

YOUNG SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: January 8th; The UNP presses
the attack; The Tasks of the Workers; Indonesia;
Nigeria; Ghana; Rhodesia.

Planning for Development: Some Fundamental Pre-requisites
by K. Kularatnam

Intellectual Freedom and University Autonomy
by Amaradasa Fernando

Solution of the National Question in Yugoslavia
by Dr. Anton Vratusa

Failure of Communalist Politics
by Sydney Wanasinghe

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism (Part VIII)
by R. S. Baghavan

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YOUNG SOCIALIST

Volume 3 Number 5

Whole Number 15

Editorial Notes

JANUARY 8TH

The working class has now had sufficient time to think over the tactical blunders of the pro-coalition leadership.

During the days after the elections, in the hectic back-room activity that preceded the formation of the present government, the pro-coalition leaders pushed the minorities into the arms of the representatives of the capitalist class. In so doing, they lost forever the support of the bulk of the plantation workers, who, for sometime at least, will remain disoriented and helpless. And what is more, the working class as a whole will remain divided and weak.

In a desperate effort to save their hold over the rest of the workers, they gambled on 8th January and lost.

In a military situation the fate of such leaders would be obvious.

Without adequate organization, adequate preparation and in many cases without the sanction of the governing bodies of the trade unions, the workers were called out on January 8th and the wounds have not healed to this day.

It is significant that these leaders who used the workers as pawns in their game of "power" politics, have not thought of the class struggle as the only way to defend the workers against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. They have limited themselves, and thereby also the workers, to constitutional methods and parliamentary debate.

The lesson is simple and clear: hypnotised by bourgeois constitutional methods, they have abandoned forever all class struggle perspectives. The working class has to seek elsewhere for militant and honest leadership.

THE UNP PRESSES THE ATTACK

January 8th was a heaven-sent opportunity for the UNP. Almost a year had passed after the promises of the general election, but nothing had happened. Unemployment steadily rose; the cost of living soared. The Government was looking anxiously at the organized workers lest they move en masse and create an unprecedented crisis.

With January 8th, an opportunity presented itself.

Emergency rule, police powers, censorship and the rest of the dictatorial weapons of the bourgeois armoury were "legally" used. The working class as a whole and the militants in particular felt the full impact of the blow.

It will be some time before the working class can reorient its ranks. And that time is a political gain for the UNP.

THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS

We doubt that the seriousness of the situation is realised by most of the pro-Coalition leaders.

Most of them are busy running down the blind alley of communal politics.

But short-sightedness is not a luxury that the working class as a whole can afford. It must mobilize to fight the present victimization and the future inroads and attacks on the gains of the last period. It has to fight for the removal of the emergency and

for the restoration of the "normal" way of bourgeois political life.

The only way forward lies through a United Front of Working Class Organizations.

INDONESIA

"...Communists, Red sympathisers and their families are being massacred by the thousands. Backlands, army units are reported to have executed thousands of Communists after interrogation in remote rural jails....Armed with wide-bladed knives called parangs, Moslem bands crept into the homes of Communists, killing entire families and burying the bodies in shallow graves....

"The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra, where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travelers from those areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies: river transportation has, at places, been impeded." (TIME 17th December 1965).

This is the tragic outcome of collaboration by the working class parties and organisation with their own ruling classes in the so called non-aligned countries and their sacrifice of the independence and leadership of the working class on the altar of 'national democracy' and 'anti-imperialism'. The entire leadership of the Indonesian Communist party has been physically exterminated. The exact number of Communist Party members and sympathisers who have been killed will never be known. It was estimated by Sukarno himself, soon after the coup at 89,000, but others place the total to date as high as three lakhs. The Communist Party has been declared illegal. Sukarno who was kept as a puppet by the Army generals has now been placed in custody.

This crushing defeat is the result of the Stalinist policies the Indonesian Communist Party has been following. The Aidit leadership of the party had based itself on the theory of the block of four classes. They contend that in ex-colonial areas extremely broad sections oppose imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petit bourgeois but also the national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats who are patriotic. The Aidit leadership not only based itself on this reactionary, non-class analysis of the colonial revolution but went much further by embracing the Muslim faith. On 20th October 1957, Aidit publicly declared his support for Pancha Sila, the five principles of the Indonesian state drawn up by Sukarno in 1945. The fifth article of this demands, "the organisation of free Indonesia on the basis of belief in God". In the June 1962 issue of the World Marxist Review, the Indonesian Communist Party stated: "The task of the Indonesian Revolution is to combat two

YOUNG SOCIALIST

Printed by Arthur Kulatunga for
Sydney Wanasinghe, 388, Galle
Road, Colombo 6, at the Wesley
Press, 490, Havelock Road, Col. 6.

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Volume 3. No. 5. April 1966 Whole No: 15

Editorial Board: R. S. BAGHAVAN,
WILFRED PEREIRA
SYDNEY WANASINGHE

Subscription rates: Local: Rs. 5/- for 5 issues
Foreign: Surface Mail
Rs. 15/- for 10/- issues
Air Mail Rs. 35/- for 10
issues.

All correspondence and remittances to:-
SYDNEY WANASINGHE,
388, Galle Road,
Colombo 6, Ceylon.

enemies—imperialism and feudalism—in order to establish the rule **not of one class but of the whole nation.**”

Thus Marxism was thrown to the winds. In order to appease the religious element in Sukarno's Nasakom alliance of Nationalists, Communists and Religious Teachers, the Communist Party sent work parties out into the villages to build and reconstruct mosques. Leading members of the party declared themselves to be devout Moslems in public.

On the Trade Union front SOBSI from the very beginning held back the struggles of workers for better conditions. As early as 1952, SOBSI stated that its aim was not to oppose capitalism and build a socialist society, but, together with the peasants, the petit-bourgeoisie and the non compradore national bourgeoisie, to oppose imperialism.

On the military front the Indonesian Communist party accepted on May Day 1958 the banning of all demonstrations and the censoring of all political speeches by the Army Chiefs.

When Sukarno abolished parliamentary democracy in 1959, the Indonesian Communist Party accepted it without a murmur, having said only a few months previously that such a step would mean a move towards fascism.

The low point of this series of class retreats came at the 45th anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party. Aidit grovelled before Sukarno in servile speech: “Among us... is Bung Karno (Sukarno). The clear sky above is witness to it. Thousands of eyes see him. Millions of people are listening to him over the radio... As Bung Karno said himself at the reception of the sixth Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1959, the Communist Party is a, “friend and brother, and it would be a loss to me if this party ceased to exist.”

Shortly after this speech was made, came the abortive coup of September 30th. In the course of the events that came in rapid succession the Communist Party was banned by Bung Karno himself, the cream of the communist party, the biggest out-

side the Soviet block was physically liquidated, Sukarno himself placed under arrest and right wing military dictatorship firmly placed in control.

NIGERIA

On January 22nd, three out of the Five Nigerian Prime Ministers and an undisclosed number of Nigerian politicians, army officers and dignitaries were executed by the officers of the Nigerian Army in an abortive coup.

With the Premiers went the constitution, parliament and other pseudo-democratic trappings that were used to hide the thugery of the medieval regional and central governments. Although successful in the North and West the officers were defeated in the mid-west and East. This was primarily because they lacked any kind of progressive social programme which would have evoked an active and favourable response from the masses of impoverished workers, secondly because of the narrow base upon which the conspiracy rested, as well as the extreme secrecy of the whole operation.

The failure of the uprising in the South led finally to the assumption of power by General Ironsi, supported by the civil service and loyal units of the army and imperialism.

All the features of military rule have been brought to bear while the working class and the peasantry celebrate the overthrow of their former corrupt, tyrannical rulers—but continue to keep watchful eye on their new rulers.

GHANA

One of the most significant features of the fall of Nkrumah is the complete absence of the slightest protest from the Ghanaian workers and peasants. This victory for imperialism did not provoke a single demonstration in support of the Osagyefo.

It underlines the ending of an era of political illusion. For 20 years the idea was abroad that imperialism could be defeated gradually. Independence and self-government of excolonial territories like

the Gold Coast would produce regimes which would move steadily to the left.

Nkrumah was typical of the nationalist leaders who emerged from the mass struggles which swept Asia, South America and especially Africa at the end of the 2nd World War. A wave of strikes and demonstrations shook the Gold Coast in 1947—1948.

Manoeuvring between the British and Americans on the one hand and the Russians and Chinese on the other, he managed to squeeze loans and grants from all sides. Meanwhile his regime became increasingly dictatorial, based on a nauseating worship of Nkrumah the Redeemer.

Nkrumah showed his real role in world politics during the Congo rebellion. It was he who persuaded Lumumba to accept Russian advice and allow the United Nations forces to enter the Congo. Thereby indirectly he bears responsibility for the brutal murder of Lumumba by the agents of imperialism. It is ironical that the same army that Nkrumah dispatched as part of the UN force was later responsible for his downfall.

We must also recall his actions against the workers at the time of the strike in protest at the economy measures of 1961.

The type of regime of which Nkrumah's was an example was based on the conditions of the post-war boom. In the case of Ghana it was bound up with the world price of cocoa, which soared to unprecedented heights during the Korean war and after.

The changed economic situation and in particular the near collapse of the cocoa market last year, drastically narrowed the room for manoeuvre between class forces. British capital, which had with some grumbling managed to coexist with Nkrumah for so long began to find his taxation policies unbearable. The US was increasingly irritated by his relations with Moscow and Peking.

In ways which will no doubt become clearer in the coming months, the imperialists decided that he must go. As in half a dozen other 'independent' African states, army leaders took over the government.

The failure of "democratic" institutions in the new states of Africa is not accidental. The propertied classes having little time to develop other organizations to maintain their power, must necessarily fall back on the army.

RHODESIA

Rhodesia is one of the three countries in Southern Africa that have forged very intimate economic, financial and military ties for the retention of white supremacy and imperialism on the southern tip of the African continent. The other two are the Republic of South Africa and the Portuguese possessions of Angola and Mozambique.

Her unilateral declaration of independence was the result of a conflict of interests between London and Salisbury. The ruling class in Britain benefits from the exploitation of what is still a world wide multi-racial empire and therefore has responsibilities for the preservation of the larger international capitalist system, within which alone the empire can continue to exist and function. On the other hand the highly privileged white elite in Rhodesia is living off the super exploitation of "its own" black labour force and has virtually no outside interests and no responsibilities whatever for the empire as a whole of the international system of which it is a part.

British interests are centred on trade, finance and investment. Britain is the largest buyer and supplier of Rhodesia. Her investments are valued at more than 300 million dollars. A large part of the surplus produced in Rhodesia is siphoned off in one form or another to Britain and thus escapes the grasp of the local whites. In order to make up for this and ensure a high standard of living for the whole white community, numbering 220,000 extreme exploitation of the blacks is indispensable. This is a situation that is loaded with dynamite. Faced with the prospect of a revolt by the blacks, London and Salisbury have reacted differently in response to their differing interests. The local whites are determined to maintain the status quo by setting up a fascist-style police state on the South African model. Britain cannot play the role of an accomplice openly because

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Planning for Development : Some Fundamental Pre-requisites

By K. KULARATNAM

Professor of Geography, University of Ceylon

DEVELOPMENT planning is a complex subject, concerned not merely with questions of economic growth and productivity, commonly claimed as the exclusive domain of the professional economist, but also with a variety of interrelated problems requiring team collaboration between specialists from many other disciplines. Among these, Geography has a needed and noteworthy contribution to make.

Economic development and social welfare can be achieved successfully only through sound and deliberate planning. No expenditure of money or effort, however, can produce the requisite results in the growth of national welfare unless planning is based on the foundations of realities. A realistic assessment of Place, Folk and Work is a fundamental prerequisite for a workable plan. Plans that succeed and produce the desired results are those that are properly comprehensive. A national plan does not operate in a vacuum. It must function within a series of geographical settings. Just because a particular plan works admirably in one country it does not mean that it is universally applicable to all countries or regions. A plan must be drawn in the context of the Social and Natural environment of the area to which it is to be applied. As a synthesizing or integrating discipline, geography deals with both natural and social elements, seeking out and establishing their mutual relationships to each other. The main elements of the Natural environment of a region include the physical elements such as topography, water, climate, soils and mineral resources, and also the biotic elements of vegetation and wild life. The cultural environment includes demography, the study of population distribution and trends, the institutional and technological arts with which a people utilize their resource base, and the hopes and aspirations of the people themselves.

It should always be remembered that people do not exist in their regional setting like coins in a box. They must be considered as part of a highly dynamic and influential **ecological matrix**, and plans that are to guide their destinies towards increased well being should recognize and involve such ecological data.

It almost goes without saying that national planning in Ceylon should proceed first with a carefully prepared and comprehensive inventory of national resources, both those bestowed on us by nature and those that relate to the technological capabilities of our inhabitants. Without such inventory, a plan is like a horse and cart that proceeds down the road without the driver. In the inventory of needs, factors of consumption are as necessary as those that relate to production, hence attention should be paid to human needs and desires beyond the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Man requires more than rice alone, and his cultural, spiritual, and recreational needs should be involved in any comprehensive national plan. The quantitative measurement of planning items principally involves a close dependence on the contribution of demography. The qualitative is more difficult, and should involve a breadth of scrutiny in which geography has a contribution to make. Its bridge between the physical and social sciences gives it a unique opportunity for synthesizing the basic data needed by the national planners.

Modern geography has evolved some important tools in the field of visual synthesis of statistical and regional data. Its objective over centuries has been to make meaningful the infinite complexity of forms and phenomena on the earth's surface. Planners throughout the world have recognized the value of maps in the evolution of resource utilization and human needs. The

geographer's training makes him an expert in the design and use of maps and graphics and in generalizing the mass of quantitative data supplied by censuses, research commissions, economic surveys and historical records. His talents should be an essential supplement to the staff efforts in moulding an effective national plan.

National planning should involve three fundamental aspects:

1. **Inventory and Synthesis:** a comprehensive gathering of available data on the total resource base of the country.
2. **Forecast:** projecting the resource requirements into the future and relating them to the existing or potential resource base, to obtain the most development.
3. **Diagnosis and Prescription:** identifying the factors that retarded national progress and recommending remedial action.

It is to the first or Inventory sector, of these that geography can contribute most. The discipline has always concerned itself with the inter-relationships of features within regions, and no master plan can be successful without a proper over-all perspective of (1) the regional differences within the national unit, and (2) the interaction of the pertinent elements that make up the regions themselves. Too often the specialist within the planning field is likely to favour one sector over another, either because he feels more competent to deal with it owing to his own training or experience, or because it may seem at the time to be more expedient or popular. Efficient national development requires a proper meshing of needs and resources in which the professional generalist can be of inestimable value. This quality is emphasized in the training of professional geographers. Let us now turn to more specific aspects in the required inventory programme:

POPULATION

How serious is our population problem, or to put more accurately, is there a growing gap between resource utilization and population growth? And if so—is this deficiency likely to be of short term or long-term duration? This problem is being faced by a large proportion of the

world's population. The world population is increasing today at the phenomenal rate of about one lakh per day. Our contribution to it is about a million every three years at the present rate of growth. Our total population has doubled over the past fifty years. According to the statistics in our Ten Year Plan (1959) there will be an addition to our work force (age group of 15-55 years of age) of some 3.7 million by 1981 over those present in 1959. The total population of Ceylon is expected to reach 25 million by the year 2000 A.D. The high potential for growth is indicated by the youthfulness of our present people. Fully 40 % of our population is under 14 years of age and very shortly these millions of youngsters will be raising families of their own. In the past, Ceylon has been able to keep its productivity in line with the demands of its population. To be able to do this in the future will require superhuman effort. In 1964 our exports earned Rs. 1764 Millions while import payments were Rs. 1957 millions, producing a Trade Deficit of Rs. 193 Million. Over Rs. 1000 Million was spent on food imports during 1964. Despite increased rice acreage and rice yields, 40% of our rice had to be imported during that year. Of our export income Rs. 1600 Million was earned by the plantation crops, indicating that they are the mainstay of our Economy. However, the limit of available suitable land for tea, rubber and coconut has almost been reached; further rubber is faced with uncertain markets. Hope lies in increasing yields in the diversification of agriculture through rational land use based on comparative costs, after carrying out a thorough survey of the use and misuse of land, and also of any non use of this resource at present.

The impact of the pressure of population is felt on all sides, and is clearly manifest in a visible lowering of our average standard of living. Unless the discovery and utilisation of resources is equated to the increasing population, a further fall in living standards is inevitable:

$$S = \frac{R \times C}{P}$$

S = Standard of Living

R = Resources

C = Culture (ability to use resources)

P = Population.

However, increasing population should cause panic only if it is considered a burden on resources. On the other hand, if we were to look at it as a resource to be mobilised for production, then it may help to balance the equation. What the optimum population should be for a country at any time depends on the other variables in the above simple equation. The effective development of resources may need even more people and until the country's resources are properly inventorised, no definite statement can be made on the population-carrying capacity of this island, except speculation which often can be misleading.

PLANS OF THE PAST

We have had various successive development plans in the past, but for various reasons they failed to attain their goals:—

These include,

1. The I.B.R.D. Plan 1952,
2. The Ten Year Plan, 1959,
3. The Three Year Implementation Programme, 1962,
4. The One Year Development Programme 1964/65, and before all these was the First Six Year Plan (1947-53)

All of the above shared in different degrees the same weakness of inadequacy of emphasis on resources utilisation. In fact, the data for this was not available. No systematic or comprehensive survey of the resources of this little island has as yet been accomplished. It is here that the services of geographers can be most invaluable.

RESOURCES

The principal resources that need to be inventorised are:—

Material Resources

1. Land. Its nature (including topography), available extent, use, misuse and non use.
2. Water, Sea, Inland, Surface and Under ground, as well as the climatic resource of effective precipitation.
3. Soil
4. Biotic Resources :

- (a) Natural Vegetation, forest, grass-land, parkland, Patna, etc.
- (b) Animal Resources,
- (c) Fisheries: inland, sea, etc., pearls.

5. Power, Fuels, Hydro-Electric
6. Rocks and Minerals.
7. Transport facilities; accessibility surveys, rivers, lakes, canals, natural route ways; transport equipment production.
8. Capital
9. Tourist Potential: Surveys of sites, facilities and attractions.

Human Resources

1. Man Power. Population numbers (work force) unskilled.
2. Skilled Labour. Survey of square pegs and round holes.
3. Technical know-how.
4. Research personnel and facilities.
5. Entrepreneurship potential.

Land Resources :

The total acreage of Ceylon is 16.2 millions. Of this cultivated acreage is only 3.8 millions. The uncultivated area comprises the following:—

- (a) Roads, Streams, tanks, villages and towns, 1.3 million acres.
- (b) Forests. 3.5 million.
- (c) Rocky and Steep Land and land over 5,000 feet. 4.7 million acres.
- (d) Balance available 3 million acres (In Dry Zone).

Out of the land available for future development, it is said that only 600,000 acres are capable of being irrigated by known methods. It is stated that when the whole of this is cultivated, at the rate of one acre 42 bushels—6 people per year; this can support a maximum of only 3.5 million extra people with rice. After that what? Every effort must be made to put the existing cultivated land and the potential cultivable land to the best possible use, by careful land use planning. "It is clear that unless the present use of land is known and understood, development schemes may cut across the existing economic structure in such a way as to cause more harm than good"

(Commission on World Land Use Survey). Research should be carried out for using the marginal lands for new crops e.g. over 5,000 ft. From the point of view of employment too, according to the 10 year plan, the absorption capacity of all irrigable new land is not likely to exceed 650,000 persons i.e. equal to two or three years increase in our population. Ad hoc measures can serve only as temporary expedients and palliatives. Significant outlets for the growing workforce will have to be found. We cannot afford to continue to depend on land resources alone. To absorb every year's population increase a new Gal Oya Scheme would be required annually, costing Rs. 600 million. But Gal Oya Scheme can accommodate our annual population increase of 250,000 only in 10 years. Besides, it will need a large catchment area and the inundation of over 30 sq. miles. We shall therefore have to develop other sectors: industries, mining, trade and transport, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry and tourism. There has to be also a shift in values from the "inevitability of charity or foreign aid" to "a faith in the efficacy of self-help at least in the long term sense."

SURVEY OF OTHER RESOURCES

Water. The setting up of the Water Resources Board and the River Basin Development Schemes are steps in the right direction, which are long overdue. Likewise intensive search will have to be made for underground water in the Dry Zone for Lift Irrigation.

Soil. The Soil Survey has to be carried out more seriously and the problems of Soil Erosion, conservation, beneficitation and management need larger organisations. The maintenance of the Health and fertility of the soil is vital. It is stated that for every 100 lbs. of made tea we must put back 10 lbs of nitrogen into the soil, through compost, artificial and chemical manures. Our vast Water Power Resources should be harnessed to manufacture these nitrates through the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. Weeds and pests call for attention and action also.

ROCKS, MINERALS Etc.

The pace of Geological mapping and mineral exploration should be stepped up and a Mineral Development Commission

like in the U.K. and U.S.A. set up. Space will not permit an exhaustive treatment of the other material resources here but the vast hydro-electric potential (50 Waterfalls) substitution of edible grasses for illuk and mana on the Patnas, industries based on mineral raw materials etc. deserve special mention.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF REGIONS

Another lesson which geography teaches is the interdependence of Regions. Nature has so distributed her gifts over the earth that no single area can claim to possess all what it needs. Economic interdependence flows from this and it would be worthwhile exploring the idea of an Indian Ocean Economic Co-prosperity sphere of countries bordering this Ocean, they are not only competitive, but also complementary to each other in several respects: oil, coal, tea, rubber, rice, textiles etc.

HUMAN RESOURCES

The human resource may be termed the most precious of all the resources. Population by itself cannot be considered a resource as such. It is only a potential resource and becomes one through education. Real education must lead to the development of the total personality, not merely the academic or intellectual, but also the physical, moral and spiritual. A nation can be said to be rich in its human resources only if it contains a high proportion of such **totally developed** personalities. Our existing educational set-up presents many shortcomings from several angles having been geared in the past to the needs of a colonial economy. It has got to be newly oriented and indeed must become part and parcel of the National Development Plan, being built into it. It must take cognizance of the country's growing needs in skills, know-how and above all a dedicated patriotism and spirit of service, correct concepts of citizenship and fraternalism must be inculcated in the young minds, without which technical skills and know-how alone will not make the expected mark on the development process.

It is appropriate at this stage to pass on to the factors retarding development.

1. We are aware of the colossal wastage of materials, time, energy and money that is associated especially with the public sector undertakings, through neglect, indifference and even misappropriation. This is essentially due to a lack of commonsense patriotism which in turn is due also to faults in the educational set up, and which as pointed out earlier should constitute an integral part of the National perspective plan.
2. Political interference is another retarding factor. The planning Commission should be an independent body taken outside of and above party politics, insulated from the pulls and pushes of politicians with its duration periods phased and never co-incident with Parliamentary durations (eliminates sabotage) in the Planning set-up.
3. Non-inclusion of others in the Planning set-up. Especially personnel from Universities, but somewhat hidebound by governmental and public Corporations Representatives in the various sector panels.
4. Red-tapism and Bureaucratic lethargy should be cut to a minimum.
5. The planning Secretariat will find it useful to consult an Advisory Council within which may be sector panels.
6. Chauvinism, Linguistic, Religious, etc. in the administration, bureaucracy and Government.

NATIONAL ATLAS OF CEYLON

The National Atlas of Ceylon is a document, on a geographical basis, of the Island's resources, physical, human and economic and within certain practical limits, a comprehensive and ordered portrait of this country from the rocks beneath to the industry above. Its maps, other illustrations and text materials are so planned that all these aspects of Ceylon, including the salient features of its historical evolution can be seen and studied in relation to each other, within the covers of one great folio volume.

A National Atlas is basic to development planning, education for intelligent citizenship, better understanding of our country

both at home and abroad, as well as in the promotion of tourism; the lack of such a single source of authoritative information has been seriously felt; it is essential to public service and administration, schools and universities and the learned and professional bodies. The Atlas, is in short, an instrument of reference to virtually all the resources of the country that are tangible and measurable. The Atlas offers not only a wealth of information which has hitherto been scattered or disparate, but much that had previously been compiled or published, and some that has never before been available. It serves as a natural starting point for a wide range of detailed studies.

The standard scale for most maps will be 1:1 million, except where otherwise stated (Projection as adopted by the Survey Department) On most of the maps, the three dimensional shape of the country will be indicated by an underprint of light hill-shading or layering, except where it is deemed unnecessary or likely to obscure other details.

Text material will face each map; tabular data, other statistical bases of the maps, charts and diagrams to illustrate these will also be on this page.

A few photographs, either on the text page facing maps or in a separate appendix will be useful.

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of the repercussions that would have in the empire and outside. Further Britain hopes to blunt the edge of black nationalism by siphoning off a portion of the surplus now enjoyed by the local whites through both political and economic channels to the Africans. Britain also believes that police-state methods of the local whites will not pay in the long run.

Yet Britain has satisfied her conscience by enforcing economic sanctions on Rhodesia. This has so far had no effect whatsoever on the Smith Government. Therefore the prospect ahead for Rhodesia is growing repression by the whites and growing resistance by the blacks. The whites will get aid from South Africa in particular and other capitalist countries while blacks will get aid from independent Africa. The struggle will be prolonged, ruthless and bloody. The real significance of the UDI is that it marks the beginning of a new phase in southern Africa.

Intellectual Freedom and University Autonomy

By AMARADASA FERNANDO

Intellectual freedom and University autonomy cannot be separated from each other. They are complimentary to each other. From time to time, from country to country we find that these freedoms are being assailed by politicians. In our own country we find the recent Wijesekera Commission which said that politics should be banned to both students and dons. Unless those who cherish the freedom to think and express themselves without restraint, raise their voices in protest against even a minor encroachment on their liberty, they would be paving the way to dictatorships and tyrannies. The Russian and German people paid for this apathy by permitting the rise of the dictatorship of Stalin and Hitler.

- The progress of thought is dependent to the most profound degree on search for truth. This is not only the basis for academic freedom, but this is also the basis for human freedom in general. For the progress of society people must be permitted to think without restraint and to act without restraint. The desire to speak the truth is only one condition for being an intellectual. The other is, courage and readiness to carry on rational inquiry whatever the cost of it may be—even death. Marx says "an intellectual is one who undertakes ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusions or conflict with the powers that be." The late Paul A. Baran, the great Marxist thinker and Professor of Political Science at Stanford University in an article "The Commitment of the Intellectual" holds the view that "An intellectual is in essence a **social critic**, a person whose concern is to identify, to analyze, and in this way to help overcome the obstacles barring the way to the attainment of a better, more humane, and more rational social order. As such he becomes the Conscience of Society and the spokesman of such progressive forces as it contains in any given period of history. And as such he is inevitably considered a 'troublemaker' and a 'nuisance', by the ruling class seeking to preserve the 'status quo'."

The intellectual in a Straightjacket

Rubashov, the central character in Koestler's "Darkness at noon" soliloquizing propounds the idea of infallibility of the Communist Party, the idea which turned into a caricature the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, by the usurper Stalin. Says Rubashov, "The Party can never be mistaken. You and I can make a mistake, not the Party." It is this same idea of historical destiny which was the driving force of Napoleon and Adolf Hitler. It is this same idea of infallibility which was the driving force of the Catholic Church, and its terrible instrument the Holy Inquisition. Imbued with this idea they make their first attack on seats of learning. For it is in these centres that independent thinking flourished.

England was not without its share of conflict between the State and the intellectual. In this conflict Oxford and Cambridge figured prominently during medieval England. As far back as 1200 particularly Oxford, the oldest of English Universities was involved in matters of the State. Oxford city came under the interdict of the Papal order for its abuse of the University. There had been a bloody clash between "town and gown", King John who sided with the townsfolk hanged three students as an example. Many students and teachers fled to Paris, while others to Cambridge; whence Cambridge University was founded.

King John II who had been threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent III had now settled his quarrel with the latter. In 1214 King John and the City of Oxford accepted the Pope's authority "A Legatine Ordinance was promulgated in the same year, which granted freedom from ecclesiastical control for the University and creating the office of University Chancellor, with legal powers which removed the University and its scholars from the civil jurisdiction of the city (Berdahl—"British Universities").

The Revolution destroyed the ancient Universities of France, and they were supplanted by Napoleon's *Universit  Imperiale*, which was tied up with the Central Government. Similarly in G ttingen University the State dismissed seven Professors for refusing to support a reactionary constitution. Bonn University in 1937, publicly deprived Thomas Mann of his degree. Einstein and Richard Strauss, son of the Great Johann, in his own right a great composer, who found it too difficult to fit into the new 'Weltanschauung' left Germany during Nazi rule. Learned University journals and societies folded up because it became unbearable to conform to the Nazi pattern of thinking. The celebrated German historian, Friedrich Meinecke, was forced out of the Editorship of the "*Historische Zeitschrift*". During the anniversary celebration of the University of Heidelberg in the summer of 1936 the statue of Pallas Athene on the facade of one of the buildings, a classic head of the Republic of Letters was replaced by the German eagle and the inscription "To the Eternal Spirit" was changed to the chauvinist slogan "To the German Spirit". In the University of Munich the speech of the poet Ernst Woechert, which was to be published was banned by the censor. It had later to be secretly cyclostyled and passed from hand to hand.

The Third Reich Education Minister enacted laws which permitted him to appoint and dismiss professors and teachers like any other Government official. While the law enabled the Professors to retire at the age of sixty-five, "reliable" men were allowed to hold office by the grace of the Minister. Rectors or Vice-Chancellors were no longer chosen by members of the faculties. The Prussian Education Act of 1852 which guaranteed certain academic freedom was abolished. The nationalization of art and culture made the intellectual climate so oppressive that thousands of intellectuals — mostly Jewish — fled the country.

With the usurpation of power by Stalin, the fate of the Russian scholars, artists and universities was no better. Here too scholars of Jewish origin were sent to exile in Siberia. All opposition was crushed. Every institution, Political, Educational and Cul-

tural, had to conform to the pattern of Government thinking. This was typified in the edicts of the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers which met in Congress at Kharkov in 1923. This Association, appropriately known as the RAPP, came down on the knuckles of the Russian intelligentsia when it declared that henceforth "Art is a class weapon". "Artists should abandon individualism" etc.

Thousands of those who refused to be put into a straight-jacket were sent to exile in Siberia or were put against a wall and shot during the two Moscow Trials. The Universities were the main targets of attack. Many left the Universities and some reached the West while others went to Siberia. The Secret Police of Stalin and Beria denuuded the Educational and Cultural Institutions of the best intellects of the Universities. Some suffered in silence. Others like Lysenko, the now famous geneticist, to humour Stalin (and save his life) brought out the startling theory that environment could change heredity. Those members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences who disagreed fell into disgrace.

Similarly the famous Russian Historian Eugene Tarle who wrote a biography of Napoleon was dismissed because his interpretation of the Napoleonic Wars was, it seemed, at variance with Soviet "Truth". Eugene Varga, the famous and most eminent Economist was purged because he had stated that there would be no economic depression, as in the early thirties, after World War II.

Shostakovich, Prokofieff, Khatchaturian, Miaskorsky, Shebalin, all well known composers of music were severely reprimanded for having written 'bourgeois formalistic' works. Their works were withdrawn but they were subsequently reinstated after confessions of guilt. Lest it may be misconstrued that this was the attitude of the Bolsheviks to art and culture it is necessary to quote Leon Trotsky the Co-leader (with Lenin) of the Russian Revolution. "Art must make its own way and by its own means.... The party leads the proletariat, but not the basic processes of history.... The domain of art is not one in which the party is called to command. A work of art should be judged by its own laws. ("Literature and Revolution.").

The Case of Harold Laski

The Case of Harold Laski in the London University in 1934 was a milestone in the sphere of intellectual freedom and University Autonomy. Laski was the centre of a great political controversy aroused in the Parliament and Press. This was triggered off as a result of a series of lectures in the Soviet Union on Democracy. The first attack came in the 'Daily Telegraph', which had summarised, as if it were Laski's own view, much of the Communist thesis. This in fact was what he was trying to refute. Laski in reply pointed out the falsity of the whole attack and also said that his lecture had been the target of bitter and similar attack in the Soviet Press. Laski's enemies did not stop with the Press, they carried it in to Parliament. Questions were asked how and why Laski was issued with a passport, and because of the disrepute Laski had brought to the London School of Economics it was suggested that the grant of public money should be cut by the University Grants Committee.

Sir Ernest Graham-Little, M.P. for London University also followed the attack by saying that since the L.S.E. was a "hot-bed of Communist teaching" it was unlikely to bring Laski to heel and that the Court of the London University should reduce the allocation to the London School of Economics. Bernard Shaw was himself drawn into the controversy and he defended Laski in the 'Daily Telegraph' by stating that a British Professor of Political Science who for once had talked sense instead of bunkum in Moscow should be awarded a special distinction for showing the Russians that Western Political Science was not necessarily "gammon and spinach". J. M. Keynes (later Lord Keynes) made the final contribution to this episode when he said **that the principle of academic liberty would have just as clearly been at stake if Laski had been a Communist instead of an outspoken opponent of Communism.** He applauded the foresight of the founders of the L.S.E. in purposely providing in the charter of the L.S.E. complete freedom for its teachers in expressing their political opinions. He ended up by saying that Sir Graham-Little was "obviously unfit to represent the University in Parliament."

Resulting from this incident the question of University Professors and participation in politics was settled once and for all in the U.K. when the Association of University Teachers (A.U.T.) adopted the following resolution)—

"The A.U.T. affirms the right of University Teachers to the full exercise of their functions and privileges as citizens....and that the public opinion on controversial matters is in no way incompatible with the position and responsibilities of a University Teacher; it being understood that such expression is personal and does not commit the Institution to which he belongs."

It must be said to the credit to British Statesman that they consistently refused to interfere with intellectual freedom and University Autonomy. Lord Atlee in 1957 said in the House of Lords: "When I was in office, I steadily refused to try to increase the influence of the State in the Universities. I know the objection heard that it is quite illogical to set up a body....give it money, and then do nothing to control it....These are matters in which I think it is better to have trust, and I think this is one of them."

McCarthyism in the U.S.A.

In 1925, a court hearing, attracted nationwide publicity when a teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, was found guilty of teaching Darwin's Theory of Evolution to a 14 year-old boy and fined 100 dollars and costs. The teaching of the theory had been banned in the State.

The climate for intellectual freedom in the U.S.A. has been made oppressive by the Capitalist-Class. Like in the Soviet Union there is a ceaseless witch hunt going on. There is "Freedom" but with restraint. If one's views are Marxist then an individual is branded. He will find no place in the public service. Jobs in the teaching profession become scarce. Thus we find great Marxist Professors like Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy, Leo Huberman being driven from pillar to post, hunted down like criminals by Senator McCarthy's hounds. Dr. Allen Kreps, Professor of Sociology was fired from Adelphi University after visiting Cuba in 1964. Stoughton Lynd, Professor of His-

tory, Yale, fell foul of the State Department for his peace mission to Hanoi last summer. Dr. James Mellin a political scientist was sacked from Drew University for his supporting the Vietcong position in the war. These are but a few names; but the American academic field is strewn with the casualties from the firings of Monopoly Capital opinion.

Senator McCarthy's Committee for the American Activities was a veritable modern Inquisition. Thousands of American Scholars were hunted and ferreted out by this Committee, with the assistance of the F.B.I. Besides scholars in universities men and women in the public service were asked to appear before this infamous Committee even if there had been the vaguest connection with Marxism. If one had friends in the Marxist Movement and had one time or another given a subscription or had attended Marxist sponsored meetings, this was enough for dismissal from one's job. It was in this manner that the famous Atomic Scientist Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer was said to be a calculated risk and relieved of his job.

American academic opinion cannot be said to have resisted the onslaught on the freedom of the intellectual as did their counterparts in the United Kingdom. This can be clearly seen by the attitude of American and Canadian Professors on the subject of academic freedom. A report entitled, "The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and their Faculties" published on 30th March 1953 by the Association of American Universities, which while stressing the necessity for academic freedom expressed the opinion that this freedom should not include the right to belong to the Communist Party! Laying down this last proviso of restraint, is contrary to the spirit of free inquiry and therefore contrary to the spirit of the University.

How is University Autonomy Threatened

The function of an intellectual is the pursuit of knowledge and truth. The function of a University is identical to that of an intellectual with one little difference. The University is only a means to an end. The end being Knowledge and Truth. This idea coincides with the Socratic which is "to follow the argument where it leads."

University autonomy is based on the four pillars of university freedoms. They are the rights to decide what may be taught how it may be taught, who may teach, who may be taught, and If one of these 'pillars' are removed, the freedom of the University—that is intellectual freedom is imperilled. Take the case in Germany as we have already seen: the Reich Government decided what may be taught—i.e. only Aryan theories—who may teach, that is only Aryans—Jewish people were excluded; how it may be taught—only along Aryan lines and who may be taught; i.e. only those of pure Aryan blood.

A similar thing is happening in South Africa which is following the supra-racial theory of "Apartheid". Distinction is made of the colour of one's skin. The Universities of Orange Free State, Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Potchefstroom are what are called 'closed' Universities. They are segregated for Whites students only. The Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand are more liberal and humane in their outlook. While conforming to State requirements of separation in social matters such as games, residence, dances, etc. these two Universities admit students on the basis of academic qualifications and in all academic matters such as examinations etc. there is equality between whites and non whites. They are known as 'Open Universities'. Then there are a few others which strike a via media between the 'Open' and 'Closed' systems, admitting non-whites for external examinations and thus showing equality between the two races in academic matters. It must be said to the great honour of the two 'Open Universities' i.e. the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand that they opposed the legislation which was to enforce academic segregation on racial grounds "as an unwarranted interference in University Autonomy and academic freedom." (Thus if we in Ceylon establish a University in Jaffna we should be careful to see that there is no linguistic and racial segregation).

Undergraduates and Politics

Some are of opinion that while it may be permissible for University Dons to speak without restraint, to take part in politics, that this liberty should not be extended to

undergraduates. Arthur Koestler in one of his works says that "an intellectual is one who aspires to independent thinking". Using this definition the undergraduate is an intellectual; though he may not yet be a fully developed one. Political awareness is a vital necessity for an intellectual. As Professor Paul Baran and Marx have stated, the intellectual is a **social critic** and such a person cannot be a political. "It is those who minded their business" that contributed in no small measure to the rise of tyrants like Stalin and Hitler. It should not be forgotten that the undergraduates and students played a great role in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in India. The case for the undergraduates has been ably stated by Bruce Truscott who in his famous book "Red-Brick Universities" has agreed that "it would be difficult for any **Liberal minded** person to deny undergraduates the right to free expression of opinion by speech and press, to organise meetings within the University and College precincts, to belong to any organisation whether cultural, political or to collaborate with extra-University organisations." He adds very few would **even dream of doing so**. Therefore those who talk of wanting to ban politics to undergraduates and Dons are only displaying a lot of ignorance; such ideas are ante-diluvian, and reactionary to say the least.

It was indeed shocking and sad to find in the present controversy, that only two or three of the thousands of passed graduates wrote to the press condemning the Education Minister's assault on University autonomy. One can recall not so long ago, the number of letters to the Editor, Articles, Meetings of Associations which were held when there was an attempt to nationalise the press. People spoke of violation of human rights, threats to 'democracy' etc. but today everyone is strangely silent. It was even a greater shock to find that in Ceylon's premier University the University Teachers' Association meeting which had on its Agenda the vital question of University Autonomy, had to be postponed for want of a quorum! Out of over two hundred lecturers and professors not more than twenty five attended this meeting. This only shows a thoroughly petit-bourgeois and complacent attitude which does not make university lecturer fit anywhere into Koestler's definition of the "intellectual". Had

there been any attempt, even in a minor way an encroachment of intellectual freedom and University Autonomy, there might have been a strike in all the Universities of Britain. There would have been Meetings and letters in the daily Press and liberal periodicals such as the 'Nation' Universities Review etc. There would have been an uproar in Parliament and would have convulsed the government of the day and made it fall. How is it that all this is possible in Britain? That is because they have built up a liberal tradition. That is what we lack in Ceylon and the newly emerging countries. Freedom (to think, speak and write) is the touchstone of Democracy. The Universities in this country have a great responsibility in building up this liberal tradition. The thousands of graduates who have passed out cannot and should not feel that the autonomy and intellectual freedom is no longer their business.

If intellectual freedom in the University is trammelled today then their turn would come tomorrow. Thus it is the responsibility not only of these graduates but undergraduates and dons but all people who cherish freedom, to fight back against any inroads which will put any restraint on this freedom.

In conclusion it is worthy of quoting at length from the late Prof. Baran's article "The commitment of the intellectual" in the hope that it will jerk our "intellectuals" from their complacency.

"The more reactionary a ruling class, the more obvious it becomes that the social order over which it presides has turned into an impediment to human liberation, the more is its ideology taken over by anti-intellectualism, irrationalism, and superstition. And by the same token, the more difficult it becomes for the intellectual to withstand the social pressures brought upon him, to avoid surrendering to the ruling ideology and succumbing to the intellect workers' comfortable and lucrative conformity. Under such conditions it becomes **a matter of supreme importance and urgency to insist on the function and to stress the commitment of the intellectual**. For it is under such conditions that it falls to his lot, both as a responsibility and as a privilege, to save from extinction the tradition

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SOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

By Dr. ANTON VRATUSA

THE Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a multi-national federal community⁽¹⁾ The multi-nationality of the country as one of the chief factors which, at the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AFCN LY) held on November 29, 1943, influenced the decision to form the new state on a federal basis instead unitarily as was the case in pre-war Yugoslavia.

This historic decision was one of the revolutionary measures which contributed to the further consolidation of the political and moral unity of the working people of Yugoslavia: a unity best expressed by the war slogan: "Unity and Brotherhood". This decision was an expression of the historic aspirations of all the Yugoslav peoples to be united, and at the same the political obligation of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement to apply its ideas in the daily practice of socialist development.

The policy of pre-war Yugoslavia, which was to elevate one integral Yugoslav nationality above all others, to suppress the various nationalities, to discriminate, and to play one nationality against another, was in fact one of the weakest points of the pre-war Yugoslav state. Therefore the national question constituted one of the most important elements in the programme of the

social and national liberation of all the progressive forces, and the Communist Party in particular.

Economically this course has been demonstrated that the Yugoslav community's policy of offering aid to the underdeveloped Yugoslav republics and provinces, makes possible and furthers their economic and social development. The starting point of this was the conviction and the historic experience, both Yugoslav and international that economic equality constitutes the firmest basis for carrying out the policy of equality in all respects and in all fields. It is not the only basis for this, but undoubtedly it is the most important one, since the dynamic economic development of the underdeveloped republics is also an economic factor for the advanced republics.

Therefore the principle of organized economic and financial assistance to the less developed republics has since the very beginning, been the Federation's constant policy, although, to tell the truth, its forms have not always been the same. They have reflected general principles in the Yugoslav economic system, in various stages of the political and social development of the country. Accordingly, in the first stage after the liberation this aid was granted administratively, through the Federal budget. At that time the republics enjoyed very little autonomy in the utilization of these funds. In the following phase of development, parallel with the general decentralization in the country which took place with the introduction of workers' management, methods of aid to the less developed republics became growingly democratic. The republics were granted increasing freedom in disposing of these funds—naturally within the social plan and the economic proportions determined by the social plan of the federation. Understandably, the degree of responsibility of the individual republics in utilizing this aid

(1) Of Yugoslavia's 18,549,000 population in 1961 there were 7,806,000 (42.1%) Serbs; 4,294,000 (23.1%) Croats; 1,589,000 (8.6%) Slovenes; 1,046,000 (5.6%) Macedonians; 514,000 (2.8%) Montenegrans; 973,000 (5.3%) Muslims (as ethnic affiliation); 317,000 (1.7%) Yugoslavs without declaring their national affiliation; 915,000 (4.9%) Skiptars; 504,000 (2.7%) Hungarians; 183,000 (1.0%) Turks; 86,000 (0.5%) Slovaks; 61,000 (0.3%) Rumanians; 63,000 (0.4%) Bulgarians; 26,000 (0.1%) Italians; 30,000 (0.1%) Czechs and 143,000 (0.8%) other nationalities.

was strengthened in the new situation, and this contributed decisively to the more effective utilization of these funds.

The Constitution of 1963 sanctioned aid to the more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics and regions, as a constitutional principle. According to the Constitution, aid for the economic development of the underdeveloped regions is granted in the form of credits, with more favourable terms than those in the general credit system. Annual payments flow into the funds of the interested republics and not into the Federation's central fund. In this way these means are becoming a growingly important factor, constantly exerting a favourable influence on the economy of the republics which receive aid. As for the development of the non-productive activities (schools, hospitals, scientific institutes) and expenditures for the state administration of the underdeveloped republics, these activities are being subsidized in so far as the republics involved are not able to secure their normal functioning in accordance with their relative economic potentials.

"The Law on the Federation Fund for Crediting the Economic Development of the Less Developed Republics and Regions", passed at the Federal Assembly in February 1965, establishes sources of income to supply funds, criteria and guidelines to be pursued in its application, as well as the terms under which the means made available will be returned; while the Law on Financing Territorial Communities, passed at the same time, determines the methods of subsidizing the budget requirements of the less developed republics.

On the political plane the decisive element of equality, both in principle and in everyday practice, lies in the autonomy of the republics as a sovereign form of natural integration on the national basis, self-management in autonomous working organizations (factories, schools, hospitals and other institutions) and social self-government in the communes, as basic communities of the Yugoslav social and political system. The republics are in fact responsible within their boundaries for all aspects of development, with the exception of those functions which are "delegated"

to the competence of the Federation, and which relate to national defence and security, foreign policy and the unity of the economic and political system. Therefore the republics have their own constitutions and laws, and representative executive and court organs, including the republican constitutional court. The republican and communal representative organs are the only organs of authority, and they are responsible for the application of the Federal laws. There is no hierarchical interdependence between the administrative organs of the Federation, republics and communes, although the principle of aid and mutual consultation exists. However, there is a ramified mechanism of inspection, which facilitates registration and control in all the fields and is also designed to safe-guard legality.

The rights and competences of the working organizations which follow the principles of self-management, as well as the right and competence of the communes, are determined by the laws of the Federal and Republican Constitutions as well as by the Statutes which these organizations adopt independently.

The first Constitution, of 1946, introduced the Council of the Nationalities as a body of the Federal Assembly, to guarantee the equality of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. This principle was later confirmed by the Constitutional Law of 1953 and extended by the Constitution of 1963, with certain organizational differences. Members of this Council are chosen by the assemblies of the six republics (ten each) and the two autonomous provinces (five each). The Council of Nationalities sits separately and passes decisions on the basis of equality with the Federal Chamber, on questions relating to changes in the Federal Constitution and on all questions on the agenda of the Federal Chamber which touch the national interests of individual republics or autonomous provinces.

Besides this, the proportions of the national composition are recognized in the pattern of the representative organs and those of social self-government.

In the cultural field the widest autonomy of every nationality (including the national

minorities) is guaranteed. Various forms of inter-republican co-operation are stimulated in cultural manifestations, but the greatest care is taken that larger nationalities do not prevail over minorities. Therefore the Serbian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian national cultures as well as those of the national minorities, are developed in their mother-tongue (Serbo-Croat, Macedonian, Slovene, Albanian, Italian etc.), co-operating and integrating outside the Yugoslav borders with the cultures of other countries and peoples. In Yugoslavia all the documents of the Federal Assembly, the Executive Council and other Federal institutions are published in identical texts in four versions: Serbo-Croat, Croat-Serbian, Macedonian and Slovenian. In the regions where national minorities live, the official documents of representative, court and administrative organs are published in the language of these nationalities; and in these regions there are elementary and secondary schools with instruction in their own languages. Bilingual schools are being increasingly introduced, so that every nationality is granted the opportunity to express itself in the way it suits it best and to develop cultural relations with other nationalities in accordance with its own aspirations and requirements and the same applies to every individual.

Relations between the national cultures are characterized by equality and creative co-operation. The existence of multi-national cultures is an advantage in the universal, versatile and rich development of culture in Yugoslavia. The unified socio-economic position of the national cultures, with their socialist and humanist content, constitutes the basis of the integration of the national cultures in Yugoslavia. Cultural integration, however, cannot be limited to Yugoslavia's frontiers. Co-operation with other national cultures throughout the world and their values is of permanent interest to the Yugoslav multi-national culture. The tempo at which it enters the current of world culture depends on the human values it offers the world of today. At the same time the creative adoption of everything that is progressive and universal in world culture powerfully stimulates cultural development in Yugoslavia.

Pursued in this way, the economic, political and cultural policy has produced an important degree of the individual and collective security needed for the undisturbed development of every nationality, and is a source of social and national solidarity completely unknown in pre-war Yugoslavia. This policy of solidarity and brotherhood between the peoples is an integral part of the communist ideology and the policy of Yugoslav socialist development. National, religious, ideological and racial discrimination is forbidden by the Constitution, and punishable by the law. The Constitution of 1963 even sanctioned the principle that nobody can be forced to declare his nationality by birth or affiliation. This does not mean that the national question is underestimated, or that national relations are considered a short-lived, transition factor, but it indicates the resolve not to allow the infliction of moral damage on citizens, and at the same time to secure the right of all persons to express themselves freely as regards national affiliation, on any occasion and for any purpose.

Experience has shown that the conviction that a person or a national community should have freedom of choice in economic, cultural and social development is one of the basic elements of political stability in a multi-national community. This is also the basis both for attaining true democracy and for preserving solidarity among the people and the national communities.

II

This policy concerning the national question has already produced important results.

In the economic field the less developed republics and regions (Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Metohija) contain 15 percent of the entire population and account for 28 percent of the total amount spent on overall investments during the last five years. Forty percent of the means invested in these regions comes from the Federal funds. Owing to its rapid development, Macedonia has reached the level of Slovenia in 1937, while the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has already exceeded the average of Yugoslav development, although

before 1945 it was one of the most backward regions in the country.

The rhythm of the development of social services, culture and science has also been relatively more dynamic in the underdeveloped republics than the more advanced, but obviously the income earned in this region was not enough to achieve these results. (2).

In the cultural field the wide mobilization of the available forces in all the republics is developing. This at the same time forms a firm basis for further rapprochement between the various nationalities, and the gradual termination of the last remnants of neo-colonialism and discourages aspirations towards hegemony, whether on the part of the Federation or of the stronger nationalities.

Obviously the fundamental and social basis of these processes lies in the fact that instead of private ownership of the means of production in Yugoslavia there is social ownership, which creates conditions of equality for all, on the principle of social self-government. This is, in the final analysis, the firmest economic, political and ideological basis for unity and solidarity among the working people and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Experience shows that this is the safest way to eradicate the last remnants of nationalism and chauvinism, and to eliminate any lingering traces of the practice of the old utilitarian regime. Common interest in the social progress of all, co-ordinated with the interest of every individual in the Yugoslav community, and the common destiny of all the working people in Yugoslavia (and not some historic idyll), constitute the basis of the unity of the peoples, and socialist solidarity in Yugoslavia's multi-national community.

(2) For instance: In Macedonia in 1959 there was one doctor to 6,000 persons and in 1963 there was one to 1,600 persons, while the Yugoslav average in 1950 was one doctor to 3,400 persons and in 1963 one to 1,352. Just before the war (1938/39) university centres existed only in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, with 17,000 students; in 1962-1963 university centres existed also in Skopje, Sarajevo and Titograd. There were 31,500 students in the new university centres, which is 20 percent of the total number of Yugoslav students.

III

It may be said that in socialist Yugoslavia the national question in the classical sense of the word no longer exists. But in spite of all the results achieved in socialist development, we still encounter problems of a national character. They are manifested in various forms, and are sometimes harmful even to relations which are not directly related to the national question.

In the economic field the problems of the development of activities which follow from the economic system and the economic policy and which, in a uninational state, would be regarded merely as economic problems, in a multi-national state frequently acquire a different aspect, because of the special interests of the various republics and nationalities. Understandably the centralization of basic investments on the part of the Federation may also produce problems which are national in character. In the advanced republics there is a trend, although not particularly stressed, to prevent "their means from being incompetently managed" by the less developed regions; therefore they advocate the maximum decentralization in this field. This interpretation of aid to the underdeveloped regions does not take into account the fact that their stagnation would sooner or later become an impediment to the development of the advanced regions themselves and, on the other hand, that the more rapid development of the less developed regions helps the dynamic progress in the advanced regions. Meanwhile, the less developed regions fear possible exploitation on the part of the more advanced republics. Therefore they request larger Federal centralization of funds to secure the means necessary for their development. However, when requests of this kind are made it is often forgotten that imposed centralization of funds means the deduction of a part of the incomes within the competence of the self-management organs in factories, and their subjection to administrative distribution. This can only inflict damage on the enterprises themselves as regards their need for extended economic growth, that is to say, the modernization of installations, the introduction of new technological processes etc., and, accordingly, on the community as a whole. Therefore according to the Con-

stitution of 1963, extended economic growth, together with the fund of personal incomes and that of common consumption, has been placed directly in charge of the working collectives; and this secured the natural circulation, without impediment of social capital from one part of Yugoslavia to another, on the principle of profitability within the unified credit system. Thus the Federal fund is one form of compensation, based on objective criteria, and economic aid to the less developed regions on the part of the advanced ones, is a form which is more appropriate than all preceding ones. This also constitutes one of the aspects of the decreasing intervention of the state in stimulating the development of the underdeveloped regions.

In the political and cultural fields a tendency can sometimes be noted to underrate the republics, and to regard them as an outmoded form in the present social reality, and as an impediment to accomplishing integration processes on Federal level. According to this view patience is required, and temporary "concessions to still unexceeded nationalism must be made. But every aspect of present-day Yugoslavia demonstrates that this interpretation cannot stand up to serious analysis, since it is completely baseless. Nations throughout the world as well as in Yugoslavia are the result of the natural integrations of the past ages, and can be superceded only through the further democratic process of democratic integration and the division of labour on a worldwide basis, respecting the interests of every individual nation, and confirming the autonomy of every nationality to help other national cultures to flourish, and stimulating co-operation based on mutual solidarity and common interests; transforming national and state borders from impediments into free roads leading to mutual contacts and forming mutual bridges of fraternity between peoples.

It is, however, true that in everyday economic-political and ideological practice efforts should be exerted to secure constant support for the consolidation of unity, brotherhood and co-operation, in an atmosphere of socialist solidarity. In this sphere intensive activity on the part of the Socialist Alliance, the League of Communists and other socio-political organizations is in progress. It is clear that different ethnic, economic and cultural interests cannot be harmonized merely on the basis of economic and legal instruments. Federal political action for the development of closer relations of solidarity among the people, on the basis of mutual assistance, humanity and the respect for man's free personality, is also required.

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The problem of minorities or national groups, has been solved in accordance with these principles. From the standpoint of internal policy, the minorities are protected by the Constitution and the law against any discrimination, whether socio-economic, political or moral. From the international standpoint, everything possible is done to help minorities to maintain normal contacts with their compatriots in the mother-country, and to make them feel themselves to be not a minority, but equal citizens of the country they live in. This intention, however, can be carried out only between countries maintaining friendly and good-neighbour relations, with full recognition of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In Yugoslav practice this has been most eloquently demonstrated by the relations maintained on the Yugoslav-Italian border. Owing to the efforts of both countries, the value and advantages of this policy, which may serve as an example of active coexistence between two countries with different systems, have been asserted.

FAILURE OF COMMUNALIST POLITICS

By SYDNEY WANASINGHE

*"Even so—if I may use the words of the psychologist—this Neanderthalian recidivism, if it goes on repeating itself, will teach the country more than we can teach it. I am confident in my knowledge....that large numbers of people, who in 1956 were not ready even to contemplate giving Tamil any place at all, today say in this desperate way: 'Well, if the only way we can go forward is by making Tamil also an official language, let us do it, if that is the only way out of this.' My hon. friends say, 'If you do it, you will have a Sinhalese communalist uprising.But I say that, if we place faith in.....those large masses of the country who are sick and tired unto death of these communal conflicts, if we would rely on them and have the courage of our convictions to act along the lines of relying on them, this can be achieved.'" (p. 16, **Failure of Communalist Politics by Colvin R. de Silva**).*

This booklet contained a speech made by Colvin R. de Silva in Parliament in 1958. It was a forthright condemnation from a Marxist standpoint of the communalist politics of the then MEP made on the morrow of the worst communal carnage this country has so far witnessed. Despite the remarks quoted above, Colvin R. de Silva himself succumbed to these atavistic pressures and spearheaded the communalist campaign of his party and its allies since the election defeat in March 1965. In using the same title we apologise to him for any embarrassment caused thereby. While these erstwhile comrades reel in the quagmire of communalism to which they have voluntarily descended, to be fair by them, we wish to go on record that they have a past which they can justly be proud of.

COMMUNALIST OPPOSITION

The Communalist Anti-Government campaign of the Coalitionists reached its climax on January 8th. The events of the day which marked a new low in coalitionist politics gave the UNP-led Government the excuse to clamp down emergency under the

pretext of preventing a communal flare up. Since then political activity has been confined to the precincts of Parliament. From their utterances in Parliament it is clear that the coalitionists have not abandoned their communalist campaign despite the fiasco of the 8th. It is the intention of this article to examine the nature of this communalist campaign and its repercussions on the working class.

From the day that the UNP-led Government assumed office the opposition of the Coalitionists to this Government has been from the communalist angle. They opposed it as it had been formed in alliance with the F.P. with the assistance of the CWC and the TC. Although the presence of the MEP, SLFSP and the JVP came in for criticism from time to time, it was lost in the communalist opposition to the presence of the non-Sinhala elements in the Government.

Perhaps the LSSP and the CP found it difficult to criticise the MEP, SLFSP and the JVP for tying up with the UNP which they had opposed all these years as they themselves had engaged in similar political acrobatics when they joined hands with the SLFP.

The UNP-led Government did not depart fundamentally from the policies of the previous government. Apart from a change of personnel in various Government establishments to accommodate their own supporters, the UNP did not find it expedient to undo anything that the previous Government had done. Further they vociferously claimed that they were following the Bandaranaike Policies to the very letter. Therefore Coalitionists thought that their only hope of returning to office was through the mobilisation of the Sinhala Buddhist masses round the communalist platform.

This line they strictly followed since they vacated office in March 1965. The most vociferous exponents of this line were the LSSP and the CP. This campaign launched on the morrow of their election defeat in

March, was stepped up gradually and reached its climax on January 8th when the Regulations under Tamil Language Special Provisions Act were presented in Parliament.

The best and the most authoritative way of examining the nature of this communalist campaign is to peruse the coalitionist press. As it was the LSSP that had the biggest influence on the working class out of the parties in the Coalition, this article will confine itself to an analysis of the propaganda that was carried on by the three LSSP papers, the *Jana Mathaya*, *Jana Sathiya* and the *Jana Dina*. These were acknowledged as publications of the LSSP by N. M. Perera in Parliament.

The Communalist campaign of the *Jana Sathiya* and the *Jana Mathaya* up to May 1965 was dealt with in an article in the *Young Socialist*, issue No. 13. The *Jana Dina* commenced publication as a daily on 11th June 1965. It is published by the *Sathiya Publishing Co.* With the publication of the *Jana Dina*, the *Jana Mathaya* which was published as a daily by the LSSP from 4th January ceased to be a regular publication. The *Jana Sathiya* continued publication as a weekly.

Four main lines of attack figure in this campaign. They were directed at getting the support of different sections of the Sinhalese speaking people. The campaign of contempt and ridicule of the Tamil speaking people referred to in the earlier article changed to give place to a subtle vindictive campaign reminiscent of anti-semitism. The responsibility for all major problems of the country, unemployment, landlessness, high prices was laid on the non-Sinhala speaking people in the country. They distorted facts, exaggerated consequences and lied without any sense of shame in order to whip up Sinhala Buddhist sentiment as a short cut to return to office.

TARGETS SPOTLIGHTED

Their first line of attack was that the Sinhala Only Act was in danger because of the presence of a FP Minister in the Cabinet. They spotlighted several decisions of various departments which tended to minimise the hardship caused by the Sin-

hala Only Act and pointed these out as a negation of the Act passed in 1956. They attempted to show that easy promotions over the others by those proficient in Sinhala would now be lost. They pointed this out as a denial of the rights of the Sinhalese.

They directed their campaign at the Sinhala educated-unemployed. They were bluntly told that if not for the Tamils they will not have to be unemployed. They were shown facts and figures of Departments and Government Establishments where there were a majority of non-Sinhalese. The fact that the overwhelming majority of Government Departments and establishments had a majority of Sinhalese speaking personnel was of course not pointed out. A report of the Stenographer's Examination being held in Tamil for recruitment of Tamil stenos was distorted to show the Sinhala unemployed that while they continue to fret without jobs, their counter-parts in the Tamil districts will soon find jobs.

Thirdly they tried to show that in the distribution of crown land, Tamil Speaking people were going to be favoured and as a result there will be no land for the Sinhalese. This line of propaganda was directed at the land hungry peasants in the Sinhala areas who find it increasingly difficult to make a living on the ever diminishing small land holdings.

Finally they commenced a vigorous campaign on an alleged secret pact between the UNP and the FP and stepped up this campaign with the tabling of the Regulations under the Tamil Special Provisions Act in Parliament. The cry was that this would divide the country. The LSSP leaders who championed the cause of minority rights over the past decades now went about the country with their new allies mobilising Sinhala Buddhist opinion against the meagre concessions that were contemplated in this bill. They distorted facts and lied to such an extent that they began to believe the lies which they themselves had originated.

The utterances of the LSSP leaders and policy declarations of the LSSP on the question of minority rights made when the party was still led by a Marxist cadre were adequately dealt with in the article referred to earlier. Here we would confine our-

selves to extracts from their own papers in order that the readers who have had no access to them would understand the level to which they descended.

WHAT THEY SAID

June 12th—JANA DINA :

C.I.D. trails Buddhist Leader

The UNP-Federal Government which detests the National and religious activities of a prominent Buddhist leader has detailed the CID to keep track of his movements.

June 14th—JANA DINA :

Will they teach Tamil by force ? The order given by F P to Sinhalese areas

The Ministry of Education is considering a proposal made by the Tamil M.Ps that Tamil should be taught in the Sinhala areas.

June 15th—JANA DINA :

No one can be P.M. without the help of the Tamils

"It has been stated by Mr. Thondaman at a meeting held in Senkadagala that only a person who can get the assistance of the Tamils can become P.M. in future. Such statements ridiculing the Sinhala people are being made by those within the National Government. When we reply to these people who hold the Sinhala race in contempt we are dubbed communalists" said Rev. Henpitagedera Gnanasiha at a meeting held in connection with the opening of a SLFP branch office in Ratnapura.

June 16th—JANA DINA :

Administration in North and East in Tamil

The Government has decided to conduct the business of the Peace Committees which it proposes to set up in the Northern and the Eastern provinces in Tamil only.

June 18th—JANA MATHAYA :

Port changed to divide the country in accordance with the Federal demand

The UNP-Federal seven-party coalition is now going to take preliminary steps to divide the country in accordance with the wishes of the Federal Party.

For this purpose it has already given its consent to the Federal Party to abandon the traditional route to India through Mannar and set up a sea route through KKS.

June 18th—JANA MATHAYA :

Tamil and English—the Official Languages of the Seven-Party Coalition

The UNP-Federal Government of the 7 party coalition has made English and Tamil the official Languages of the country. At the same time it has begun its policy of strangling the Sinhalese language.

The policy of the previous coalition was to ascertain the proficiency of the candidates in Sinhala when recruitment is being done. This policy has now been abandoned.

It was the policy of the previous coalition that candidates who present themselves for the General Clerical Service Examination should be proficient in Sinhala. This policy has now been abandoned by the UNP—Federal seven-party coalition.

June 21st—JANA DINA :

The Sinhalese will be rendered stateless

Addressing a mammoth gathering at Kegalle last Saturday Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the leader of the opposition said that if the Sinhalese people do not organise and protect themselves, this tiny island which is their motherland will be lost to the Tamils and the Indians.

Today we have a Government that is protecting illicit immigrants—Says R. G.

"Today we have a Pro-Indian Government which is protecting the illicit immigrants. From the day it came into power thousands of illicit immigrants are pouring into the country. As the army has not been able to prevent their entry, the up-country area has now become Thondaman's kingdom" declared Mr. R. G. Senanayake addressing a meeting at the Town Hall premises.

YOUNG SOCIALIST

Volume 3

MARCH 1964—APRIL 1966

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July 3rd—JANA DINA :

Lists to transfer Buddhist Officers

Another stage of the campaign of revenge is afoot. A list of Buddhist Officers has been prepared to transfer them out of key positions they presently hold.

July 6th—JANA DINA :

A secret attempt to make Ratmalana a Tamil Town

In the 12th Century the Cholas captured Polonnaruwa, renamed it Jananathapuram and set up a Tamil state. We are reliably informed that a secret Tamil organisation is rapidly making preparations to set up a Tamil colony in Ratmalana on the same pattern.

July 7th—JANA DINA :

Federalists meet P.M.

Certain promises were made by Mr. Dudley Senanayake to the Federal Party before he accepted office. As the present political climate has been rendered unsuitable for the implementation of these promises, the Federal Party will meet in the next few days to decide what steps it should take.

July 9th—JANA DINA :

Sinhala Buddhists arise

The Seven-Party Coalition came into power by betraying the privileges of the Sinhala Buddhists. It has denied the rights of the small man and is an obstacle to the progress of the country. The manner in which the coalition has been formed denies the Sinhala Buddhists any protection. The Buddhists who hold high office in the Government now face persecution. Once again being a Buddhist has become a disqualification for holding office in the Government.

July 12th—JANA DINA

Rights of Sinhala Buddhists betrayed

Professor Karunaratne has condemned the decision of the Government to make Sunday a holiday.

July 17th—JANA DINA :

Tamil rules in accordance with the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact.

Ministers bow down to Federal pressure

The Cabinet which has succumbed to Federal pressure has decided to make Tamil the State Language in the North and the East.

July 18th—JANA SATHIYA :

Catholic help to illicit immigrants to escape Army net

The illicit immigrants who disembark along the Mannar coast have the blessings of the Catholic Church.

As most of the army officers who have been detailed for duty by the UNP-FP Government to deal with the illicit immigrant problem in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces are Catholics they are said to be permitting them to escape under pressure from the Church.

July 21st—JANA DINA :

The Central Bank switches over to Tamil on Chelvanayagam's request

A Special branch has been set up to translate all reports, records, news releases and correspondence issued by the bank into Tamil. This has been done in answer to a letter sent by Mr. Chelvanayagam in Tamil. The Government has admitted that this is in keeping with its language policy.

July 23rd—JANA DINA :

Those who said that they cannot sleep in comfort until they use the skin of the Indians for their slippers, are now rock-in the arms of the Tamils

"Konar Mudiyanseelage Podi Appu Rajaratne once declared that he is unable to sleep until he can use slippers made out of the skin of the last Indian. Now his wife Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratne is rocking in the arms of the Tamils. Isn't Mr. Rajaratne ashamed of the turn of events" asked Mr. Mangala Moonasinghe, M.P. for Bulathsinhala at a rally held at Nawalapitiya.

July 23rd—JANA DINA :

**Federalists win—English rules :
Sinhala finished**

The Government servants who joined prior to 1956 are now permitted to work in English

The Government decided today to permit those who joined its service before the Sinhala Only Act came into force to continue to work in English.

July 23rd—JANA DINA :

**Eight Tamils and three Sinhalese in
charge of emigration of Indians**

The branch in charge of the implementation of the Sirimavo-Shastri pact in the department of Immigration and Emigration has selected 8 Tamils out of a total of 11 recruited recently. The Sinhala officers of the department are surprised by this.

July 29th—JANA DINA :

**Has not the 7 party coalition betrayed
the Sinhala Buddhists to the Tamils?**

"I wish to ask Rev. Dawamottawe Amarawansa who campaigned for the 7 party coalition whether this government has not betrayed the rights of the Sinhala Buddhists to the Tamils like Ehelapola betrayed this country to the English. I challenge the Ven Bhikku to answer this question according to his conscience", said the ex Minister of Transport and M.P. for Agalawatta Mr. Anil Moonasinghe addressing a meeting organised by the Yakupitiya Progressive Youth League and the Women's league.

August 3rd—JANA DINA :

Slaughter of Sinhala in progress. Reactionaries make hay while the sun shines

A Far sighted programme planned out by the UNP-Federal state to destroy the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 is now being implemented in secret.

The situation has worsened after the decision of the Cabinet to permit those who

joined the Government Service prior to passing of that Act to continue to work in English.

All the Capitalist Newspaper concerns have conspired not to reveal this decision to their readers. The aim of this conspiracy is to hoodwink the Sinhalese, satisfy the Federalists and give in to their demands.

As a result while those who entered the Government service through the Tamil medium work in Tamil those who entered through the English medium work in English.

August 14th—JANA DINA :

**Attempt to oust Sinhala Buddhists
from Trinco. Land only to Tamil residents**

The UNP-Federal State is about to start a campaign to evict the Sinhala Buddhists from Trincomalee. As a first step it has decided to cancel the Periya Kulam Land Kachcheri which was to distribute the land belonging to the Welgama Vihara. It is said that the land Kachcheri has been cancelled in keeping with the agreement between the UNP and the Federal Party.

Even though a land kachcheri has not yet been held for residents of the Abhaya Pura colony which is older than the Anduwalipuram Colony, the Government which has succumbed to Federal and Catholic pressure has decided to distribute paddy land and high land to the residents of two Tamil villages.

A group of Kachcheri officials held a land Kachcheri without any publicity on 7th Saturday at the Anuradhapura Junction to distribute the land surrounding a small tank which is situated 6 miles away on the Trincomalee-Kandy Road. These land allotments were confined only to the residents of two villages, "Anduwalipuram and Andankulam".

August 17th—JANA DINA :

**Not a National Government but
a Minority Government**

Speaking at a Hartal Commemoration meeting held in the Kollonnawa Electorate Mr. R. G. Senanayake the M.P. for Dambadeniya said that this is not a National Government but a Minority Government.

August 17th—JANA DINA :

The We Tamil movement stabilises in the Up-Country. A number of Bazzars now in their hands

If the DMK or the WE Tamil Movement is permitted to operate in the Up-country for two more years we need not be surprised if a Kingdom of the Indians and illicit immigrants is formed in this area.

August 20th—JANA MATHAYA :

Federal Demand granted—20 millions for KKS harbour

Story that appeared in the JANA-MATHAYA in June proved Correct

The UNP-Federal Government has set up 20 millions for the development of the KKS harbour.

August 23rd—JANA DINA :

Fifty-Fifty in the CTB—Minister's order under Federal pressure

The CTB is making arrangements to appoint an equal number of Tamil Speaking Managers to the number of Sinhalese already in service.

August 25th—JANA DINA :

Sinhalese in the North in Danger

The Sinhalese people who are residing in the north are repenting today because of the short-sighted policy of the UNP-Federal Government. These people who were able to raise their heads due to the policies of the last government are now back in the same old perilous position. These sinhalese people who are being ill-treated by the Tamils are living in fear of their lives.

September 17th—JANA MATHAYA :

**Twenty Ministers in the Cabinet
Twenty Deputy Ministers
Some more enter the Coalition Cabinet
Amirthalingam also gets a portfolio**

Changes will take place very soon in the Cabinet. In this reshuffle the number of

ministries will be increased. Now there are 17 Ministers in the Cabinet.

September 21st—JANA DINA :

**The We Tamil Movement spreads throughout the country
They ask for guns and schools**

The well organised We Tamil movement has taken another step forward in the implementation of its programme. That is to gain admission for the Tamil Children to the Village Sinhalese schools and thereby evict the latter.

September 29th—JANA DINA

Teaching of Sinhala in North and East abandoned

The programme of teaching Sinhala in the Tamil schools in the North and East has been now abandoned by the present UNP-Federal government.

October 3rd—JANA SATHIYA :

**Order to give more than 3/4th of the jobs in the country to Federalists.
Danger that the Sinhalese will be rendered unemployed**

The FP has informed the Government that 75% of the vacancies that occur in the Government Departments and corporations in the Northern and the Eastern provinces will have to be filled from lists given by the FP organisations in the area.

In addition it has also requested the UNP-FP Government to fill 80% of the vacancies in the Estates from those of Indian descent.

Even in the areas that are predominantly Sinhalese the FP has requested that at least 10% of the vacancies should be filled by those sponsored by them.

In implementing this policy, the Federalists will get favoured treatment in all State Corporations like the Cement Factory at KKS, the Sugar, Tile and carpentry factories and the distillery at Gal Oya and the Paper Mills at Valachchanai.

7th October—*JANA DINA* :

When Tamils join South India

Dr. D. E. Hettiarachchi, Professor of Sinhalese, addressing a gathering of Buddhist employees in the Peradeniya University stated that the Sinhala Buddhist people of this country will have to engage in a bitter struggle if the Tamil people in the Northern and the Eastern provinces join those in South India.

7th October—*JANA DINA* :

Sinhala Act invalidated Stenographers Exam only in Tamil

Contrary to the Sinhala Only Act which decreed that Sinhalese is the only official Language of the country, the UNP-Federal Government has decided to conduct the Government Stenographer's examination in Tamil only.

15th October—*JANA DINA* :

Do not send Sinhalese Teachers to the North and East— Chelvanayagam tells Premier

Settle the Language question before the teachers' question.

Mr. Chelvanayagam has informed the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake that until the Language question is resolved in keeping with the policies of the UNP-Federal Government, the decision of the Education Ministry to send Sinhalese Teachers to the North and East from December next should not be implemented.

15th October—*JANA MATHAYA* :

Why is the 7 party Coalition Silent ?

FP. Captures Trincomalee

The Police, Kachcheri and the Post Office in their control.

Is the Federal Party in Trincomalee working now in accordance with one of the conditions of the UNP-FP Pact ?

The GA at Trincomalee is subjected to increasing pressure from the FP. He is

not free to act independently. He has to do what the Federal Party says.

Trincomalee Police is controlled by the FP. Law and order in Trincomalee is in the hands of the FP

In the Post Office business can be transacted only in Tamil. All telephone conversations with outside are immediately reported to the FP.

20th October—*JANA DINA* :

Buddhist GA transferred and a Catholic appointed

The Kurunegala GA Mr. Palitha Weeraman who took a prominent part in the Buddhist activities of the area has been transferred with effect from November 1st and a Catholic has been appointed in his place by the Government.

25th October—*JANA DINA* :

Why did the leader of the "We Tamil" movement come to Ceylon ?

It has been revealed that Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, the leader of the DMK has visited Ceylon under the pretext of a cultural mission in order to participate in a series of meetings organised to promote the "We Tamil" movement.

29th October—*JANA DINA* :

Another Delimitation Commission. Tamil representation to increase.

Federalists commence their programme to make hay while the sun shines.

A Delimitation Commission to demarcate the electorates is due to be appointed next year. The Federalists are ready with a well organised plan to increase their representation in the NCP and Up Country.

4th November—*JANA DINA* :

Villages for "We Tamil" followers in NCP and Up Country after evicting Sinhalese.

Tamil Colonies round Giri Handu Chaitya

Arrangements are being made now by the UNP-Federal Government to set up colonies in the up-country estate areas for the

estate workers, under the pressure from Thondaman - Annamale - Jesudasan group which is an important source of support for the UNP-Federal Government, and in jungles in and around Trincomalee for the illicit immigrants under pressure from the Federal Party.

13th November—*JANA DINA* :

Latest Federalist threat—No Sinhala Police officers for North as Federal MPs hate them

Beware if you send Sinhala Police Officers to the North—The Federal Party and Tamil Congress MPs have warned the Government.

14th November—*JANA SATHIYA* :

“We Tamil Movement” is destroying us. Up-country Sinhalese tell PM

A group of UNP supporters from the up-country areas met the Prime Minister last week and appealed to him to save them from the “We Tamil Movement” which is destroying them.

The “We Tamil Movement” is ousting the Sinhalese from the shops, boutiques, houses and property. The up-country Sinhalese will be left stranded, they pleaded.

After the UNP-Federal Government came into power the invasion of the We Tamil Movement has become very acute and unless immediate steps are taken to remedy this the Sinhalese people will become slaves in their own country.

20th November—*JANA DINA* :

Here is another secret

It has now been revealed that besides the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact there is another secret agreement based on mutual understanding.

This has come out as a result of the crisis in the Federal Party following the revelation of the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact.

21st November—*JANA SATHIYA* :

Both Asgiriya and Malwatta Chapters against the UNP-FP secret Pact. Let us protect the nation, religion and country even at the risk of our lives

Both the Asgiriya and Malwatta Chapters which are the two main centres of Buddhism in Ceylon have joined the people in their rising tide of protest against the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact which betrays the birthright of Sinhalese to Federalists.

Rev. Amunugama Rajaguru Vipassibhidana Maha Nayake Thero of the Casamopali Sect of the Malwatta Chapter and Vidya Visaradha Panditha Rev. Salyale Sri Sumanatissabhidhana Nayake Thero who is the President of the Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress, a Committee Member of the Bikshu Committee of the Asgiriya Chapter and the Principal of the Asgiri Maha Vihara Pirivena have realised the dangers of this pact and issued two statements to the Jana Sathiya pointing out the harm it does to the Country, Nation and Religion.

Rev. Rambukwelle Sri Sobhithabhidana Maha Thera who was present when the Chief Priest of the Malwatta Chapter made this statement approved it himself.

21st November—*JANA SATHIYA* :

**Regulations framed to divide the country
A death blow to Sinhala race and Language Act**

Regulations are being framed to implement the clauses of the secret pact revealed in the Jana Dina. This pact betrays the birthright of the Sinhalese to the Federalists.

It was revealed by Federalist Minister Mr. M. Thiruchelvam at a meeting of the Federal M.P's on Thursday that the discussions that have gone on for the last seven months between Mr. Chelvanayagam and Mr. Dudley Senanayake have proved successful and that regulations are being drafted.

According to these regulations framed in accordance with the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact the following will become law.

Tamil will become the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

The people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces will be able to transact all their business with the Central Government in Tamil.

All Government records in the Northern and Eastern provinces will be kept in Tamil.

If necessary permission will be given to keep these in Sinhalese.

Law Courts in the Northern and Eastern provinces will function in Tamil.

All the regulations in the North and East will have to be in Tamil.

Land alienation Act will be amended.

In land alienation in the North and East first place will be given to landless in those provinces, second preference to other people in those provinces and third preference to people in the rest of the country.

23rd November—*JANA DINA* :

Tear the pact ! Opposition mounts

Patriotic organisations are making rapid preparations to hold a series of meetings throughout the country to mobilise public protest against the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact which betrays the birthright of the Sinhalese and the secret agreement between them which is based on mutual understanding.

24th November—*JANA DINA*

Tamil GA.s for Jaffna and Trincomalee

As yet another step in their plan to make the Northern and Eastern provinces a Tamil Kingdom the Federal Party is making arrangements to transfer the Sinhalese G.As from Jaffna and Trincomalee and replace them with Tamils.

24th November—*JANA DINA*

Do not betray our birthright Mrs. Bandaranaike tells P.M.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike warned Mr. Dudley Senanayake the Prime Minister of the UNP-Federal Government in the name of national unity not to divide this country and not to be a partner to the burial of the rights of the Sinhalese, they won after 400 years.

25th November—*JANA DINA* :

“There is a Pact” Says Premier.

Tamil will be the Language of administration in the North and East.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake admitted that there is a pact between himself and the Federal Party chief.

26th November—*JANA MATHAYA* :

Search for person who leaked out secret

The Government has found itself in difficulties as a result of the leakage of the secret pact. Government supporters are perturbed by this.

27th November—*JANA DINA* :

Indo-Ceylon pact abandoned

The special branch has now been wound up.

28th November—*JANA SATHIYA* :

The great betrayal

EXACT WORDS

JANA SATHIYA presents to the nation today the secret documents relating to the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact which betrays the heritage of Sinhala People to the Federal Party.

In the name of the people, “*JANA-SATHIYA*” challenges the UNP-FP Premier, Mr. Dudley Senanayake to boldly and unequivocally deny the existence of the pact or the authenticity of these documents.

JANA SATHIYA draws particular attention to the final clause of the Pact whereby, in the allocation of land in the North and East preference is given not only to Tamil residents of the provinces, but also to Tamil citizens in other provinces, even if they own land, over the landless citizens of other communities.

The exact text of the Dudley-Chelvanayagam secret pact is as follows:

Document I

16, Alfred House Gardens,
Colombo
24-3-1965

Dear Mr. Senanayake,

I have to refer to the discussions which I and the members of my party had with you. In view of the agreement which we

arrived at, I wish to make it clear that my party will give you its support in forming the new government.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) S. J. V. Chelvanayagam

Document II

Agreement between Mr. Dudley Senanayake, leader of the UNP and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, Leader of the FP

Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam met on 24-3-65 and discussed matters relating to some problems over which the Tamil speaking people were concerned and Mr. Senanayake agreed that action on the following lines would be taken by him to ensure a stable Government.

1. Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision for Tamil to be the Language of Administration and of record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Mr. Senanayake also explained that it was the policy of his party that a Tamil speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the Island.

2. Mr. Senanayake stated that it was the policy of his party to amend the language of the Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.
3. Action will be taken to establish District Councils of Ceylon, vested with powers over subjects to be mutually agreed upon between the two Tamil Leaders. It was agreed, however, that the Government should have the power under the law to give directions to such councils in the national interest.
4. The Land Development Ordinance will be amended to provide that citizens of Ceylon be entitled to the allotment of land under Ordinance. Mr. Senanayake further agreed that in the granting of land under colo-

nisation schemes the following priorities be observed in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

- (a) Land in the Northern and Eastern Provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the district.
- (b) Secondly, to Tamil Speaking persons residing in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and
- (c) Thirdly, to other citizens in Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil citizens in the rest of the Island.

(Sgd.) Dudley Senanayake 24-3-1965

(Sgd.) S. J. V. Chelvanayagam 24-3-1965

29th November—*JANA DINA* :

Another Secret Pact ! Concessions to Thondaman !

Political observers believe that Mr. Dudley Senanayake has entered into an agreement with Mr. Thondaman as well.

One of the main conditions of that agreement is that only those who volunteer will be repatriated.

29th November—*JANA DINA* :

A non-Sinhalese, a non-Buddhist nation will come into being

Rev. Ananda Maitriya

2nd December—*JANA DINA*

Tamil state due to secret betrayal Consequences of the pact explained

5th December—*JANA SATHIYA* :

The Tri Sinhala awakens Three processions to save the Country

The Pancha Maha Bala Vegaya is now making preparations to have three processions to the holy places in the Tri Sinhale starting from the Statue of Vihara Maha

Devi at Victoria Park. This step is to show public protest to the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact which betrays the birthright of the Sinhalese to the Tamils.

8th December—*JANA DINA*

**The Government in our hands!
Thondaman tells the Estate Workers**

Our struggle is on behalf of all Tamils.

“What has been formed now is a Government of our own. Therefore we must not hesitate one bit to fight for more concessions to the Tamil speaking people,” said Mr. Thondaman amidst cheers of estate workers at a meeting organised by the 3rd Division of the Opatha Estate at Kahawatta.

9th December—*JANA DINA*

**Treasury to select Tamil Clerks and Typists.
Pact in operation.**

Public Service Regulations are being translated into Tamil.

The Treasury is making hasty preparations to switch over to Tamil in the Northern and Eastern provinces in accordance with the Dudley-Chelvanayagam secret pact.

11th December—*JANA DINA* :

**Padaviya to Federalists in keeping
with clause 4 of the pact**

The Sinhalese loose Mora Wewa, Wahal-kada and the Yang Oya irrigation schemes. In Accordance with clause 4 of the Dudley-Chelvanayagam secret pact which betrays the birthright of the Sinhalese to the Tamils, the displacement of Sinhalese from the colonization schemes of the Raja Rata has commenced from Padaviya.

12th December—*JANA SATHIYA* :

**Will they amend the Secret Pact?
Naganathan against change.**

The UNP is appealing on bended knees to the FP to agree to minor changes in the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact so that they may ward off the growing anger of the people. Even though Mr. Dudley Senanayake has asked that the promised equal

status for Tamil Language and the land policy in the Northern and Eastern provinces be modified the extremists in the FP including Dr. Naganathan have protested against it.

This matter was discussed on Saturday by the Federal Party. On Sunday Mr. J. R. Jayawardena and Dudley Senanayake spent a few hours discussing the same question.

According to the Pact the Official Language in the Northern and Eastern Provinces will be only Tamil. Mr. Dudley Senanayake has asked that Sinhala also be recognised as an official language. A section led by Mr. Chelvanayagam were agreeable to it. But others led by Dr. Naganathan were completely opposed to it. They insist that not one letter of the pact should be changed.

FP says that even if the Language policy is changed they cannot permit the land policy to be changed.

What Mr. Dudley Senanayake wants is to change even one syllable of the pact and announce to the public that the pact has been amended. But it is very clear that it will not be changed before the FP conference.

14th December—*JANA DINA* :

Set fire to the Pact! Local bodies demand

The island wide network of local bodies along with the Maha Sangha are demanding of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister of the UNP-Tamil Government that the secret pact revealed in the Jana Dina and Jana Sathiya be set fire to.

18th December—*JANA DINA* :

**Premier obtains one week from FP.
Tamil will rule on the 23rd.**

Threats that Dudley will be ousted

Premier Dudley Senanayake who has been frightened by the threats of Thondaman-Annamale-Jesudasan clique has given an undertaking that the secret agreements entered to with them will be put into operation before the end of the year.

19th December—*JANA SATHIYA* :

**UNP wins Colombo with anti-Sinhala-
Buddhist Votes**

22nd December—JANA DINA :

**Land distributed according to the Pact.
Sinhalese loose their rights in the North.**

It is reported from the Kilinochchi electorate that the distribution of Government land in the North among Tamil Speaking people has already started.

24th December—JANA DINA :

UNP assistance to the "We Tamil Movement". Plan to make the Sinhalese bankrupt and capture their business

It is possible for the Jana Dina to reveal to its readers that there is a plan which is being already implemented to oust Sinhalese businessmen first from the up-country and then from the North and East.

25th December—JANA DINA :

**Weerakesari reveals Cabinet secret:
Tamil rules.**

Sinhalese has been given its due place. In the Northern and Eastern provinces Tamil will be the official Language. In the other seven provinces both Sinhalese and Tamil will have equal status. The Weerakesari of 23rd reports that the UNP-Tamil Government has decided on these lines.

25th December—JANA DINA :

**The Sirimavo-Shastri pact has been
betrayed**

The manner in which the Sirimavo-Shastri pact has been modified to suit the interests of the Indians was revealed at a public meeting held at the Norwood Bazaar by the Indian Estate Workers leader, Appointed M.P. Mr. S. Thondaman.

29th December—JANA DINA :

**How Tamil will rule on the 8th; Sinhala
destroyed**

The concessions given to Tamil by the Seven party coalition.

Regulations drafted by the seven-party coalition of the UNP-Tamil Government

to give official status to Tamil have been included in the order paper. These regulations invalidate the Official Language Act passed after the people's victory of 1956, which decreed that Sinhala shall be the only official language of the country.

Mr. J. R. Jayawardena will present these regulations in the house on the 8th.

When these regulations are passed Tamil will be the only official language in the Northern and Eastern provinces. In addition Tamil will also receive official status throughout the rest of the island.

It is now clear that these regulations have been prepared to fulfil the promises made in the secret pact between Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam.

Because of this decision of the seven party coalition January 8th will go down to history as a day of national mourning.

29th December—JANA DINA :

Official Status to Tamil perturbs M.P

The up-country M.Ps are perturbed by the bill which has been presented to Parliament to make Tamil the Official Language of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

They have stated that voting for these regulations would amount to a betrayal of the birth right of the Sinhalese and as such have decided to vote against them.

In the meantime Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratne of the JVP has requested the Minister of State to permit a free vote on this motion.

As the FP has insisted that these regulations should be passed before their convention on the 15th the UNP leaders are trying hard from last night to persuade the up-country MPs to vote for these regulations and thereby safeguard the Government.

29th December—JANA DINA :

Tamil influence spreads in the Raja Rata

Under pressure from the Federal Party, Mr. C. P. de Silva, the Minister of lands has decided to give legal title to those who have squatted on Government land.

In accordance with this decision thousands of Tamils who have forcibly occupied Government Land in the Northern and

Eastern provinces and in the Anuradhapura district will receive legal title to the land.

In the meantime, we are reliably informed that on instructions from the Federal Party Tamil people are occupying Government land surrounding the Buddhist shrines in Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura and the Eastern Province.

Patriotic officers in the Lands Ministry say that as a result of the above decision Tamil influence will predominate not only in the Northern and Eastern provinces but in the North Central Province as well.

29th December—JANA DINA :

Tamil given official status

Dudley and Philip admit that a pact exists "It is not possible to form a stable Government without the help of the Tamils. While provision will be made to conduct the affairs in the Northern and Eastern provinces in Tamil, the national Government is prepared to make provision for the Tamils in other areas also to conduct their business with the Government in Tamil". Philip Gunawardena at a meeting in Avissawella.

30th December—JANA DINA :

Withdraw Sinhalese troops

The FP is now insisting that the Government should withdraw Sinhalese troops from the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The FP has pointed out that the Sinhalese troops are harassing the Tamil women in these areas and wants them replaced by Tamil troops.

A number of Tamil organisations discussed this question with Minister Thiruthelvam and then decided to meet Mr. Dudley Senanayake for further discussions.

The Sinhalese people in the Northern and Eastern provinces say that the problem of illicit immigrants will not be tackled properly if Tamil troops are employed for this purpose and they fear that this problem will go beyond control if they are used to replace the Sinhalese troops now engaged in the North and the East.

30th December—JANA DINA :

Labour Department is a Tamil Kingdom

The implementation of the Dudley-Chelvanayagam pact has already started

and as a result a miniature Tamil Kingdom has been set up in the Labour Department.

All the Sinhala Buddhists who held key positions have been transferred and their places have been taken by Tamils. Sinhala Buddhist officers who have put in long years of service have been put in charge of unimportant branches.

A number of Sinhalese officers in the Central Employment Exchange including its head have been replaced by Tamils.

Thus Tamils rule the Labour Department. This is clearly seen from the following appointments.

1. *Deputy Commissioner :*
Mr. P. Thirunawakarasu
2. *Asst. Commissioner :*
Mr. C. Balasingham
3. *Deputy Commissioner :*
Mr. M. Mathiaparanam
4. *Senior Asst. Commissioner :*
Mr. C. S. Gunaratnam
5. *Asst. Commissioner, EPF :*
Mr. P. Gnanamuttu
6. *Senior Asst. Commissioner :*
Mr. P. Navaratnam

30th December—JANA DINA :

Concessions to those who do not know Sinhala

The last Government stopped the increments of all those who did not know Sinhala until they attained proficiency in the official language. The UNP-Federal Government has now decided to pay them with arrears immediately.

These payments have been made to the Chief Clerk in the PWD, and other officers in the PWD who refused to learn Sinhala.

Even though duty leave was given by the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government to study Sinhala, these Tamil Government Servants did not attend these classes. The payments referred to above have been made without any Treasury circular by a Cabinet decision of 22.7.65.

32 officers in the PWD have received arrears of over Rs. 500/-.

2nd January—*JANA DINA*

**Do not vote to destroy the Sinhala
Language and divide the country.
Clerical servants to stage a fast.**

Patriotic citizens in the electorates represented by Government M.Ps have joined hands with those in the forefront of the struggle to prevent the passage through parliament of the regulations framed by the UNP-Federal Government, and thereby safeguard the future of the country, nation and language.

2nd January—*JANA DINA* :

**Buddhism in danger, Sinhalese must
be the only official Language**

Warning by Chief High Priest of Malwatta

Speaking from the chair at the meeting held to commemorate the F. R. Senanayake day at New Town Hall, Colombo, Rev. Amunugama Vipassi Thero of the Malwatta Chapter said that because of the dangerous situation facing the country today, Buddhism will not survive for 25 years let alone 2500 years.

4th January—*JANA DINA* :

**We will present the Regional Council
Bill next—Thiruchelvam**

* * *

JANUARY 8th

So much for the communal campaign which reached its climax on January 8th. Only the main headlines and a paragraph or two of the news item have been translated here. The translation of the entire text is beyond the scope of this magazine. The events of the 8th led to the declaration of emergency, press censorship and the sealing up of the printing presses of the LSSP, CP and the Sathiya Publishing Co. Thus ended, at least for the time being, the virulent communal campaign of the coalition spearheaded by the LSSP.

This campaign, started in order to embarrass the Government and make it unpopular, attempted in its later stages to

wean away its support in parliament. Meetings organised throughout the country were aimed at bringing pressure to bear on Government M.Ps to defect on the bill. Only Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratne answered this call and the bill went through parliament with ease.

The campaign proved a failure even outside parliament. After months of propaganda, a well organised meeting campaign, the final rally was held at Town Hall premises in Colombo on January 6th. Wide publicity was given to this rally through posters, loud speaker announcements and most important of all through the coalitionist press. It must be noted that the circulation of these papers had reached their peak at this time. *Jana Dina* alone had a circulation of 38,000 a day. With all this propaganda the crowd that gathered fell below expectations. It was smaller than the crowds that gathered at the same spot at the tail end of the short period of office of the coalition. It was just a fraction of the huge crowd that flocked to Galle Face Green on 16th February 1963 to demand that the Government should go ahead with the proposed take over of the Oil Companies. That mammoth rally was organised at very short notice. It was a rally of the working class in answer to a call of its organisations, the trade unions, in support of an anti-imperialist demand. The rally on January 6th on the other hand was organised by the three coalition parties round a communal slogan. Hence its poor show in comparison to the former.

At this rally the call for a national day of mourning made through the coalitionist press earlier was confirmed. The 8th was to be observed by the Sinhala Buddhists as a day of national mourning by the display of black flags. The 8th of January dawned and the black flags were few and far between. Colvin R. de Silva and N. M. Perera had black flags fixed on to their cars. Since Bernard Soysa could not be expected to change his flag from taxi to taxi he had one prominently displayed at his house. It was clear that the country had decisively rejected the call of the communalists to mourn on the 8th.

At this rally it was R. G. Senanayake who became the mouthpiece of the "work-

ing class leaders" and issued the call for a General strike on the 8th. It is to the credit of the working class that it treated this call with the contempt it deserves. Despite lunch hour talks by the union leaders, just a handful in a few work places came out on strike. In most places only the union leaders came out. The poorest response to a general strike call ever made in our history was on 8th January 1966.

The coalitionist M.Ps were to take an oath before the statue of Vihara Maha Devi, to defend the rights of the Sinhala race, on the morning of 8th January before going to Parliament. At the 6th rally the leaders invited their supporters to come and witness this ceremony. The impression was that further instructions would be given after this ceremony. Even though the call for a general strike and black flags met with poor response a substantial crowd gathered at the Vihara Maha Devi Park on the 8th morning. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike arrived followed by her acolytes Messrs. N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and Bernard Soysa. Evidently the poor response to their campaign had dampened the spirits of the leaders. They left soon after taking the oath. Some of them lingered on for a few more minutes to relate the heroic experiences of the past. Enthused by this talk a section of the crowd damaged a few buses but were soon brought under control by the police. Led by the Municipal brigade of the LSSP—both victorious and vanquished—and accompanied by their new allies the Buddhists priests—the crowd now marched towards the House of Representatives where the debate on the regulations was in progress. This procession was stopped by the Police at Kollupitiya. In the ensuing clash a Buddhist Monk was killed and a large number of people were injured by the police. This incident was used by the Government to clamp down emergency rule, which continues to this day. Thus ended the first attempt at "extra Parliamentary Action" that the opportunist LSSP leadership had promised their followers after the electoral defeat of 23rd March 1965.

While condemning the Police for their brutal pre-planned assault on the demonstration and the Government for using this flimsy excuse to declare and continue emer-

gency rule, attention should be drawn to the absence of a single national leader of the coalition in this demonstration. Even if their parliamentary leadership had to be away there were others like Colvin R. de Silva, Osmund Jayaratne, D. G. William, Chandra Gunasekera, H. A. de S. Gunasekera and Vivienne Goonewardene who could have accompanied this demonstration. They have led many a demonstration in the past and it is indeed a pity that they could not make themselves available on January 8th, to lead this historic demonstration which commenced from Vihara Maha Devi Park, with the now famous battle cry reminiscent of the Dutugamunu Era—"Para Demalu, apata epa" (Down with the Tamil outcastes). Instead they got their stooges to lead this crowd with catastrophic results.

Armed with emergency powers the Government has dealt severe blows on the working class. It has imposed fines and interdicted a number of employees in the government sector. Most of the Trade Union leaders in Government work places are under interdiction. It has discontinued the services of a number of workers in the state corporations. All these punishments have been meted out for participating in the general strike on the 8th of January. In addition thousands of teachers were subjected to punishment transfers to distant places and over 200 were interdicted immediately after the last General Elections for alleged political activity. Some of those interdicted have been already dismissed. But strangely enough, the Government has been able to get away with these mass victimisations without even a token protest on the part of the workers.

This unprecedented inactivity in the face of direct oppression is the net result of a softening-up process that started a few years back. In the early sixties the attempts on the part of some trade union leaders to utilise the energy misspent in isolated struggles by preparing for a concerted struggle of the class on a set of common demands, began to show signs of bearing fruit. A series of discussions were held between these trade unions and an attempt to bring all the significant trade union organisations under a Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations met with success. It was while the final dis-

cussions on these demands were going on that the so called ULF was formed in August 1963 and a different perspective—that of obtaining redress through bourgeois parliament instead of direct class action was placed before the workers. These parliamentary illusions were strengthened further when the Capitalist SLFP obtained the services of the LSSP and the CP and formed a Coalition Government in June 1964. Let down on the 21 demands formulated by the JCTUO and disillusioned by the abandonment of the causes the Left had espoused all these years by those who joined

the SLFP Government, the working class became demoralised. The result of this was the gradual weakening of the unions. They were further weakened by division in their ranks due to the communalist campaign of the coalitionists. The LSSP in particular should bear responsibility for this crisis the working class faces today. In their search for shortcuts enameured by their lust for power, the old guard of the LSSP not only smashed up everything they had so painstakingly built over the years but in addition handed over the workers tied hand and foot to the capitalist class.

(Continued from page 204)

of humanism, reason and progress that constitutes our most valuable inheritance from the entire history of mankind.

"It may be said that I am identifying being an intellectual with being a hero, that it is unreasonable to demand from people that they should withstand all the pressures of vested interests and brave all the dangers to their individual well-being for the sake of human advancement. I agree that it would be unreasonable to demand it. Nor do I. From history we

know of many individuals who have been able even in its darkest ages and under the most trying conditions to transcend their private, selfish interests and to subordinate them to the interests of Society as a whole. It always took much courage much integrity, and much ability. All that can be hoped for now is that our country too will produce its "quota" of men and women who **will defend the honour of the intellectual against all the fury of dominant interests and against all the assaults of agnosticism, obscurantism, and inhumanity.**"

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (VIII)

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

XII. UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

The Prediction and Making of History

Science, it is said, is measurement. This statement, even though one-sided, is undoubtedly correct in relation to one aspect of present-day physical sciences.

At one time, however, physics and chemistry were merely descriptive. No one could have dreamt even a century ago of the precision that they have reached today.

In the social sciences, exactitude to the degree achieved by the physical sciences is certainly impossible. This, however, does not preclude us from determining the laws of social development.

Learned bourgeois historians who deny the possibility of establishing the laws of history, forget that their colleagues in the field of bourgeois economics use statistics and computers to estimate next year's profits.

The prediction of historical events and the active intervention of men in the "blind" march of history would certainly be ruled out were it not possible to establish the laws of history. It is on record that, in certain instances, men have foreseen the future of their society and that they have been masters of their "destiny".

As in classical mechanics, given the laws and the initial conditions, we can predict historical events (379)

Adopting a scientific approach to history, Marx and Engels were able to predict the basic features of developments a hundred years away. Lenin, Trotsky and other revolutionaries after them were able, following the method of Marx, to make history along the lines discerned by Marx and Engels in the last century. (380)

It would take us far afield to examine the views of this or that bourgeois school

of historical thought, but we must note in passing that even a writer like Harold Isaacs, whose "Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution" is a brilliant and methodologically correct piece of historical writing, refers to the "startling precision" of Trotsky's analyses and predictions of revolutionary events in China. (381)

Once upon a time, mystic powers were attributed to men who could predict an eclipse !

Historical Standards

In the study of history, since we do not have exact scales of measurement, we need at least certain standards of comparison.

It was natural that Marx chose England as the standard, the "classic" case of capitalist development.

He said: "The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form." (382).

Writing on the expropriation of the producer from the soil and his transformation into a wage slave, he states:

"The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. In England alone, which we take as our example, has it the classic form." (383)

Writing on Russian social development, to which we will return later on, Engels too seeks to discern phases of social development:

"Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases." (384)

Would the other West European countries take the same road as England? And at the same pace?

Where would the revolutionary movements lead the people, especially the working class?

What would be the social character of the result of revolutionary activity?

The answers to these questions were vital, for on them hinged the strategy and tactics of the working class.

The Inevitability of Capitalism ?

In his Preface to the *Critique*, Marx wrote:

"No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation." (385)

This historical generalization was readily interpreted literally by all those who conveniently postponed the revolution in the backward, that is, the capitalistically underdeveloped, countries and the colonies for some indefinite later date. Even in the advanced or developed countries, reformists of all shades found "room" for further development of capitalism at home, and, incidentally, position and profit for themselves.

Further "support" for the reformist interpretation of Marx could be found in occasional references in other works

In his *Poverty of Philosophy*, Marx said:

"The organization of revolutionary elements as a class supposes the existence of all the productive forces which could be engendered in the bosom of the old society..." (386)

This, the reformists, and later the Stalinists, took to mean: underdeveloped countries, no proletarian revolution!

In the Preface to the 1st German Edition of *Capital* one finds:

"The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." (387)

As is quite clear from the context, Marx merely intended to indicate the inevitability of the capitalist development of Germany.

One should not read into this brief and, in its context, a correct generalization a whole programme of historical development for backward countries.

Marx himself had to protest at times. Referring to Mikhailovsky who sought to impose the general pattern artificially to Russia, Marx wrote:

"...My critic...feels himself obliged to metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of the general path imposed by fate upon every people, whatever the historic circumstances in which it finds itself, in order that it may ultimately arrive at the form of economy which will ensure, together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of man. But I beg his pardon. (He is both honouring me and shaming me too much)..." (388)

In the same letter, after citing the example of ancient Rome, Marx continues:

"Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historic surroundings led to totally different results. By studying each of these forms of evolution separately and then comparing them one can easily find the clue to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there by the universal passport of a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical." (389).

Marx's generalisations could have been taken literally only if he had failed to make concrete analyses of the historical development of various individual nations. (390)

In their own lifetime, Marx and Engels witnessed among other events, the emergence of Germany as a contender for the first place in capitalist Europe, the painful evolution of Russia, the stagnation of Spain,

the rapid advancement of capitalism in North America, and the impact of the capitalist system on the backward economies of the colonies.

They would have been blind had they failed to notice the unevenness of development of the various countries, the differences in the tempo of development, and the skipping of stages or passing over of phases of development.

While both Marx and Engels stressed the inevitability of capitalist development in Western Europe, their writings show quite clearly that they were well aware of the unevenness of this development.

Writing to Engels in 1863, Marx referred to the political development of the British workers :

"In developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than one day, although later may come days in which twenty years are embodied." (391)

Engels observed that "History often proceeds in jumps and zig-zags." (392)

Marx and Engels on Germany

Marx and Engels have left us a rich heritage of political commentaries on the development of Germany. (393)

They observed that capitalism in Germany grew within a feudal political and economic framework (394); that the process even on the geographical plane, was uneven:

"Away from the rivers and trade routes there were a number of smaller towns which lay outside the major traffic and continued to vegetate undisturbed in the conditions of the Middle Ages." (395)

England had commenced its bourgeois revolution in 1640; France in 1789. The bourgeois revolution in Germany, which occurred in 1848 was belated (396).

This was not accidental. Marx and Engels noted that the German bourgeoisie had "a stunted development" as a class. (397)

In one of his early Essays, Marx observed that the German "bourgeoisie was so retarded in its development that it is beginning its struggle with absolute monarchy and seeking to establish its political power at the moment when in all developed countries the bourgeoisie is already engaged in the most violent struggles with the working class, and when its political illusions are already obsolete as far as the intellect of Europe is concerned." (398)

Engels wrote: "It is the misfortune of the German bourgeoisie to have arrived too late, as is the favourite German manner. The period of its florescence occurs at a time when the bourgeoisie of the other West European countries is already politically in decline." (399)

Precisely because it developed later, Germany developed faster. History compelled Germany to catch up with and attempt to overtake England and France.

Engels notes: "However much this progress lags behind that of England, or even France, during the same period, it is unprecedented for Germany and has accomplished more in twenty years than a whole century did previously." (400)

The German proletariat, who were slow to arrive at class consciousness compared with the workers of England, had taken the vanguard of the struggle against European capital by 1850. (401)

In his commentary on the Vienna Uprising of 1848 he writes:

"It is this rapid and passionate development of class antagonisms which, in old and complicated social organisms, makes a revolution such a powerful agent of social and political progress; it is this incessantly quick upshooting of new parties succeeding each other in power which, during those violent commotions, makes a nation pass in five years over more ground than it would have done in a century under ordinary circumstances." (402)

Writing to Bebel in 1884, Engels describes the unevenness of Germany's industrial revolution which he says was in "full swing, while in France and England... it is closed."

"And the very nature of our industry, limping behind at the very end, makes the social upheaval all the more fundamental..."

"We achieved an industrial revolution which is more deep and thorough and spatially more extended and comprehensive than that of the other countries..." (403)

It would be ignorance, stupidity or deliberate distortion to attribute to Marx and Engels a scheme of evolution in which one country mechanically imitates another a century or so later.

Marx and Engels on the USA

In almost every one of their observations on the USA Marx and Engels note the unevenness of the development of its economy.

In *The German Ideology* (written 1845-6) they wrote:

"In countries which, like North America, begin in an already advanced historical epoch, the development proceeds very rapidly..." because "they begin with the most advanced individuals of the old countries, and, therefore, with the correspondingly most advanced form of intercourse, before this form of intercourse has been able to establish itself in the old countries..." (404)

Marx and Engels were here referring to the fact that capitalism in the USA was able to skip the mercantilist stages that the mother country had taken centuries to pass through. With the abundant resources of a vast and virgin continent, unhampered by the dead-weight of out-moded social forms, US capitalism was able to start with the latest technical developments of Europe and, developing at a faster rate, outstrip the rest of the capitalist world by the early years of the 20th Century.

In 1881, Marx wrote to Sorge: "...Capitalist economy and corresponding enslavement of the working class developed more rapidly and shamelessly than in any other country..." (405)

In 1886, Engels commented on the rapid development of trade-unionism and class consciousness in North America:

"Six months ago nobody suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organized masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class." (406)

And again in 1887:

"...During ten months, a revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years.

"In European society, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under existing conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favoured soil of America, where no mediaeval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two steps in ten months." (407)

Later, he added that "Once the Americans get started, it will be with an energy and violence compared with which we in Europe shall be mere children". (408)

Engels not only noted the rapid tempo of development, but also the unevenness of that tempo:

"But of course who can count on *peaceful* development in America! There are economic jumps over there, like the political ones in France—to be sure, they produce the same momentary retrogressions." (409)

Marx and Engels on Russia

Marx and Engels paid special attention to the slightest movement of the slumbering masses of Russia, who, as Engels commented, "for centuries vegetated apathetically.... outside of history...only...interrupted (by) fruitless revolts." (410)

In 1874, Engels in a polemic against Tkachov took objection to glib talk and forecasts of socialism in Russia and made his own prognosis:

"Nevertheless, the possibility undeniably exists of raising this form of society to a higher one, if it should last until circumstances are ripe for that, and if it shows itself capable of development in such a manner that the peasants no longer cultivate the land separately, but collectively; of raising it to this higher form without it being necessary for the Russian peasants to go through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holdings. This, however, can only happen if before the complete breakup of communal ownership, a proletarian revolution is successfully carried out in Western Europe..." (411)

In 1877 Marx envisaged the possibility of Russia skipping a series of historical stages. He wrote :

"If Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861 she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a nation, in order to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime." (412)

In the same year, Marx optimistically wrote to Sorge:

"If mother Nature is not particularly unfavourable towards us, we shall still live to see the fun!... This time the revolution will begin in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution." (413)

In 1881 Marx again referred to the possibility of Russia's skipping historical stages:

"If Russia were isolated in the world, then it would have to work out by its own forces the economic advances which Western Europe has achieved only by passing through a long series of evolutions from its primitive communities to its present state.. But.. Russia finds itself in a modern historical environment.. By appropriating the positive results of this mode of production, it is in a position to develop and transform the yet archaic form of its village community, instead of destroying it...." (414)

The next year, in the Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels stated:

"The Communist Manifesto had as its object the proclamation of the inevitably impending dissolution of modern bourgeois

property. But in Russia we find, face to face with the rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property, just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian village community, though greatly undermined, yet a form of primeval common ownership of the land, pass directly to the higher form of communist ownership? or, on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West ?

"The only answer to that possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development." (415)

The delay in the development of the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries of Western Europe gave Russia time for capitalist development. Engels complains in 1893:

"If we in the West had been quicker in our own economic development, if we had been able to upset the capitalist regime some ten or twenty years ago, there might have been time yet for Russia to cut short the tendency of her own evolution towards capitalism." (416)

Though belatedly, capitalism in Russia developed rapidly.

Engels noted: "This industrial hothouse atmosphere renders the process acute, which otherwise might have retained a more chronic form. It crams into twenty years a development which otherwise might have taken sixty or more years..." (417)

When Engels died, the first Russian Revolution was only ten years away !

Marx and Engels on Spain

Spain, in the 19th Century, had not yet begun to develop out of the economic stagnation that had been its lot since the latter part of the 16th Century. While in England and other capitalist countries, capitalist economic development centred

on the urban areas, the Spanish towns "vegetated in a state of continuous decay." (418)

Its very stagnation accentuated the contradiction of a backward economy and Marx in 1854 notes that the revolution in Spain had "taken on the appearance of a permanent character," (419) with "ever-recurring insurrections." (420)

Unlike France, which Marx noted begins and accomplishes a revolution in three days, Spain sees revolutions more prolonged—three years in the shortest, sometimes it takes nine years. (421)

But Spain could not long remain isolated in its stagnation. It had to develop in a capitalist direction and that development was uneven.

In 1873 Engels noted:

"Spain is so backward a country industrially, that *immediate*, complete emancipation of the working class is still entirely out of the question. Before it gets that far, Spain must pass through various preliminary stages of development and clear away quite a number of obstacles. The republic offered an opportunity to compress the course of these preliminary stages into the shortest possible period of time, and to rapidly eliminate these obstacles. But this opportunity could be made use of only through the active *political* intervention of the Spanish working class." (422)

Sequence of National Revolutions

As has been pointed out so often, Marx and Engels expected the advanced countries of Western Europe, England, Germany and France to make the revolutionary transition to socialism before the other, then underdeveloped, countries.

In 1858, Marx wrote to Engels:

"On the continent the revolution is imminent and will also immediately assume a socialist character. Is it not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still on the ascendant?" (423)

Writing to Kautsky in 1882, Engels said in relation to the development of countries like Algeria, and Egypt *after* the revolution in Western Europe and America:

"But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, we today can only advance idle hypotheses I think..." (424)

As we now know, it was underdeveloped and backward Russia which was the first country to destroy capitalism; then followed an even more backward country—China.

One can hardly blame Marx for not having predicted this development. As we have seen, he was opposed to all supra-historical schema of world history. (425)

The development of the imperialist phase of capitalism in the late 19th Century speeded up the uneven development of the backward countries, while giving the economy a brief respite in Europe.

Needless to say, Marx was aware of the possible consequences of such development. In 1847, long before the imperialist phase of capitalist expansion began, he wrote:

"Thus, all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a country, this contradiction need not necessarily have reached its extreme limit in this particular country. The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a backward industry..." (426)

In an inspired flash of anticipation, Marx also noted that: "Violent outbursts take place sooner in the extremities of the bourgeois organism than at the heart, because here regulation is more possible." (427)

The Date of the Impending Revolutions

Marx and Engels, and other Marxists after them have been criticized for expecting the revolution too soon.

Such remarks come from people who base themselves on the belief in the permanence of capitalism; consciously, or unconsciously, they use a personal time scale in the estimation of historical events, a scale characterized by short-sightedness, impatience and ignorance.

It was sheer genius for Marx and Engels to have predicted the general trends of historical developments a century and more away. Who among their critics can today predict with exactitude the events of even the next ten years?

With reference to Russia Engels wrote to Zasulich in 1885:

"The revolution *must* break out there in a given time; it *may* break out there any day." (428). Two years later he wrote that it was "probably only a question of months.." (429)

By way of contrast, the revisionist Bernstein wrote to the Stuttgart Congress in 1898:

"I set myself against the notion that we have to expect shortly a collapse of the bourgeois economy, and that social democracy should be induced by the prospect of such an imminent, great, social catastrophe to adapt its tactics to that assumption. That I maintain most emphatically." (430)

Bernstein did not dream that two decades after he wrote these lines rejecting Marxism both the Czar of Russia and the German Kaiser would abdicate under the compulsion of revolutionary events.

It must be noted in passing that even Lenin, as late as January 1917, in his address to the Swiss youth, permitted himself to remark:

"We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution." (431)

Yet, since the Russian revolutionaries had adapted their tactics to the "assumption" of an impending revolution, they were ready and prepared to take the lead in the struggle and gain the final victory.

Trotsky comments: "They, both Marx and Engels, were mistaken. But as in other cases, they were wrong as to tempo, but not as to direction." (432). In another passage he excuses them by saying that as they were standing on a high mountain, distances seemed shorter to them.

World Revolution

Underlying all of Marx's economic and historical writings is the recognition of the fact that capitalism is a world economy. The proletarian revolution, therefore, had to be a world revolution.

He wrote:

"...The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries.." (433)

Elsewhere he said:

"The proletariat can thus exist only *world-historically*, just as communism, its activity, can only have a 'world-historical' existence." (434)

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels raised the slogan "Proletarians of all lands, Unite!"

Their creation of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was, among other things, a recognition of this fact.

Marx on the Permanent Revolution

Distorting Marx, critics have often maintained that by world revolution he meant a simultaneous uprising of all the world's peoples.

Marx knew that despite the international interrelations among national economies, uneven national revolutionary development would compel first one then another country to break out of the capitalist framework.

What would the tasks of the working class be in such a situation?

Marx said:

"This socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations..." (435)

Outlining the revolutionary tactics of the German working class, Marx said:

"While the democratic petty bourgeoisie wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries in the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians....

"For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms, but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one....

"Their battle-cry must be: 'The Revolution in Permanence!'" (436)

(To be continued)

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