in the evening the second All Russian Congress of Soviets met and the Congress meeting to the accompaniment of the artillery firing of the Peter and Paul fortress and the blank shots of the battle ship *Aurora* enraged the enemies of the revolution and uplifted the Bolshevik and other revolutionary elements represented in the Soviet. Well over 3/4 of the representatives supported the Bolshevik Party. The Menshevik Martov denounced the activities of the Revolutionary Military Committee and wanted the Bolsheviks to seek a beautiful settlement with the other socialist parties. Trotsky answered in words that are now historic: "A rising of the people needs no justification. . . . We openly forged the will of the masses for an insurrection, and not a conspiracy. The mass of the people followed our banner and our insurrection was victorious. And now we are told: renounce your victory, and make concessions, compromise. With whom? I ask. . . . With those wretched groups who have left us or who are making this proposal? But after all we have had a full view of them. No one in Russia is with them any longer. . . . No compromise is possible. To those who have gone out and to those who make like proposals, we must say—*You are pitiful isolated individuals; you are bankrupts; your role is played out. Go where you belong from now on—into the dust bin of history!*"

While the Second Congress of Soviets was debating the Bolshevik decrees the forces pressing on the Winter Palace broke through the barricades set up by the troops of the Government and invaded the Winter Palace. They were led by Antonov, and the Shock troops of the Government soon surrendered to the invading revolutionary battalions and Red Guards and Kronsdatt sailors. Through the winding stair case and long corridors Antonov led the first detachments to the Chamber where the members of the Government were in mock session, while the other of the invaders were disarming the troops of the Government. It was already passed midnight of 7th November, to be exact the time was 2.10 a.m. of the morning of 8th November, and Antonov burst into the Ministerial chamber, and declared, "I announce to you, members of the Provisional Government that you are under arrest". Kerensky had already fled

and Konovalov on behalf of the Government answered, "We surrender to avoid blood shed, and therefore submit to force." A cordon was thrown round the Ministers to save them from the fury of the masses, and the Bolsheviks escorted them to the safety of the Peter and Paul fortress. A few minutes later Antonov himself was present in person when Kamenev made the announcement of the capture of the Winter Palace, to the Second Congress of Soviets in the Smolny.

While the Kerensky Government was rapidly sinking in the Winter Palace, the City Duma made frantic but pathetic efforts to rush assistance to the "last ditch" defenders. The reactionary kadet majority of the City Duma resolved to march to the Winter Palace at the head of the "people" and there die in defence of the legal Government. When the plan was finally executed there were no people to answer the call of the City Duma, and 62 City Fathers headed by the Mayor marched to the Winter Palace. This "suicide" squad was joined by the leaders of Russian petty bourgeois radicalism in the person of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Deputies and together about 300 trekked to the Winter Palace in the cold autumn night of 7th November. Already only mopping up operations remained at the Winter Palace and when the Mayoral procession reached the Ekaterininsky Canal its way across the Nevsky was barred by armed sailors. John Reed has left us the following account of this confrontation of the nondescript bourgeois rabble and the self confident yet disciplined revolutionary power of the working class.

It was an astonishing scene. Just at the corner of the Ekaterina Canal, under an arc-light, a cordon of armed sailors was drawn across the Nevsky blocking the way to a crowd of people in column of fours. There were about 3 or 4 hundred of them, men in frock coats, well dressed women, officers—all sorts and conditions of people. Among them we recognised many of the delegates from the Congress, leaders of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries; Avksentiev, the lean red bearded President of the Peasants' Soviets, Sorokin, Kerensky's spokesman, Khintchuk, Abramovitch,

and at the head white-bearded old Schreider, Mayor of Petrograd, and Prokopovitch Minister of Supplies in the Provisional Government, arrested that morning and released. I caught sight of Maikkin, reporter for the *Russian Daily News*. "Going to die in the Winter Palace", he shouted cheerfully. The procession stood still, but from the front of it came loud argument. Schreider and Prokopovitch were bellowing at the big sailor who seemed in command.

"We demand to pass!" they cried. "See these comrades come from the Congress of Soviets! Look at their tickets! We are going to the Winter Palace!"

The sailor was plainly puzzled. He scratched his head with an enormous hand, frowning. "I have orders from the Committee not to let anybody go to the Winter Palace," he grumbled. "But I will send a comrade to telephone to Smolny...."

"We insist upon passing! We are unarmed! We will march on whether you permit us or not!" cried old Schreider, very much excited.

"I have orders"—repeated the sailor sullenly.

"Shoot us if you want to! We will pass! Forward!" came from all sides. "We are ready to die, if you have the heart to fire on Russians and comrades! We bare our breasts to your guns!"

"No", said the sailor, looking stubborn, "I can't allow you to pass".

"What will you do if we go forward? Will you shoot!?"

"No, I'm not going to shoot who have'n't any guns. We won't shoot unarmed Russian people...."

"We will go forward What can you do?"

"We will do something!" replied the sailor, evidently at a loss. "We can't let you pass. We will do something."

"What will you do? What will you do?"

Another sailor came up, very much irritated. "We will spank you!" he cried energetically. "And if necessary we will shoot you too.

Go home now, and leave us in peace!"

At this there was a great clamour of anger and resentment. Prokopovitch had mounted some sort of box, and waving his umbrella, he made a speech:

"Comrades and Citizens" he said. "Force is being used against us! We cannot have our innocent blood upon the hands of these ignorant men. It is beneath our dignity to be shot down here in the streets by switchmen—" (What he meant by "switchmen I never discovered.) "Let us return to the Duma and discuss the best means of saving the country and the Revolution."

And this was the last, one heard of the City Duma!

Thus ended the first chapter of the glorious proletarian revolution. The foundation of the victory of 7th November 1917 was Lenin's *Thesis of 4th April 1917* which oriented the Bolshevik Party towards power. The struggle was directed not against the Government of the Czar, but against the "socialist" middle of the road government of Kerensky, and carried not in peace time but when the greater part of the "fatherland" itself was occupied by a foreign army and the "country" itself at war. And behind the government of Kerensky lurked the more reactionary forces, of Monarchist generals, Kadet capitalist politicians, reactionary clerics, and not to mention pogromist Black Hundred gangs, all of whom also sought the overthrow of the Government of Kerensky, and the establishment of a strong dictatorship of the Right. The revolution of the 7th November put an end not only to the "Socialist" Government of Kerensky but also to the hopes of these reactionary adventurers who were nursed in the very bosom of the Kerensky regime.

This narrative is based on the following participant and or eye witness Publications: John Reed, **10 Days that Shook the World** (Communist Party of Great Britain 1926, reprint Lawrence and Wishart 1961); Sukhanov, **The Russian Revolution 1917** (Oxford University Press 1956); Leon Trotsky, **History of the Russian Revolution 3 Vols. 1933** (Gollancz), **My Life** (Butterworth), **October to Brest Litovsk. 1918.**



# ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS !

By WILFRED PEREIRA

**I**N a backward country like Ceylon where the capitalist class displays at every turn its inability to develop the national economy and improve the living standards of the masses, militant trade unions constitute a grave threat to vested interests. When the capitalist class has to face an organised working class which has grown up under the tutelage of Left Wing intellectuals the threat becomes an intolerable menace. Compelled by the pressure of the Left Wing opposition and the organised workers to maintain even a semblance of democracy, the capitalist class cannot, however, afford any material concessions which could earn the good-will of the trade unions. Some other means must be found of dealing with the danger of a working class "infected with Marxist ideology".

## ANTI-MARXIST FRONT

The flunkys of the bourgeoisie and all the other enemies of the trade unions, both within them and without, become very concerned that the 'poor workers' are being 'misled by the Marxists' and that the trade unions are being 'controlled by politicians'. They clamour for the liberation of the trade unions from politics and politicians. The idealists and political eunuchs who imagine that they stand outside the class struggle and pose as its mediators appeal for class collaboration in the name of patriotism and all that is holy.

But all these people who offer their gratuitous advice to the workers could never hope to be taken seriously unless they pose before the masses as 'progressives' and even as 'socialists'. Thus we have the spectacle of the UNP itself donning the mask of 'socialism' and taking to organising trade unions in order to compete with the Marxists for the minds and votes of the workers.

## CHURCH MILITANT

If the political agents of the bourgeoisie find that they have to adapt themselves to 'the age of revolution' by taking on a pro-

TECTIVE colouration, so also do their ideological agents. The Christian Churches find that they too have to compete with the Marxists for the hearts and souls of the workers. And in order to do so they too must move with the times and take a direct and friendly interest in the trade unions. But while the UNP organises rival unions which it hopes to keep isolated from Marxist infection, the Churches in Ceylon do not encourage separatism. "IN the trade unions but not OF the trade unions" is their slogan. Christian workers must remain in the trade unions, but their role is to be 'fighters for Christ'; to convert the trade unions from an instrument of the class struggle into that of 'the Will of their Heavenly Father.' If that Will happens to coincide with that of the ruling bourgeoisie, well... that is God's Will !

The founder of Christianity is reported to have divided the society of his day into the rich and the poor, and to have consigned the former to eternal hell-fire while he promised the latter that the future would be all theirs. But the Churches have long since made their peace with the rich who are now assured not only of their earthly reward but of their heavenly reward as well. The Churches can now appeal to all alike, to rich and poor, to exploiter and exploited, to master and slave to love one another as brothers and sisters in Christ. The Church comes forward as the divinely appointed mediator in the class struggle. What better occasion for posing as the friends of the workers and appealing to them to give up wicked ideas of class hatred and dedicate their labour to the glory of God than May Day? What better day than this to demonstrate publicly the Churches concern for the welfare of the workers and also the difference between ungodly Marxists and the God-fearing Christians ?

## MAY DAY GENUFLECTIONS

Thus it happened that last May Day (1962) saw a new kind of celebration organised for Christian workers when a ser-

vice of dedication was held at the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Polwatte. On a day which is specially set apart to commemorate the victims of a brutal assault on an American workers' meeting by Christian defenders of law and order, Ceylonese Christian workers, carrying the more portable instruments of their labour, marched in possession to the Church accompanied by some very accommodating employers. The absence of the customary anti-capitalist slogans was a special feature of the demonstration which must have warmed the hearts of the bourgeoisie. The instruments of labour were placed before the altar and offered up to the service of God and were duly blessed. The cheque-books of the employers were also, though not so conspicuously, carried in procession and came in for their share of drenching with the ordour of incense.

The capitalist class, however, appeared to be divided in its first reactions to this new venture. The more class-conscious minority are only too well aware of the risks involved. For, while "bringing the workers to the foot-stool of God" will enable him to place his feet more firmly on their necks, it also places the workers in a strategic position for toppling the Almighty off his throne when they ultimately realise that they have been led up the garden path. But the majority are too desperate to take such a long-range view. If the workers could somehow be induced to dedicate their labour to God, the capitalists are only too willing to yield Him all the glory so long as they can reap the profits while the going is good and peaceful! Preparations are afoot for celebrations on an even better scale this year and with more support from where it can be expected.

### HEARTS OF GOLD

Despite the efforts of priests and all the other ideologists of the bourgeoisie who preach class collaboration, the mutual relations between capital and labour, between employers and employees, are not determined by ethics or morality (either with or without divine sanction) but by economics which has no religion. Strict adherence to the laws of economics must take precedence over obedience to the dictates of heart and conscience on pain of bankruptcy.

The laws of economics are stronger than religious precepts. This fact is forcibly brought home to both employers and employees and the idealists with their heads in the clouds, when the stability of capitalist business is threatened and resort must be had to wage-cuts and/or retrenchment. Then neither prayers nor supplications will prevail. Fasting and sacrifices (for the good of the country and the good of their souls!) remain the only alternatives for the unfortunate workers. Unless—they can summon to their aid the strength and resources of the organised working class, organised not as Christians, Buddhists, Hindus or Muslims, but as militant class-conscious soldiers determined to fight for the overthrow of a bankrupt economic system that is incapable of making effective use of its labour power although millions of people lack the wherewith-all to live like civilised human beings in our technologically advanced age.

### PIOUS OBSCURANTISM

It is the struggle of the propertyless masses under the leadership of the organised working class all over the world to wrest the means of production out of the hands of their incompetent and reactionary owners that makes our time 'the age of revolution'. Whatever the vicissitudes of that struggle in individual countries, it develops on a global scale, whether consciously or unconsciously, and to the utter dismay of the propertied classes and their lackeys, in conformity with the criteria of Marx. The propertied classes call in the aid of their armed mercenaries to exterminate the revolution physically, while their ecclesiastical and literary flunkies offer their services in order to paralyse it mentally.

The attempt to paralyse the anti-capitalist struggle by the administration of spiritual tranquilisers can only postpone the day of reckoning and prolong the strangle-hold of the capitalist class on the means of production, and thereby increase the misery of the propertyless masses. By the same means the hold of the Churches on the minds of the masses is prolonged. The less the masses understand the nature of the realities of this world and the real cause of their sufferings—unemployment, inflation, burdensome taxation, strikes and lockouts, civil disorders,

wars—the more easily can they be persuaded to depend on supernatural aid. The more they depend on supernatural aid the less will they be disposed to look for the worldly causes of their sufferings. And while they go round and round in circles with their eyes turned to heaven, their pockets are stealthily picked by traders, landlords, blackmarketeers, Finance Ministers and the peddlars of spirituous and spiritual dope. But economic necessity will take its revenge.

### THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS HOPED FOR

The Churches justify their existence by reminding us that man does not live by bread alone, that he has 'spiritual needs' as well. But before man can live spiritually he must exist physically, and for that his material needs must be satisfied to some extent at least. The traditional solution of the Church to this material problem has been charity supplemented by the hope for a better deal in the next world. But with the increasing misery of the masses the financial resources of the Churches are severely strained, while the increasing urge of the capitalist class to accumulate and avert the impending crash or consume before the crack of capitalist doom depletes Church revenues considerably. Although the material comforts that the Churches can offer are depleted, of spiritual comfort there is abundance, for heavenly riches unlike earthly ones never grow less for sharing.

But those who lack their daily bread or are deprived of the opportunity of earning it cannot live on promises of cake in a mythical hereafter. In spite of their religious fantasies economic realities compel them to struggle for a share of the good things of this world which they now know can be provided in abundance by modern science and technology.

### DOWN TO EARTH

In the face of the realities of today the doctrines of the Churches place a great strain on the credulity of the faithful, who begin to look for other solutions to their earthly problems under the guidance of the organised working class. The Churches are compelled to come down to earth and intervene in the secular life of their flocks,

and this involves a revision of their doctrines to make them more rational and realistic without, however, altering the nature of religion itself. The Pope convenes an Oecumenical Council to bring Roman Catholicism and its attitude to the social problems of the day more up-to-date. The "Honest to God" Bishop of Woolwich publicly expresses the yet hidden thinking of the Protestant Church when he writes :

"I would see much more hope for the Church if it was organised not to defend the interests of religion, but to equip Christians to enter, with their secret discipline, into the exhilarating and dangerous secular strivings of our day there to follow and to find the workings of God."

An illuminating exposition of the aims and objects of the Churches when they seek to intervene in what the good Bishop euphemistically calls "the secular strivings" of the discontented masses.

### THEORY AND PRACTICE

But intervention in the secular strivings of the proletarian masses brings the Churches face to face with the social and economic questions and the political issues of the day. Here Church theory comes into irreconcilable conflict with proletarian practice. The traditional theory regarding social problems (which is part and parcel of the Churches' sacred dogma) with which they have "equipped" Christians can be briefly summed up as follows:

The world is what it is and how it is because God has ordered it so, and it is blasphemy to question the mysterious workings of the mind of God.

All the defects and deficiencies of this world, its travail and sorrow, will be adjusted in heaven.

All the vile acts of the oppressors against the oppressed are either the just punishment for 'original' and other sins or the trials that God in his infinite wisdom imposes on his elect.

Self-contempt, self-abasement and submission are the qualifications for a place in heaven.

All of which amounts to justification of the existing social order (while condemning its evils in words!) and paralysing the will of the proletarian masses to fight actively for the abolition of those evils by confining them in spiritual chains. Is it necessary to add that such a theory is completely opposed to the fundamental interests of the proletariat?

If the proletariat is to fight actively and with determination to end oppression and exploitation and all the other evils of our day, they must be able to understand the cause of those evils, the nature of the contemporary social order and its origin and development. Such a knowledge of social reality only Marxism can give them, while the Churches can only dull their understanding by feeding them on religious fantasies. Subjectively the Churches sympathise with the poor and oppressed but objectively they come out on the side of the rich and the oppressors.

#### OUT OF THE DARKNESS

However, when the Churches "enter into the secular strivings" of the masses what they find there is not "the working of God" so much as "the exhilarating and dangerous" spirit of Marx. And at critical moments when the battle between the oppressed and the defenders of the existing social order is joined, the Church will beat a hasty retreat

in high moral dudgeon under a smoke-screen of pious platitudes back into its misty realm of religious fantasy. But the embattled masses have nowhere to retreat. For them it is Death or Victory. This is the beginning of the disillusionment of the faithful. The more the Churches try to interfere in worldly affairs the more their spiritual counsel becomes suspect.

Thus we find and shall always find in the ranks of the proletarian armies courageous men and women who, while still professing and calling themselves Christians, are nevertheless morally compelled to take up arms against all the infamous and vile products of the capitalist social order. In the *practical* struggle against outmoded and oppressive social relations they will burst not only their secular chains but the the spiritual chains that bind them as well. They will learn to recognise under their varied disguises the decoys of the bourgeoisie who fraternise with them only to create a diversion at critical moments and betray the struggle. They will learn that the social evils of capitalist society can be wiped out only together with the social and economic system that breeds those evils. That revolutionary struggle for establishing a heaven on *this* earth can be fought not on bended knees before the Sign of the Cross but standing up like men under the Banner of Marxism

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# THE PUBLIC SECURITY ORDINANCE

## No. 25 OF 1947

BY S. S. SAHABANDU B.A. (CEY.)

### PART II

In part I of this article we discussed the Ordinance as a theoretical proposition. Let us now consider the manner in which it has been put into operation. The Ordinance was utilised for the first time on August 12th, 1953. In Gazette No. 10, 561 of Wednesday August, 12th, 1953 the following Proclamation was embodied.

By His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, *A Proclamation* Whereas I am of opinion that by reason of the existence in Ceylon of a state of public emergency, it is expedient to do in the interests of public security, the preservation of public order and the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community Know ye, that I, Percival Rose, Officer administering the Government, by virtue of the powers vested in me by Section 2 of the Public Security Ordinance No. 25 of 1947, do by this Proclamation declare that the provisions of Part II of that Ordinance shall come into operation forthwith. Given at Colombo on the 12th August, 1953 in the year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty Three.

By His Excellency's Command  
A. J. D. ROSE

Many regulations were framed after the proclamation, and one of the most important of them, was the imposition of a curfew. It must be stated to the credit of the Government of the day, that they removed the Emergency as soon as possible. It was removed on or about the 26th day of August, 1953. The next occasion when it was utilized was on May, 27th 1958, This was the occasion on which Communal Riots broke out in Ceylon, and this time almost all the conceivable regulations were formulated. To understand the nature of the regulations some of them will be quoted in full, and what action was taken under them enumerated. The Gazette of May, 27th, 1958 contained the following regulations pertaining to Proscribed Organizations. 28 (1) Where the Prime Minister is satisfied with respect to any organization that there is danger of action by, or of the utilization of, the organization

of its members or adherents for purpose prejudicial to the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the maintenance of essential services, the Prime Minister may by Order published in the Gazette declare that organization to be a proscribed organization. (2) Where any organization has been declared under paragraph (1) of this Regulation to be a Proscribed Organization, then this regulation shall also apply to every other organization and every person or body or group of persons engaged in activities substantially similar to those carried on or formerly carried on by the proscribed organization in like manner as though it or he or they were also a proscribed organization. (3) No person shall (a) make, print, or distribute or be in any way concerned in the making, printing or distribution, of any written or printed matter which is published or purports to be published by a proscribed organization or by any member or manager thereof; or (b) communicate or attempt to communicate to any other person, in any manner, any order, decision declaration or exhortation, made or purporting to have been made by the organization or any manager thereof or any information relating thereto; or (c) summon or attend any meeting of the organization or of any member or manager thereof; or (d) invite or exhort any other person to join or support the organization or (e) invite or collect contributions in money or otherwise for the purposes of the organization or make any such contributions aforesaid; or (f) do or attempt to do any act or thing in his capacity as a manager or member of the organization, or in such circumstance as are likely to lead any other person to believe that he is acting in such capacity. (4) If, upon application being made by the Attorney General, or by any member, or creditor of the organization, it appears to the supreme Court that any Organization is an Organization to which the regulation applies, the Court may make such order as appears necessary to prevent any disposition without the leave of the Court of property held by or for the organization, and may direct an inquiry and report to be made as

to any such property as aforesaid, and as to the affairs of the organization, and make such further orders as appears to the Court to be just and equitable for the winding up or dissolving of the organization and for the application of any such property as aforesaid in or towards any costs incurred in connection with any such inquiry and report the winding up and dissolving of the organization and in or towards the discharge of the liabilities of the organization lawfully incurred before the date of the application and since that date, with the approval of the Court, and shall order that any such property which is not directed by the Court to be so applied shall be forfeited to His Majesty. The Federal Party and the Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna were proscribed organizations under this regulation. This regulation enables the Prime Minister to curb political opposition by effectively proscribing opposing political parties.

Section 24 (1)—The Prime Minister if satisfied, with respect to any particular person, that with a view to preventing that person from acting in any manner prejudicial to the Public Safety or to the maintenance of Public Order, it is necessary so to do, may make an order for all or any of the following purposes:—(a) for securing that except in so far as he may be permitted by the Order or by such authority or person as may be specified in that order, that person shall not be in any such area in Ceylon as may be so specified; (b) for requiring him to notify his movements in such manner, at such times, and to such authorities or persons as may be specified in that order (2) if any person is in any area in contravention of an order made under this regulation, or fails to leave any area in accordance with the requirements of such an order, then, without prejudice to any proceedings which may be taken against him, he may be removed from that area by any officer of Police or by any other person authorised in that behalf by the Prime Minister.

Section 25 (1)—The Prime Minister, if satisfied with respect to any person, that, with a view to preventing that person from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or to the maintenance of public order, it is necessary so to do, may make an order—(a) prohibiting that person from leaving his residence without the permission of the officer in Charge of the nearest Police Station,

and prohibiting any other person from entering or leaving such residence in such circumstances as may be specified in that order or be determined by such officer; (b) prohibiting or restricting the possession or use by that person of any specified articles; and (c) imposing upon him such restrictions as may be specified in that order in respect of his employment or business, in respect of his association or communication with other persons and in respect of his activities in relation to the dissemination of news or the propagation of opinions.

Rule 5 of the Regulations, deal with search warrants. Rule 14 deals with prohibition of processions and meetings. Rule 17 deals with a Curfew. Rule 20 with sedition and incitement. Rule 21 on control of publications. Rule 29 deals with the detention of persons. The Prime Minister, if of opinion with respect to any person that with a view of preventing such person from acting in any manner prejudicial to the Public safety or to the maintenance of Public Order or the maintenance of essential services, it is necessary so to do, may make an order directing that such person be taken into custody and detained in custody. Rule 32 deals with speeches in Public Places. The Emergency declared on May, 27th 1958 was lifted on or about March, 13th 1959. A State of Emergency was declared again on Friday, September 25th 1959 and this was lifted on December, 3rd 1959. The Last occasion when a State of Emergency was declared was on April, 17th, 1961 and yet today we are under the Emergency Laws. Though it is possible to establish a dictatorial regime under the Ordinance, we have had only an attempt to supervise the functioning of democracy, by the Emergency Regulations. At different times Political parties like the Federal Party, the J.V.P. and the Dravida Munnethra Kalagam have been proscribed. Representatives of the Federal Party and J.V.P., have been placed under House Detention. Political Meetings and Processions have been banned. Those suspected of the abortive coup-de-etat of January 27th, 1962 have now been detained, under the Regulations. The Muttur By Election was postponed under these Regulations. The Bank Strike was crushed by utilising the Regulations. Regulations could be framed to deal with almost any conceivable

situation and thereby break up political activity, political opposition and Trade Union action. The Ordinance could be used to supervise the functioning of democracy and if need arises, subvert the democratic process and enthrone a dictatorial regime. It would be interesting to calculate the number of days we have been under Emergency Regulations and the number of normal days in order to ascertain how democracy functions in Ceylon. From May 27th 1958 to November, 30th 1962 consists of 1649 days. We have been under Emergency laws during this period for almost 954 days. On a rough calculation Ceylon has been under Emergency Regulations, during this period for almost 57.8% of the days. This is in fact an indictment on the functioning of democracy in our country.

For the liberty of the subject to be safeguarded there must be rule of law. The subject should be able to make use of the prerogative writs, viz. Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition and Certiorari. The citizen should have the right of personal freedom and no interference with it unless it is justified by law e.g. arrest on a criminal charge. There should be liberty of discussion subject to the following limitations viz. an action for libel or slander, prosecution for libel, prosecution for blasphemy, prosecution for sedition, prosecution for abusing the law in any other manner e.g. using obscene language. The subject should have the right of public meeting with the following limitations viz. law of trespass, criminal law with reference to riots and unlawful assemblies and the law of nuisance. Under an Emergency almost all these privileges that the citizen has are non-existent. This in a sense is quite understandable as an abnormal situation demands abnormal powers. The most important provision that safeguards the liberty of the subject is found in Section 33 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Code. This is further strengthened by Section 65 of the Police Ordinance. Section 33 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Code states "When any person in the presence of a peace officer is accused of committing a non-cognizable offence and refuses on the demand of such peace officer to give his name and residence or gives a name or residence which such officer has reason to

believe to be false, he may be arrested by such peace officer in order that his name or residence may be ascertained, and he shall within twenty four hours from the arrest exclusive of the time necessary for the journey be taken before the nearest magistrate's Court unless before such time his true name and residence are ascertained, in which case such person shall be forthwith released on his executing a Bond for his appearance before a Magistrate's Court if so required. "Section 65 of the Police Ordinance states, provided always where Bail is not taken the prisoner shall be brought before a Magistrate within twenty four hours, unless circumstances render delay unavoidable. The Emergency Regulations pertaining to detention violate the principles embodied in these sections to safeguard the subject from arbitrary arrest. The only method of ventilating the grievances of the subject is by bringing it to the notice of Parliament, as an appeal to the Courts of law are barred by the Ordinance.

Let us consider the position with regard to a writ of Habeas Corpus. The Ordinance does not entertain an appeal to the Courts of Law. The position with regard to emergency laws and Habeas Corpus was analysed in the famous Bracegirdle Judgment and the Writ was made available to Bracegirdle. Whether a Writ of Habeas Corpus is available to a person detained under the Emergency Regulations is a moot point, especially in view of the Judgement delivered in the "Coup Case" where their Lordships cited *King vs Beyal Singho* 48 N.L.R. at p. 27 "Nothing is to be done which raises a suspicion that there has been an improper interference with the course of justice." This principle has now become ingrained in the administration of common justice in this Country.

Let us now glance at the Emergency laws of other countries with emphasis on India and Britain. In India the Emergency powers are contained in the Constitution. Part XVIII deals with these abnormal situations or emergencies which are of three different kinds:—(i) an emergency due to external or internal aggression (ii) failure of constitutional machinery in the states (iii) Financial emergency. (1) A Proclamation of Emergency may be made by the President at any

time he is satisfied that the security of India or any part thereof has been threatened by war, external aggression or internal disturbance (A state of emergency has been declared under A 352, that is the article quoted above, pertaining to the Sino Indian Border dispute) (2) Proclamation of failure of constitutional machinery in the states. The President is empowered to make a proclamation whenever he is satisfied that the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, either on the report of the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State or otherwise (A 356) (3) Proclamation of Financial Emergency. The President is empowered to make a declaration of 'Financial Emergency' whenever he is satisfied that the financial stability or credit of India or any part thereof is threatened (A 360) A356 has been used on many occasions. Used for the first time on 20-5-1951 in Punjab when an alternative Ministry could not be formed after the resignation of Dr. Gopichand Barghava's Ministry. State of Patiala and East Punjab States Union 4th March, 1953. Andhra on 15th November, 1954 and later in the Communist State of Kerala. In the U.S.A. "extraordinary conditions do not create or enlarge constitutional powers" *Schechter vs U.S.* (1935) 295 U.S. 495. The only powers given by the constitution (Art 1,5,8 (15)) is the power given to Congress to provide for the calling of the Militia to execute the laws of the Union and to suppress insurrections." In Burma Section 94 of the Constitution empowers the President to make a Proclamation of Emergency whenever he is satisfied that (1) "a grave Emergency exists whereby the security of the Unions is threatened" whether by war or internal disturbance" or (ii) "a grave emergency affecting the Unions has arisen in any part of the Union."

While A 358 in India provides that the State should be free from the limitations imposed by A 19 (Fundamental Rights), so that these rights would be non-existent against the State during the operation of a proclamation of emergency. A 359 deals with all the rights guaranteed by Part III on fundamental rights.

But under A 359, the rights themselves would not be suspended but the right to move

the Courts, for the enforcement of the rights or any of them, would remain suspended, by order of the President. On the other hand, while the suspension under A 358 will continue during the operation of the proclamation, the duration of the suspension under A359 may be made shorter by the President's order, so that it may not continue beyond the necessities of the case. The peculiarity of the emergency provisions in the Indian constitution relating to suspension of fundamental rights is that no distinction is herein made between times of war and times of peace. However so far as the rights embodied in A 19 are concerned the citizen would have no protection against the Executive or legislative authorities during the operation of the proclamation of a State of Emergency.

Let us examine the position with regard to detention and Habeas Corpus. When a person complains that he has been detained in pursuance of an enactment, which violates the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, it is the duty of the Court under A 32 or A226, to examine that plea and to give him relief if it be true. However India has enacted a very comprehensive law with regard to detention viz. Preventive Detentions Act (IV of 1950). In Gopalan's case S. C. J. 174 itself, the constitutionality of the Preventive Detention Act was challenged and examined in a Habeas Corpus proceeding. It was stated that the following provisions of the Act if violated would invalidate the detention. (i) Failure to communicate the grounds to the detenu within a reasonable time as required by Section 7. (2) Where a detenu's case is considered by only two of the three Members who constitute the Advisory Board, constituted under Section 8 (2) of the Act. (3) Failure to refer the detenu's case to the Board within the time fixed by Section 9 (1) even though the detenu may have been temporarily released under Section 14 (1) (4) Where the period of detention was fixed in the initial order of detention. (5) Where the Government revoked a previous order of detention in conformity with the opinion of the Advisory Board, but by the same Order confirmed the detention under one of the sub-clauses of 3 (1) (a) of the Act. In the case of *Ram Singh vs State of Delhi* cc. 158 (160) it was said "If there is legislation directly attempting



to control a citizen's freedom of speech or expressions or his right to assemble peacefully and without arms etc., the question whether that legislation is saved by the relevant saving clause of A 19 will arise. If however the legislation is not directly in respect of any of these subjects, but as a result of the operation of other legislations, for instance, for punitive or preventive detentions, his rights under any of these sub-clauses is abridged, the question of the application of A 19 does not arise. The true approach is only to consider the directions of the legislations and not what will be the result of the detention, otherwise valid, on the mode of the detenué's life." After the decision in *Gopalan vs State of Madras* S.C.J. 174 declaring Section 14 of the Act as ultra-vires this led to the Preventive Detentions (Amendment) Act (iv of 1951). Preventive Detention is repugnant to democratic ideas and no such laws exist in times of peace in England and the U.S.A.

In England the Executive has no Emergency Powers except under Parliamentary authority. The Crown has no prerogative to proclaim an Emergency. In times of peace the Emergency Powers Act 1920 authorises the Executive to declare a State of Emergency, and to issue regulations by Order-in-Council so long as such declarations remain in force. The declarations can be made by the Executive only when the essentials of life are threatened, as defined by the Statute. The Proclamation must be laid before Parliament forthwith, and if Parliament is not sitting, it must be summoned within 5 days. The only thing that the Regulations issued under the English Declaration of Emergency can do is to secure and regulate the supply and distribution of the necessities of life and to empower the Police for preserving peace. The Executive however has no power, under the statute, to issue regulations (a) to improve Military Service or industrial conscription (b) to alter the existing procedure in Criminal cases. (c) To punish by fine or imprisonment without trial. (d) To suspend a Writ of Habeas Corpus. In time of war of course, the powers of the Executive are larger.

Parliament has helped the Executive by passing a Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. But the Executive could use the Defence of

the Realm Act (1914) or the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act (1939) authorising the Executive to make regulations including a power to detain without trial, but the right to invoke the Courts has never been barred. The leading case in England with regard to detention is *Liveridge vs Anderson* and another (1941) 3 A.E.R. p. 338—The Appellant, who had been detained in prison under the Defence (General) Regulations, 18B which provided for the detention of persons of hostile associations, claimed a declaration that his detention was unlawful and damages for false imprisonment. The Respondents in their defence admitted that the first Respondent ordered the detention under the regulations. The appellant thereupon asked for particulars of the grounds on which the first respondent had reasonable cause to believe the appellant to be a person of hostile associations, and of the grounds on which the first respondent had reasonable cause to believe that by reason of such association it was necessary to exercise control over the appellant. These were the matters which arise under the regulation 18B. Held (Lord Atkin dissenting) such particulars could be ordered only if the onus was upon the respondents to prove various facts which justified the making of the Order for detention. The onus of proving these matters was not on the respondents and no order for particulars ought to be made. These regulations are made for the safety of the realm, and the administrations; plenary discretion is vested in a Secretary of State. It is for him to decide whether he has reasonable grounds and to act accordingly. In *Engrights case* 1881 6 Q.B. p. 876 their Lordships said "It is a general rule which has always been acted upon by the Courts of England, that if any person procures the imprisonment of another he must take care to do so by steps all of which are regular, and that if he fails to follow every step in the process with extreme regularity the Court will not allow the imprisonment to continue."

The fact remains that emergencies do occur and that any Government has to grapple with such a situation. Almost every Country has its Emergency laws. But a compromise should be made between suspension of fundamental rights and the force of emergency regulations. This could only  
(Continued on page 200)

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# WHITHER SINHALA DRAMA?

By MICHAEL SUBASINGHE

WITH the resuscitation of "Maname"—the traditional Sinhala Nadagama—in 1956, the Nadagam form of drama in this country received a new lease of life. It is now so much in vogue that 'straight' plays, however much outstanding they are in form and content, seem rather old-fashioned. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to give this new trend some serious consideration.

The Nadagama is not at all a pure form of drama, but essentially the result of a combination of certain elements of some South Indian folk-plays which had found their way here somewhere in the middle of the 18th century. The Tamil "Therikuttu" or 'Street-play' which is popularly performed in South India as well as in Jaffna and Batticaloa, is its nearest ancestor.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Nadagama came under the influence of a kind of musical plays brought to Ceylon by some Parsee theatrical companies—the most famous of which being the Baliwala company. The outcome of this was a complete degeneration of the original Nadagama into a new form known as the "Nurtya", pitifully poor in dramatic value. The "Nurtya", however, never developed beyond a certain stage, and the melodramatic Jayamanne plays which disappeared at about the time the second World War ended, were representative of the highest stage of its development.

The advent of the Sinhala film towards the end of 1940s was a crippling blow to the Sinhala theatre which in those days was more or less confined by circumstances rather than by virtue, only to a section of our society—the middle class. With its protagonists like B. A. W. Jayamanne and Sirisena Wimalaweera also quit the field of drama to pursue the more enterprising and profitable business of film production. It was then generally presumed that Sinhala drama which had been struggling to gain a place in the sun from the days of pioneers like C. Don Bastian, John Silva and Charles Dias, had met with an unnatural death.

But, thanks to the efforts, though sporadic, of dramatists like J. D. A. Perera, Upali Wanasinghe and Dick Dias, it managed to survive those critical times.

However, the thrill of the novel, melodramatic Sinhala film with numerous malaises inherited from the cliché-ridden South Indian cinema, existed only for about a decade. Then it gradually became a target of severe criticism (primarily for being Indian inspired) by the Sinhala culturally conscious classes. It was during this time that the present cultural revival actually began and with it once more indigenous arts, including drama, came to be regarded with some concern which resulted even in a new Government department exclusively for cultural affairs.

The year 1956 can roughly be regarded as the year of beginning of this "Cultural Renaissance" when, in the field of drama, Dr. Sarathchandra in collaboration with the late Charles Silva Gunasinghe Gurunanse of Balapitiya, produced "Maname" in choreographic style. Venturing to modify the old Nadagama considerably and alter its very theme drastically, he presented the new production as an experimental 'Song Drama'. This, however, proved to be a synthesis of the Nadagam and the Kabuki styles, which rightly or wrongly was widely acclaimed as a dramatic innovation.

"Maname" was followed by a host of plays of the same genre, including a few by Dr. Sarathchandra himself. The rest were mostly by young enthusiasts who had merely chosen to profit from the "Doctor's experiment" rather than give their own ingenuity a trial. If at all these plays differed from one another in any respect, it was only in a small degree, depending on the creative powers of their producers. But the most noteworthy feature in them was their *choreographic style* which remained unchanged in each successive production.

Notwithstanding the possible danger of this trend, new plays continue to be produced in the "stylised" form with almost ritualistic fervour. And this penchant for

'style' rather than anything else, manifests itself even in the provinces in a phenomenal degree, indicating the magnitude of both—the influence of Dr. Sarathchandra (as dramatist and literateur) and the inspiration provided by his "Maname".

Consider for a moment all the plays from "Maname" to "Mudu Puttu" produced by these *avant garde* dramatists during the last six years. How many of them, in fact, had any contemporary (social) significance? None, except "Janelaya" which as a 'play of moods' was a tremendous success but failed to set up a standard due to an intrinsic weakness—namely, the incoherence of its theme and style. The rest purely composed of material culled from myth, legend and Jataka stories, producing in effect a kind of intellectually puerile drama of lyricism, fantasy and imagination.

It, therefore, strikes as very necessary that an impetus should be given to plays with a serious purpose—particularly 'straight' plays with themes dealing with, for instance, our contemporary social, cultural and psychological problems, their solution etc. It is only by doing so that Sinhala drama would grow into florescence, playing at the same time the part it should in promoting the intellectual, social and cultural life of the country.

This, I must confess, is not at all an original idea, for it has been and is being admirably and successfully done by dramatists in all progressive countries in the world, such as the Soviet Union where the modern theatre which was born of the great October Revolution, is consistently helping to consolidate the peace and freedom the Russian people have won at great expense.

There have, of course, been a few such Sinhala plays since the advent of the 'new wave' referred to above. Of them, I wish to refer herein only to "Bording Karayo", "Mehev Lokeka" and "Sampath"—firstly because the rest were not up to standard and secondly, these were the only plays which entered the first Sinhala Drama Competition held by the Arts Council of Ceylon in July, 1962.

"Bording Karayo" which attempts to portray, in a "naturalistic" style, a slice of contemporary boarding life in Colombo, manifestly lacks purpose as well as thematic

significance and tends to be morbidly psychological right through. In contrast to this, both "Mehev Lokeka" and "Sampath" deal with two universal and eternal problems—exploitation of rural labour and rural landlessness respectively. And they do not lack poignancy like "Bording Karayo" either.

I shall also quote the following note by the Arts Council itself in fairness to producer Sugathapala de Silva, so that the readers who have seen "Bording Karayo" may form their own opinion about it, if they are not inclined to agree with my point of view:—

"Bording Karayo is an attempt to show the physical and mental conflicts that arise when people of diverse temperaments and backgrounds are forced by circumstances to live together; it also shows how environment influences and shapes their ideas and action. The "Bordingkaraya" is like a drifting vessel for ever in search of an anchorage. With a boarding-house that gives refuge to some of them as his background, the author has attempted to dramatise an aspect of contemporary life".

From a socialist point of view, "Mehev Lokeka" is a sincere attempt to depict the tragic plight of rural labour in the vicious clutches of capitalism and the consequent moral and spiritual degeneration of the rural people. Young as he is, G. D. L. Perera has certainly handled this theme with a certain measure of mature understanding and his attempt is, therefore, commendable. The play, of course, is not altogether without any shortcomings, and to my mind, for instance, the ultimate acceptance of defeat by its protagonist Wilson who symbolises the rural working classes, presents a rather unhealthy moral to all working classes in general.

R. D. K. Jayawardena's "Sampath", on the other hand, is the story of a land-hungry cultivator's (Abaran) struggle for an "honest" living. Reduced to penury by litigation and threatened by law with ejection (for he is a squatter) from the land he loves, his desperate bid to stay on creates various other conflicts for himself as well as his aged father, young daughter—Lizie, her lover—Sepala and the village bootlegger—Peduru.

"Sampath" also satirises contemporary foibles, but underneath its laughter runs a sub-text calculated to focus attention on the need for a radical change of values and the desire for a socialist order of things.

Sepala, Abaran's would-be son-in-law, is an educated urban youth who, refusing vehemently to be a wage-slave of the capitalists, has chosen the harder but independent and nobler life of a "Chena" cultivator in a remote village in the mountains. Impressively he symbolises the progressive youth of to-day, conscious of their right to work and to live decently in a brave new world. The following words uttered by him towards the climax, perhaps, bear this out best:—

"This land is our treasure. We must demand it. This is the age of the people. Era of peasants and farmers. We must get what is ours. Then only can we—the peasants—get our rightful place as 'human beings'."

This modest demand for land as a right has in it a ring of the unique slogan "All land to the peasants" of the Russian land-working people during the great October Revolution and in its own way confirms the universality and eternity of the problem of landlessness and underlines the necessity for worldwide agrarian reforms as one of the greatest obligations of mankind.

It is most curious that in spite of these progressive aspects, "Mehev Lokeka" and "Sampath" failed to gain any recognition at the Drama Competition, and "Bording Karayo" presenting as it did only a naive domestic situation with neither appealing theme nor purpose, swept away all the prizes. Best actor. Best script. Best Production!

Obviously, the Panel of Judges which comprised of all *but* dramatists had utterly failed to recognize the true values of these plays—or had deliberately sabotaged for political and other petty reasons, as such things normally happen in this country.

Unfortunately, even our critics, if at all they can be called critics, saw little or no significance in these plays and reviewed them in the most irrelevant and uncharitable

terms, displaying their own intellectual and critical bankruptcy.

Some of them, for instance, who never fail to recognize symbolism or lack of it in plays produced normally, never saw any such thing at least in "Sampath" where things like a scare-crow, a cactus, a withered tree and an old cart-wheel (reminiscent of the "Dharma Chakra") are present not as mere decor, but with a deeper purpose—symbolising the past prosperity of the characters as well as their various moods, emotions and attitudes to life in relation to the ever turning wheel of fate and fortune.

It is, however, not the slightest intention of this brief analysis to condemn the effort of "Bording Karayo" which I myself admit has an appeal of its own in spite of its, what I call 'emptiness'. This 'appeal' is solely due to the so-called "naturalistic" style in which it is played against all conventional methods—even those of such masters of the theatre as Konstantin Stanislavsky, Brecht etc. But the question is: Does 'naturalism' provide theatre? For, in the first place, a play is a pre-arranged thing and theatre is larger than life—except, of course, what takes place behind scenes as it appears to have happened in the case of the Drama Competition!

What is generally happening in the Sinhala theatre is, therefore, quite clear: Sinhala drama is being given a quality of intellectual and spiritual worthlessness by fostering only its aesthetic aspect (a typical characteristic of bourgeois culture) and by not making it, as a dynamic art, serve the people who create it and for whom it is created in the achievement of their hopes and aspirations in life.

As some unknown critic aptly put it: "we must write and produce plays for the future, and not for the dead past in which our people take such a stupid pride, even in this modern age of rational thinking".

This, I have no doubt, will sound heretical or even formidably 'revolutionary' to many already in the field of Sinhala drama, but no one except an imbecile would doubt its profound wisdom, especially in the context of things in this country to-day.



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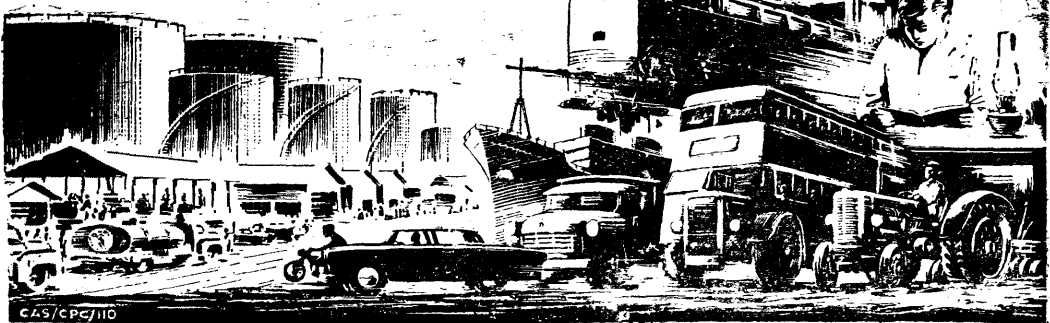
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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (IV.)

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

## X. THE TRANSITION FROM QUALITY TO QUANTITY AND VICE VERSA

Perhaps the most graphic law of dialectics is the law of the transition from quality to quantity. It is probably also the easiest to grasp.

### The Unity of Quality and Quantity

Let us note in passing the unity of quality and quantity, the fact that they are inseparably inter-related. Whenever we speak of concrete things, we have to specify them in terms of quantity as well as quality. One does not ask at a shop for sugar without specifying the quantity; nor does one merely ask for yards without stating whether it is cloth or wire-mesh that is required.

Hegel, in his "Encyclopaedia", states that:

"Quality determines quantity, and quantity determines quality. This is a mutual, unsettled, dynamic *fluctuation* and unrest." (155).

"In Measure," he says, "Quality and Quantity are united." (156.)

### Limits

In practice, no process can be carried on indefinitely, there are definite limits, 'nodes' as Hegel called them, (157) beyond which the process gives rise to new phenomena.

Every child who has played with balloons knows that there is a limit to the size to which one can be blown, that there is a critical point beyond which quantity passes into quality, a balloon ceases to increase in size and bursts. What is left is no longer a balloon but a shred of rubber.

Trotsky points out that every cook knows that the quantity of salt affects the quality of food: insufficiency makes food insipid, excess renders it unpalatable (158).

There is a recognition of the working of this law in the old saying about the straw that broke the camel's back and in the abbreviated reference in English idiom to "the last straw."

Tolstoy's short story "Three Rolls and a Cookie" is often quoted in illustration of this law. It concerns a man who sought to satisfy his hunger by eating rolls—three did not suffice. But when he added a cookie and felt satisfied, he thought to himself, erroneously, of course, that had he eaten a cookie to start with, he need not have spent his money on the three rolls.

Freud relates the sad story of a village work-horse which was weaned from the habit of eating oats by the gradual reduction of its daily ration to -- nothing (159.)

Hegel says that, "The ancients were aware of the connection by which a change appearing as merely quantitative turns into one which is qualitative." (160)

In his "Logic" he formulated this law:

"The ordinary notion of appearance or disappearance of anything is the notion of a gradual appearance or disappearance. Nevertheless, there are transformations of being which are not only changes from one quantity to another but also changes from the quantitative to the qualitative." (161)

In his "Encyclopaedia" Hegel says:

"To the extent that quality and quantity are still differentiated and are not altogether

identical, these two definitions are to some degree independent of each other, so that, on the one hand, the quantity may change without the quality of the object changing, but, on the other, its increase or decrease, to which the object is at first indifferent, has a *limit* beyond which the quality changes. Thus, for example, alterations in the temperature of water at first do not affect its liquid state, but if the temperature is further increased or decreased, there comes a point when this state of cohesion undergoes a qualitative change and the water is transformed into steam or ice. It seems at first that the quantitative change has no effect whatever on the essential nature of the object, but there is something else behind it, and this apparently simple change of quantity has the effect of changing the quality." (162) (Our italics).

To quote another example from Hegel:

"...A little less, a little more constitutes that limit beyond which frivolity ceases and there appears something quite different, crime; whereby right passes over into wrong, and virtue into vice. (163.)

Many readers will know from experience that a little too much generally ends in a hangover.

Freud, points out that, "A surplus of sexual aggressiveness will change a lover into a sexual murderer, while a sharp diminution in the aggressive factor will lead to shyness or impotence." (164)

Engels quotes an observation of Napoleon Bonaparte which shows that the great general was not unaware of this law:

"Two Mamelukes were undoubtedly more than a match for three Frenchmen; 100 Mamelukes, were equal to 100 Frenchmen, 300 Frenchmen could generally beat 300 Mamelukes, and 1000 Frenchmen invariably beat 1500 Mamelukes. (165)

### Examples from Chemistry

Chemistry provided both Hegel and the Marxists with numerous illustrations of this law. (166).

Already in the 4th Century B.C., the Greek Philosopher Democritus had conjectured that there was a limit to the divisibility of matter, that matter was ultimately composed of fundamental particles which he called "atoms" — indivisibles.

The discovery of ozone showed that the triatomic molecule of oxygen has different qualities from the diatomic one.

The elements were also shown to exist in different forms called "allotropes" of which the well-known example is Carbon which is chemically identical with diamond.

Tin also exists in allotropic forms. One of the factors that led to the death of the Antarctic explorer Scott in 1912 was the fact that he used tin as a solder on his fuel cans. This metal disintegrates into a metallic powder at 43 degrees Centigrade. In Antarctic conditions the solder proved worthless, the fuel leaked out and Scott and his party perished in the snow.

In 1869 Mendeleev with his "Periodic Classification" showed that an increase in atomic weight of elements gave rise to change in their properties, providing confirmation of Hegel's law from chemical phenomena, and Engels hailed his work as a scientific feat. (167).

The work of Mendeleev and others in this field made Engels conjecture:

"If all differences and changes of quality are to be reduced to quantitative differences and changes, to mechanical displacement, then we inevitably arrive at the proposition that all matter consists of *identical*, smallest particles, and that all qualitative differences of the chemical elements of matter are caused by quantitative differences in number and by the spatial grouping of those smallest particles to form atoms. But we have not got so far yet." (168).

### Quantity and Quality in the Atomic World

In these remarkable lines which were written in 1885 Engels was already visualising "smallest particles" as the fundamental components of the atom. However, it was only in 1895, the year in which Engels died, that Roentgen discovered X-rays; it was



1896 when Becquerel discovered the phenomena of radio-activity. With this new and major breakthrough of physics into the sub-atomic world, science was able to explain the phenomena described by Mendeleev.

After the work of Rutherford, Bohr and others it has been found that the differences between the various elements arise from the differences in the number of electrons in their atomic orbits or, what amounts to the same thing, the charge on the nucleus. Thus the properties or qualities of the elements depend on the number or quantity of electrons in orbit or charge on the nucleus. (169)

Moseley and others who "X-rayed" the atom showed that a number of physical qualities of the atom depend on the "spatial grouping" of the smallest particles, as Engels had anticipated in the note quoted above.

Isotopes display a similar feature. Isotopes are composed of atoms of the same element which differ in weight due to the difference in the number of neutrons in the nucleus. These neutrons do not affect the charge on the nucleus and the number of orbital electrons, and thus the chemical properties of the isotopes are the same. But properties depending on atomic mass differ—and this provides us with a means of separating them. Nor is this all.

An increase or decrease in the number of neutrons alters the nuclear properties of the atom and may affect the stability of the atom. For example: the element Carbon has 6 electrons in orbit and 6 protons in the nucleus. Since the usual atomic weight is 12 we have then 6 neutrons in the nucleus. However, there are isotopes of Carbon; Carbon-10 with 4 neutrons, Carbon-11 with 5, and also Carbon-13 and Carbon-14. Of these, only C-12 and C-13 are stable. C-10 and C-11 emit light, positively charged particles—positrons—to become Boron-10 and Boron-11 respectively; and C-14 emits electrons to become Nitrogen-14.

Another well-known isotope is "heavy hydrogen"—Deuterium—which has important uses in modern nuclear physics. (170)

### The Fertility of Animals

Biology too is a source of some illustrative examples of this law.

Hyman Levy gives a simple instance of a pair of rabbits taken to Australia as pets multiplying so much that the offspring have become pests. (171).

Marcel Prenant, in his "Marxism and Biology," which, incidentally, is one of the best applications of dialectics to a science, illustrates this law by other examples of the fertility of animals.

Flies, he says, lay 200 eggs at a time and the young mature and are ready to lay their own eggs in 15 days. Thus, in one month, each couple would have given rise to 20,000 flies. In a very short time the offspring of one couple alone would occupy a volume larger than that of the earth!

It is the same story even with elephants. Darwin has shown that one pair could at the end of five centuries give rise to fifteen million!

However, environmental resources and other factors fix a limit to the number of animals and plants that can survive. There is no danger of overpopulation either by flies or by elephants or anything else. This, incidentally, is a direct biological refutation of Malthus' speculation that with food increasing only additively, while populations multiply, the world is in danger of overpopulation (172).

### Possible Worlds

J. B. S. Haldane, in his entertaining essay, "Possible Worlds" uses a simple mathematical fact to illustrate this law.

He points out that when a linear dimension is doubled, the surface area increases four times, the volume eight times.\*

Thus, he says, if a giant is twelve feet tall but proportioned in the fashion of ordinary men, his bones will crack at every step, for his weight will be eight times more than that of a normal man while the cross-section of his bones will only be four times as much.

\* For example, if the side of a one-inch cube is made two inches, the area of each face will become  $2 \times 2$ , i.e., 4 square inches and the volume  $2 \times 2 \times 2$ , i.e., 8 cubic inches.

This is the reason why elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotami have stocky, pillar-like legs while giraffes have small bodies.

At the other end of the scale, this also explains why a mosquito cannot afford to get wet: a thin film of water covering its surface has a weight out of proportion to the weight of the insect.

Haldane has also provided us very convincing experimental evidence in illustration of this law, especially with his work on high pressures at which normal phenomena not only become exaggerated but also give way to completely different ones. (173)

### Montage

Eisenstein, the great Russian film director, rests his theory of montage on the fact that a new quality emerges from the juxtaposition of two film sequences. This, he says, is true for any two facts, or objects or phenomena and quotes a tribute to Coleridge who, "out of three sounds" could "frame not a fourth sound, but a star." (174)

Another example Eisenstein takes from Freud: the merger of two worlds *alcohol* and *holidays* to give a new concept of *alcoholi-days*. (175)

Lewis Carrol, the immortal author of "Alice in Wonderland" was the first person to draw attention to this type of "portmanteau" word:

In his "Through the Looking Glass," Humpty Dumpty says:

"Well, *slithy* means lithe and slimy, *Lithe* is the same as *active*. You see, it's like a portmanteau—there are two meanings packed up in one word."

The new word, moreover, has a meaning which is different from those of the components—a new meaning or "quality" has emerged.

Since the Russian Revolution numerous "portmanteau" abbreviations have come into common parlance: Comintern, politbureau, sovnarkom, Gosplan, Mosfilm, etc.

### Critical Points

The concept of critical points in the process of change made its appearance in the sciences long ago. (176)

After the work of Mendeleev and Thomas Andrews, physics has its definition of critical pressure as that pressure below which cooling alone cannot liquefy a gas, and critical temperature as that temperature above which increase in pressure alone cannot cause its liquefaction. (177)

We also have the Curie point, that critical temperature above which metals lose their magnetism. (178)

Eddington has shown us that there is a critical mass beyond which a cosmic body will ignite of its own accord and become luminous, and that the planet Jupiter, having a mass just below the critical mass, shines only by the reflected light of the Sun. (179)

In our jet-age every child has heard of the "sound barrier," once considered an insuperable limit to air-speeds and now known to be that critical point beyond which a whole series of new phenomena emerge.

In the language of rocketry we have the "escape-velocity," the minimum velocity necessary for a rocket to get away from the earth's gravity.

### Leaps

The transition from quantity to quality is not at all a gradual or continuous process.

Our child's balloon did not burst gradually.

Water boils all of a sudden, and just as suddenly does it turn into ice on cooling.

Hegel himself drew attention to the sudden changes in nature, the breaks in continuity and the leaps from one stage to another.

In his "Logic" he writes:

"It is said that there are no leaps in nature; and ordinary imagination, when it has to conceive an arising or passing away, thinks it has conceived them..when it imagines

them as a gradual emergence or disappearance.' (180)

"Changes in being consist not only in the fact that one quantity passes into another quantity. but also that quality passes into quantity and vice versa. Each transition of the latter kind represents an *interruption in gradualness*, and gives the phenomenon a new aspect, qualitatively distinct from the previous one. Thus, water when it is cooled grows hard, not gradually. . . but all at once; having already been cooled to freezing point, it can remain a liquid only if it preserves a tranquil condition, and then the slightest shock is sufficient for it to become hard. . ." (181)

Thus, according to Hegel, not only are the transitions from quantity to quality a general feature of nature, they are sudden changes, breaks in continuity, leaps from one state to another, nodes in the process of change and development.

In the passage quoted above he states:

"All birth and death, instead of being a continued graduality, are rather an interruption of this, and are the jump from quantitative into qualitative change. . ." (182)

Plekhanov writes:

"Quantitative changes, gradually accumulating, become in the end, qualitative changes. These transitions occur by leaps and cannot occur in any other manner. . ." (183)

"Dialectics. . . knows full well that in nature and also in human thought and history leaps are *inevitable*. But it does not overlook the undeniable fact that the same *uninterrupted process* is at work in all the phases of change. It only endeavours to make clear to itself the series of conditions under which gradual change must necessarily lead to a leap. . ." (184)

In his polemic against Tikhomirov, which is a neat and comprehensive essay on sudden changes in nature and history, Plekhanov cites the butterfly as an example. A caterpillar grows bigger day by day but up to a point. Suddenly it becomes a chrysalis and remains "dormant" for a time, until, just as suddenly, it emerges as a butterfly. (185)

It may be argued that the difference between what is gradual and what is sudden depends on the time scale, that suddenness, as Plekhanov noted, is a relative notion, (186) and that Aristotle was right after all, when he taught that "Nature makes no jumps."

Certainly the modern physicists disagree. Max Planck writes: . . . "Recent discoveries have shown that the proposition (that nature makes no jumps) is not in agreement with the principles of thermodynamics, and, unless appearances are deceptive, the days of its validity are numbered. Nature certainly seems to move in jerks, indeed of a very queer kind. . . In any case, the quantum hypothesis\* has given rise to the idea that in nature changes occur which are not continuous but of an explosive nature." (187)

In the field of cosmogony, Laplace's hypothesis of stellar evolution (Section IV) has been modified by modern science. As James Jeans observed the shrinking of the celestial bodies has not been slow or gradual but been a "contraction by spasms." (188)

Engels had said the same thing in his "Anti-Duhring", decades before Planck and Jeans.

"The transition from one form of motion to another always remains a leap, a decisive change," he wrote, and added that this is true in all fields, celestial mechanics, terrestrial mechanics, physics and chemistry. "Then within the sphere of life the leaps become even more infrequent and imperceptible." (189)

Engels wrote these lines in 1878. Plekhanov concluded his polemic against Tikhomirov which we have referred to above, in 1889. In 1902 the Dutch biologist de Vries discovered the occurrence of "mutations," *sudden changes* in the hereditary nature of living organisms.

The law of the transition of quantity to quality and vice versa is thus seen to operate in all spheres of existence. No process can be endless; at certain stages transitions must occur. We must expect not graduality, but suddenness, leaps and discontinuity.

\*Briefly, the concept that atomic energy is discrete and not continuous, popularly described as existing in the form of "quanta" or packets.

If this is grasped we would not lay ourselves open to the criticism of Plekhanov;

“For the ignorant an eclipse of the sun occurs ‘suddenly,’ but it is not a sudden occurrence for the astronomer.” (190)

(To be Continued)

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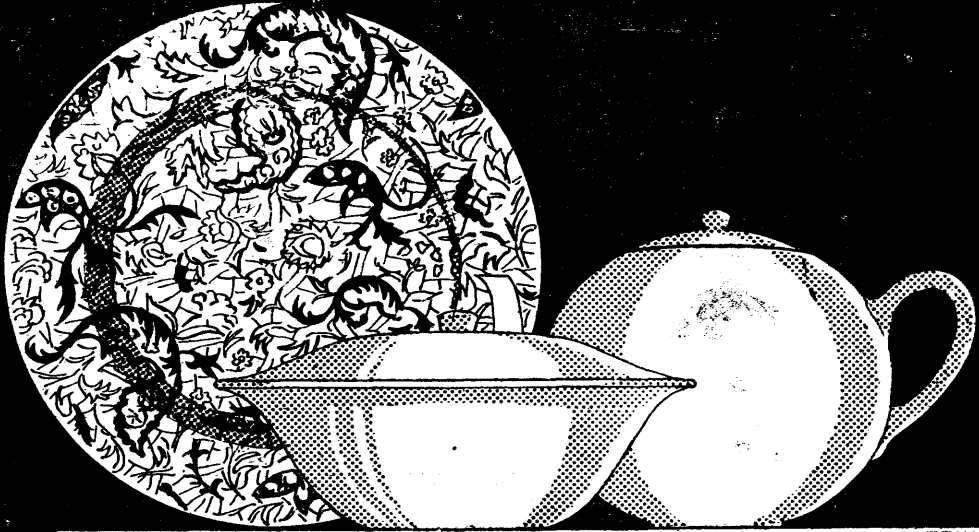
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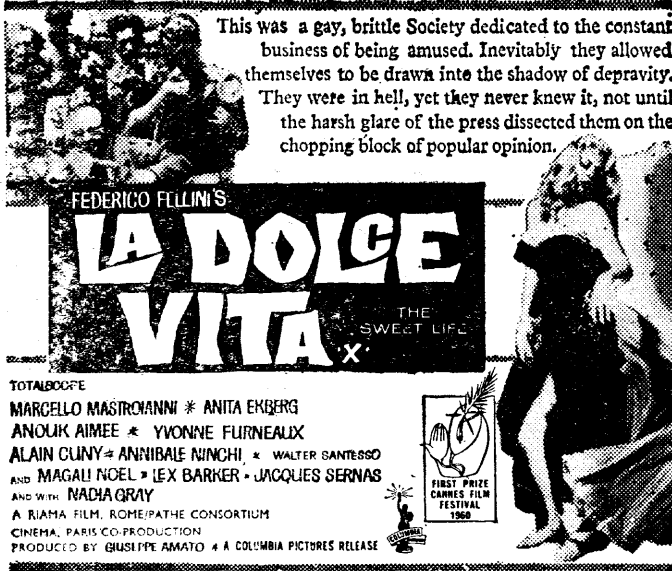
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## Films

### LA DOLCE VITA

Federico Fellini's haunting fresco of Roman life—the film that shook the Continent and won the Cannes Film Festival Golden Palm Award—will shortly be screened at Regal Theatre. Local filmgoers now have an opportunity to decide whether it is “the greatest modern parable of on the sadness of sin” as one churchman puts it, or “a vulgar and grotesque satire” as another maintains. One thing is certain—LA DOLCE VITA will leave nobody indifferent.



This was a gay, brittle Society dedicated to the constant business of being amused. Inevitably they allowed themselves to be drawn into the shadow of depravity. They were in hell, yet they never knew it, not until the harsh glare of the press dissected them on the chopping block of popular opinion.

FEDERICO FELLINI'S  
**LA DOLCE VITA**  
THE SWEET LIFE

TOTALBOOFE  
MARCELLO MASTROIANNI \* ANITA EKBERG  
ANOUIK AIMEE \* YVONNE FURNEAUX  
ALAIN CLUNY \* ANNIBALE NINCHI \* WALTER SANTOSSO  
AND MAGALI NOEL \* LEX BARKER \* JACQUES SERNAS  
AND WITH NADIA GRAY  
A RIAMA FILM, ROME/PATHE CONSORTIUM  
CINEMA, PARIS CO-PRODUCTION  
PRODUCED BY GIUSEPPE AMATO \* A COLUMBIA PICTURES RELEASE

FIRST PRIZE  
CANNES FILM  
FESTIVAL  
1960

The film which in English means **THE SWEET LIFE** is a series of episodes in the life of a gossip writer who takes no thought of tomorrow as long as he has today and who lives in a whirlwind of “sweet life” because of his work, hunting for scandal and using the most piquant and slanderous aspects of public life to titillate the palates of the readers. The cast headed by Anita Ekberg has for support Marcello Mastroanni, Anouk Aimee, Yvonne Furneaux, Lex Barker.

### Wedding Date Set



Miss Jessica Anne Poole

Mr. and Mrs. James Dougherty have announced that the wedding of Miss Jessica Anne Poole<sup>1</sup>, daughter of Mrs. Dougherty<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Biddleford Poole<sup>3</sup> to Mr. Roger Berk Henderson<sup>4</sup> will take place at Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, on June 4th.

The bride's father, international sportsman known to millions as “Pogo” Poole, is said to be enroute to San Francisco for the wedding. He has for many years been living in an undisclosed location overseas.

1-Debbie Reynolds, 2-Lilli Palmer, 3-Fred Astaire, 4-Tab Hunter, all stars in Paramount's “The Pleasure of His Company.”

### “THE PLEASURE OF HIS COMPANY”

“The Pleasure of His Company,” a delightful romantic comedy based on the long-run Broadway hit, will be the next attraction at the *Liberty Theatre*.

Fred Astaire, Debbie Reynolds, Lilli Palmer, Tab Hunter, Gary Merrill and Charlie Ruggles are the leading players in the Technicolor film, which was filmed largely on location in colorful San Francisco.

The light-hearted attraction tells the story of a globe-trotting playboy who touches home base for the first time in fifteen years as he arrives in San Francisco for the wedding of his daughter. The playboy is so charming and wordly-wise that he puts his daughter's business-minded fiancé in a bad light, and also tries to lure his ex-wife from her second husband. The result is a sharp-witted tug of war for the young girl's affections.

Brought to the screen by the famed producing-directing team of William Perlberg and George Seaton, the Paramount release features famous San Francisco landmarks including Fisherman's Wharf, the Bay, Goat Island, Golden Gate Bridge, I. Magnin's, Nob Hill, the cablecars and Grace Episcopal Cathedral.

Edith Head, seven-time Academy Award winning designer, created a total of fifty-five costumes for Miss Reynolds and Miss Palmer, outfitting the two stars for every social event from a picnic to a formal wedding.

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