

# YOUNG

# SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: The Budget is passed—Crisis remains;  
The Governmental Crisis; New Alliances; Horns of a Dilemma;

Financial Bungling

by N. M. Perera

The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking People (Part II)

by V. Karalasingham

Compulsory or Compulsive English

by R. C. L. Attygalle

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism (Part II)

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Portuguese Imperialism the Weaker Link

by Mario Vieira

Our Country or Death! We Will Win

*(a Comment on the Second Declaration of Havana)*

by The Editors

Vol. 2 No. 2

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# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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## Editorial Notes

### THE BUDGET IS PASSED —THE CRISIS REMAINS

IT was everybody's expectation that the 1962 Budget would be a difficult hurdle for the Government to pass over. Even before the Throne Speech people held the view that a "mark time" budget was the best that could be expected in the present situation.

Informed political commentators and Opposition critics of the S.L.F.P. Government were more specific in their warnings. The Government they said, was facing a serious financial crisis and the S.L.F.P.'s policy would inevitably be the placing of heavier burdens on the workers, peasants and the middle classes.

The Finance Minister who introduced the 1962 Budget sought to give confidence to uninitiated back-benchers and the supporters of the Government by resorting to his usual trick of whistling in the dark and ridiculing his critics and opponents who "confidently predicted a financial crisis which they thought could cause the downfall of the Government."

The Budget has been presented and the debate on it concluded, but the financial crisis remains. The Finance Minister, however, could not remain and he now functions as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, that is, to the Prime Minister.

The Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government survived the crisis, but without the Finance Minister who introduced the Budget.

Nor is that all. What remains of the original budget as presented?

Within a few days of the presentation of the Budget, public indignation against the new tax proposals—the rice cut and the sales tax—made it clear to the Government that the people could no longer be fooled with appeals for patriotism, self sacrifice and the other noble pretensions.

Even before the Budget debate commenced in Parliament the proposals were altered. sales tax of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  on all items except food was dropped and the expectation of an additional revenue of Rs. 60 million from this source evaporated.

A further hope of saving Rs. 11 million in currency and Rs. 55 million of foreign exchange on the cut in the rice ration vanished in the face of protests and agitation.

The Government, having given in to mass pressure, tries to save face by saying that the opposition to the rice cut was not in the country but only in Parliament. (It is not necessary to refute this lame attempt to save face by comparing the crowd, or the lack of it, at the Galle Face meeting called by the Government in support of the rice cut, with the crowds at the meeting held by the Continuing Committee of Trade Union Organizations the very next day to protest against the rice cut).

The Prime Minister, of course, being in Parliament not by virtue of election by the people, has no need to consider the views of the people. The elected representatives, however, even those of her own party, had to reflect the people's wishes. This explains the revolt of the backbenchers, public decla-

rations that S.L.F.Pers would vote against the Budget if the rice cut was insisted on, expressed opposition of about ten Government M.P.'s not only to the rice cut but also to the general policies of the Government, the resignation of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance, and the crossing over to the Opposition of one Government M.P.

Government backbenchers, till recently, dull and unimpressive, blossomed into orators whose speeches were often brilliant and devas-

tating in their effect. The debate in Parliament often was not a debate between Government and Opposition but a debate between the Cabinet and the backbenchers of the Government Party, and even between two warring factions of the Government itself.

The air was thick with rumours of resignations and crossings over. Finally, the Finance Minister who almost caused the downfall of the Government, saved it by tendering his own resignation.

The Government remains, but so does the financial crisis and the inner-party crisis of the S.L.F.P. Government.

The unfinanced deficit is now larger than 100 million, the unfinanced figure is probably over 200 million.

This is the decisive factor in the present political situation.

### THE GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS

The Government Party crisis which is linked to the financial crisis continues. The Prime Minister has made her position as regards this factional struggle very clear. She is with the Ex-Finance Minister Mr. Felix Dias. She has publicly and unequivocally stated that he is the one man in whom she has the fullest confidence. It is quite likely that Mr. Felix Dias will be back in a few days in the Cabinet. A reshuffle may take place by increase of Ministries and chipping and chopping of departments. But no real change can result from a re-shuffle of the old pack of S.L.F.Pers who spend their time talking Socialism and continue to support and maintain Capitalism.

There are no fundamental political differences between the Group led by Mr. Felix Dias and the Group led by Mr. C. P. de Silva and Maitripala Senanayake. Mr. Felix Dias is more openly autocratic and anti-democratic than Mr. Maitripala Senanayake or Mr. C. P. de Silva. Mr. C. P. de Silva is anti-working class and supports all anti working class action and legislation. Ex minister Mr. Felix Dias oppresses the people and expresses his support of Kruschev and the Soviet Union. It is only a question of two sides of the same coin.

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## NEW ALLIANCES

The Crisis of the S.L.F.P. Government has not left the opposition parties unaffected. The U.N.P. that had predicted the downfall of the government in 18 months was in a somewhat sympathetic mood. Through their deputy leader in Parliament Mr. J. R. Jayawardena they declared that they would not violate the rules of the game. Said Mr. J. R. Jayawardena "I have been a boxer in my day and it is not my policy to hit a man when he is down." "We shall not be harsh; we will be gentle with this government and say please go away." In the words of a Government Parliamentary Secretary the U.N.P. has taken over the old clothes of the S.L.F.P. and seems to like them. If the S.L.F.P. of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike is going along the road shown by the U.N.P., then why worry? Why throw them out? Co-existence is certainly possible and why not try it out?

The M.E.P. of Mr. Phillip Gunawardena that was working out a change in its attitude to the Sirimavo Government particularly since the foiled coup of January 27th has now reached a stage when their qualitative change has been achieved. The M.E.P. leader who was able to discover intelligence and ability in the young Mr. Felix Dias even while he was opposed to the Sirimavo Government has now gone much further. He now supports the Prime Minister and Mr. Felix Dias as the "progressive wing" despite the fact that both were "feudal reactionaries" one year back. It seems that changes have taken

place on both sides. The Prime Minister who had staged a walk out when someone in her Cabinet appeared to show sympathy to Phillip is according to reports not opposed now to the idea of Phillip coming into her Cabinet. If the rice cut is to be reimposed perhaps Philip could prove useful to bring the S.L.F.P. some imaginary support in the country.

## HORNS OF A DILEMMA

The C. P. is apparently on the horns of a dilemma. To the C.P. the S.L.F.P. was a government of the progressive national bourgeoisie as opposed to the pro-imperialist U.N.P. The C.P. was quite openly working within the framework of support for the S.L.F.P. The criterion for support of a bourgeois Government was for the Governing Party to establish good relations and trade relations with the Soviet Union and other Soviet bloc Countries. By this criterion they supported the Bandaranaike Government from 1956. This criterion works well when the government of the so-called national bourgeoisie are not openly oppressive of the people. But today, according to the C.P. leaders, the Sirimavo Government is not only openly oppressive of the people but has begun to forge links with the imperialists. Was not the rice cut imposed to please the International Bank which is lead by American Imperialism? It is becoming more and more embarrassing for the C.P. to function within the framework of support of the S.L.F.P. Will the C.P. come out to open opposition?

18th September 1962.

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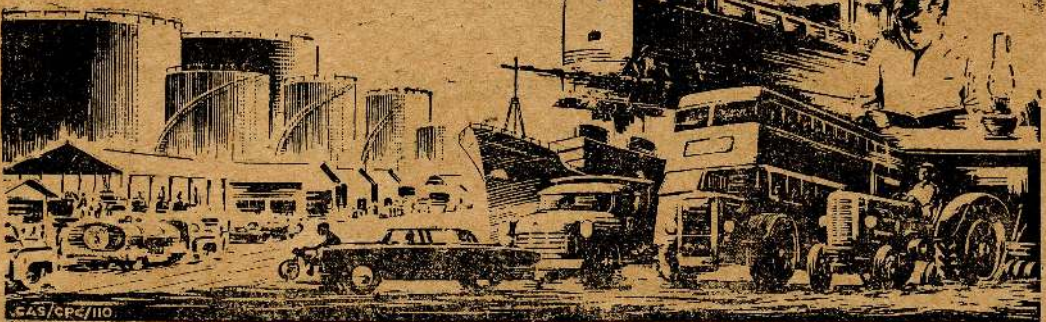
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# FINANCIAL BUNGLING

N. M. PERERA

ALL political parties in Ceylon, and all thinking sections in Ceylon are agreed on the necessity for the economic development of the country if we are to make any progress and provide the benefits of a high standard of living for the people.

The United National Party when it was in power put forward a six year plan of development and pretended to have carried it through. A second plan was being drawn up with the help of a body of experts from the World Bank when it went out of office.

The M.E.P. Government of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike began by setting up a Planning Council with a permanent secretariat. It produced the now well known Ten Year Plan which the present S.L.F.P. Government claims it is implementing.

Whatever their claims and pretences none of these Governments have embarked on any real development and all of them have found themselves in severe difficulties when confronted with the financing of these so-called plans. The United National Party after spending over Rs. 2500 millions on the so-called plan was compelled in the 1952-53 budget to confess its failure, abandon its plans and impose new heavy burdens on the poor in order to stave off the insolvency that faced it.

Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, the Finance Minister of the M.E.P. Government went about gaily heaping budget deficit on budget deficit until he vanished from the scene after the care-taker government of Mr. Dahanayake. He, of course, left a legacy of bad debts and ruined finances to his successors. The total deficits during his period from the years 1956-57 to 1959-60 amounted to Rs. 1250 millions.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike as the S.L.F.P. Finance Minister has introduced three budgets. Admittedly he had a difficult financial position to tackle consequent upon the light hearted extravagance and ill considered actions of two care-taker govern-

ments following close on the heels of an already disorganised financial situation. For this very reason one expected from Mr. Felix Dias a painstaking effort to understand the real position, take a comprehensive view of the situation and chalk out a long term policy that would tide over the present and prepare for a developing future. Instead, he, like all his predecessors, has talked big, painted a rosy picture and carried on in the same old blundering manner.

With less accumulated resources to fall back upon, and with the inheritance of 14 years of financial bungling by his predecessors, Mr. Felix Dias has been in grave difficulties from the very outset. In his very first budget, the stop-gap budget of September 1960, drastic cuts were imposed on imports categorised as luxury or un-essential necessities. Through the Central Bank a number of restrictions were imposed on credit facilities granted for imports and for hire purchase transactions. Additional taxes were also imposed to garner in an additional revenue of Rs. 130 millions by way of an additional land tax of Rs. 15/- per acre over 100 acres, a surcharge of 15% on income tax, a special levy of Rs. 400/- on non nationals etc. This was meant to reduce the budget deficit from 470 millions to 340 millions. It was expected that Rs. 100 million would be forthcoming by way of foreign aid. This would leave a net deficit of Rs. 240 millions to be financed out of domestic borrowing.

The reality belied the expectations. In his second budget introduced in July 1961, he found that the position had deteriorated still further. "If anything the situation today (July 1961) is more difficult" than the situation in August 1953. But he was undaunted. Unlike Mr. J. R. Jayawardene he was not prepared to forego any social services in order to concentrate on expenditure for development. In any case what he was confronted with was not a crisis but a "degree of imbalance which is inevitable in every developing economy". (Col. 902 of Vol. 43 27-7-1961).

His claim for this budget was of a high order. "In the budget that I am presenting today, I have adhered as closely as possible to the main features of the Ten-Year-Plan as I said I would last year, although we have lost almost three years". (ibid Col. 903). His purpose was to raise the standard of living by increasing the national income at a rate which will outstrip the increases in population, to create more opportunities for employment in order to absorb the increase in the work force, to diversify the economy by a stronger infusion of industrialization which would reduce our dependence on imports for our requirements of consumer goods" (ibid).

After these extravagant claims for his budget, he provided for a recurrent expenditure of Rs. 1656.5 millions and a capital expenditure of Rs. 524.2 millions. The estimated revenue was only Rs. 1611.2 millions. The resulting deficit of Rs. 569.5 million was to be bridged by local loans to the tune of Rs. 200 millions; Rs. 140 millions were to be obtained through foreign loans. The balance of 229.5 millions was to be met by various import and excise duties and other taxes. From import and excise duties which included tobacco, beer and spirits, matches etc. he expected a sum of 57 millions. The continued surcharge on income tax was to yield 35 millions, certain changes were to be introduced into the income tax act which would bring in an additional 9.5 million rupees. The wealth tax was modified to make the liability operate for the first two lakhs also, and a ceiling of Rs. 37000 after payment of taxes was fixed for individuals. The surplus above this was partly taken away as a super-tax and partly treated as invested with the government as Development bonds yielding a five per cent interest. Curiously enough the revenue expected from these taxes was not announced to the Parliament. Assuredly an unusual procedure for a Minister of Finance who makes a great virtue of his allegiance to democracy. Such cavalier treatment of Parliament though acceptable to a mute and docile government party cannot but undermine the financial control that should be exercised by the legislature.

The other significant taxes came in the shape of the withdrawal of subsidized rice from income-tax payers, bringing Rs. 5 millions to the coffers, and the National Development charge of 4% on all employees earning Rs. 300 and more. To balance this self-employed persons will pay a registration tax on a graduated scale, but they do not on that account get exempted from the N.D. tax.

The land tax was made operative from the basic figure of 20 acres. Finally a sales tax at the wholesale level to cover both local as well as imported goods was promised. The Finance Minister ended on a cheerful note "This tax (sales) and the National Development, Registration and Land Taxes to which I have referred will enable me to raise the extra revenue needed to cover the entire deficit without recourse to inflationary sources." (ibid col. 944).

From the provisional figures that are now available, it is abundantly clear that Mr. Felix Dias can be readily given the accolade for being the falsest prophet of recent times. We are creditably informed that the deficit for 1961-62 is in the region of Rs. 544 millions, which let us recall was not much different from the original figure of the budgetary shortfall. This he was hoping to bridge by internal and external borrowing and by the taxes he announced. Let us recall also that the capital development expenditure in the budget reached the figure of Rs. 524.2 millions, and that is only Rs. 20 millions short of the now realized deficit. One need not hesitate to conclude that precious little could have been spent on real development. We must await the next budget figures for the final picture. But we would be justified in asserting that no significant progress has been made.

The Minister of Finance has not merely been false in his prognostications, but he has also been guilty of misleading the country by promising to control the inflationary tendencies through taxation. Far from inflation being curbed we are witnessing a fillip to these tendencies, and the people are experiencing a rise in prices of all commodities which they have never experienced before.



Every government had disappointed the people of this country both with regard to development and the financing thereof. Mr. Stanley de Zoysa and Mr. Felix Dias had this in common: both were innocent of the nature and complexity of the problem that confronted them. They spent gaily with no thought of the morrow; and were non-plussed when economic facts stubbornly turned adverse and upset their fond expectations.

The third budget of Mr. Felix Dias toppled him from the Finance Ministry. It was an unprecedented budget both for the manner of its presentation and the matter it contained. The budget was delivered with a wobble, and it continued to wobble. Nobody knew what was the budget proper and what were the proposals Parliament was considering.

It was a clever piece of political acrobatics. In his third budget Mr. Felix Dias foreswore and repudiated all the major positions he had taken up in his first two budgets. On the plan, the Minister who was forthwith ready in 1960-61 to implement the 10 year plan with only foremen, for he saw no need for architects, found in his second budget of 1961-62 that the plan had fallen short of the targets. He was going to catch up and spurt along to fulfilment. Now in his third budget 1962-63, he confesses there is no plan and therefore has worked out a new three year plan within the non-existent 10 year plan. He presented a book called the "Short-term Implementation Programme," which was certainly not a programme, still less could it be implemented, for it was only a re-hash of the 10 year plan with modified targets covering 3 years.

He had maintained and asserverated in his previous budgets that he would never touch the necessities of the people, but yet he openly advocated the need to go lower down the schedule of import duties and infringe on the common articles of consumption even if that caused inconvenience to the people.

He who laughed and scoffed at the idea of safeguarding our external assets, somersaulted to express his grave concern at the

dwindling assets abroad. And his budget was designed very largely to conserve foreign exchange and bolster up external assets.

He had denied all along that government policy of financing huge deficits through treasury bills and internal borrowing coupled with a policy of drastic reductions in imports was causing inflation in the country. In this third budget he confessed without any sense of shame that it was his financial policy that had led to inflation, though it had not yet reached the level of cumulative inflation.

Apart from these repudiations of his past positions, the taxation proposals of his third budget provided some comic relief. The two main taxation proposals were nullified almost overnight. The Sales Tax which was estimated to roll in about 90 million rupees, was withdrawn within 2 days with a confession that he did not know that the traders would take advantage of it to charge excessive prices from the consumers. It is a confession of bungling which should de-portfolio any self-respecting Finance minister; but not Mr. Felix Dias. He clung on hoping against hope that he would be able to stave off the mounting opposition to him within his own ranks. With his insistence on the cut in the rice ration by half a measure, he had to go. He resigned.

Mr. Felix Dias has left a legacy of financial bungling unrivalled in the short history of the Ceylon Parliament. His first budget ended with a deficit of Rs. 436 millions financed entirely by internal borrowing except for the sum of Rs. 16 million odd obtained from abroad. His second budget reached the record deficit of Rs. 544 millions, financed to the tune of Rs. 120 millions by foreign aid and loans and the rest by internal loans by long and short. The third budget estimates a deficit of Rs. 491 millions. Of this the only definite sum was Rs. 150 millions of foreign aid and foreign loans. Doubtless the balance will have to be met largely by internal borrowing as in the two previous budgets.

As admitted by Mr. Felix Dias himself deficit financing by internal borrowing of this magnitude has led to inflation. The third budget will aggravate it still further, and those who will suffer most are the poor and the middle classes who will have to bear the full burden of steadily rising prices on all commodities, more especially the essentials of life. The visible deterioration

of the standards of living of the masses is not the only dire situation the country will have to face. It will undermine and render impossible any kind of planned development. Economic chaos will follow the financial crisis, and the truth and correctness of what we have urged for 25 years will come home to the country as nothing else will.

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# THE WAY OUT FOR THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE (II)

(Continued from the last issue)

By V. KARALASINGHAM

IT is not only in the fruitful field of extra-Parliamentary action that the broad political strategy of the Federal Party is completely barren of yield. The Party is no less sterile in the arena of Parliamentary politics. Its very character as an exclusive Tamil organisation renders it utterly incapable of fulfilling even the most modest obligations, let alone the more onerous duties, it owes the people on whose support it rests.

In terms of Parliamentary representation the Federal Party is restricted to a possible maximum of 21 seats in an elected House of 151 members. Even if all the Tamil speaking people rallied to a man round the Federal Party nothing can increase its Parliamentary representation. As a Tamil Party it cannot ever hope to win a seat in the Sinhalese speaking areas. So the hard facts of simple arithmetic—if nothing else—prevent the Federal Party from ever coming to power by obtaining a Parliamentary majority. It cannot even hold out the prospect of political power at some remotely distant date. But political power is the central question of all politics and in the case of the Tamil speaking people it assumes immediate urgency since only the wielding of state power can end racial and religious discrimination, restore the franchise rights of the Tamil speaking people of the plantations and introduce parity of status for the Sinhalese and Tamil languages. Clearly a Party which concentrates its agitational activity exclusively on these essential democratic demands but which by definition is incapable of ever acquiring power to realise its democratic programme forfeits its right to independent existence and becomes a parasitic organisation. The Federal Party is in this parasitic position since it sustains itself on the legitimate grievances of the people and is unable in its turn to give these very people anything by way of return.

The Federal Party sought to overcome its obvious Parliamentary impotence by an ingenious attempt at plausible speculation. The issue arose at the Parliamentary election of March 1960 as to what it can accomplish through Parliament. The Party's spokesmen tirelessly explained that no party would get an over-all majority and that the return of Federal Party candidates in substantial numbers would enable the Tamil speaking people through the Federal Party to have a decisive say in the formation of the new government. Even though the basic aim of the Party, that of enacting a federal constitution for Ceylon cannot be realised—for once they showed the Tamil speaking people a studied modesty—at least a satisfactory bargain could be reached with one or the other of the parties vying for its support. If the formation of the new government ultimately depended on the precious votes of the Federal Party, which is the party that would not promise any thing in order to secure the requisite Parliamentary majority to rule the country? In any event the subsequent failure to honour a gentlemen's agreement can always be met by withdrawing support to the government at critical times, and this would be a sufficient threat to the government to be "fair" to the Tamil speaking people. An exuberant Federal Party leader throwing caution to the winds summed up the vital Parliamentary role the Party was to play in the following words: "We can make or break Governments!" And all that was required of the voters of the Northern and Eastern Provinces was the demonstration of their unity behind the Federal Party—a Ceylon variation of an old disreputable and thoroughly reactionary slogan: *ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuhrer*.

The appearance of a number of mushroom parties at the General Elections of March 1960 enhanced the superficial attractiveness of the argument of the Federal

Party. The middle classes, only too willing to cling at any straw that came their way, provided it held the promise of maintaining their miserable social dominance in the village, could not resist the simplicity of the arithmetical calculation which was to bring them immediate relief. They not only spurned the Left but rejected even traditional Tamil politicians like Messrs. G. G. Ponnambalam and C. Suntheralingam, as this was the price which the Federal Party demanded for asserting its effectiveness in Parliament. And true enough when the results of the March 1960 elections were known not even the most ardent supporter of the Federal Party could have desired anything better. The final line-up of the main parties was as follows:

U.N.P.	50	L.S.S.P.	10
S.L.F.P.	46	M.E.P.	10
F.P.	15	C.P.	3

The political prophecy of the Federal Party election campaign was fully confirmed but that very confirmation was soon to explode a long standing myth of traditional Tamil politics.

Even the Federal Party's finest hour which followed the General Election of March 1960 achieved nothing. Although here was the very situation which was to enable the Federal Party to play a decisive role in Parliament yet not even in the light of this uniquely favourable constellation could one discern even a glimmer of its much vaunted role. Desperate though the UNP and SLFP were for support neither was willing to make any real concession to the Federal Party.

The UNP openly canvassed the support of the Federal Party and publicly admitted negotiations with its leaders. The life of its Government depended on the outcome of these talks and not even all the attendant risks of a second general election moved the UNP to find a common ground with the Federal Party. The maximum concession it made was a Delphic declaration of its leader, Mr. Dudley Senanayake that he could be trusted to do the correct thing. Clearly the organiser of the opposition to the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakan Pact had not changed his spots.

The SLFP on the other hand was shame-faced about its talks with the Federal Party. To this day there has been no admission of talks between these organizations,\* although it is now an open secret that about the time of the FP-UNP discussions or soon after, parleys commenced between the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Federal Party. Since the UNP bid for Federal Party support was so ridiculously low, a single ministerial portfolio and a delightfully ambiguous statement of its leader, the SLFP was no less contemptuous in its bargaining with the Federal Party. The failure of the discussions with the UNP and the fact that its scandalously low offer was a direct discouragement to others had already sharply reduced the initial bargaining strength of the Federal Party. The SLFP was merely required to be lavishly vague in its promises. This is what the SLFP in fact did and when the UNP dissolved the Parliament elected in March 1960 and forced another general election in July of the same year, the Federal Party was already neatly tied to the SLFP's apron strings.

The Federal Party went into the second election taking the credit for the failure of the UNP to form a stable government. Borrowing the technique which the SLFP had used in its discussions with it, the Federal Party threw vague hints and suggestions of a secret concordat with the SLFP on the outstanding questions of the Tamil speaking people. This necessitated that the Federal Party must have the sole authority to speak for the people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and, in any event, it must be in a position to "make or break" governments. Its Parliamentary representation increased by a further additional seat but the line of campaign of the Federal Party, both in March and July, produced its inevitable reaction in the Sinhalese speaking areas. What according to the Federal Party was an impossibility was realised, and the SLFP was returned with an absolute majority. And therewith the plans of the Federal Party too collapsed like a house of cards.

Although in retrospect the experience of March and July 1960 is an exercise in frustration, it is not without important lessons

\* This was written before the recent disclosures in Parliament and the national press. Editors.

for the Tamil speaking people. Indeed if these lessons are assimilated even that frustrating experience would be but a small price to pay for the future.

The *mystique* of numbers, particularly in Parliamentary politics, has always had a peculiar fascination to the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. The leaders of the Federal Party have developed this into a cult in that their one obsession is to work out a permutation or combination which they think is most advantageous to the Tamil speaking people. The sum total of their Parliamentary strategy is to attempt, by skillful manoeuvring, the quixotic task of fitting events into a preconceived combination. This required unified political representation of the North and East under their leadership and the exclusion of all nonconformist politicians from these areas. Preposterous though this demand was, the voters virtually conceded it in two general elections. But the total lack of even elbow room for Parliamentary manoeuvre which the deadlocked Parliament of March 1960 so amply revealed has blown sky high the insidious theory that political monolithism under the Federal Party and a more or less evenly divided Parliament provide the ready talisman for the problems of the Tamil speaking people.

Political monolithism under the Federal Party is not only futile but positively dangerous. Its advocacy by a party whose political appeal and influence are wholly restricted to a minority is a direct and open invitation to another party with bases itself entirely on the majority community to adopt similar propaganda methods. Tamil political monolithism must sooner or later beget Sinhalese political monolithism and the first victims of the latter would be those parties and forces most sympathetic to the legitimate demands of the Tamil speaking people, just as the first victims of Tamil political monolithism were the Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party. Herein lies the greatest danger of the Federal Party's bid for political monopoly. Without taking the movement for democratic rights one step forward, it may yet succeed in unifying and cementing the presently divided forces which are opposed to the Tamil speaking people at the cost of eliminating their real

allies. In doing so it would be inflicting a grievous blow at the very movement in whose name it claims to speak.

The very electioneering of the Federal party proceeded, not on the basis of the Tamil speaking people entering as equals in the national political arena, but strangely, on the recognition of their essentially subordinate role. It is superfluous to mention that equality was completely excluded by the very nature of the Federal Party itself. Being a party strictly confined to two Provinces and accounting for a bare 21 seats it would have been ludicrous in the extreme for the Federal Party to have given even the appearance of equal participation in national politics. It had a more modest, or more correctly, a somewhat sordid aim, a satisfactory bargain with whatever party that is returned with a substantial number of seats. And this quest for a bargain represents the very quintessence of Federal Party politics. As though the Tamil speaking constituencies are so many items of merchandise in a departmental store available at the correct price to all comers! And significantly nothing accentuates the political bankruptcy of the Federal Party as the fact that even at basement prices, no buyer was forthcoming.

The full import of the policy of looking out for potential patrons after every Parliamentary general election is truly disturbing since it signifies that the future of the Tamil speaking people is ultimately determined not on the strength or otherwise of the independent movement for democratic rights but on the vicissitudes of political parties and forces fundamentally opposed to the democratic movement of the Tamil speaking people themselves. It is with these reactionary forces whose record in relation to the Tamil minority is most shameful that the Federal Party sought to consort. Although in the Parliamentary deadlock of March 1960, it commenced negotiations with the UNP, this did not prevent the UNP from carrying on a viciously racist propaganda against the Tamil speaking people during the general election in July 1960. The other claimant for the votes of the Federal Party was the Sri Lanka Freedom Party whose secret parleys and secret *detente* with the Federal Party in the halcyon days between March

and July 1960 did not in any manner inhibit its Government subsequently from introducing the Language of the Courts Act 1961. It is with these wolves of chauvinism that the Federal Party lamb is driven, by the very logic of its position, to seek what is euphemistically termed a settlement. The Federal Party leadership is welcome to whatever masochistic satisfaction it may derive from an association with either the UNP or the SLFP, but the Tamil speaking people must no less be alerted to the true nature of the possible alliances inherent in the very politics of minority communalism. The dilemma of the Federal Party is that the alternative to such alliances is the wilderness of Parliamentary opposition.

The wilderness however is not the fate of other opposition parties in Parliament. Even in opposition these parties are in a position to record some progress which is denied to the Federal Party. The effectiveness of a party in opposition in Parliament is ultimately dependent not on the debating skill and talents of its personnel nor the capabilities of its leaders but on the strength of the forces outside which it represents in the national assembly, and on the party's capacity to bring to bear some of this strength on the government of the day. No government anywhere in the world does anything because of a devotion to an abstract principle. Governments do not act because they are for justice or equality nor because they believe in injustice and inequality. They act, initiate policies, bring legislation etc., on the pressure of social groups, classes and parties and these acts may be just or unjust, fair or iniquitous to one or the other of the forces pressing on a government. The party which exerts the heaviest pressure is naturally the largest group in Parliament and, by and large, the government's legislative work is a fair reflection of the dominant party's programme. But even a government fortified by the largest Parliamentary majority does not live in a hermetically sealed chamber. There are other influences at work and in particular the pressures and pulls of opposition parties. These organisations too, bending to the pressure of the masses supporting them, press on the government, and invariably this pressure is from the opposite direction. Not infrequently in the life of any Parliament,

there are instances when under the pressure of opposition parties, the government is compelled to make some concession, however half-hearted. But to bring this about the opposition party must not only respond to the pressure of the masses who support it, but also—and this is important—*be able to transmit this pressure on to the government* of the day. This imperative latter requirement the Federal Party in opposition has proved incapable of doing and it is this incapacity which makes its life in Parliament so pathetic.

The tragedy of the situation is that the failure of the Federal Party to fulfill the elementary function of a political organisation, viz. to act as the transmission belt of mass pressure on the government is not due to any lack of effort on its part. What renders all its labours useless is the fact that all governments—whether UNP or SLFP—have been completely immune to the pressures of the Tamil speaking people. These governments had achieved this freedom by abandoning the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and concentrating their political activity in the remaining seven provinces where the majority of the Tamil speaking people are denied their franchise and confining their appeal even in these areas to the Sinhalese speaking people. It is well known that except for an isolated constituency or two in the Eastern Province neither the UNP nor the SLFP even nominates candidates for any of the other constituencies in the North and East. There are not even branch organisations of these parties in these areas. The immunity thus achieved is doubly ensured by the fact that the Federal Party's influence is limited solely to the two provinces abandoned by these parties and in the other provinces exclusively to the Tamil speaking people whose support is not even honestly sought by either the UNP or SLFP. In consequence there is not even the semblance of a channel for communication to government of the mass pressure of the North and East. What exists between the Federal Party acting for the Tamil speaking people and the Government is a vast void. That is why under the leadership of the Federal Party even the otherwise formidable combination of Parliamentary opposition and extra Parliamentary direct action leaves the Government completely cold and indifferent.

And that is why *under the leadership of the Federal Party* even the most sustained effort of the Tamil speaking people becomes nothing more innocuous than shadow-boxing:

### III. MINORITY OPPRESSION — PRO- DUCT OF CAPITALIST DECAY

It is necessary to understand the true nature of the problem before the Tamil speaking people. An incorrect appreciation would lead to false conclusions. False conclusions result in wrong policies and wrong policies pave the way to disastrous adventures. If one were to believe the racial propagandists on both sides the minority problem is something peculiar to Ceylon. This has been repeated so often that even honest socialists some times see in this "bedevilling" question the only obstacle on the road to power. Actually the minority problem is present in one form or another in every capitalist country in the world. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that one manifestation of the decline of the capitalist system is the intensified oppression of racial and religious minorities in all capitalist countries. To be sure, at its birth the capitalist class was the great champion of freedom and equality. In its struggle against the feudal nobility the nascent capitalist class proclaimed all these principles and in fact achieved for the first time in man's history the equality of all citizens before the law irrespective of their racial origin or religious views. But the equality which it proclaimed in its constitution was soon a fiction, and later, in some capitalist countries, even juridically annulled.

Very early in its life the ruling capitalist class discovered that by skillfully playing on the racial and religious prejudices of the broad petty bourgeois and proletarian masses—prejudices which are themselves the indubitable products of the low level of culture which class domination imposes on the exploited—it could prevent the socialist movement against its rule from gaining cohesion and achieving unity. Hence it set up Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, White against Black, Hindu against Muslim. To this day even in the most democratic country racism is part of the official ideology which the various agencies of capitalist opinion like the press, radio, schools etc., subtly or crudely spread.

Thus in the official catechism is the myth of the superiority of the "race" to which the dominant section of the capitalist class belongs, while the minorities by necessary implication are inferior people, so inferior that they have even to be referred to as "Niggers", "Yids", "Chinks" etc. But so long as capitalism was an expanding economic system, the movement against capitalist class rule was contained within the system itself by substantial concessions. The super profits from the colonial countries enabled the capitalist class to make peace with its working class movement. It was therefore not necessary for capitalism in this period to resort to the more outrageous method of racialist disruption, and racism accordingly lurked in the shadows.

But with the definitive decline of capitalism on a world scale—the imperialist wars, the loss of colonial markets, the rise of national liberation movements in the colonies, the wrenching of whole continents from the capitalist sphere, the development of a war economy as a permanent feature of the industrially advanced countries of the West—the class struggle even in the "peaceful" Western countries assumed a sharp and explosive character. The whole capitalist system at its centre was in grave peril and the natural development of the class struggle would have led long ago to the defeat of the capitalist class. The organic process had necessarily to be violently disturbed. The racialist wedge was driven deep into the mass movement in an attempt to separate the petty bourgeois masses from the socialist proletarian vanguard. The conventional capitalist politician too closely identified with the *malaise* of the existing social order was unequal to this task. Only a new type of demagogue, without the burdens of the past to restrain him, could find acceptability among the petty bourgeois masses. The latter's general instability and known weakness to chauvinist appeals made the task of the new political adventurers feasible. Thus it was, for all the differences in background and even methods, Mussolini in Italy, Pilsudski in pre-war Poland, Hitler in Germany and . . . Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in Ceylon had the same basic reactionary aim, namely, the weaning of the petty bourgeois masses from the political influence and leadership of the working class and their complete

subordination to the capitalist class, even though, this was accomplished under cover of the "independent" role of the middle class.

It was in Germany, where the economic crisis was deepest and the class struggle sharpest that the capitalist class developed the technique of racialism to near perfection in order to disrupt the anti-capitalist movement. Combining anti-capitalist demagogy and socialist phraseology with the crudest anti-Jewish propaganda and the glorification of Germanic tribal prehistory round the mythical legend of Aryanism, much in the same manner as racialists in Ceylon compound "anti-capitalism" with anti-Tamil propaganda, the National Socialist Party of Germany (this was the name of Hitler's organisation) carried out the foul work for capitalism. Although other European countries did not travel so far—neither did the class struggle assume such threatening proportions as in Germany—nonetheless in all the advanced countries, the ruling class today lays great emphasis on racialist propaganda and deliberately employs racialism to disorient and disrupt the anti-capitalist mass movement. Even in England the last bastion of capitalist democracy the insecurity of the coloured minority following the Nottingham race riots of June 1958 and the recent discriminatory immigration laws are the clearest evidence that capitalism cannot today exist without artificially creating a minority problem. Undoubtedly what impels the capitalist class to use racialism in a thorough going and systematic manner is the danger which arises from a united working class movement drawing in its wake the petty bourgeois masses and coming into head on conflict with the capitalist class.

In periods of acute social crisis when the fate of the whole system hangs in the balance the minority question serves as a convenient diversion. Between crises the very health of the capitalist economy requires some form of minority discrimination and oppression. A stagnant economy poses new problems, in particular the question of the distribution of the available goods and jobs. The stagnation is masked in the advanced countries in that there is an apparent increase in economic activity but this increase is accounted for by an unproductive and exaggerated

armaments and military expenditure. But the problem is transparent in a country like Ceylon where according to the authoritative Central Bank review the rate of economic development far from even keeping pace with the rate of increase of the population is in fact lagging behind. It has been estimated that 250,000 enter the labour market annually but the avenues of employment are not much wider than during the days of colonial rule. To use the felicitous expression of Mrs. Joan Robinson, Ceylon has a "primitive birth rate with a modernised death rate." This, in the context of an underdeveloped and stagnant economy, must breed discrimination. The ruling class will seek to discriminate against those least able to make an immediate and effective protest—i.e., on linguistic, religious and caste minorities. This attack on a section of the masses chosen either on a religious, linguistic or caste basis gives the ruling class a further advantage—the benefit of a mass base among the majority community.

There is also another benefit which accrues to one section of the capitalist class. It has been found that the level of wages in those sectors of industry which are predominantly manned by members of an oppressed minority is much lower than that prevailing in the economy as a whole. This means that an oppressed minority is a source of cheap labour for the capitalist class. In all countries this is true. Even in Ceylon where statistical analysis is backward, a recent study in the *Bulletin of The Central Bank* establishes that the total earnings of plantation workers are much lower than those prevailing in the rest of the country for comparable skills and grades.

One thing becomes crystal clear: discrimination against and oppression of minorities is inherent in the capitalist system in decay and that sooner or later the capitalist class must resort to it in an attempt to preserve its rule. The depth of the crisis alone determines the extent of the discriminatory measures. In comparison with the later efforts of 1948 and 1956–62, the first conscious attempt in 1939 to divide the masses on racialist lines now looks a rather tame and amateurish affair. The indecently discriminatory measures of more recent



times directly flow from the aggravation of the economic crisis of capitalist Ceylon. The crisis itself has its roots in the failure of the capitalist class or its state to carry out in Ceylon capitalism's historic role, namely, the development of the productive forces and therewith the economic expansion of the country.

Minority oppression has nothing to do with the good or the bad intention of individual ministers or even of the Government of the day. That is why even the Government's only accomplished spokesman, Mr. Felix Dias must descend

to the language, and even adopt the policies, of a lump like Themis or an upstart like Rajaratne. As political representatives of their class they are compelled to employ racialism, however distasteful it may be to their individual sense of justice or fairplay. Clearly an excrescence so malignant as minority oppression cannot be eradicated in isolation. Neither can it be excised by the primitive witchcraft methods of the Federal Party as these merely serve to feed the cancer within.

*(To be concluded in the next issue)*

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# COMPULSORY OR COMPULSIVE ENGLISH ?

By R. C. L. ATTYGALLE

THE widely published statement that the N.E.C. had recommended that English should be introduced as an optional language of study at the fifth standard, caused a stampede among a number of exponents of 'second language' teaching. The age of eleven or eleven plus was felt to be too late. Knowledgeable persons pointed out that, in the best linguistic circles, nine or nine plus was the accepted age for beginning the study of an additional language. Others, also supported by authority, held that it would be even better to catch them younger. Now that some of the dust has settled, it may be useful to consider what exactly the Commission recommended.

Page 14 para 43, of the Interim Report (part I of the Final Report), states; "With these considerations in mind we recommend that English be introduced as an optional subject from Grade V. We are aware of the recommendation of the Committee of Inquiry into the teaching of English in Ceylon Schools that English should be made compulsory from the fifth standard and that English may be introduced at an earlier stage. We are, however, firmly against making the study of English compulsory, as we are averse to making any language other than the Official Language compulsory for all children." It is worth noting here that the Commission speaks of *Grade V* in contradistinction to *standard V* as mentioned by the Special Committee. Now Para 46 of the same Report reads; "For children from the ages of 5 to 14 we recommend a basic eight year school to be called a Junior School (Kanista Vidyalaya). We consider that it is an advantage to have a single school for the entire period without the disorganisation and division that often follows from a change of school. For easier supervision, each Junior School may be regarded as consisting of a lower division (*Grade I to V*) and an upper division (*Grades VI to VIII*)" It is clear, then, that the Grade refers to the year of schooling. A child entering a school at 5 or 5 plus, will begin English, if he opts

to do so, at 9 or 9 plus. The Commission has *not* recommended the introduction of English in the *fifth standard*. It is only that one's reading of a Report concerned with elaborating a school system and structure has been so conditioned by present practice, that what was read was what was feared and not what was said!

There still remains the view that even 9 or 9 plus is too late and that 'the younger you catch 'em the better.' Now, as the Report points out, it is true that children pick up languages easily at an early age but there is a difference between picking up a language—which is a matter of everyday speech, and learning it, that is to say, reading and writing it as well. Besides, the former depends on a particular context where the language being picked up is frequently spoken. But there is an even more important consideration.

Languages develop and are used within a socio-economic complex, a group or society. The words we use depend upon a frame of reference, determined by the social and economic realities of our society and the ideas influenced by or influencing such realities. A German child learning French or a French child learning English is learning a language which, for all its differences from his own, is still a language which derives its meanings and values from broadly the same frame of reference. They are languages of industrial and technological society with its continuum of ideas, habits, relationships and ways of expression and feeling. At the level of the child's experience the words he encounters or acquires in the other language and their usage, refer to commonly felt or shared realities. There is nothing abstract about them. This is not so with regard to the child in Ceylon today. With the possible exception of those from a milieu enjoying, materially, a certain standard of living, a good deal of the meanings and usage of English words do not carry that readiness of reference to commonly felt or encountered realities.

Where they do, it is a consequence of the economic and social changes in the countryside, bringing an increased mobility of goods and persons, as the borrowings and loan words into Sinhala indicate—an element which has not been sufficiently appreciated for the purposes of evolving a more realistic and effective methodology for the teaching of the language.

Europe apart, the example of India is generally cited, where English is now, apparently, taught earlier than here. But linguistically speaking India is not a country. She is a union of countries. According to the Linguistic Survey of India, there are 179 languages and 544 dialects. In the competing press of local and regional languages for prominence and place, English has acquired the advantage of a neutral communicator, accentuated by the vast mobility which planned and effective industrial development encourages. Further, the comparative cohesion and vitality of the Indian cultural tradition, invigorated by the long years of the struggle for Independence has made it unnecessary for her to have anxious recourse to the mirror of language to reassure herself of her identity. Ceylonese society is not merely industrially backward, by Indian standards; deprived of the powerful solvent of a national struggle for independence, the social structure carries within it the still strong precipitate of feudal modes of thought and feeling. The practice of other countries can often provide examples for emulation and, as examples, impressive argument. But much depends on what is being compared and how. The slick transference of practice, determined and made possible by a particular social context into another which is different in degree or kind, is unrealistic. It is also bad argument.

Let us now consider the question of the optional study of English. Once again, it will be useful, to examine the practical effect of this recommendation. Page 17, para 48 of the 'Interim Report' states, "the subjects for Grades I to V may be listed as follows ;—

Religion  
Sinhala/Tamil  
Official Language\*  
Number  
English (from Grade V only.)  
Physical Education..Games Eurhythmics

Constructional, Activities...Art, Handiwork, gardening, needlework, Environmental Activities...Nature study, local history etc."

It will be seen, that between the ages of 5 and 9 in addition to physical education, constructional and environmental activities, a child instructed in the medium of Sinhala may begin English at 9 or 9 plus (Grade V). A child instructed in the medium of Tamil will study, the official language and at Grade V, English, if he or his parents so decide.

Now page 18, para 51 of the same Report gives the following "curriculum for grades VI to VIII:—

Religion  
Sinhala/Tamil  
Sinhala or English or Tamil  
Official Language  
Elementary Mathematics etc, etc.,"

One must conclude from this that a child instructed through Sinhala meets the requirement of (ii) above. Next, he will have to study either English or, if he has not begun English in Grade V and still does not wish to do so, Tamil. A child instructed through Tamil, meets requirement (ii). He continues with (iv), the Official Language, which he will have been doing in the lower division (Grades I to V) and continues English under (iii) if he has begun it in Grade V. If he does not wish to learn English, his study of the Official Language will, in fact, meet the requirement of a second language under (iii). In other words an additional language is obligatory; the choice of that language lies between English and Tamil for the child studying through Sinhala. As for the child studying through Tamil, it means that he either studies Sinhala only, or Sinhala and English. It seems most unlikely that children will not take English. But, if a Sinhalese child or his parents, who will most probably decide, prefer that he studies Tamil, it is not necessary, in the present linguistic situation, to regret the decision. It must respond to some reality. In any case it is better that he learns good Tamil than indiffe-

\* The author has disented on the compulsory teaching of the official language to non-Sinhalese Children.

rent English. Nor does this exclude the possibility of his learning the language later. However, what is of interest from the foregoing is that the alarm which the supposed recommendations with regard to English created is in no way justified by what was actually recommended. Nevertheless, it is worth looking a little more closely at the attachment to the compulsory teaching of English.

We need to remember that until 1951, English was not taught in *all* schools at first, English was available to those whose parents could afford the English medium schools. With the Free Education Scheme and the establishment of the Central Schools, English was available to a much larger number. But it was still not available to all. The 'system' of education which had emerged in empirical fashion, over the decades, had created a distinction between the schools on the basis of the medium of instruction used and not according to the content of education provided. The Public and Central Schools taught through English. Here, children learned English not only during the English period but throughout the day. The 'Vernacular Schools' taught through Sinhala or Tamil. It is strange, though not inexplicable, that a large number of those who, now, quite unfoundedly, fear that the slum or rural child will be denied a knowledge of English were not, at that time, in the least alarmed at the denial of an international language to these children.

In 1951, following the transition a few years earlier, to teaching through the mother tongue in the primary section of schools, English was made a compulsory subject of study. It is not difficult to see that with the ill-planned switch over into mother tongue instruction, the compulsory study of English was intended to allow for studies in the higher forms and later, which continued in English. But, it is also clear, that the decision to make English a compulsory subject of study eased anxiety, providing the buoyancy of a lifebelt to those who felt that an old and familiar world was passing away. The compensation of compulsory English brought compulsive relief. From this, it was an understandable though unhealthy transference which associated the compulsory study of English with the competent teaching

of the language. Perhaps it is for this reason that it is felt that, although eleven years of compulsory English has brought the standard of spoken and written English to the level which provides material for week-end articles, the raising of the standard of English is only possible if it continues to remain a compulsory subject of study.

The heart of the matter lies elsewhere. With the switch over to instruction through the mother tongue, the former English medium schools taught English as a compulsory subject and continued to teach it well. Most of them had a staff that was more than competent in the language. Even more relevant was the fact that in a number of these schools, the majority of the children came from or moved close to a milieu where English was frequently used and the language reflected experiences, relationships or objects which were felt or encountered. But the vast majority of schools, particularly those which for convenience may be described as the 'lower urban' or rural schools, saw the entry of S.S.C. passed teachers of English who proceeded, with such first aid equipment as hastily devised 'in service methodology' could provide, to give English as they knew it to those who knew it not. It would be uncharitable and grossly unfair to lay the blame at their door. Many of them have taught the language, as conscientiously as their knowledge and experience have permitted them. Most of them have worked and continue to work in conditions which would break tougher spirits. Many have confessed to a sense of frustration and even, sometimes, of hostility on the part of the children. The reasons for the latter are not far to seek. Large classes, crowded and uncomfortable, compelled to learn a language which is inflicted on them with the sometimes dubious and not seldom distracting apparatus of 'aids', rattling the dry bones of structures from which all living flesh has been plucked, are sufficient factors to give children a sense of unreality. They do more. They ensure that not only will the language be assaulted but that it will be hanged drawn and quartered.

It is, perhaps, one of the unfortunate consequences of the flourishing trade in know-how, which a certain conception of rapid

economic development has encouraged, that techniques have become a highly marketable commodity. Teacher-training has not escaped the effects of this streamlined development. It is no doubt very useful, especially in teaching, to know how to say what you are supposed to say. But it is much more important that you should, above all, have something to say. A knowledge of techniques can hardly compensate for inadequate or no real knowledge of the subject to be taught and in language teaching, which affects a child's capacity to think clearly, it can only result in an expense of spirit in a waste of words.

But, in the armoury of those whom these particular recommendations have excited, there remains one supreme argument, generally delivered with all the assurance of inevitability—the final thrust of the matador. It is the argument which begins, "Even in the Soviet Union....etc....etc." It is a sad reflection that pre-sputnik Russia was hardly

able to offer so convincing a finality of the worth of what she did. The Vostok Triumphs of Soviet technology have made respectable her past. We have here the attitude and values that compel the irresistible genuflection before the materially successful. Arrival redeems the means. It is of course overlooked that whatever may have been the aberrations which Stalinist ideology generated, the Soviet schools and the educational policy they reflect are rooted in a social philosophy which was given economic and political expression in the foundations of Soviet Society which were laid in 1917. One cannot transplant the flowers if one is not prepared to take the roots. It is facile comparison of this kind which leads one to conclude that an elementary sense of history and the dynamics of social change are a necessary part of the equipment of a competent language teacher. Certainly, they are indispensable to an exponent of 'second language' teaching.

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (II)

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

## VI. THE UNITY OF OPPOSITES

**M**ETAPHYSICAL thinking (the phrase used in this sense is Hegel's (40)) divides the world into immutable opposites—good and bad, love and hate, life and death, truth and error, etc.

Dialectics, on the other hand, recognizes not merely the co-existence but the unity of opposites, their inter-action and inter-penetration, their transformation one into the other.

### “Good” and “Bad”

Daily experience teaches us that a person can be “good” at one time, “bad” at another. No one can really be classified as permanently good or bad, or placed in any other fixed category.

Tolstoy expressed this fact very forcefully :

“One of the most widespread superstitions is that every man has some distinguishing quality: one is kind, another cruel, a third wise, or stupid, or energetic, or apathetic. Men are not really like that. We may say of a man that he is more often kind than cruel, more often wise than stupid, more often energetic than apathetic, or the reverse; but it would not be true to say of one man that he is kind and wise, of another that he is bad and stupid. And yet we always classify mankind in this way. And this is false. Men are like rivers: the water is the same in one and all: but every river is narrow here, more rapid there, here slower, there broader, now clear, now dull, now cold, now warm. It is the same with men. Every man bears in himself germs of every human quality; but sometimes one quality manifests itself, sometimes another, and the man often *becomes unlike himself*, while still remaining the same man.” (41) (*Our italics*).

### Love and Hate

In the field of human psychology, love and hate are not merely opposite, but co-existent and interpenetrating emotions.

Sigmund Freud has given us a scientific formulation of this phenomenon :

“...The circumstance that many instincts are manifested almost from the first in pairs of opposites (is) a very remarkable phenomenon—and one strange to the lay public—which is termed the ambivalence of feeling... Psychoanalysis adds that the conflicting feelings not infrequently have the same person for their object....” (42)

Long before Freud, Tolstoy had made this observation in his fiction:

“A period of love, a period of hate; a weak period of love, a brief period of hate; an intense period of love, a prolonged period of hate. We did not then realize that this love and hate were different aspects of one and the same animal feeling.” (43)

Much of the work of D. H. Lawrence contains this love-hate theme; he writes in his “Sons and Lovers” :

“Something in him hated her again for submitting him to this torture of nearness. And he loved her....” (44)

In his “Rainbow” he speaks of a “heart hard with tenderness” (45) and again :

“So it went on continually, the recurrence of love and conflict between them. One day it seemed as if everything was shattered, all life spoiled, ruined, desolated and laid waste. The next day it was all marvellous again, just marvellous. One day she thought she would go mad from his very presence, the sound of his drinking was detestable to her. The next day she loved and rejoiced in the way he crossed the floor, he was sun, moon and stars in one.” (46).

Readers have, no doubt, come across such passages in the works of many other writers.

### Life and Death

Life and death are not two distinct categories but are interconnected phenomena, as Hegel himself pointed out. Life from its very inception contains the forces of death. Under normal conditions the forces of growth in a child (anabolism) have the better of the forces of death (katabolism). During adulthood the forces equalize, living tissue replaces the dead, while all perceptible growth ceases. As old age sets in, the forces of death predominate and finally the organism ceases to live. Thus, life and death are inter-connected phenomena, forces in constant conflict. (47).

Engels writes: "Life also is a contradiction which is present in things and processes themselves, and which constantly asserts and solves itself: and as soon as the contradiction ceases, life too comes to an end...." (48).

### Pleasure and Pain

Havelock Ellis in his "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" cannot help but use dialectical formulations in his attempts to explore the connection between Love and Pain.

He writes: "The relation of love to pain is one of the most difficult problems, and yet one of the most fundamental, in the whole range of sexual psychology. Why is it that love inflicts, and even seeks to inflict, pain? Why is it that love suffers pain, and even seeks to suffer it?" (49).

He quotes the physiologist Burdach who recognized that: "It is precisely the alliance of pleasure and pain which constitutes the voluptuous sensation." (50).

Pleasure in inflicting pain and pleasure in suffering it are two complementary manifestations, difficult to distinguish or separate.

In his summing up Havelock Ellis states: "A careful consideration of the phenomena of sadism and masochism may be said to lead us to the conclusion that there is no real line of demarcation.... They cannot, therefore, be regarded as opposite manifestations." (51).

### Hegel's Formulation

Hegel in his "Logic" stressed this unity of opposites :

"Positive and negative are supposed to express an absolute difference. The two, however, are at bottom the same; the name of either might be transformed to the other. Thus, for example, debts and assets are not two particular, self-subsisting species of property. What is negative to the debtor is positive to the creditor. A way to the East is also a way to the West. Positive and negative are therefore intrinsically conditioned by one another, and are, only in relation to each other. The North pole of a magnet cannot be without the South pole and vice versa. If we cut a magnet in two, we have not a North pole in one piece and a South pole in the other. Similarly, in electricity, the positive and the negative are not two diverse and independent fluids. In opposition the difference is not confronted by *any* other, but by *its* other...." (52).

We may add to Hegel's series of examples, the recognition by mechanics of the fact that action and reaction always occur in pairs, as enunciated by Newton in his celebrated "third law" of motion.

Modern physics replaced Dalton's picture of immutable atoms by the concept of a balance between positive and negative particles (Thomson) and later by concepts of a dynamic equilibrium between these two "opposite" phenomena (Rutherford-Bohr, et alia).

Einstein gave the world his conception of the unity of matter and energy: they were inter-convertible "opposites". This, as Worrall points out, is the recognition of the unity of motion and inertia, also two "opposite" phenomena. (53).

After Planck, light, which was classically known to consist of electro-magnetic waves, was recognized to exist also in the form of "quanta" or packets.

Thus, positive and negative electricity, matter and energy, inertia and motion, life and death are not polar opposites but are mutually complementary quantities.



### Truth and Error

"Truth and error", writes Engels, "like all concepts which are expressed in polar opposites, have absolute validity only in an extremely limited field." (54).

We have seen earlier that scientific laws are limited generalizations. In his "Anti-Dühring" Engels develops this idea by taking as an example the range of validity of Boyle's law of the relation between the volume of a quantity of gas and the pressure to which it is subjected. (55).

Every truth, in so far as it is limited, contains error. Engels comments on this thesis of Hegel:

"Truth, the cognition of which is the business of philosophy, was in the hands of Hegel no longer an aggregate of finished dogmatic statements, which once discovered, had merely to be learned by heart. Truth lay now in the process of cognition itself, in the long historical development of science, which mounts from lower to ever higher levels of knowledge without ever reaching, by discovering so called absolute truth, a point at which it can proceed no further, where it would have nothing more to do than to fold its hands and gaze with wonder at the absolute truth to which it had attained...." (56).

To quote Hegel himself: "The more the ordinary mind takes the opposition between true and false to be fixed, the more it is accustomed to expect agreement or contradiction with a given philosophical system, and only to see reason for the one or the other in any explanatory statement concerning such a system. It does not conceive the diversity of philosophical systems as the progressive evolution of truth; rather it sees only contradiction in that variety." (57).

Marx expressed the same thought:

"Not only the result, but the road to it also, is part of truth. The investigation of truth must itself be true, true investigation is unfolded truth, the disjunct members of which unite in the result." (58).

### Order and Chaos

The bourgeois and the apologists of their system claim that they are the custodians of "order" while the masses are representatives of "chaos."

Statistical science has long ago established that there is order in seeming chaos, and vice versa.

While the view from within a swarm of bees, for instance, gives a picture of perfect chaos, the view from a distance, of the swarm as an entity, gives a different picture of order.

It is the same with human society. Trotsky says that Marx solved:

"...the fundamental puzzle—how in capitalist society, in which each man thinks for himself and no one thinks for all, are created the relative proportions of the various branches of economy indispensable to life.

"The worker sells his labour power, the farmer takes his produce to the market, the money-lender or banker grants loans, the storekeeper offers an assortment of merchandise, the industrialist builds a plant, the speculator buys and sells stores, stocks and bonds—each having his own considerations, his own private plan, his own concern about wages or profit. Nevertheless out of this chaos of individual strivings and actions emerges a certain economic whole which, true, is not harmonious, but contradictory, yet does give society the possibility not merely to exist but even to develop. This means that, after all, *chaos is not chaos at all*, that in some way it is *regulated automatically*, if not consciously...." (Our emphasis) (59).

Marx wrote that the same was true of the animal kingdom:

"...in the animal kingdom, the 'war of all against all' maintains, more or less the conditions of existence of all species...."

Thus, the apparent aimlessness of individuals is compensated for by the fact that the system as a whole is subject to law. As Hyman Levy observes:

"...a basic randomness builds up to a systematic law...." (61).

What gamblers do not care to realize is that the tantalizing "chance" of winning is counter-balanced by the statistical odds against it. Chance the great temptress is really a cheat.

Engels says: "Chance is only one pole of an interrelation whose other pole is called necessity. In nature, where chance seems

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to reign, we have long ago demonstrated for each separate domain the underlying necessity and the initial laws which determine the course of chance." (62).

After physics began to look on the world as a swarm of whirling atoms, it was realized, as Max Born says, that:

"...all laws of nature are really laws of chance...." (63).

When we deal with large numbers "chaos" gives rise to law.

### Existence and Non-Existence

Heraclitus of Ephesus, who lived in the 6th Century B.C., and with whom, according to Hegel, dialectics began (64), taught that "all things flow"; "everything is becoming" (65); "Existence and non-existence are meaningless in a changing world, everything is becoming...." (66).

Hegel readily adopted this view:

"Existence is in part mere appearance, and only in part reality" (67).

*"Neither in heaven nor on earth is there anything not containing both Being and Nothing."* (Hegel's italics.) (68).

"Pure Being and pure Nothing are.... the same...." "Their union is Becoming." (69). "Beginning contains both 'Nichts' (nothing) and 'Sein' (being)—it is their unity...."; and again, "that which is beginning, as yet is *not*; it is merely advancing towards Being...." (70).

On the ancient philosopher's intuition, Hegel comments:

"The recognition of this fact that Being and not-Being are only abstractions devoid of truth, that the first truth is to be found only in Becoming, forms a great advance... ." (71).

Modern science confirms this view. As Engels states, "nature does not just *exist*, but *comes into being and passes away....*" (72).

Engels, too, pays tribute to Heraclitus:

"This primitive, naive, yet intrinsically correct conception of the world was that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and also is not, for everything is in *flux*, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away." (73).

### Zeno's Paradoxes

Zeno of Elea, who lived a century and a half after Heraclitus is credited with the first demonstration of the inadequacy of formal logic.

He is said to have posed the following paradox at an archery contest:

Indicating an arrow in flight he had said—either the arrow is there, or it is not there. It cannot be not there: therefore it is there and does not move.

Thus, motion was "logically" refuted.\*

In a sense Heraclitus had already provided the answer, the explanation of this paradox: There is no existence or non-existence, there is only becoming. Zeno's arrow has not only the capacity of being there, but also the ability of being not-there, that is, of moving.

The Greek philosopher, Diogenes refuted Zeno and "proved" motion by walking up and down. "A vulgar refutation," comments Hegel, and adds: "When a pupil was satisfied with this refutation Diogenes beat him, on the ground that since the teacher had disputed with reasons, the only valid refutation is one derived from reasons. Men have not merely to satisfy themselves by sensuous certainty but also to understand." (77).

\* Zeno had other paradoxes to "refute" motion.

Let us examine one more of them: Achilles who can run ten times as fast as tortoise, has a ten yard handicap in a race. When Achilles runs the ten yard gap, the tortoise is one yard ahead. As Achilles covers this yard, the tortoise has gone a tenth of a yard ahead, and so on. Achilles, therefore, can never overtake the tortoise!

To this Aristotle answered that space and time were infinitely divisible but not infinitely divided (74); time cannot be divided into a series "individual Nows" (75); motion is *not* sum of states of rest, rather is rest a special case of motion. (76).

In explanation of the paradox, Hegel writes:

"If we speak of motion in general, we say that the body is in one place and then it goes to another; because it moves it is no longer in the first, but yet not in the second; were it in either it would be at rest. If we say that it is between both, this is to say nothing at all, for were it between both, it would be in a place, and this would present the same difficulty. But movement means to be in this place and not to be in it; this is the continuity of space and time—and it is this which first makes motion possible." (78).

He says: "What makes the difficulty is always thought alone, since it keeps apart the moments of an object which in their separation are really united." (79).

On this question Engels writes:

"So long as we consider things as static and lifeless, each one by itself, alongside of and after each other, it is true that we do not run up against any contradiction in them. We find certain qualities which are partly common to, partly diverse from, and even contradictory to each other, but which in this case are distributed among different objects and therefore contain no contradiction. Within the limits of this sphere of thought we can get along on the basis of the usual metaphysical mode of thought. But the position is quite different as soon as we consider things in their motion, their change, their life, their reciprocal influence on one another. Then we immediately become involved in contradictions. Motion itself is a contradiction: even simple mechanical change of place can only come about through a body at one and the same moment of time being both in one place and in another place, being in one and the same place and also not in it. And the continuous assertion and the simultaneous solution of this contradiction is precisely what motion is." (80).

Plekhanov states: "The movement of matter underlies all the phenomena of nature. But what is movement? It is an obvious contradiction. Should anyone ask you whether a body in motion is at a parti-

cular spot at a particular time, you will be unable, with the best will in the world, to answer in accordance with...the formula, 'Yes is yes, and no is no.' A body in motion is at a given point, and at the same time it is not there. We can only consider it in accordance with the formula, 'Yes is no, and no is yes'. This moving body thus presents itself as an irrefutable argument in favour of the 'logic of contradiction'; and one who is unwilling to accept this logic will be forced to proclaim, with Zeno, that motion is merely an illusion of the senses." (81).

The problem of the logical representation of motion, which may seem to some a mere play on words, is the central question of dialectics, and has been with us since Zeno posed his paradoxes in the fifth Century B.C. Modern theoretical physics was compelled, not accidentally, to explore the problem again and Heisenberg has given us his celebrated "Uncertainty Principle." Readers who are interested may follow the discussion of these modern developments in R. L. Worrall's study of "Energy and Matter."

What concerns us here is that motion presents the classic example of the unity of opposites.

As Lenin says: "We cannot imagine, express, measure, depict movement, without interrupting continuity, without simplifying, coarsening, dismembering, strangling that which is living. The representation of movement by means of thought always makes coarse, kills—and not only by means of thought, but also by sense-perception, and not only of movement, but every concept.

"And in this lies the essence of dialectics.

"And precisely *this essence* is expressed by the formula: the unity, identity of opposites." (82).

### Formal Logic

Classical logic takes as its fundamental premise *the Law of Identity*, the statement that a thing is identical with itself. Expressed in a formula: A is A.

In its negative form, *the Law of Contradiction*, it states that a thing is never different from itself, that A is not and cannot be non-A.

In combination, these laws give rise to a third, *the Law of the Excluded Middle*, Either A is B, or it is non-B; it cannot be both.

These three laws of formal logic, which Aristotle made the basis of his philosophy, had a tremendous significance in the history of human thought, just as specific formulations were of great importance in the various branches of science.

For example, astronomy took a leap forward when observers realised that the Morning Star and the Evening Star were different positional appearances of the planet Venus. Chemistry was placed on a new basis with the discovery of the law of conservation of matter, that matter cannot, in all its combinations and dissociations, be created nor destroyed. Physics opened up new horizons with the formulation of the law of conservation of energy, that work and heat were different forms of the same energy. Classification in biology is nothing other than the application of the law of identity.

William Warde does not exaggerate when he writes:

“We could neither act nor think correctly without consciously or unconsciously obeying this law. If we could not recognize ourselves as the same person from moment to moment and from day to day—(and there are people who cannot, who through amnesia or some other mental disturbance have lost their consciousness of self-identity)—we would be lost. But the law of identity is no less valid for the rest of the universe as for human consciousness. It applies everyday and everywhere to social life....

“...All science as well as all intelligent behaviour rests in part upon this law of identity....

“The law of identity directs us to recognize likenesses amidst diversity, permanence amidst changes, to single out the basic

similarities between separated and apparently different instances and entities, to uncover the real bonds of unity between them, to trace the connections between different and consecutive phases of the same phenomena.” (83).

We have already seen, however, that all of existence is the unity of opposites, and that Zeno demonstrated the breakdown of the law of identity—either the arrow is there or it is not there—when applied to motion.

Plekhanov in his delightful essay “Dialectic and Logic” (84) and recently William Warde in his detailed study, “An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism” (85) have, following Hegel, shown the limitations of the laws of formal logic.

Stated briefly, the laws of formal logic are applicable, firstly, within specific limits, and secondly, on condition that there is continuity, in other words, that there is no change.

Noting that change is universal, we see immediately that despite their usefulness and importance, the laws of formal logic have an extremely limited range of validity.

Hegel was responsible for the modification of the laws of logic that enlarged the range of their validity and made possible their applicability to all phenomena. He made logic into a dynamic science and called it dialectics.

### Identity and Difference

For Aristotle, identity excludes difference. With Hegel identity and difference are a unity.

In Aristotle’s formal logic A is A, and never non-A. In Hegel’s dialectics A is A as well as non-A.

Thus as Ruhle says, whereas the old logic stated that ‘Everything is identical with itself, nothing contradicts itself’, Hegel counterposed: ‘Nothing is identical with itself, and everything contradicts itself.’ (86)

Criticising the old logic Hegel writes: "The thinking of this metaphysics was not free and true in the objective sense, as it did not leave it to the object to develop freely out of itself and itself find its definitions, but took it as something ready-made... This metaphysics is dogmatism, because, in accordance with the nature of final definitions, it had to assume that, of two antithetical assertions.....one was necessarily true, and the other necessarily false." (87).

Contrasting his dialectics, Hegel says: "Instead of speaking by the maxim of the Excluded Middle (which is the maxim of abstract understanding), we should rather say: Everything is opposite. Neither in heaven nor in earth, neither in the world or mind nor of nature, is there anywhere such an abstract 'either-or' as common sense thought maintains. *All that is, is concrete, with difference and opposition within itself.*" (88) (Our italics).

Hegel ridiculed the old logic. In his "Logic" he writes: "It is asserted that the maxim of identity, though it cannot be proved, regulates the procedure of every consciousness, and that experience shows it to be accepted as soon as it is apprehended. To this alleged experience of the logic books may be opposed the universal experience that no mind thinks or forms conceptions or speaks, in accordance with this law, and that no existence of any kind whatever conforms to it. Utterances after the fashion of this pretended law (A planet is a planet; magnetism is magnetism; mind is mind) are, as they deserve to be, reputed silly." (89)

Hegel pointed out that every ordinary statement does not take the form A is A (a man is a man) but in fact contains concrete truth and takes the form A is B (man is mortal) and implies the unity of identity and difference. (90)

In his "Dialectics of Nature", Engels notes that "Abstract identity, with its opposition to difference, is in place only in mathematics—an abstract science which is concerned with creations of thought...." He agrees with Hegel that everytime one says "John is a man" or "the lily is a plant", or "the rose is red", that is, every time the

singular is equated to the general, "where the predicate is necessarily different from the subject", "the fact that identity contains difference within itself is expressed in *every sentence*.... That from the outset *identity with itself* requires *difference from everything else* as its complement, is self-evident." (91).

"...Most natural scientists imagine," Engels complains, "that identity and difference are irreconcilable opposites, instead of one-sided poles which represent the truth only in their reciprocal action, in the inclusion of difference *within* identity." (92).

Writing to Conrad Schmidt, Engels gave a down-to-earth example of the unity of identity and difference:

"For instance, you as a bridegroom, have a striking example of the inseparability of identity and difference in yourself and your bride. It is absolutely impossible to decide whether sexual love is pleasure in the identity in difference or in the difference in identity. Take away the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the human nature of both) and what have you got left?" (93).

We can readily agree with Engels—the maleness of man would be meaningless without woman; the opposite sexes are mutually complementary, and are composite sub-divisions of Man.

### The Unity of Opposites

Stace in his commentary on the philosophy of Hegel sums up this aspect of dialectics :

"Hegel's audacity and originality consists simply in this, that he explained and showed in detail how it is logically possible for two opposites to be identical while yet retaining their opposition.... If we can only say A is A, the infinite is the infinite, then A must remain A forever, the infinite must remain infinite, and therefore sterile within itself, for ever, and the finite world can never arise out of it. We can only solve this problem if the infinite contains the finite, just as being as being contains non-being, if the infinite *is* the finite, if A is non-A.

"It is of paramount importance to observe that the identity of opposites does not exclude the opposition of those opposites. A and non-A are identical. But they are also distinct. It is not only an *identity* of opposites, it is also an identity of *opposites*. The opposition is just as real as the identity." (94)

Engels writes: "Closer investigation shows us that the two poles of an antithesis, like positive and negative, are just as inseparable from each other as they are opposed, and that despite all their opposition they mutually penetrate each other...." (95).

In contrast to dialectics which sees the co-existence, the interpenetration and unity of opposites, metaphysics provides us only with hollow abstractions.

Criticising metaphysicians, Engels writes:

"To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation, fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses.... For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot be at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in rigid antithesis one to the other." (96).

He repeated the same point in a letter to Conrad Schmidt:

"What these gentlemen all lack is dialectics. They always see only here cause, there effect. That this is a hollow abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, while the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most primeval,

most decisive—that here everything is relative and nothing absolute—this they never begin to see. Hegel has never existed for them." (97).

"Dialectics," says Lenin, "in the proper sense is the study of contradiction *in the very essence of objects*: not only are appearances transitory, mobile, fluid, demarcated only by conventional boundaries, but the essence of things is so as well." (98).

"In brief," he says, "dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites." (99).

"The division of the one and the cognition of its contradictory parts.... is the *essence* (one of the 'essentials', one of the principal, characteristics or features) of dialectics...." (100)

We can appreciate the genius of Heraclitus who, two thousand three hundred years ago, said simply: "Difference is the essence of harmony." (101).

Let us quote a tribute :

"In this inconstancy of all things, in a ceaseless transformation of all being, Heraclitus beheld the general law of the universe. All things are in a flux, there is nothing permanent, with the result that 'we cannot step twice into the same river'.\* The world he conceived both as war and peace, summer and winter, flux and time, satiation and hunger, etc. *Opposition*, the ruling principle of the universe, is, according to Heraclitus, inherent in all things, with the result that all of existence really constitutes a *union* of opposites. The ALL has its origin in the ONE and the ONE in the ALL". (102)

(To be Continued)

\* Cratylus, a disciple of Plato corrected him saying that we cannot step into the same river once, for, even while we step into it, it changes. (103).

(Continued from page 108)

Secondly, it is disappointing to find Mills persist here, as in previous works, in misrepresenting the socialist theory of social change, and in particular, the theory of the state. In practice, his own work is fully socialist in its conclusions. For example his observation, "The state in which we live in its personal and persistent outlook, does indeed appear at times as a committee of

the ruling circles of corporation and high military", lies at the core of his entire argument. This is certainly the central premise of socialist politics as well. Yet he cannot refrain from imputing to Marxists a mechanistic determinism in which history is reduced to fate. This injustice is all the more deplorable at the hands of a man of intellect and courage, and a friend of the working class.

D. M.

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# PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM THE WEAKEST LINK

By MARIO VIEIRA

## NEW FOCUS OF REVOLUTION

IT is over an year since the struggle of the Angolan people against Portuguese imperialism broke into an armed revolt whose vicious suppression threatens to turn this west African colony into a new Algeria. The spectacular seizure of the *Santa Maria* had reminded the world that in Portugal itself Salazar's decades-old dictatorship was not getting things all its own way. Since that time much attention has been given in the world Press to the problems of Portugal and her colonies. Foreign apologists for Salazar have become less and less vocal, and we are now hearing much—from the Bow Group, for instance, in its publication *The New Africa*—about the need for United Nations intervention in the Portuguese colonies. At the same time a concerted attempt is being made to present the Angolan liberation movement as either a fratricidal struggle between rival groups of nationalists, or else a dangerous Russian-inspired drive into the heart of southern Africa.

Behind the rumours, false news items and the welter of speculation a whole complex of forces is at work. The enemies of the Angolan revolution—and the Portuguese revolution too—are many, and their interests do not always coincide.

There is the Salazar fascist bureaucracy and Portuguese monopoly capitalism which it serves; Franco's dictatorship in Spain, directly threatened by any weakening of Salazarism; British economic interests inside Portugal itself and, on a much vaster scale, deeply committed to Portuguese imperialism in Africa; Rhodesian and South African needs for the continued supply of slave labour for their mines and outlets to the sea for their products. And, over all, stands the shadow of American imperialism's economic, political and strategic requirements. American imperialism has wider and more far-reaching interests at stake and the danger of revolution in Portu-

gal deepens with every day the Angolan war continues. Such a revolution would have profound effects in Spain, where the crisis of the Franco régime is already mounting, and would initiate a chain of events that would gravely threaten the entire position of imperialism.

A number of factors make the situation in Portugal and its colonies of great theoretical interest to Marxists, in addition to the over-riding considerations of international solidarity. In the first place the bankruptcy of Salazarism makes the Portuguese area of the world 'the weakest link in the imperialist chain' at this moment in history. Secondly, it provides a model, on classic lines, of the identity of interest and need for unity in the struggle of the colonial peoples and the metropolitan working class and peasantry. Thirdly, it demonstrates in a very clear and specific way the energy and impetus of the colonial revolution and its relative ideological superiority over the present stage of the metropolitan revolution. Fourthly, the acute polarization of forces, i.e. naked fascist dictatorship of monopoly capitalism on the one hand and combative oppressed masses on the other, is not camouflaged by trappings of technological advance, nor social democracy, nor welfare stateism, nor a bureaucratized workers' movement, nor the existence of a 'national bourgeoisie' in the colonial territories. Finally, the relative isolation of this area from the rest of the world also means that the influence of Stalinism is to some degree attenuated, if not over the leaders, at any rate over the militants of the Portuguese Communist Party.

## THE NATURE OF PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

Portugal, a small country of nine million inhabitants, is in terms of productivity, one of the poorest countries of Europe. Backward agricultural methods coupled with an unbalanced distribution of the land on the one hand, and a low level of industrial-

zation on the other, account for the fact that the *per capita* national product is 201 U.S. dollars, one quarter that of France.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, this meagre national product is divided as between profits and wages in such a way that the rate of capitalist exploitation is abnormally high. In most western countries wages account for 60-70 per cent. and profits for 30-40 per cent. of the national product. *In Portugal the ratio is reversed and wages account for only 39 per cent. and profits for 61 per cent. of the national product.* This state of affairs is maintained by the total strangulation of workers' organizations, banning of strikes, secret police screening of workers in key industries, arbitrary imprisonment, etc.—in other words, the existence of the fascist State apparatus. While the overwhelming majority of the people live at starvation levels, and disease, infant mortality and illiteracy figures are among the highest in Europe, a tiny group of wealthy capitalists and land-owners live in the kind of ostentatious luxury that is seldom to be seen outside the Iberian Peninsula. However, one of the successes of the Salazar régime has been its ability to provide a certain section of the petty bourgeoisie, namely the corporative bureaucracy and commercial sectors, with a higher standard of living than hitherto. This success directly owes itself to intensification of colonial exploitation under Salazar. Before the Salazar régime the colonies were relatively undeveloped and their wealth derived from plantations and petty trading.

The Salazarists claim Portuguese imperialism to be different from that of other imperialist Powers. This is true! Not, however, for the false reasons usually adduced of humaneness, racial assimilation and so on! The difference is a basic economic one. Portugal, unlike Britain, France, Belgium and the USA, lacks capital for colonial investment by reason of its own backward economy. Instead of having very much Portuguese capital invested in them, her colonies, though relatively undeveloped, provide a vast and lucrative terrain for British, German and other foreign capital. Under a less bureaucratic régime than Salazar's, and were it not for the threat of colonial revolution, their potential for imperialism would be enormous. The Portuguese bour-

geoisie, or its agent, Salazar's State, in the capacity of proprietor hires out concessions to foreign companies: mines, roads, communications, ports, land for plantations. And as far as the State directly is concerned it also provides foreign imperialism with badly needed slave labour in exchange for economic benefits.

The profits made by foreign enterprises in the Portuguese colonies go in the main back to the countries concerned, but a sizeable proportion is paid to Portugal in exchange for the right to exploit her territory. Thus, although there is direct exploitation too by a number of Portuguese monopolies such as the C.U.F., the Portuguese bourgeoisie is largely in the position of an intermediary, a kind of ground landlord, and the income Portugal derives from her colonies comes directly from sovereignty rather than from investment. Hence political independence of these territories would automatically eliminate the Portuguese bourgeoisie's intermediary position. Both foreign enterprises and the independent national governments, whatever their political colour, could have no possible interest in continuing to provide an income for the ground landlord. Hitherto the only advantage Portuguese sovereignty has provided to foreign investors has been 'peace and order', i.e. 'no trouble with the natives'. There have been plenty of disadvantages: corrupt and inefficient administration; inadequate transport and other facilities; over-centralization of government by Lisbon. Now the one advantage has gone in Angola and it is fast fading in the other colonies.

Unlike richer capitalist nations Portugal can do nothing to mend matters. The economic nature of her imperialism is not one that can provide the base for switching to a 'commonwealth' type solution. She has not the resources either for investment or for the indoctrination of a tame African élite. Thus the Portuguese bourgeoisie cannot contemplate a 'commonwealth' type independence for its colonies—any kind of independence at all would immediately eliminate the parasitical and uneconomic role of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. As

<sup>1</sup> 1957 Figures

inside Portugal itself, this class has nothing to offer as a sop, it will not give up its privileges.

All this has a number of direct political consequences:

—**First**, the Salazar's government's desperate, frenzied and unreasoning determination to quell the national liberation movement at all costs. Having no resources to make concessions from, it would rather engage in genocide, physically exterminating half the African population, than give in an inch. Recent legislation abolishing the 'assimilado' system and providing citizenship status to Africans, as well as certain reforms in administration are merely paper measures.

—**Secondly**, the Salazar government's hysterical, seemingly incomprehensible attacks on America—its NATO ally and supplier of arms and equipment. The U.S.A. has not withheld censure of Salazar's war in Angola, precisely because in this area Portuguese imperialism and American imperialism have diametrically opposed interests.

—**Thirdly**, that the petty-bourgeois opposition to Salazar, whether exemplified by the Liberals, or by Captain Galvao, cannot agree to a whole-hearted struggle against Salazar's colonial policy. Indeed, although the Liberal program, published last year, pays lip service to the betterment of conditions in the colonies, it also calls for ever closer integration of their economies with that of Portugal, anticipating Salazar's 'Portuguese common market' by several months. This means that the Liberal opposition—the most vocal and that which receives most attention in the foreign Press—is in fact nearer to Salazar than it is to the colonial liberation movement or to any genuine revolutionary movements of the Portuguese masses. The numerous petty links of large sections of the Portuguese middle class with colonialism make it now fear colonial independence more than the continuation of the Salazar régime.

—**Finally**, this special nature of Portuguese imperialism, unable to afford concessions and relying for discipline on the knout and

the bullet, has brought into being a liberation movement in all its African colonies of a particularly intransigent kind. This liberation movement finds its highest expression in Angola, where intransigence is coupled with political insight of a high order and there has emerged over recent years a liberation organization whose maturity of leadership is reflected in a thought-out revolutionary socialist program opposed to every sort of colonialism and neo-colonialism in an area larger than half of western Europe.

It is the threat that this movement represents to imperialism in central and southern Africa—to the mining interests in Katanga, in Rhodesia and South Africa—both directly and as an example, that explains Britain's continued support for Salazar as the chief bulwark against revolution in southern Africa. The United States sees things differently. Her vast capital and technical resources give Washington different perspectives: those of neo-colonialism operated through an Angolan Tshombe, which could enable her to deal a blow at both Salazar and British interests simultaneously. *The main obstacle to this aim of U.S. imperialism is the political level and unity of the Angola liberation movement, whose defence now becomes a prime duty of revolutionary socialists throughout the world.*

## THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Salazar curtain of silence, connived in and assisted by his western allies, has supported the myth that until recently there was no resistance to Portuguese colonialism in its overseas territories. Five hundred years of peaceful possession in which white and black lived side by side, working together as equals and even marrying one another, had been disturbed simply by communist infiltration and the introduction of alien ideas! This idyllic picture, beloved of Salazarists and Liberals alike, is a product of wishful thinking or of cynicism. Portuguese trading posts have existed all around the coast of Africa for centuries, but Portuguese penetration and conquest of the interior took place only when the rest of Europe began its scramble for African colonies—in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This penetration which was

only finally completed after the first world war met with bitter resistance, which was continued through a number of risings as late as the 1930s. The abominable conditions of the indigenous peoples in Angola and Mozambique, with 99 per cent. illiteracy, hundreds of thousands annually driven into forced labour in British territories, and complete lack of political or civil rights, are too well-known nowadays to merit detailed examination here. What is not so often realized, however, is that the *assimilado* system by which certain privileged Africans attained citizenship status affected only a tiny minority. Some might think that this privileged minority could form the nucleus of a native bourgeoisie which would lead a liberation movement against Portuguese colonialism to the establishment of independent territories economically infested to imperialism.

Such an interpretation ignores the special nature of Portuguese imperialism which has left little room in its African colonies for the basis of this kind of development. In fact the role of a 'national bourgeoisie' is played in Angola and Mozambique not by Africans but by the Portuguese settlers, hence moves among these for autonomy from Lisbon. However, economically they are too weak and numerically too few ever to hope for the role of the Welensky-led whites in Rhodesia. In Angola there are less than 200,000 Europeans and nearly 5,000,000 Africans, while in Mozambique there are less than 100,000 Europeans and well over 6,000,000 Africans. In Mozambique there are only about 6,000-odd *assimilados*, or 0.01 per cent. of the total African population, mainly low-paid clerks in government administration. Not a single Mozambique African has graduated from a Portuguese university. In Angola, relatively more advanced economically, there is a larger number of *assimilados* and a score of graduates have been trained at Portuguese universities. Here again, these are not engaged in business or industry, but in office work for the most part. And the graduates are chiefly doctors and lawyers. It was among *assimilados* in the towns of Angola that the first African political organization was formed, the *Liga Africana* which took part in the Third Pan-African Congress in 1923 in Lisbon. In 1929 the *Liga Nac-*

*ional Africana* was founded in Luanda and later the *Associação Regional dos Naturais de Angola*. At first these organizations were completely reformist in outlook and did not question the basis of Portuguese imperialism. But during and after the Second World War a differentiation began to take place within them. The intensification of colonialist oppression under fascism, the hopelessness of seeking reforms within the colonial framework, the weakness of confining political activity to *assimilados* and finally, the percolation of socialist ideas into the colony from the outside world, caused the younger generation of Angolans to seek more revolutionary solutions. A trend developed demanding the building of mass organizations embracing 'natives' and which would use all means to achieve their ends—and one of the ends that began to be talked of more and more was political independence and economic reconstruction of Angola on planned lines. As news penetrated the colony of the awakening in the rest of Africa, of the successful Chinese revolution, of the growth of socialism on a world scale, illegal political organizations began to proliferate among urban Angolans. Illegal trade unions were formed but every attempt at strikes was met with violence and bloodshed. Legal resistance of the mildest kind was impossible under fascist colonialism. The *Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola* (PLUA) was the first mass revolutionary party to be formed and it called on Angolans to unite to fight for their liberation. In 1956 the PLUA joined with other groups to form the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA).

The MPLA was founded inside Angola by Angolan Africans, open to all regardless of race or tribe, democratic in structure and aiming at the ending of Portuguese colonialism by every means. It called for the unity of all Angolans in this struggle and the formation of a National Liberation Front, a position from which it has never departed. Its international policy is based on neutralism in the cold war, pan-Africanism and solidarity with all countries fighting for colonial independence, in the first place the other Portuguese colonies. Its long-term programme calls for an agrarian reform that would nationalize the lands owned by enemies of Angolan liberation, establish a

limit on the size of private rural property, distribute land to landless and poor peasants and safeguard the rights won by the peasants in the course of the liberation struggle. The programme also calls for industrialization and development of the country by means of planning and the creation of State-owned industrial and commercial enterprises; abolition of privileges given to foreign enterprises; State control of foreign trade; and for the banning of foreign military bases.

The leaders of the MPLA are Marxist in outlook, but Marxist in an African context, distrustful of 'guidance' from Europeans who claim to be anti-colonial but who, as in the Algerian struggle, have so often failed when solidarity with anti-colonial struggles comes into conflict with the domestic manoeuvres of their parties. The base of the MPLA is the Angolan urban masses and peasantry; its ideological nursery was the group around *Presence Africaine* in Paris; and its economic example the Chinese People's Republic. The maturity of the MPLA leadership is not only evident from their program and their unwavering struggle for unity of all Angolan liberation organizations, but also from their international approach. Perhaps their most outstanding and original contribution in this respect has been their part in the formation of the CONCP—the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies, a co-ordinating committee for the struggle against Salazarist colonialism wherever it exists. This organization, with its headquarters in Rabat, Morocco, is committed to the liberation of all the Portuguese colonies. Its first practical success was the liberation of Goa, last December, brought about by Indian troops as a result of pressure on the Indian government by Indian popular opinion impelled forward by the activities and appeals of the CONCP.

Hitherto the main obstacle to Angolan unity and hence to a speedy liberation has been the attitude and activity of the leaders of the *Uniao das Populacoes de Angola*, UPA, and their chief, Roberto Holden. The UPA, a peasant party with no programme other than political independence from the Portuguese, is not a nation-wide organization, but is based on the northern Angolan

tribes in the region of São Salvador near the Congo frontier. For many years these peoples have emigrated across the border into the Congo, peopled by fellow-tribesmen—the Mukongo people—in search of higher wages and better conditions. Before the Angolan war swelled their number with refugees there were some half million Angolan emigré workers living in the Congo. It was among these that the UPA, originally called the Union of Peoples of the North of Angola, was formed in Leopoldville. In addition to UPA there were also formed in the Congo other similarly northern-based tribal parties, but Holden's UPA came into particular prominence early in 1961 because of the part it played in the uprising in the north. The western Press generally dates the Angolan war from March 15, 1961, when the northern tribes revolted. In fact armed revolt against the Portuguese started a month earlier on February 4, 1961, when MPLA militants attacked jails and government buildings in Luanda and pitched battles lasted for three days. On February 5 alone more than 3,000 Africans were killed. From then on violent clashes occurred in many places throughout Angola until open warfare broke out in the north. Since then the world has become familiar with the tragedy of Angola, Portuguese reprisals including British-made napalm bombs, the razing of villages, the estimates of 50,000 Africans killed, and 150,000 homeless refugees fleeing into the Congo.

What is not so well-known is the sinister role played by the UPA leaders in this drama. The MPLA leaders, forced into exile in 1959 by the Salazar terror, had their headquarters in Conakry, far from the scene of operations in northern Angola. Although they had travelled widely seeking international support their consistent anti-imperialism smacked dangerously of communism to the capitalist world. Not so with UPA! Roberto Holden was welcomed with open arms in the United States where he set up an office. The American Press consistently boosted Holden and the UPA as the genuine and sole representative of the Angolan people and warned against MPLA. Holden repeatedly refused pleas not only by MPLA but also by other parties to form a Liberation Front, asserting UPA hegemony over the Angolan struggle and

denouncing the MPLA as 'white communists'. His journal, *La Nation Angolaise*, put forward a steady stream of tribalist and black nationalist propaganda, void of political content or perspective either for the prosecution of the war or the future of an independent Angola. At last in November 1961 the MPLA was forced to announce that one of its guerrilla units, a troop of 21 men led by a European Tomás Ferreira, had been captured and killed by UPA elements. This was vociferously denied by UPA who at first stated that the unit concerned was a Portuguese colonialist one, and later that the unit had been killed by the Portuguese colonialists.

Meanwhile the MPLA leaders removed from Conakry to Leopoldville and announced the setting up of its own military organization headed by a Revolutionary Committee with units active in various parts of Angola, as well as a hospital corps for the treatment and care of Angolan refugees in the Congo. It intensified its appeals for unity and launched a journal, *Unidade Angolana*, in December 1961. But the MPLA never publicly attacked the UPA leadership, understanding that a change must come from within the ranks of UPA itself. Instead it confined its propaganda to patient explanation of its policy and the reasons why unity was necessary, and called on the other Angolan political parties to issue their programmes so that principled points of difference might be brought out into the open and discussed. At last MPLA's patience was rewarded and on March 3, 1962, Holden's wrecking activities were denounced dramatically by UPA's own Chief of Staff, Marcos Kassanga, in the name of the UPA 'National Liberation Army'. The general staff of that army withdrew all support from Holden and called on Afro-Asian countries supplying UPA with aid to deliver it to genuine nationalist organizations. It also called for the urgent formation of a national liberation front uniting all Angolan parties. Kassanga's denunciation of the UPA leadership was immediately followed by the UPA-led trade union, the LGTA, which withdrew its support from UPA and also called for a National Liberation Front.

The terrible revelations contained in Kassanga's statement, notably the charges that UPA had unleashed inter-tribal warfare in the north and instigated the massacre of 8,000 Angolans; that UPA had organized the assassination of the UPA Chief of Military Operations in the interior João Baptista, and that UPA had indeed massacred the MPLA guerrilla unit led by Tomás Ferreira, were at once seized upon by irresponsible western journalists as evidence of mounting internecine war amongst Angolan liberation fighters. Even so influential a paper as the *Observer* presented a completely garbled report attributing Kassanga's statements to the MPLA as evidence for inter-party strife. The mischievousness of these reports is self-evident. The UPA military chief not only brought concrete charges of wrecking and murder against the UPA leaders but also showed how Holden was totally uninterested in unity or the successful prosecution of the war by reason of his own private economic interest in its continuation: namely the conversion to his own use of funds donated by the Angolan people and by African countries for the prosecution of the liberation struggle.

On March 26 and MPLA statement from Leopoldville echoed Kassanga's charges and added the accusation that Holden had accepted money from Portuguese planters in exchange for safeguarding their property. It repeated Kassanga's accusations that Holden attempted to impose Protestantism wherever his followers were active, a policy aimed at winning him the support of foreign Protestants who have in fact been his main apologists abroad. The MPLA further stated that Holden had a deliberate policy of 'physical liquidation of assimilated and educated Africans'.

But Holden has not given in. He met the revolt within his own ranks by announcing the formation of an Angolan Provisional Government and an 'Angolan Liberation Front' composed of UPA and a splinter party called the PDA. This measure has been denounced by the CONCP as a propaganda move, and in reply to UPA's spurious claims to the support of Algeria, CONCP has announced that the Algerian Provisional Government has committed itself to unconditional assistance to the MPLA.

There can be little doubt that UPA, deprived of the support of its army and its trade union, cannot for long continue to prevent Angolan unity. No doubt the tribalism fomented by Holden will take time to abate, but his exposure from within his own ranks cannot but be an important lesson for all Angolan revolutionaries and a bitter blow to those who were hoping for an Angolan Tshombe.

Although the struggle against Portuguese colonialism is at its highest point in Angola, mass liberation movements are active in all the other African colonies too. In Portuguese Guinea, a tiny area on the west coast of Africa, with a population of some 600,000, the *Partido Africano de Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde*, PAIGC, affiliated to CONCP and led by Amilcar Cabral, has announced that the Portuguese authorities are preparing for war against the liberation movement, but that violence by the colonialists will be met with violence.

Next in importance to Angola is Mozambique, not quite so big in area, but with a larger population. Here the *Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mocambique* UDENAMO, with headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam and also affiliated to CONCP, claims mass African support. The UDENAMO shares with the MPLA and the PAIGC the general characteristic of all organizations affiliated to CONCP, namely that of intransigent struggle against Portuguese imperialism. It has not yet, however, got a developed programme, reflecting in this way the greater cultural and political backwardness of the Mozambique masses. It is precisely in this respect that the existence of CONCP can be of immense assistance to UDENAMO, bringing to it the lessons of the Angolan struggle and helping to develop the theoretical level of its leadership. This process, in the context of the immense vitality of the colonial revolution, can under appropriate conditions be accelerated very rapidly.

### THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION AND THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese ruling class and its servant, the Salazar dictatorship, is in the throes of a crisis for which there is no solution. It was the crisis of the Portuguese bourgeoisie which brought the dictatorship into being in 1926, for the problems of the ruling class

were such that they could not be solved by a bourgeois democratic republic. At that time the Portuguese workers' movement was largely under anarchist influence and the General Confederation of Labour claimed a membership of 100,000. The strongest workers' party was the Socialist Party formed in 1875. The Communist Party, formed in 1921, had negligible influence during the 1920s.

Although the bourgeois republic established in 1910 had introduced numerous liberal political reforms it was quite unable to cope with the economic and social problems that the country inherited from the monarchy, and at the same time grant concessions to the workers' movement in terms of higher wages and better conditions for which the masses had supported the 1910 revolution. Within two years of the revolution, to break a strike, the Republican government declared martial law in Lisbon and arrested over 1,000 workers—more than Salazar has ever arrested at any one time! In all, there were 158 general strikes in the sixteen years that Portugal enjoyed liberal democracy.

To stabilize its position and continue in power the bourgeoisie had to turn to a dictatorship which would smash the workers' parties, ban trade unions and establish fascist corporatism.

Today the Portuguese ruling class faces a crisis greater than that of the twenties. Salazar managed to smash resistance at home, but in the colonies this policy has failed. The class struggle that fascism attempted to stifle at home so that the capitalist class could continue to exploit in peace has erupted in its fullest fury in Angola: in colonial revolution! And Portugal with a national income that is one eighteenth that of France now faces in Angola, 5,000 miles away and not a mere 500, a colonial war of truly Algerian dimensions. At the present time 30,000 Portuguese troops are pinned down in Angola, and some 15,000 in Mozambique, absurdly small numbers to face a united and determined liberation struggle, but already enormously burdensome to Portuguese resources. France had half a million men in Algeria, but Portugal could never spare 250,000. If Portugal were to spend half what France had to in Algeria in 1957,

a 'pacification' force in Angola would cost the Portuguese 400 million U.S. dollars a year. This sum is over six times her present total defence expenditure and nearly a quarter of her entire national income. And yet to give up the colonies which provide the country with nearly a third of its national income is an impossible prospect for the Portuguese ruling class.

To meet the cost of a war that cannot be won the Salazar government is placing the burden on the backs of an already overburdened people. By and large the Algerian war did not have disastrous consequences for the French people's standard of living, owing to the strength and prosperity of the French economy in the post-war period. But in Portugal the case is different. Every additional man called up from the countryside is a breadwinner taken from a starving peasant family. His soldier's pay is scarcely enough for his own needs, let alone for sending home part to his family. This is why Salazar has provided as an incentive to the troops who go to Angola the promise of land there at the end of their term of service. But such promises cannot provide bread for peasant families now, and their desperation is already evidenced by the numerous desertions from the army and demonstrations at the departure of troopships for Africa.

The Salazar government cannot withstand alone the onslaught in Africa and unrest at home. And yet open support from Britain or America cannot be relied on—these have other methods against the colonial revolution. The Salazarists have therefore been compelled to turn to Franco with whom a mutual assistance pact exists and who cannot tolerate the prospect of the downfall of a dictatorship so closely linked with his own. Unification of the Portuguese and Spanish armed forces is being planned and there is even talk of unification of the two fascist States. It is doubtful whether the latter move, bound to arouse bitter resistance inside Portugal, will materialize in a formal way, but what is likely is that the Spanish army will be stationed in Portugal to safeguard public order and release the Portuguese army for the colonies. This would have a triple effect: first, it would provide the government with the reinforcements it badly needs; secondly, it would prevent at one blow the

danger of the army associating itself with a popular rising inside Portugal; thirdly it would inflame popular feeling against Spain—a necessity, contradictory though this may seem, for the avoidance of revolution in the peninsula. Salazar welcomes Iberian unity at governmental level, but Iberian unity among the masses would be the beginning of the end of reaction in the Peninsula. However, the unity of the dictatorships, the fact that they stand or fall together, the fact that the two armed forces are to be virtually amalgamated, that the presence of Spanish troops in Portugal will release Portuguese for the war in Angola, makes it more urgent than ever before that genuine revolutionaries in both countries should view their problems as a unity and come together to plan joint action.

### THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE PRESENT OPPOSITION

The workers' movement inside Portugal is bitterly persecuted. Every strike, every delegation to an employer demanding higher wages or an improvement in conditions, every genuine expression of discontent inside the government syndicates, every demonstration by landless peasants in the South of the country where large latifundia are the chief type of rural property—all these are presented by the government as the work of the Communist Party, and their organizers are thrown into jail, flogged, tortured and seldom brought to trial. As a consequence of this relentless government propaganda the Communist Party enjoys great prestige among the masses and is the fashionable party of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who, in their overwhelming majority, are Communist Party sympathizers or fellow-travellers. How far the party is actually responsible for organizing and leading working-class and peasant action is difficult to assess, for fascist conditions force its operations deep underground. But the party does have a published program and its illegal journals and leaflets are widely circulated. From these its policy can be judged.

The years of fascism brought about the eclipse of social democracy and anarcho-syndicalism in Portugal and the growth of the Communist Party as the only organized party of the working people—indeed the only organized party of any sort in the



opposition. For twenty-five years the Communist Party has single-mindedly pursued a popular front policy of unity at all costs with all sections of the opposition. As practically all the other elements in the opposition—conservatives of a monarchist cast, Liberals and social democratic intellectuals—have no mass following at all this has invariably meant unity from above. The only other opposition trend with a mass following is the Left-wing christian democracy of some Catholics and these too are courted by the Communist Party, though with less success.

The lack of a social democratic grouping of any seriousness is often remarked, but in Portugal while the Communist Party pursues its present policy of reform not revolution, unity with the bourgeoisie instead of struggle against it, there is no need for a social democratic party as the Communist Party fills the needs of the petty bourgeoisie perfectly and has the advantage over social democracy of being uncompromised by equivocal attitudes towards the Salazar government taken by social democratic parties abroad. Indeed, despite fascism, the Communist Party even adheres to the general policy of the parliamentary road to socialism, even though there is no parliament but only a fascist national assembly whose members are chosen through one of the most fraudulent electoral mechanisms ever to be devised, which disfranchises most of the population, terrorizes those who can vote, and then falsifies the voting figures. And yet though no opponent of the regime has ever been elected to the Assembly in the three decades of its existence, an assembly which is not permitted to initiate any legislation involving the spending of public funds and exists simply to rubber-stamp government decisions, the Communist Party had this to say beforehand of last November's 'elections'. These elections 'to the National Assembly which has powers of amending the constitution, can be the open door to a modification of the Portuguese political situation.' According to the Party, democrats elected to the Assembly would dispose of a 'tribune, a position of particular importance for unmasking the action of the government, for popular clarification and mobilization and for the general development of the struggle against fascism.' 1

That it is characteristic of fascism, to which Portuguese fascism is no exception, not to permit such tribunes to exist or such persons to be elected seems to escape the authors of this document. In fact the elections of November took their usual course, that of eventual boycott by most of the opposition because of the atmosphere of terror and repression that prevailed, although not a single opposition manifesto had called for the independence of the colonies. In the document quoted above the Communist Party suggested that mass mobilization in the election campaign could bring about a 'pre-insurrectional situation' which could place the Salazar government before the dilemma of 'surrendering peacefully or being defeated by force'. Presumably a 'pre-insurrectional situation' is all that is required to persuade the Salazarists—who have never shown the slightest tendency towards peaceful surrender—to go quietly for the document goes on to condemn violence. If terrorist tendencies it says 'concretize themselves in practical action, the only result would be the increase of repression, the backing away of democratic sectors and less radicalized layers and the breaking up of some small anti-Salazarist groupings.' 'The Communist Party not only declares its disapproval of any terrorist action but also warns of its dangers to the Portuguese democratic forces.'

The 'democratic forces' are all Portuguese who are opposed to Salazar, and it is on the unity of these forces that the entire policy of the Communist Party is based. That the only thing that unites them, the lowest common denominator of hostility to Salazar is insufficient either for the elaboration of a common plan to get rid of the dictatorship, or to produce a programme for the government that would replace him, is not understood by the present leaders of the Communist Party. The party's main slogans are an end to the Angolan war and amnesty for political prisoners, slogans so general that they cannot antagonize anyone, and so out of touch with the desperate needs of the masses for bread and the prospect of a future worth fighting for, that they are guaranteed not to bring anyone into the street to fight for the overthrow of the Salazar regime.

1 *Manifesto issued by the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, May, 1960.*

In its documents the party pays lip-service to self-determination and independence of the colonies, but in pursuing its policy of alliance with the 'national bourgeoisie' it plays down the colonial question in its practical work. Its awareness of the nature of the colonial problem for the country was well illustrated just before the presidential election of 1958 in which General Delgado was an opposition candidate. Before Delgado had emerged as the most powerful opposition figure the first candidate sought by the Communist Party as its nominee for the presidency was an old-time politician named Cunha Leal. In the event Cunha Leal refused the Communist Party's nomination, which was to be foreseen for his anti-communism was well-known. This nomination is now denied. However, the Communist Party placed on record in its publications at the time the fact of his desirability as a candidate of the 'democratic forces'. Now this choice is a significant one, for Cunha Leal, a former minister before the present regime, is a bourgeois politician, an able economist linked with financial circles, a liberal—and an ardent colonialist! This was all perfectly well-known in 1957 when his candidacy was first mooted. It became even better known when the same Cunha Leal publicly announced his support for Salazar's colonial policy.

The present policy of the Portuguese Communist Party is based on an incorrect analysis of the economic and social forces at work in the country, of the nature of Portuguese imperialism, and of the significance of the colonial revolution, as well as ignorance of the history of its own working-class movement and of the general crisis of the world communist movement. All this is readily understandable in conditions of fascism and isolation from the rest of the world—Marxist books are difficult to get and for a generation the easiest obtainable have been the works of Stalin or the literature of the French and Brazilian communist parties. What is not so understandable is that the policy of the Portuguese Communist Party exiles in Brazil, where there is the largest Portuguese emigration, instead of helping to clarify exile groups throughout the world and assist in the development of a revolutionary policy at home, adheres to the most opportunist line and confines all its activities to a worthy

but hopeless campaign for the amnesty of political prisoners who, everyone knows, will continue to languish in Salazar's dungeons as long as the dictatorship is not overthrown.

Indeed, the policy of the emigre groups—all largely under the direction of the Liberal Communist alliance—is particularly blameworthy in that it attempts to mislead international public opinion about the real state of affairs in Portugal. It claims a unity that does not exist, and pretends that all sectors of the opposition agree to the independence of the colonies. This verbal anti-colonialism abroad is calculated to impress a world that recognizes the fact of the colonial revolution. Emigre circles excuse the lack of activity on the colonial issue within Portugal by citing Salazarist repression. In a document issued by Manuel Sertorio, a leading opposition figure among the Portuguese emigration in Brazil, when he attended the New Delhi seminar last October where representatives of the CONCP were present to discuss the Portuguese colonial question, the thesis was adumbrated that the Portuguese opposition were united in sympathy for the colonial people, because the sufferings of the Portuguese were identical, but they were prevented from manifesting this sympathy by virtue of the Salazar dictatorship. The Angolan fighters for freedom might well have been forgiven if they had asked Sertorio when Salazar had ever killed 50,000 Portuguese or bombed Portuguese peasant villages with napalm; and whether Salazarist repression was less in the colonies, thus permitting Africans to revolt whereas Portuguese in Portugal could not.

In fact no section of the opposition, except for the Communist Party, has declared its support for immediate colonial independence. The Liberal programme calls for centralization of the economies of colonies and 'metropolis'; Captain Galvao condemns the liberation movements and says that Africans are not ready to govern themselves; General Delgado has made a public statement supporting the principle of self-determination and has held conversations with African leaders, but has formulated no policy. And in their popular front activities communist leaders advise the militants to leave the colonial issue alone when discussing with other sections as it can be a dangerous source of

disunity. Furthermore, in its programme and published material the Communist Party elaborates no programme for a future Portugal without an empire. It certainly does not look to Iberian federalism as a solution. Last autumn a joint communique by the Portuguese and Spanish communist parties condemned this idea, while expressing fraternal solidarity, and emphasized that the problems of each people were to be solved separately.

Nevertheless, despite their misleaders, the Portuguese working people and the petty-bourgeois youth and students are today more militant than perhaps at any time since the dictatorship. The bankruptcy of the government and the traditional opposition before the pressing problems of the country is every day becoming more clearly demonstrated. The Beja uprising, condemned at first as an adventure in which it had no part, by the Communist Party and later praised by the party's leader Alvaro Cunhal, was a typical manifestation of this new mood. The 150-odd participants were in their majority young proletarians from the industrial area of Almada near Lisbon, together with young army officers and some peasants. Among them was the young Catholic workers' leader, Manuel Serra, an influential figure among Left-wing Catholic youth. In the weeks preceding Easter 1962, practically the entire student body at the three universities has been in ferment. Continual strikes and demonstrations for freedom of student association forced the resignation of Lisbon University's Rector, Marcelo Caetano, and a large number of professors, in protest against government policy.

Now Marcelo Caetano, one of the architects of corporativism, has for years been mooted as Salazar's successor. To get

rid of his rival the dictator pushed Caetano out of politics into academic life. But Caetano's resignation as rector is doubtless a new bid for power—and mass popularity. Salazar's replacement by Caetano, who now favours the legalization of political parties, will not restore democracy to Portugal nor bring peace and freedom to the colonies. Marcelo Caetano is one of the foremost apologists of Portuguese colonialism, and though the 'united opposition' may regard him as preferable to Salazar, the colonial liberation movements can have no illusions.

Although socialist and colonial liberation slogans have been conspicuously absent from the student demonstrations, there are signs that Cuba, Algeria and now, more familiar, Angola, none of whose revolutions is being led by a traditional type of communist party, are having their echo inside Portugal. Rank-and-file members of the party too are beginning to be affected by the Chinese-Russian dispute so close to their own problems. For sacrificing real solidarity with the Angolan revolution in the name of peaceful co-existence with the Liberals is to sacrifice the only viable alternative to Salazar or some other nominee of the ruling class: a socialist Portugal closely linked with a socialist Spain which would give land to the peasants and solve the economic problems of both countries on the basis of socialist planning under the control of the people.

But for this to come about a movement must be built up both inside and outside the existing Communist Party as determined as Castro's 26th July Movement, as courageous as the FLN and as programmatically clear and internationally-minded as the MPLA.

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# “OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!”

## THE SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA—A COMMENT

THE people of Cuba are the first to have victoriously unfurled the banner of the Socialist Revolution on the continent of America; and it is their heroic voice which speaks to the peoples of America and the world through the Second Declaration of Havana. The Declaration was made by Fidel Castro, on February 4, 1962, and approved at a meeting of the General National Assembly of the people of Cuba, which is said to have been attended by well over a million people.

The Declaration is deserving of a full reading by all those who stand for the liberation of mankind from exploitation and oppression. It is of historic significance, as a Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto to the exploited and oppressed millions of America. Not since the days of Lenin and Trotsky, after the victory of the world's first Socialist Revolution has such a declaration having the world historic outlook and permeated with the ideology and revolutionary spirit of Marxism been made by any nation. Clear is Cuba's reliance for the defence of its newly won freedom and its advance on the Socialist road, not on mere statecraft, nor even on military alliances, but on the extension of the Socialist Revolution throughout Latin America.

“What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world.”

It is in this vein that the Declaration proceeds to a straight Marxist analysis of capitalism and imperialism, and follows this with an explanation of the true role of the United States as an imperialist power in America and of its fear of the Latin American Revolution.

“Cuba and Latin America are part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems engendered by the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjugated peoples; the clash between the world that is being born and the world that is dying.” So remarking, the Declaration asks: “What is it that is hidden behind the Yankces' hate of the Cuban Revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy, uniting for the same aggressive purpose the most powerful and rich imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country? What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin-American revolution. Not fear of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive layers of the middle strata, who by revolutionary means have taken power in Cuba, but fear that the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive middle strata will by revolutionary means take power in the oppressed and hungry countries exploited by the Yankee monopolies and reactionary oligarchies in America, fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors, and, like Cuba, declare themselves free peoples of America.”

The Declaration warns: “By crushing the Cuban revolution they hope to dispel the fear that torments them, the spectre of the revolution that threatens them. By liquidating the Cuban revolution they hope to liquidate the revolutionary spirit of the people.”

Then it goes on confidently to assert: “But the development of history, the ascending march of humanity does not hold back, nor can it be held back.”

It mentions the subjective conditions for revolution: "The subjective conditions of each country, that is to say the conscious factor, organisation, leadership, can accelerate or retard the revolution, according to its greater or lesser degree of development, but sooner or later, in each historic epoch, when the objective conditions mature, consciousness is acquired, the organisation is formed, the leadership emerges and the revolution takes place."

It reminds: "The peoples of America liberated themselves from Spanish colonialism at the beginning of the last century, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. . . . Today Latin America lies beneath an imperialism fiercer, much more powerful and more cruel than the Spanish colonial empire."

It then explains the various methods by which "Yankee imperialism" seeks to preserve its domination of Latin America and to isolate and crush the Cuban revolution. Such methods are the training of "the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officers of the Latin American armies", through the Inter-American Defence Council; the constitution of a permanent apparatus of espionage in each nation "directly tied to the Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)" through the U.S. military missions in Latin America; and the organisation in the United States itself of "special schools to train Latin-American agents in the most subtle forms of assassination."

"U.S. imperialism's declared policy of sending soldiers to fight the revolutionary movement of any country in Latin America, that is to say to kill workers, students, peasants, Latin-American men and women, has no other objective than the continued maintenance of its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the traitorous oligarchies which support it."

The Declaration asks pointedly: "Why the shipment of arms which, even though technically outmoded for modern war, are yet efficient for smashing strikes, repressing popular demonstrations, staining the land with blood. Why the military missions, the pact of Rio de Janeiro and the thousand and one international conferences?" Then it goes

on graphically to point out: "Since the end of World War II, the nations of Latin America have been impoverished more and more; their exports have less and less value, their imports cost more, the per capita income falls; the awful rate of infant mortality does not decrease, the number of illiterates in higher; the people lack jobs, land, adequate housing schools, hospitals, means of communication, and means of life. On the other hand, North American (U.S.) investments exceed ten billion dollars. Latin America, moreover, supplies cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured articles. Like the first Spanish conquerors, who bartered mirrors and trinkets for gold and silver—that is how the United States trades with Latin America. To guard that torrent of riches, to gain ever more control of Latin America's resources and exploit its suffering peoples—that is what is hidden behind the military pacts, the military missions and Washington's diplomatic lobbying."

Referring to the meeting of the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.) at Punta del Este, at which the U.S. succeeded in prevailing upon a majority of the Representatives of Latin American governments to vote for the expulsion of Cuba from the O.A.S., the Declaration indicts U.S. policy and its methods with this comment: "This policy of gradual strangulation of the sovereignty of the Latin-American nations and of achieving a free hand to intervene in their internal affairs culminated in the recent meeting of Foreign Ministers at Punta del Este. Yankee imperialism summoned the Foreign Ministers to wrest from them—through political pressure and unprecedented economic blackmail in collusion with a group of the most discredited rulers of this continent—renunciation of the national sovereignty of our peoples and the odious right of Yankee intervention in the internal affairs of Latin America."

The Declaration goes on forcefully to describe what Cuba did and to contrast what it stood for, at that conference, with what the U.S., stood for: "At that evil conclave, Cuba's thundering voice was raised without weakness or fear to expose, before all the peoples of America and the world, the monstrous intent, and to defend, with a virility

and dignity that will be recorded in the annals of history, not only Cuba's rights but the forsaken rights of all our sister nations of the American continent. The word of Cuba could find no echo in that house-broken majority, but neither could it find a refutation; only impotent silence befell its demolishing arguments, the clearness and courage of its voice. But Cuba did not speak for the ministers, Cuba spoke for the people and for history, where its words will be echoed and answered."

"At Punta del Este a great ideological battle unfolded between the Cuban revolution and Yankee Imperialism. Who did they represent there, for whom did each speak? Cuba represented the people; the United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for America's exploited masses; the United States for the exploiting oligarchical and imperialist interests; Cuba for the nationalisation of foreign enterprises; the United States for new investments by foreign capital. Cuba for culture; the United States for ignorance; Cuba for agricultural reform; the United States for the great landed estates. Cuba for the industrialisation of America; the United States for under-development. Cuba for creative work; the United States for sabotage and counter-revolutionary terror practiced by its agents—the destruction of sugar-cane fields and factories, the bombing by their pirate planes of the labours of a peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered crusaders against illiteracy; the United States for the assassins. Cuba for bread; the United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for truth; the United States for lies. Cuba for liberation; the United States for oppression. Cuba for the bright future of humanity; the United States for the past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who fell at Playa Giron defending their country from foreign domination; the United States for the mercenaries and traitors who serve the foreigner against their country. Cuba for socialism; the United States for capitalism."

Systematic acts, by which the United States has sought to harass and undermine Cuba, in its heroic efforts to develop its economy and to create a better life for its people, are exposed:

"Cuba has lived three years of the revolution under incessant harassment of Yankee intervention in our internal affairs. Private airplanes coming from the United States, dropping incendiary substances, have burned thousands of tons of sugar cane; acts of international sabotage perpetrated by Yankee agents, like the explosion of the ship "*LA COUBRE*", have cost dozens of Cuban lives; thousands of North American weapons have been dropped in parachutes by the U.S. military services into our territory to promote subversion; hundreds of tons of explosive materials and bombs have been secretly landed on our coast from North American launches to promote sabotage and terrorism. . . . . Our sugar quota was cut and an embargo proclaimed on parts and raw materials for factories and U.S. made machinery, in order to ruin our economy. Cuban ports and installations have been surprise-attacked by armed ships and bombers from bases prepared by the United States. Mercenary troops, organised and trained in countries of Central America by the U.S. government, invaded our territory, escorted by ships of the Yankee fleet and with aerial support from foreign bases, causing much loss of life as well as material wealth. Counter-revolutionary Cubans are being trained in the U.S. Army and new plans of aggression against Cuba are being made."

The Declaration tells next what the Cuban revolution has achieved so far, despite all these impediments:

"Cuba is the one country in all Latin America which has provided land for 100,000 small farmers, assured year-round employment on state farms and co-operatives for all agricultural workers, transformed forts into schools, given 60,000 scholarships to university, secondary and technological students, created lecture halls for the entire child population, totally liquidated illiteracy, quadrupled medical services, nationalised foreign interests, done away with extortionate rents which turned housing into a means of exploiting people, virtually eliminated unemployment, suppressed discrimination due to race or sex, rid itself of gambling, vice and administrative corruption, Cuba is the country which has armed the people, which has made the enjoyment of human

rights a living reality by freeing man and woman from exploitation, lack of culture and social inequality, which has liberated itself from foreign domination, and established the bases for the development of its economy, in order no longer to be a country producing only one crop and exporting only raw materials."

What an achievement this is! What an example of the possibilities of even an under developed little country of only seven million people, isolated economically and politically by all the reactionary forces on its own continent and subjected to repeated sabotage and even armed attacks from outside, once it has achieved a popular revolution and has set its course along the Socialist Road! What an example, not only to the exploited and oppressed millions of America, but to us in little under-developed Ceylon and to the whole colonial world!

But one does not get on to the Socialist road, by wishing for it, by distributing nice picture-books about other people's socialist achievements, or by being handed the power to do so in one's own country from outside! This, too, the Declaration sharply reminds:

"Revolutions are not exported, they are made by the people."

"What Cuba can give to the peoples, and has already given, is its example."

"And what does the Cuban revolution teach? That revolution is possible, that the people can make it, that in the contemporary world there are no forces capable of halting the liberation movement of the peoples.

"Our revolution would never have been possible if the revolution itself had not been destined to arise out of existing conditions in our socio-economic reality, a reality which exists to an even greater degree in a good number of Latin-American countries.

"It inevitably occurs that in the nations where the control of the Yankee monopolies is strongest, the exploitation of the oligarchy the most cruel, and the situation of the workers and peasant masses most unbearable, the political power becomes more vicious, states

of siege (states of emergency) become habitual(!), and every manifestation of discontent by the masses is repressed by force. Democratic channels are closed completely. The brutal character of the dictatorship, the form of rule adopted by the ruling classes, reveals itself more clearly than ever. It is then that the revolutionary explosion of the peoples becomes inevitable." (Dictatorial coup conspirators, please note!)

The weakness of military forces under conditions of revolutionary guerilla struggle in the villages is next exposed, and the way in which this struggle links up with the mass movement in the towns and cities is explained.

"The armies, built and equipped for conventional war, which are the force on which the exploiting classes rest, become absolutely impotent when they have to confront the irregular struggle of the peasants on their own terrain. They lose ten men for each revolutionary fighter who falls, and demoralisation spreads rapidly among them from having to face an invisible and invincible enemy, who does not offer them an opportunity of displaying their military academy tactics and their war-like noise, which they use so much in military displays to curb the city workers and the students.

"The initial struggle by small combat units is incessantly fed by new forces, the mass movement begins to loosen its bonds, the old order, little by little begins to break into a thousand pieces, and that is the moment when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle."

Even though the revolutionary struggle may be set going first amongst the rural poor, the necessity for the revolutionary leadership of the working class is emphasised, and so too, the incapacity of the "national bourgeoisie" to take the lead.

"But the peasantry is a class which because of the uncultured state in which it is kept and the isolation in which it lives, needs the working class and the revolutionary and Political Leadership the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, for without them it would not by itself be able to plunge into the struggle and achieve victory."



"In the actual historic conditions of Latin-America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience shows that in our nations that class, even when its interests clash with those of Yankee imperialism has been incapable of confronting it, for it is paralysed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the clamour of the exploited masses.

"Facing the dilemma of imperialism and revolution, only its most progressive layers will be with the people.

"The actual world correlation of forces and the universal movement for liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples points out to the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals of Latin-America their true role, which is to place themselves resolutely in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism."

The Declaration moves to its climax with a stern reminder to all those engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle.

"Where the roads for the people are closed, where the repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the rule of the Yankee monopolists is strongest, the first and most important task is to understand that it is neither honourable nor correct to beguile people with the fallacious and convenient illusion of uprooting by legal means which don't exist and won't exist—ruling classes who are entrenched in all the state positions, monopolising education, owing all media of information, possessing infinite financial resources—a power which the monopolies and oligarchies will defend with blood and fire and with the might of their police and armies.

"It is the duty of every revolutionist to make the revolution. It is known that the revolution will triumph in America and through-out the world, but it is not for revolutionists to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by."

Then comes the stirring climax of the Declaration:

"Great as was the epic of Latin-American independence, heroic as was that struggle, today's generation of Latin-Americans is called upon to engage in an epic which is even greater and more decisive for humanity." . . .

\* bread heavy knives used in America.

"This struggle, to a greater extent than the first will be waged by the masses, will be carried out by the people. The people are going to play a much more important role now than they did then. Individual leaders are less important and will be less important in this struggle than in the one before."

"This epic before us is going to be written by the hungry Indian (American) masses, the peasants without land, the exploited workers. It is going to be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals, who so greatly abound in our suffering Latin-American countries. Struggles of masses and ideas. An epic which will be carried forward by our people, unreckoned with till today, who are now beginning to shake off their slumber. Imperialism considered us a weak and submissive flock; a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin-Americans in whom Yankee monopoly capitalism now sees its grave diggers." . . . . .

"Yes, now history will have to reckon with the poor of America, the exploited and despised of Latin-America, who have decided to begin writing history for themselves for all time!" . . . . .

"Already they can be seen armed with stones, sticks, machetes\* in one direction and another, each day occupying lands, sinking hooks into the land which belongs to them and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying signs, slogans, flags; letting them flap in the mountain or prairie winds. And the wave of anger, of demands for justice, of claims for rights, which is beginning to sweep the lands of Latin-America will not stop. That wave will swell with every passing day. For that wave is composed of the greatest number, the majorities in every respect, those whose labour amasses the wealth and turns the wheels of history. Now they are awakening from the long brutalising sleep to which they had submitted.

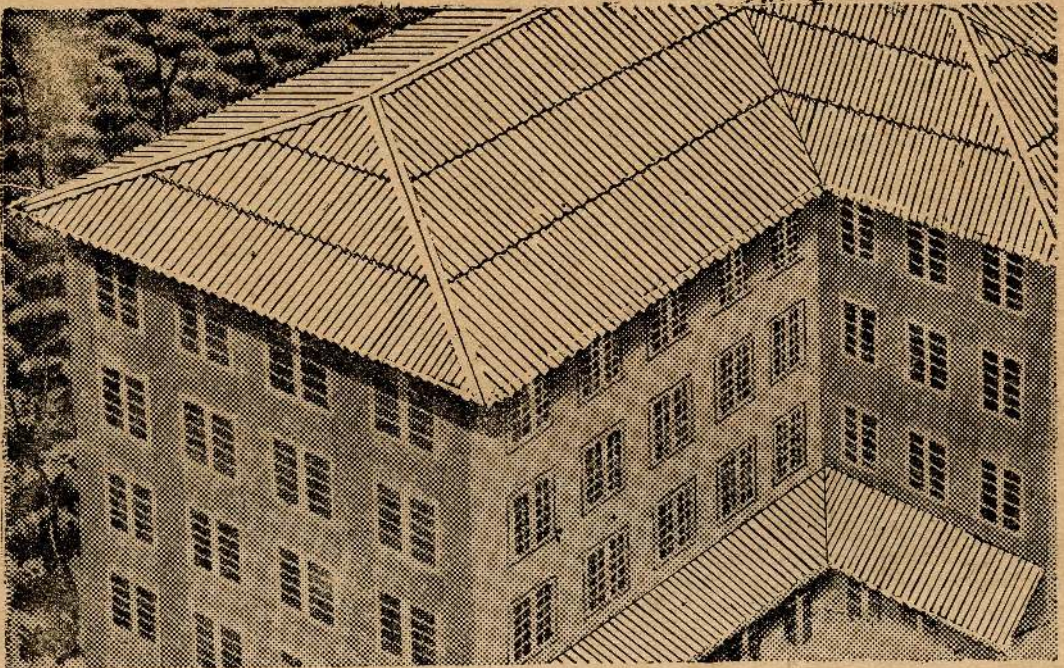
"For this great mass of humanity has said 'Enough'! and has begun to march. And their giant march will not be halted until they conquer true independence—for which they have vainly died more than once. Today, however, those who die will die like the Cubans at Playa Giron. They will die for their own, true and never-to-be surrendered independence."

"Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!"  
Our country or death! We will win!

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## Book Reviews

**The Mind of an Assassin.** By Isaac Don Levine. A Signet Edition: Rs. 3-75.

The Politbureau resolution exiling Leon Trotsky in 1929 spoke of this as a means of discrediting him and making it possible to portray him as a traitor. The uninterrupted analysis of the successive mistakes of the Comintern upon which Trotsky immediately embarked, and the raising of the standard of the Left Opposition, soon convinced its master that he had made a mistake. When Trotsky was eventually struck down in his study in August, 1940, that act was the culmination of a series of preparations extending over several years and embracing many countries.

It was a tribute to the G.P.U.'s choice of the man for the job, as well as to the technical excellence of its work, for that for almost a decade he was able to conceal his identity and origins. Levine draws on a number of already known sources to fit together the story of the operation, fills it out with some account of other activities of the G.P.U. at the time and adds some original material on the assassin's family background and supposed psychological make up. However suspect his motives—and those who do not trust their own discernment in such matters, or are not prepared to check up from other quotes, may treat much of the story as invalid simply because it comes from a tainted source—there can be little doubt that the main facts in the case are as Levine states them.

The self-styled Belgian, Mornard, alias Jason who, with a skilled stroke drove, the alpine axe into Trotsky's brain, was, in reality, a Spaniard and a former officer in the Spanish Republican Army. Ramon Mercader, to give him his real name, was thus an authentic 'anti-fascist,' and it is not difficult to discern in his make-up some of the traits often to be found in the Stalinised intellectual of that time, and since. He was, indeed, a dedicated man; he surrendered himself completely to the G.P.U. he per-

formed with a lethal weapon and not with a typewriter and put into practice the anti-Trotskyism which, for others, was simply verbal. He was part of an international murder machine devoted to spying on and hunting down Stalin's political enemies on the left and defectors from his service. To this end it was necessary to penetrate into the Trotskyist organization and convincingly play the part of a supporter. Thus the agent Zborowski—later to be picked up and sentenced in the U.S.A.—under the pseudonym of Etienne, played a leading role in the Fourth International for many years while betraying his associates, including Trotsky's son, Sedov, to the G.P.U. assassins and supplying regular information to the Kremlin. When he departed to temporary obscurity in the U.S.A. others took over the work, for one can be sure that an organization as experienced as the G.P.U. would always have replacements to hand.

In order for Mercader to carry out his task, he too, had to evince an interest in Trotsky's politics and became the lover of an American girl who had access to his household. This required patience and dissimulation of an exceptional kind: the creation of an artificial personality and its maintenance for some time during an intimate relationship and with a wealth of circumstantial detail. To those who came into contact with him before the assassination Mercader appeared a colourless person; but this was clearly part of his act. He was, as Joseph Hansen, Trotsky's chief secretary, put it later, 'a person of high ability in the kind of work required in such organizations as the Soviet secret police. He must have been selected after the most careful consideration, observation and testing.'

What does Levine add to this? Indeed, despite the title of the book, its attempt to plumb the mind of Mercader is a failure. Levine tries to make a Freudian type analysis second-hand on the basis of tests carried out by Mexican psychologists during the assassin's prison life. These lead him to assert that, for Mercader, Trotsky was 'the symbol of his father whom he had disowned and hated.' The assassination was thus the working out of an Oedipus complex by a 'happy robot.' Levine switches from Freud

to keys provided by the State Department to unlock the allegedly political symbols imprisoned in the mind of the assassin; in either case credence is stretched to breaking point.

Mercader, it seems plain enough, was the apotheosis of the Stalinist. He was not merely a thug; and a robot would be unpromising material for a psychiatrist. That he was 'happy' seems equally questionable. He was in the machine and being in could not extricate himself without risk to his own life and possibly that of members of his family. For 20 years he has had time to mellow and reflect in the not too arduous confines of a Mexican prison—doing satisfying work, earning money and with a mistress on call. What his mind is really like as a result of this experience and in the light of what has happened in the world outside, Levine does not know. Has he, like his once equally dedicated mother, broken with Stalinism? Will he ever spill the beans? Will he become a victim of the machine he once served? Or will, he simply relapse unscathed into the obscurity from which his crime has lifted him? The answers to these questions may be fascinating, but they are not particularly important. What is needed, however, is more information about the other crimes of Stalin (against his left opponents) and their perpetrators in Europe and America, especially the operations of Etienne and his successors.

T.K.

**The Causes of World War Three** by C. Wright Mills. A paper back: Rs. 3-75.

It may not be news, to proclaim in print, that the American people are being dragooned into war by forces inherent in the capitalist structure of their society. For this is the central point of this recent book by the gifted author of **The Power Elite** and many other volumes of analysis and criticism.

Unlike those earlier books which brought him fame, this is not an academic work but rather an eloquent, impassioned plea to intellectuals to recognize the mortal crisis of society today and to do their duty, namely to formulate a comprehensive programme for meeting the ever-present threat of war.

Mills begins by tracing the incompetence and the impotence of the capitalist class in the face of the great problems of the day

to their source in imperialism. If this is so, reasons Mills, then the reactionary policy of the power elite is not the due to stupidity. A reversal of line can only be achieved if it is at the same time a struggle against capitalism.

It is in this context that Mills' concrete peace programme must be viewed. Despite a flare for dramatic formulations, there is little new in them. Essentially they call for co-existence; that is negotiations, an end to atomic weapons, extensive aid to the backward areas under U.N. control, and the like. The uniqueness of the approach lies in the belief that this programme can only be realized through a drastic change in the power relationships within the country. It is this aspect of his programme which distinguishes him from the Liberal and Stalinist conceptions. Questionable as some of his proposals may be in the abstract, they become less objectionable when taken in the context of a United States and a United Nations so changed as to have become anti-capitalist—the opposite of what they are today.

Revolutionary socialists have opposed the policy which the Kremlin calls "peaceful co-existence," because it really concerns a proposed agreement with the imperialist powers to freeze the status quo at the expense of the popular aspirations on all continents for freedom independence and socialism. Mills seeks to meet this objection by linking his co-existence proposals to class struggle in domestic politics. They have the further striking advantage of all positive formulations, appealing in the most forthright and most easily comprehensible manner to those who simply and directly demand of the America government that it refrain from its war-like posture.

There are two regrettable, though subordinate aspects of the analysis which merit mention. In view of Mills' profound understanding of the interdependence of peace and social change, this reader was disappointed to find only the most cursory reference on how to advance the struggle against capitalism, which Mills doubtless believes in. These omissions seem rather awkward, and even compromising.

(Continued on page 87)

## Film Review



Troy  
and  
Connie  
in  
love  
again!

**TROY  
DONAHUE**

**CONNIE  
STEVENS**

AND  
**DOROTHY  
McGUIRE**

**LLOYD  
NOLAN**

DELMER  
DAVES  
PRODUCTION

**Susan  
Slade**

also starring  
BRIAN AHERNE · GRANT WILLIAMS  
with NATALIE SCHAFER · KENT SMITH  
Music by Max Steiner From the novel by DORIS HUME  
Written for the Screen and Directed by DELMER DAVES  
TECHNICOLOR® from WARNER BROS.

## "SUSAN SLADE"

TROY DONAHUE and Connie Stevens top the cast of the Warner Bros. Technicolor romantic drama "SUSAN SLADE", showing at the Liberty Cinema. Delmer Daves produced and directed the film from his own screenplay based on Doris Hume's best-selling novel. Dorothy McGuire, Lloyd Nolan, Brian Aherne and Grant Williams are also starred.

The provocative account of a young girl's first encounter with love and the bizarre attempt of her parents to protect her from the consequences of the tragic affair marks a re-pairing of Donahue and Miss Stevens, who earlier this year scored in "PARRISH".

Daves, who previously has directed Donahue in "A SUMMER PLACE" and "PARRISH" teamed with the popular young star for the third time in "SUSAN SLADE". They recently completed their fourth film together, "LOVERS MUST LEARN", in Italy.

"SUSAN SLADE" details the emergence of a beautiful young girl into young womanhood and unwed motherhood as a consequence of her shipboard romance during the return of her family from years spent in an isolated Chilean mining camp. The girl's father's plans for the family to live out its days in the gorgeous home his company has provided him with and his comfortable research retainer are shattered by her condition and the parents' decision to accept an assignment in an obscure Latin American mountain village.

Daves filmed his exteriors along the famed Carmel-Monterey coastline, in San Francisco and on the California desert. Shipboard sequences were shot on the S. S. President Cleveland as it sailed out of San Francisco. The producer-director shot many scenes in unusually long "takes" to enable his performers "buildup time" for their emotional sequences. One take between Miss McGuire and Connie ran nearly nine minutes without a break. Other dramatic scenes went six minutes.

B.

## "SPARTACUS"

SPARTACUS is a thing of grandeur, of brilliant visual splendour and an almost barbaric magnificence in its proportions. Yet this is neither all nor the most impressive thing it has to offer. Based on the novel of Howard Fast and scripted by Dalton Trumbo (one of the "Hollywood Ten" black-listed for many years as a result of the Un-American Activities witch-hunt) this story of the greatest slave-revolt against imperial Rome is not a mere historical reconstruction. The general scene in the Roman Senate with its personal rivalries, class politics, intrigue and corruption and

the main characterisations are fair evidence that the modern world is being glanced at. How faithful it is as a historical reconstruction I am unable to assess (though one can shrewdly guess) but the political pattern of Spartacus is essentially contemporary—the thematic treatment is demonstratively radical. In the unfolding of this pattern the actors play a most prominent part (Olivier, Laughton, Kirk Douglas and Peter Ustinov) and the level of acting in Spartacus is so high that it is the chief attraction of the film. The ingrained bitterness of Kirk Douglas (Spartacus) is exquisitely matched by the cool patrician dignity of Laurence Olivier (Crassus—Roman Consul). Charles Laughton as the plebian Senator and Ustinov, the dealer of Slave—Gladiators—who occupy intermediate positions in this primitive class struggle—are so clearly meant to signify the present middle class. The bullying trainer of the slave-gladiators who has himself “graduated” from slavery is another essentially contemporary figure.

Although spectacle is the dominant visual effect aimed at in Spartacus there are occasions when this pre-occupation is subordinated to more deep-going interests. I

was particularly struck by the way in which the first round of the gladiatorial contest (to be fought to the death) was filmed. Spartacus and his opponent are alone in their cage awaiting their turn while Spartacus’s best friend is fighting in the arena for his life. We see very little of the fight itself—the whole sequence is shot so as to reveal the hero’s state of emotional tension and turmoil. Psychologically, this episode turns out to be the turning-point in the career of Spartacus.

My chief complaint against Spartacus is its “romantic interest” which runs rampant as the film goes on. The entire portion which follows the final battle is, to my mind, gratuitous. One does not need a masochistic orgy to draw the moral that history was on the side of Spartacus and not of Rome—even if one declines to accept the relevance of such a piece of loose thinking. Besides, this orgy resolves itself, in the final sequence, into a curiously invested Christian image which touches the most unimaginable depths of vulgarity. This is a pity for up to the final battle the film remained impressive.

A. M.

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