

Revolutionary Idealism and Parliamentary Politics: A Study of Janata Vumukti Peramuna (People's Liberation Front) in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The present study on Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna tries to explore the process of de-radicalization of Political Left in Sri Lanka. The Party has emerged as the most radical political movement in Sri Lanka and had tried to political power by military means twice and it has entered its parliamentary process after 1994. During this phase, it has shown that it is interested to keep the revolutionary idealism while seriously clinging on to parliamentary politics. The practical politics of the party seems to be that of effort aimed at liberal reforms in the political institutions of the country. Further, the party also has witnessed the fragmentation of the party on ideological ground. This is what happened once a radical party started to get de-radicalized. The study has examined the applicability of Robert C. Tucker's Theory of De-radicalization in the context of Sri Lankan politics with reference to Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. The Study has concluded that the thesis of Tucker can be applied to Sri Lankan Case and the movement cannot opt for military strategy once again to gain power.

Keywords: De-radicalization, Left, Political Violence, Military Strategy, Revolutionary Idealism

Introduction

Janata Vimukti Peramuna emerged as a radical political movement in Sri Lanka in 1960s. It has attempted to overthrow the government through revolutionary means twice in 1971 and 1987-89 respectively. However, it has failed on both occasions. In the second attempted revolution, the party has lost most of its top level leaders leaving the building up of the party to a new generation of leaders. The new generation has made an attempt to enter mainstream political process of the country through democratic means of electoral politics while keeping the revolutionary vigor. The defeat of the United National Party, which was liberal in the sphere

of economy and totalitarian in political sphere since 1977, in the general election of 1994 has made the passage of the party from revolutionary means to parliamentary democratic path to gain political power. The proportional representative system, in operation under the second republican constitution of Sri Lanka, made it possible for the party to secure seats in national parliament and provincial and local bodies of government. In other words, it has facilitated the integration of the layers of society that have been denied the opportunity under the previous 'first past the post' system of representation. The election results demonstrates that the party has been able to gain significant electoral

victories ever since it had entered the parliamentary politics in 1994 contesting under a different banner till the last general election in April 2010.¹

It has started with one seat in the parliament in 1994 and was a decisive force in the next parliaments until the party got divided in 2009 and it has been able to get elected only three of its members to national parliament contesting under the banner of Democratic National Alliance. Its relative strength has been decreased due to internal clashes of personalities within the party and conflict over revolutionary ideology in the changed context of global political forces. The rise and fall of Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna has to be understood only within the parliamentary politics.

The relative electoral victories in all of the elections except the general election of 2010, made the leaders of the party to think of the possibility of achieving its political objectives of social revolution via parliament. It had obtained significant electoral support around 10 percent of the total vote. However, the coalition politics with Sri Lanka Freedom Party has led to decreased its electoral support base to around 3 per cent in the recently concluded provincial council elections. Further, there had occurred a process of fragmentation of the party after entering coalition politics. It is of great academic interest to study as to why revolutionary parties which became popular and emerged as a force to seek on within electoral politics of democracies, gradually declined to the negligible level.

There are a good number of studies on Janata Vimukti Peramuna conducted by Sri Lankan scholars as well as foreign scholars. The common feature of all those studies is the concentration of their attention to explore the emergence, evolution and the role of the party as a 'Radical Leninist Movement' in Sri Lankan politics. The present conflicts within the party sug-

gest a de-radicalization of the movement. The path breaking study of Robert C. Tucker on Marxist Movement, provides a cue to comprehend the present situation of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna in Sri Lankan Politics. He had argued that all radical movements are destined to be de-radicalized whether they are able or not to capture political power (Tucker, 1967). The story of the rise and fall of Janata Vimukthi Peramuna in Sri Lankan Politics suggests that the Tuckerian thesis could be applied to understand the de-radicalization of leftist movement spearheaded by Janata Vimukthi Peramuna. Thus, the departure point of the present study is marked by its attempt to study withering away of the revolutionary radicalism associated with the Janata Vimukti Peramuna under parliamentary politics.

Objectives, Limitations and Methodology

The objective of the present study is to examine the applicability of Tucker's theory of 'de-radicalization of leftist movement' in the case of most radical leftist movement in Sri Lanka spearheaded by Janata Vimukti Peramuna. It has been argued that there has occurred a gradual process of de-radicalization within Janata Vimukti Peramuna after 1990s. In this argumentation, an attempt was made to grasp the process of (1) the gradual declining of the radical objectives and military strategy of capturing the state power which has been characteristic of the philosophy of the party from initial stage to 1987-89 and (2) absorbing into and sinking in parliamentary politics after 1990s.

It must be noted that this study is not intended to study the movement in all its multi dimensionality. The study has taken into account only the fact relevant to study its parliamentary politics up-to date. This implies that it had left out the study of military strategy pursued by the party and the political violence which goes hand in hand with the above strategy.

Factually proven primary and secondary data and information have been employed in the analysis of the present study. The discussion with national and local level leaders of the party, the experiences and observations of the two researchers has formed bulk of the primary data. The news papers of the party, leaflets, posters, secret documents of the party and the numerous other studies form the base of secondary information. The sections which follow discuss the Revolutionary Idealism, elements of Tucker's theory of de-radicalization. It also discusses emergence of the movement, the relationship between revolutionary idealism and the party and the process of de-radicalization.

Revolutionary Idealism

It is pertinent to explore the basic tenants of the doctrine of revolutionary idealism as it is helpful in later discussion. Revolutionary idealism or Radical Ideology implies the teachings of the Marx Leninism. The foundation of the Marxist and Leninist Movements all over the world is based on the teachings and practices of the founder intellectuals of Marx and Engel & Lenin and Mao. The revolutionary idealism interprets the present capitalist system as something that has come into being with emergence of private property and has reached the present stage through historical process of evolution (Tucker, 1978). Based on this, the doctrine holds that the state has been the instrument of the capitalist class and the capitalists have employed the state to exploit the proletariat and repress opposition from the oppressed classes (Marx and Engels, 1955) Revolutionary Idealism also believes in the inevitable crisis of the capitalist system. It has assumed that the internal contradiction of the mode of production and forces of production would lead to an inevitable crisis that the system could not effectively deal with and sustain no longer. The crisis would result in the creation of subjective and objective conditions for socialist revolution by the most

progressive class, i.e. the proletariat in replacing the capitalist class from its domineering over the masses (Ibid). This logically has led the revolutionaries to identify a decisive role for the proletariat class in the context of emerging crisis of the capitalist system. The role assigned to this class is the total abolition of the capitalist social, economic and political institutions, establishment of a socialist society and the provision of the leadership to the revolution. One characteristic of the revolutionary movement is the emphasis on the impossibility of achieving political power through peaceful means and the need of social struggle based on political violence. This identification has led to recognize the impossibility of establishing a socialist social system through the reformist parliamentary means and the emphasis on the need for military strategy to achieve the above. Ultimately, this ends up in emphasizing on the need of proletariat dictatorship to rule over the socialist society.

Tucker on De-radicalization

The Path breaking study of Tucker holds that all the radical movements are destined to get de-radicalized either after gaining or without gaining political power. He has identified the following syndromes in revolutionary movement after they had entered into the phase of de-radicalization (Ibid.).

The first feature of the above syndrome is the softening of their stand on social, economic and political spheres. This involves the gradual moving away from the original stand of speaking for the abolition of the present status quo by revolutionary means. At this stage, they accept the present political institutions and start to champion to reform them as more people become friendly.

The second feature of the syndrome consists of rejection of the military strategy to gain power.

The third which goes hand in hand with the second is the high concentration of emphasis on winning elections. At this stage, de-radicalized movement starts to be over-proud and overjoyed with the electoral victory. They lay high emphasis on keeping the electoral victories intact and strive hard to enlarge the base of popular support. The critical next step of this evolutionary process is the transformation of the party from that of Revolutionary one to that of a mass party including the following features.

- (a) Larger membership
- (b) Emergence of a bureaucracy
- (c) Building up of a total party fund
- (d) The spread of organizational network all over the country
- (e) Organization becoming the objective

The other element of this syndrome is the entering into common minimum programme with other parties on individual issue basis and entering into coalition to form government. The next is the modification of Marx-Leninist principle to give legitimacy to parliamentary politics. This in turn results in serious theoretical conflict in the party between the reformist group and the group that represents the revolutionary idealism in the party. The final element of the syndrome is the emphasis given to the principles of Marx-Leninist revolutionary idealism to show that it has not deviated from radical politics while seriously sunk in the parliamentary politics.

Background of the Emergence of Janata Vimukti Peramuna

The literature on political violence and radical politics in Sri Lanka has revealed that there are many background factors that have contributed to the emergence of radical political movement that aspired to capture state power in the context of super-imposed democratic setup in the country. It had been emphasized

that till the 1970s, the political system has not been fully modernized after modernization efforts in the social fabric since the colonial time (Gunasinghe, 2004). The Sri Lankan political system has started to steadily evolve into a welfare state without economic growth process that goes hand in hand with the welfare state. The development of welfare state in Sri Lanka has to do with the introduction of universal franchise in 1931 (Lakshman, 1998). The Universal welfare and free education focusing on providing education in Art and Humanities have created a younger generation whose aspirations could not be fulfilled in the context of sluggish economic growth. This has resulted in an aspiration deprivation which has contributed to the emergence radical political movements (Shanthasiri, 2004). The other aspect that goes hand in hand is the fore-closure of the gate to enter into the political process where they could demand and air their grievances under the simple majority system of representation. This situation provides incentives to extra parliamentary and non-democratic means to make their demand in the public sphere (Cf. Huntington, 1968). The non-extension of democratic space and institutions and the then existing form of representation to decision making bodies such as parliament and local government have not favoured the minor parties and had denied opportunities for representing the dissenting layers of society (Senarathna, 1997, Ratnapala, 1997, Uyangoda, 2000). It is worth quoting the founder leader of the party. *"It can be thought that there is the possibility of peaceful transformation of society if people are given more and more democratic rights. However, when people are denied their democratic rights, it is impossible to prevent taking place social revolution which takes a violent road"* (Wijeweera, 1977). The role of the traditional political left parties also had contributed to the emergence of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna. After indepen-

dence, one trend of the left parties has been the fragmentation and choosing of a reformist standard to achieve socialist objectives through parliamentary politics (Samaranayake, 2002). Those parties have been able neither to extend democratic space nor to modernize the economy and society in their engagement in coalition government with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The attitude of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna reveals in the following quotation: *"In a situation where and when the old Sri Lankan Mensheviks, having betrayed the proletariat of the country and naked themselves removing their clothes, acting on behalf of the capitalist agents, becoming sweepers of the Joke of the capitalists, openly and kneeling to the palace, the has been transformed into the right. There arises a historical need for the proletariat of a true leftist movement. It is what, this need that the Janata Vimukti Peramuna came to fulfill"* (Janata Vimukti Peramuna, 1978:9).

The emergence of bipolar World system after the World War II, representing the socialist bloc and the other representing capitalist bloc, the emergence of multiple socialist states in many parts of the world, the emergence of many nationalist movement through out the former colonies, and the support received by those movement from Socialist Giant Soviet Russia, have contributed to give an added impetus, encouragement and incentives to such movements all over the world (See: Janata Sangamaya, 1980, Gunasekara, 1998). According to the party and symphathizers " after the World War II, the capitalist world system has started to deepen its contradictions leading way to the emergence of objective conditions for socialist revolution of world scale. This is the reality in relation to Sri Lanka too. There has been a tide of waves of socialism all over Latin America. The echo of this has started to influence the other countries including Sri Lanka" (Ibid, 8). The party emerged as the most

radical movement in Sri Lankan politics in this context in early 1960s. It is pertinent to examine whether the party had embraced the revolutionary idealism in its philosophy of political struggle. What follows is an examination of the relationship between revolutionary idealism and the party.

Revolutionary Idealism and the Janata Vimukti Peramenuna

The official document of the party substantiates that it has included most of the principles of revolutionary idealism and has incorporated the practices of Marxist Leninist Parties in its attempt to build the party. The documents and speeches of the party leaders definitely demonstrates a flavour for Marx-Leninist Revolutionary Idealism.

'State', 'Private Property', 'Class Struggle', 'Exploitation of Proletariat by the Capitalists' the basic tenants of Marxist Leninist teaching have found their way into the party ideology. The founder leader of the party has clarified its standard on state in the following words. "The state comes into existence due to class division; class struggle in the society is the logical consequence of private property. The ruling class cannot meet the class aspirations and privileges without the help of state, the agency which originates out of class struggle. In a capitalist society, the state becomes the instrument of the capitalist class" (Rohana Wijeweera as quoted in Alas: 1978).

The Leninist theory of Social Revolution that destroys and demolishes the capitalism and which aimed at the establishment of dictatorship of proletariat has also been included into the official ideology of the party. "The fundamental question is power of the state. The pioneering task of whatever social revolution is the abolishing of the capitalist state and the establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat. We, the Marx-Leninists, have to establish the dicta-

torship of proletariat, the pre-condition of building a socialist society. Socialism is impossible without obtaining the power of the state into the hands of the proletariat and establishing that state power (Ibid, 2)". The rejection of reformism and parliamentary path to socialism has been one pillar of the party ideology at the initial stage. "The proletariat has been subjugated to capitalist parliament by the Mensheviks.² They had indulged in a dreamt world of the possibility of transforming society through peaceful means to socialism. The party has fought relentlessly against those Mensheviks trends in Sri Lanka" (JVP, 1978:13).

The official paper of the party has clarified stand on the military strategy in capturing state power as follows: "*We have to understand that we are building a party which is going to be ready to engage in military struggle in the mature stage of the class struggle. It would transform into an army that works as the vanguard of the revolution. The party believes there can not be any revolutionary that does not fight in this epoch*". (The Niyamua of November 21st 1985) The above quotation reveals that it has rejected the parliamentary road to socialism and has placed firm faith in the military strategy for social transformation. Further, the party has justified the military strategy on the ground of unavailability of military means in the exchange of power from one class to the other (Janata Vimukti Peramuna, 1970).

The party has followed this ideology in its engagement in Sri Lankan politics till 1989. In its radical phase of political engagement, it has tried twice to capture political power by revolutionary means in 1971 and 1987 to 1988 respectively. In the first attempt, it has resorted to a short term military strategy in which the objective was to take offensive steps against the moderate Sri Lankan forces and police within few days. However, the first attempt proved to be a failure given the fact that all the powers

both of the power bloc came to the rescue of the government and ruling regime.³ The second phase started with the release of the leaders of the party who were in prison. The lack of avenue to air the voice of the university educated in Humanities and Social Sciences, inability to absorb them into the economy and sluggish economic growth rate, and inability of the left to do anything positive through coalitional politics, have all contributed to the re-emergence of JVP in different guise. The task, it seems that the party has perceived to be proper was the filling the vacuum of airing the voice of the marginalized through electoral politics. The party leader had contested the first presidential election and has become the third candidate, indicating that the party would win a considerable number of seats in a parliament which is elected on proportional basis. The desire to keep a convenient majority in parliament by the then President J.R. Jayawardene and the Referendum conducted for that purpose and the proscribing of the party in the context of July ethnic holocaust the challenging of the referendum by the party, have made the party to become a secret political party once again.

This time the party adopted a strategy of protracted conflict and choosing to champion more populist causes so as to present itself it as the true nationalist champion and the causes of the oppressed people. It has also believed that protracted conflict would weaken the ruling regime and could capture power from locality to locality resulting ultimately in the capturing of entire country. It also has adopted more brutal strategies of terrorism. The counter terrorist activities carried out by the government forces and paramilitary forces ultimately has resulted in sweeping of the entire top level leadership of the party letting the young generation of the party to engage in democratic politics while keeping and presenting the revolutionary idealism as the basic philosophy of the party. In

the course of time, the party also has become the third force in politics representing at least around 10 percent of the voters. However, its relative strength has started to decline after Manhinda Rajapakshe became the President of Sri Lanka. The party has actually challenged the candidacy of Rajapakshe and he in turn gradually eroded the bases of party by championing all the issues that the party used to take on. As a result, the party got divided into two factions in 2009. The recently concluded provincial elections and general elections demonstrated the weakened position of the party as it was unable to obtain the votes as it did in the past. In the general election of 2010, it was able to secure only around 5-6 percent of total votes.

The other phenomenon that goes hand in hand with the decline of the strength of the party is the erosion of revolutionary vigor of the party. The electoral manifestoes of the party reveal that it had compromised the private property, markets as the basic means of economy and has championed the cause of liberal democratic reforms in the organs of government more than what the liberal and capitalist parties have been doing. This implies a de-radicalization of the party which was irreversible. This prompts to explore how de-radicalization took place within Janata Vimukthi Peramuna.

The De-radicalization of Janata Vimukti Peramuna

A keen observer of Janata Vimukti Peramuna from 1994 to date can observe some of the important syndromes of de-radicalization taking place within it. The real world politics of the party could be understood by an examination of the following syndromes that are observable in the functioning of the party 1990s. It has softened its stand on many issues. The first and foremost is the stand on the forces of the government. It forgot all atrocities to which its leaders, members and symphathizers of the party

who subjected and had started to eulogize the army as 'God who protect the mother land' and has started to mobilize public support through Manel Mal Vyaparaya in the war efforts of the Rajapakshe Regime which brutally suppressed Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) which would not be upheld by any Marxist Party in the world.⁴ Yielding to electoral politics and the use of the cadres in the tactical moves, indicate the sorry state the party members who are more ideologically prone to Marx-Leninist Principles on class struggle.⁵ It is now demanding the reform of the mechanism of the army (JVP, 2000:19).⁶ In the context of ethnic war, it has gone to eulogize the forces as the protectors of the country and made the public mobilized around the army under Manel Mal Vyaparaya.⁷

It can be observed that the party has moved away completely from Marx-Leninist stand on private property. As post-revolutionary political documents revealed, the party has changed its stand on private property. The party has assured that it is committed to protect the system while encouraging the private entrepreneurs (Ibid, 2000: 29-119).

The speeches made by the party leaders clearly indicate a farewell to its military strategy forever to gain power. "The JVP never once again opt for a military struggle. At least, we do not hold discussion in house where there is a gun" (akbima, 2001). The talk of electoral victories and emphasis on electoral politics has become fashionable among the party leaders. "Firstly, we are very much happy because we have been able to mark the emblem of the party, i.e. the Bell, in Sri Lankan Politics in a ballot paper in its history of 36 years. The fact that we were able to win more than 10 seats in its very first election, makes us enormously joy that is limitless. In its first round of the race itself, we have been able to hang very tidily knotted ten red flag in the roof of the parliament" (Amarasinhe, 2000:8).

The features of a mass party are gaining currency within the party in galloping speed during the last two decades. The party has started to have national, regional and local party branches with open membership without any qualifications. There are numerous layers of society that have obtained membership in the party. Village level party associations, election organization, electorate level party units, District party units, Central Committee and Politburo constitute the organizational network that spread from local to national level. This is the mechanism aimed at election alone. At present, there is any evidence of the existence of a secret military wing for the party. Membership, party fund, the existence of bureaucracy within the party and sustaining the organization are the visible features of the party.

The modification of Marxist-Leninist principles so as to provide legitimacy to the parliamentary politics has become the official ideology of the party. "Marxism is not something stagnating philosophy. Marx has accepted the principle of "Sabbe Sankara Anicca" (Nothing is permanent). According to Marx, there is nothing permanent. We are in the process of defeating the archaic ideas associated with Marxism. We have to adjust Marxism according to present reality and our needs" (Amarasinhe, 1998).

It has also started the process of presenting itself as the radical force in Sri Lankan politics while seriously indulging in parliamentary politics. The objective of this process is to retain the revolutionary flavour as the party is de-radicalized. The electoral manifestoes of the party have been presented as something that aimed at building a fair society where wealth of the society is equally shared among the members of society while assuring the private individuals and entrepreneurs that the party will not intervene in their affairs in the market and upholding the free market in disguise (JVP, 2000). It also justified the coalition politics on the prin-

ciple of temporality (Lanka Deepa, 2003). What they had given in their justification for entering into coalition politics with capitalist parties is basically political expediency and making the system more people friendly through liberal reforms in the political sphere. The culmination of this process is marked in the joint endeavour with United National Party (The Party which has destroyed the entire top level leadership of the party) to put a common candidate for the presidential election of 2010 with many promises of liberal reform of the constitution and other institutions of the political system.

The conflict between the revolutionary theorists and the reformist faction was also under control at the initial stage of the parliamentary politics. However, with the gradual popularity of the party and its inability to stand for any meaningful reform in the society has brought party's internal conflict to the surface. On 8th of April 2008 the reformist group left the party and formed a separate party to attract the party supporters. After the breakaway, the splinter group had justified its decision on theoretical ground.⁸

Imperatives for De-radicalization

A radical movement does not de-radicalize spontaneously. It requires a certain friendly environment for the taking off of the process of de-radicalization. The defeat of the dictatorial United National Party government in 1994 was a major contributory factor. The general election in 1994 was fought on the issue of democratizing the political system in the country. United National Party President, J.R. Jayawardhane out of sheer desire to keep his huge parliamentary majority, has changed the process of election of members of parliament by a referendum in 1983. This has amounted to denial of opportunity to elect the members of parliament by the people under the proportional representative system introduced under the 2nd

Republican constitution. If an election was held for that purpose, it would have given the opportunity to Janata Vimukti Peramuna and Sri Lanka Freedom Party to elect the representatives and provide a democratic space to air their grievances. The Chandrika Bandaranayake regime that came to power in 1994 was more tolerant of dissent and has adopted open attitudes to radical politics of JVP and also towards separatist Tamil Guerilla movement. The democratization of political institutions and tolerating attitudes has facilitated the party to air the voice of the social layer which the party claimed to represent. Further, the expansion of opportunities under provincial council system after 1987 and the re-empowered local government structure has provided opportunities to represent layers of society that have been unable to find formal avenues to air their voice in formal policy making bodies. This democratization definably discourages the political movement which aspires to capture power through military struggle (Uyangoda, 2000: 68).

Janata Vimukti Peramuna itself has acknowledged the long term impact of Proportional Representative System on it: "According to the present system of Proportional Representation, in most of the time, political parties could only obtain equal electoral result. There is very little possibility to obtain an absolute majority in the decision making bodies. In a situation where the seats are equally distributed between the two major capitalist parties, i.e. the United National Party and the Peoples Alliance, either has to seek the help of the third force. When that third force becomes the proletariat, it gets the ability to decide who should form the government" (Niyamuwa, 1997).

The break up of socialist bloc, the seeming stabilization of the capitalist system at global scale and the America centric leadership, all have contributed to pale the revolutionary

vigour and morale of the left. The developments after 1990s have disproved the prediction on world scale socialist victory over capitalism. It has also been hailed as the coming of liberal man on earth and the end of history. (Fukuyama, 1997) Those developments too have contributed to changes in the ideology and the strategy of the JVP in their struggle to gain power to establish socialist society. The Party has observed the situation as follows: "The conditions at world scale have forced a serious challenge on the international left movements. It has started to make an impact on the left all over the world. The political engagement has become practically impossible with the demise of the Soviet Socialism for the left. These have compelled to reexamine the feasibility of theoretical positions adopted by the left to comprehend the incidences at present juncture" (Sinuwa, 1997, Third volume).

In addition to the above, the changing support base has also have made an impact on de-radicalizing the movement. The party from the very beginning has placed faith on the youth as the vanguard of the revolution, specially the university graduates. The youth is not a static category and the youth lack the class consciousness. The population pyramid at present is biased towards aging. In the process of aging the leadership in a context of aging population, it is quite natural to de-radicalize a movement based on youth.

Conclusion

The objective of present study is to study the de-radicalization of Janata Vimukti Peramuna in Sri Lanka. It has started with an examination of the elements of Revolutionary idealism. The article has also dealt with the theory of the de-radicalization explained by Robert C. Tucker in his path breaking study and the process of de-radicalization of Janatha Vimukti Peramuna. From the study, following conclusions

can be drawn about the role of JVP in Sri Lankan Politics.

The party has been fully absorbed into the parliamentary politics and could not resort to armed struggle forever. This situation has to do with the transformation of the party from a Revolutionary party to a Mass Party. A Guerrilla war-

fare or traditional war attempted twice is highly impossible. However, this does not imply denial of any struggle on the social grievances in other form of a movement. However, it can be concluded that the Tucker's theory of de-radicalization is applicable to past and present political engagement of Janata Vimukti Peramuna in Sri Lanka.

Notes

1. In 1994, it had contested most of the electorates but has won only one seat in Hambatota District. In the next general election, it has won 9 seats. In the election 2004, it has entered into a coalition between Sri Lanka Freedom Party and other Left wing Parties and has been able to elect more than 28 members to the national parliament implying that it was capable of deciding which party is to form the government. It was also true of the provincial government too.
2. Here it refers to the Traditional Left, i.e. Samasamaja Party and Communist party of Sri Lanka.
3. Communication with ex-member of the Party and Combatant in 1971 insurrection.
4. Discussion with Ex-Member of the Party who had withdrew membership on theoretical ground and wished to be anonymous.
5. Discussion with local a leader of the party who wishes to be anonymous.
6. During the high time of ethnic conflict, the party has almost contributed to eulogize the army as the protector of the national integrity and they praised the soldiers as heroes of the mother land.
7. It is a movement after the presidential election victory of Mahinda Rajapakse, to sell lottery for the welfare of the people and mobilize support forces morally and financially. The leaders of the movement were largely leaders of the JVP.
8. We have conflict with the leadership of the party which holds the power and their vision and where they are spearheading the party. It has been there for more than two years. Based on this conflict, the bureaucratic leadership of the party expelled from the party. Finally, we have decided to stand and challenge it instead of being subordinated (Wimal Weeravansa, 2008:10).

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