

# YOUNG

# SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: The Bank Employees' Strike;  
The Rice Cut, The Food Drive and the Emergency;  
CMU Secretary's Warning; Crisis in India.

The Concept of Man

by P. CHANDRASEGARAM

The Progress & Stagnation of Marxism

by ROSA LUXEMBURG

Agrarian Problems and Prospects of Developing the Jaffna Region in Ceylon

by S. SELVANAYAGAM

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism (Part X)

by R. S. BAGHAVAN

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# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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## Editorial Notes

### THE BANK EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

The two month long strike of the Bank Employees' Union which paralyzed all banking operations in the country ended on March 31st in a resounding success.

Somewhere in December 1966 talks between the Union and the Commercial Banks Association ended in stalemate when the Union presented its demands for allowance on pensions and a bonus of two months' gross or three months' basic salary whichever was greater.

When no definite reply was received from the Association, the strike was decided upon.

Contrary perhaps to the expectations of the Government—which did not move in the matter until the Co-operative Banks joined the strike on 1st March—and the employers, the ranks of the Union remained firm, setting a powerful example to other sections of the working class.

Government intervention made through the Commissioner of labour was to propose that the matters be referred to arbitration. This the Union rejected.

In March there were several rounds of conferences with the Minister of Labour at which nothing materialised.

However, at the end of March, when there were no signs of any deterioration in the morale of the strikers, the Government and the Employers accepted the basic demands of the Union.

The two month strike has earned the the Bank Employees:

1. A salary increase of two increments at every point of the scale.
2. Pensions calculated on the gross salary
3. A Bonus of two months gross or three months basic salary whichever is greater, for employees of the foreign banks.
4. An increase in paid leave from 17 to 21 days.
5. A medical aid scheme for employees of foreign banks.

The solidarity of the Union ranks was thus able to overcome the resistance of the *Employers and the bureaucratic cussedness* of the Treasury officialdom which for a long time refused to budge from its offer of a mere 5 per cent increase of the basic salary.

An interesting side-event of the strike was the visit of one Mr. Mann from the London principals. Press reports stated that this gentleman had demanded that the curbs on the Foreign Commercial Banks placed during the term of office of the last government be removed. We were not informed of the details of the discussions, but the demand was obviously rejected. Mr. Philip Gunawardena speaking at the time to a conference of foreign and local journalists in Kandy took the opportunity to make a swipe at the World Bank and other financial agencies—he said that what Ceylon needed was aid and not advice.

## THE RICE CUT, THE FOOD DRIVE AND THE EMERGENCY

Since our last issue, Ceylon scored another "first", becoming the first country in the world where the whole nation is supplied with a free weekly measure of its staple food. This, however, gives us no cause to celebrate. For it is symptomatic of the grave crisis facing not only the government in power but the country and its economy as a whole. As if to underline this fact, the introduction of the free rice ration was accompanied by a declaration of a state of emergency, which continues to this day.

The press fanfare that accompanied this move on the part of the Government, which was compelled to it by its economic

difficulties, helped to hide the inescapable fact that the Government was to save a large sum on its rice subsidy. In effect the Government saved a large part of the sum it spent on the people's food.

The Government may be satisfied with the congratulations of the World Bank on its move. But the conclusion is inescapable that by placing the whole nation on free rations, Ceylon is doing permanently what other countries are forced to only in times of famine.

The much-publicised crash programme to grow more food has produced scattered results. The Prime Minister may have been satisfied with the success in growing strawberries in Nuwara Eliya, but the unplanned, haphazard, and in most instances, purely-showpiece efforts of officialdom has had hardly any effect on the prices of locally grown subsidiary food-stuffs. The cost of living, even according to government calculations, has hardly been affected except for the worse.

A food drive, even if honestly and seriously undertaken, is no solution to the crisis in agriculture. Landlessness, rural unemployment and under-employment, lack of proper irrigational facilities, the high cost of fertilizer, poor technique and inadequate mechanization, topped by the stranglehold of an indifferent bureaucracy—these are real problems, and the food drive scarcely touches the fringe of these problems.

It is not surprising that the "National Government" has suffered decisive defeat at every one of the by-elections held since the last general election. Even the most optimistic supporters of the Government cannot hope to win any of the by-elections in the offing. The results, however, will bring no change in the balance of governmental power. To the extent that the Coalition forces cater only to the communal and religious chauvinism of the people, and consistently play down the economic and class issues before the country, the Government can be assured of a peaceful conclusion to their term of office.

And should the parliamentary-arithmetical situation upset the balance, the bour-

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# THE CONCEPT OF MAN

by P. Chandrasegaram

THE noblest study of mankind is man himself. Man has become the spectator of man to-day.

The problem of the concept of man, the essence of man, has occupied people's minds from time immemorial; man has tried to know himself. Sometimes he thought that, there was a spiritual life beyond his material existence, and that in this spiritual life lay his essence and real being. Sometimes he conceived that his life was a mere material existence based on organic and physiological phenomena.

Man, from a biological standpoint is *Homo Sapiens*. He is an anthropoid, and he constitutes a portion of the order Primate.

All men and women now living are members of the same species, and no group or race of modern man is inherently superior to any other group as a whole. It is customary, nevertheless, to classify modern man into so-called races. It is based chiefly on the simple matter of skin colour, the deciding factor is usually a matter of what is merely assumed concerning the ancestors of the individual in question.

There is an obvious sense in which man is part of nature. His distinctive characteristics, such as rationality, self-consciousness and the ability to use language, is more in degree, rather than in kind, in relation to non-man beings. Man is something more. He innately, or by development, transcends the rest of nature.

During the course of some three thousand years of known world culture, an almost endless variety of views concerning the nature of man has been developed. Though, there is no general agreement, concerning an adequate classification, certain major themes run through many of the interpretations,—for example, the notion that the distinctive aspect of man is his rationality.

The Hindu Conception, sought a synthesis between the divine and rational view of man. Man's life is meant for the realization of the inward reality. Education, has its final aim, in helping man to realise his true inwardness. Hindu conception, makes man realise, what is originally within and what he is in pure form. When, self-realization, in terms of spirituality was recognised as the highest form of life, all form of life, all forms of culture in the arts and sciences were directed towards it. Man, who is spiritual becomes social. Man here becomes rational. The whole universe becomes the rational training ground for man. Man is a highly privileged creature. The concept of rationalism, of course challenged the concept of privileged men, among men.

But, all the same, according to Hinduism, saintliness is the ideal to be attained; it is associated with the realisation of one's innermost self, the man of realisation is virtuous, he develops detachment from the world and its value. Hindu conception, sometimes maintains that the essence of man is even beyond reason. It is the Atman. It regards the Atman, higher than reason and as transcending all human relationship. Because, the essence of man is beyond all human relationship, man himself is beyond human relationship and is therefore free from them.

Buddhism, sought in man, a rational being. Education, is to enable man to realise the highest within him. It is positive, moral and psychological training in self-discipline. Man should be exhorted to know his true self. Buddhism analysed man into five aggregates—matter, feelings, ideas, instincts and consciousness. Each, of these aggregates is an aggregate. Man's psycho-physical personality is an aggregate of these aggregates. The unity of his personality can be analysed away into these aggregates.

The starting point of the Christian understanding of man, is the knowledge that man

has been created in the image of God. The idea of the creation of man after the image of God, has become so generally familiar in the centuries old theological tradition. Man finds his fulfilment in God, his prototype, but God also came to the full consciousness of His own Being in man. He loves man without expecting the fulfilment of his love through a free return of love. He awakens Divine love in man, in that, He begot and brought forth His Son in Him. The divine abyss and depth in that abyss out of which the divine love wells up, flows over, and floods human love to fulfil itself in it. The Christian Church held that, man, like the other creatures of the universe, is in essence, a creature of God, that is, he is not divine in his own nature; he is created out of nothing and as a creature, stands in simple dependence on God; as a creature, he has nothing by himself, but owes everything, even his existence, to the will of the divine creator. Thereby the special relationship of man to his fellow-creatures comes into the open. Man stands in a solidarity of universal brotherhood with all his fellow creatures, who like him, have received their life and form from God.

In modern Christian theology, the idea of the solidarity of the Created beings with one another, is the light of their common creatureliness through God, to whom they owe their nature; life and form, is overshadowed by the idea of the special place of man and his specific commission to rule the world. Here, the Christian man becomes both temporal and spiritual.

In the Koran, man is addressed clearly, and with great care. He is addressed either in the singular or the plural form. Man was created with care and perfection. 'We have created man most beautifully erect'. 'No wonder he has been created by God's own hands.' Islam has come to awaken the souls from their slumber and to purge and purify them of their sins. Purgation and purification of the soul is man's essence.

Man is not created in vain. The Islamic concept of the man is ideal. The later Islamic tradition, appeals to reason. Man, the microcosm, mirrors the perfection of the microcosm and deserves, therefore, to

be the representation of God on earth. At its best, the human man embodies physical, intellectual and spiritual perfection.

From the standpoint of their direct bearing on educational procedure, one of the scientific and practical ways of looking at various interpretations of man is to group them according to whether they view man as essentially in conflict with nature, delimited by nature, hence incapable of truly opposing nature, or essentially a creature, who is a significant factor in making nature what it is, and what it will become.

These views have obvious bearing on education, ranging from aesthetic experience, to view about the proper conservation of natural resources.

Life has been and continues to be arduous, for most members of the human race, in spite of stable, developed, affluent society in certain parts of the world. This has been achieved only by the unceasing efforts of man; this by implication brings man's relationship with nature. It could be man, 'against nature'; it could be that man is delimited by nature it could also be, that man is viewed as, 'nature maker'.

It is not only the natural environment that is man's enemy but also the nature within. When nature is viewed as man's enemy, civilization is said to represent man's more-or-less successful subjugation of nature. The second of man's achievement in this respect is very impressive; yet even the most optimistic assessment of the record, however lead to pessimism, for just as the most successful individual is finally over-taken by death, the human race itself is evidently doomed by an entropic universe. 'Death must conquer after all, for we are his by birth, and he simply plays with his prey a little longer before devouring it.'

In order to avoid the eventual pessimism inherent in such views, many elaborate, theological, social, economic and political ideas have been developed. Of course, these generalisations are bound to be overly simple. It terms of Theology, generally theories that centre round in belief that man may transcend his natural death, and enter into another life in a realm in which

he is alien has been formulated. Life in our world is essentially a preparation, or a test, for life after natural death. Sometimes, it has been thought that, those who 'do well in this life', will be specially 'rewarded', in the next; it has also been said that, the reverse is true, that in the next, life rewards will be in inverse proportion, so that the last shall be first. There has of course been disagreement concerning the proper concrete or behavioural meanings to attach to, phrases like, 'do well', and 'reward'. One interesting view that has been believed and is being believed, by millions of people, is that the spirit or soul of man, is born again and again, until the spirit is purified to the point where it is released from all further struggle.

A belief in life after death produces a wide range of motivations with respect to natural life. Where life is 'unusually difficult', it may provide through its promise of eventual reward the consolation and resignation that enables man to endure his hardships. The desire to live in a way, best calculated to attain reward, in the next life, has motivated some to undertake most remarkable deeds. Depending upon their understanding of what kind of behaviour would be most highly rewarded, individuals have devoted their lives to missionary work or to social service. It is not suggested that missionary work and social service are always determined by a sense of reward. It is in many cases, quite far from it. But, throughout history, individuals and organizations have both positively and negatively 'exploited' beliefs of this kind, using them to make men zealous crusaders or tractable slaves.

One of the more profoundly influential versions of 'man against nature', is the belief that God has created man and placed him in a world specially designed as a maturing ground or school in which he may learn the 'Fatherhood of Man' and 'Brotherhood of Man'. Although it appears, that life in this specially planned environment represents rather more than an optimally educational challenge, God's grace makes it possible in the life after death for man to attain reward and perhaps further challenge. It, follows that if a man is to learn the lessons of this world he must find a kind of equilibrium between succumbing to nature and withdrawing from

nature. Man must live in the world but not become too much a part of it.

When nature is viewed as Man's enemy, a prime objective of education is preparing the young for combat. Logically this means that school should be the place where each new generation learns to, develop through study and experimentation, new and more effective ways of advancing civilization. Societies have generally assigned, an essentially conservative role to their schools. In early societies, people have been conscious of the fact that, conservative function of teaching, is the preservation of the arts of civilization. Of course in every age, there were people who thought, that it is desirable if young people were taught to be critical and inventive; only this could promote an educational programme, which could produce secure and self confident young people. The contention was that, the young people should be both right and original.

Certain countries emerged as powerful and successful societies after the second world war. It appeared that civilization was secure and that a base has been established, from which it would be possible to explore man's hidden potentials. The possibilities staggered imagination. In a world at peace, the methods of combating nature, could force nature to yield the food that would supply the material basis upon which many could stand secure. Man's adventurous spirit, coincided with science would triumph eventually.

But, it was found, that, rather than having secured civilization, it was made possible for man to destroy civilization. Under these circumstances a cautious conservatism gained in popularity and a society, that had in the past considered the effectiveness of its schools, switched to an almost vicious criticism.

Many professional educators to-day, are pessimistically concentrating upon, finding ways of making the schools technologically right, rather than optimistically searching for right ways of being original.

Is man, delimited by nature? Nature, by some is considered a grand design for bringing to fruition a divine purpose; others would assume that, that nature that engulfs a man is a blind, purposeless force.

The two elaborate systems, based on these alternative assumptions, are the absolute idealism of Hegel and the dialectical materialism of Marx. Under either view, individual man viewed apart from the sweep of history has little meaning. Man, attains significance only, as he voluntarily identified himself, with the way things are going to go anyway. Operationally, this usually means, accepting a set of directives supplied by some leader, supposedly endowed with superior endowment. It follows that the purpose of education, is to set men free by preparing them, individually and collectively, to play the roles proper, 'in the nature of things'.

More typically, the view that man is essentially by nature has been coupled with the belief that man, nevertheless has a considerable range of choice left open to him. Aristotle, maintained, that 'nature supplies man with neither intellectual nor moral virtues—nature gives man merely the capacity for acquiring them.' It is thus, Aristotle, developed the pedagogical advice, 'we learn by doing'.

It might appear that, there is little practical difference between the view that nature is man's enemy, and the view that man, though having a considerable, range of choice, is delimited by nature. The basic difference is in the way the area of freedom is regarded. Shall man use his freedom to study nature and learn how to fight against her, or to understand nature and co-operate with her'. When nature within and without is regarded as his enemy, man has found it necessary to turn to God in order to avoid an overwhelming pessimism. In contrast, when nature is acknowledged as Master, man may assume that evil arises only because Men are still relatively ignorant. Even 'natural evils', such as earthquakes and floods, cause misery only because men have not yet learned enough of natures' laws to control or to get out of the road of such lawful happenings. It may be pointed out that, quite a number of countries have been able to control floods, within the last ten years particularly. People's China is a very good example.

Carried to its conclusion, this approval to the nature of man, results in what is

sometimes called, 'The theory of natural goodness', which stands in sharp contrast to the traditional doctrine of the Christian church known as 'Original Sin'. In spite of this well impressed tradition, Rousseau reasoned that, all-good and all powerful God, would not create something evil. Men do evil things, but it is, in spite of their divine creation, not because of it. Rousseau, taught that, man should return to nature and seek to learn again the simple, unsophisticated life that God must have intended. Amidst the corruption of the eighteenth century Europe's absolute monarchies, such reasonings had a dramatic appeal to many intellectuals and others sensitive to the injustice of the prevailing social system.

From the standpoint of the nature of man, the point to be noted is that whether man is thought to be born evil or good, whether man is thought to be in essential conflict, with nature, or essentially a part of, and thus delimited by nature, man is viewed as endowed with a definite nature, that is, a universally common set of, natural and or supernatural instincts, enfolded potentials or forms that constitute the distinctive essence of man.

It follows that education, should take its cues for both objective and methodology, from this alleged, 'Nature of Man'. We as educators, should become thoroughly familiar with the instincts, the abilities, and the limitations of the object of our quest.

There is an obvious sense in which man is changing the face of the world and is thus making or remaking nature. Increasingly, it is the artificial or the man made parts of his environment, that captures the focus of man's attention. Man has re-arranged nature to suit himself; he has literally created new combinations of elements to further purposes that he has developed for himself. When this view of man is emphasised, civilization is the record of man's fight over nature; it is the unfolding history of nature's grand design, but it is something more; it is that part of nature both within and without, than man himself has wrought.

Since, Education, to-day is viewed as a socio political institution as well as a



process of personal growth, the educational bearings of the various views concerning the nature of man could be seen better, if these are extended to include comment upon the relation of the individual to society.

The individual may be viewed as in essential conflict with society. This view holds that any form of social organization or regulation is a necessary evil. The other view would be that the individual is essentially a creature of society having little or no meaning or significance apart from the social organization that moulds his personality and character. The third presents man as a socially creative force in the universe. The individual is a nexus of social activity.

The passions and energies that enable man to fight against nature tend to get into conflict with each other. Thomas Hobbes, (1588-1679), argued that man in his natural state, is at war both with nature and with all other men. This natural state of man is a miserable condition; the early men recognising this, must have been willing to subjugate themselves to the will of some authority, not only to defend themselves against an external enemy but also to guard against one another within their own society itself.

Human nature is that it leads man toward 'partiality and pride', and against 'justice, equity, modesty, and mercy'. In sum, doing to others as we would be done to'. Consequently men need some 'visible power to keep them' in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants'.

Two points should be noted in Hobbes's contention. The individual man is the locus of all strength, will and natural rights, and in order to promote the 'common peace and safety' he enters into a covenant, including realistic means for its enforcement that diminishes his individual rights and power. The individual in fact, brings an 'orderly society' and the price is his own natural sovereignty.

John Locke (1632-1704) would say that, man's natural state, although a state of liberty is not a state of license. Man's natural right includes the right of enforcing

natural law. If any man should transgress natural law, every other man is responsible for it.

These views suggest, that human nature existed prior to and is independent of society and that in order to form a society, men must enter into social agreement to restrict their natural inclinations and nature. Social arrangement, in this sense are opposed to human nature. The theory of human nature, is an essential starting point for any theory of education. In discussions of human nature, the expression is systematically ambiguous. By human nature, for our purpose, it could mean, those distinctive human capacities that may be developed by proper education.

Since human nature is what it is, independent of particular and changing social relationships, it follows that education as a process of personal development should at all times and at all places be essentially the same; education should be a process by which man's distinctively human capacities are developed.

If for example, one believes that, 'self consciousness, rationality, the power of ethical discrimination and the power to choose, aesthetic appreciation, and the power to transcend the particular physical and cultural condition in the midst of life is lived', it is then, the task of education, both formal and informal, to provide the kind of experiences that promote expansion and refinement of these qualities or powers.

On the other hand education should be compatible with the state and the government, and should be of first importance as a matter of public concern and legislation; it is not contextual to view education solely as a process of personal development; it should also be viewed as a socio-political institution. If man's nature is in essential conflict with his social arrangements, education as a series of experiences sponsored by a socio political institution will not be fully compatible with maximum development of each individual's natural capabilities.

This, 'fundamental conflict', is in fact made into a thesis. In democratic societies, the nature of democracy and consequently,

the legitimate demand of a democratic socio-political organization, is not in true conflict with man's basic nature. Democracy, is based on respect for man's natural right, and concern for individual freedom. A notion existing at a particular time and location, cannot simply choose democracy in the abstract nor freedom in general; it must adopt specific forms of social and political organization involving specific freedoms and specific constraints. The problem, that an educator faces, is how to implement the ideal of optimal development of each individual's natural endowment while at the same time promoting the kind of adjustment, or even conformity necessary for harmonious continuation of socio political arrangements that make possible such complex undertakings as formal education.

Our second conception, is that the individual is a creature of society. The society or the state, is the true locus of value, of human rights and significance.

Hegel (1770-1831) objected to the more or less sentimental romanticizing of man's so-called state of nature. Hegel reasoned that God created the universe to operate in a rational manner. 'Yet, the world is not now, nor has it ever been, in a perfect state'. 'It is therefore, in a state of becoming'. This is to say that, it is moving toward actualization of its own perfect Ideal or Reason. Hegel believed that the story of human history reveals the operation of a dialectic or evolutionary process toward such actualization of Divine Reason. Man, in his primitive or natural state is merely primitive, hence further removed from the actualization of Reason and Freedom, than in later societies developed according to natural dialectic.

Hegel believed that the course of history displays now, through operation of their natural impulses and desires, men have not only furthered evolution of the world toward the Ideal and at the same time accomplished their own desires, but have also accomplished transformation of human desire, making possible a still higher form of dialectic progress. For example, it is now possible for man, through study of science and history, to recognize some of the rational processes that operate in the

world. Such recognition was not possible for the earliest man. Man, now could consciously co-operate in furthering the movement toward actualizing the Ideal. It follows, therefore, that society rather than being viewed as the source of restraint and limitation, should be viewed as the means by which actualization of the Ideal is promoted and Freedom is realized.

For Hegel, the individual, his will and personality, is relatively shortlived and unimportant in and of himself in contrast to the state which is more permanent and more objectively Real. Individual desires are subjective, while the will of the state can be said to have objective existence.

Under this view, it is clear that wherever there appears to be some degree of conflict between individual and society, the will of the state should be given the right of way. Swimming against this current, is an illusion of freedom. True freedom consists of recognizing necessity. It follows that education consists of enabling the individual to identify with the will of the state and thus to attain a significant place in the stream of Reality.

A salient characteristic of the Marxist concept of man is the conviction that man fails to be what he ought to be—his existence and education in modern industrial society do not correspond to his true humanity. Existent man, contradicts the Essence of man. It is in this concept of a dialectical tension between existence and essence that the meaning of the educational message of Marx may be found.

Man in a technological society is not his true self because he is alienated; he is alienated from his work, from other man, and from himself. The relationships of modern industrialism engender a type of mind that views the world in terms of manipulation. According to Marx, man is not merely exploited by the Capitalist—he is reduced to a commodity, is made a de-humanised factor. In such a situation man dons a character mask, that hinders and finally prevents his development as a person; he no longer engages and grasps reality as a whole man. He is separated, cut up, and cut off from himself, that is from his true being. Man is self entranced

because he lives in a historical situation that is humanly insane. This theme of alienation, dehumanization, and estrangement in an age of industrialism is at the core of Marx's whole philosophical position, his analysis of political economy; his theory of knowledge; and his interpretation of history and society. For him, the capitalist society does not deal with men as men, but as functions performing roles. In this light, relationships between man and man, between man and his work, and between man and his world are seen as artificial and humanly deformed. The worker lives at a stage of history in which his development and education are dramatically, impaired. The industrial society is one that reduces, labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, to a commodity like every other article of commerce, and consequently exposes them to, to all the vicissitudes of competition. The nature of work in modern society has lost all individual character.

Marx belongs to the group of thinkers who have portrayed and protested the dehumanizing character of modern life in which man becomes a means and a thing to be manipulated.

The crisis, of human society about which Marx philosophised, is essentially the critical station, of the human person in the modern world. Crisis signifies not only danger, but opportunity. This doubly charged meaning averts complacency because danger is recognized; it circumvents despair because opportunity is entertained.

Philosophy, was not enough for Marx, for him theory must yield to practice, and interpretation must be coupled with the will to transform history. Marx challenged any philosophy that could not at some point translate itself into action.

Hegel visualised the problems of history and man, only in their thought form; Marx comprehended them always in terms of the contradiction and antagonism of the class society. The dialectical development of Hegel's spirit of reason toward the absolute idea found its concrete expression in the development of the nation state in history. Marx's dialectic, materialised itself within the structure of product-

ion that shaped the basic economic and social character of life; of course some would counter, that the social and historical transformation of man, is always a fragmentary and incomplete transformation; man's fulfilment within history is always an incomplete fulfilment.

In contrast to the Hegelian and Marxian conception, no doubt in reaction to it, some would insist that we now know enough conceptually and technologically to build a new social order in which evils such as illiteracy, malnutrition, slums, and many forms of physical and mental ill-health do not exist, if we will use the schools to promote positive social and political education and commitment. Its advocates suggest that, the universe is open and man as mankind, is a nature-maker, with the notion that man as an individual is or should be delimited by society. Knowledge, wisdom and morality are delimited by various forms of social consensus. It is argued that the idea that education as a socio-political institution and as the technology and profession of teaching should be devoted to education as a process of personal development is an outmoded and ineffective idea. It is claimed that, when schools concentrate upon individual growth or reconstruction, their changes are simply gobbled up by society's unreconstructed institution, which remains essentially unaffected. The schools, should embark upon a new social order by a direct influence of double envelopment; on the onehand, student should be taught the realities of social, economic, and political structures, coupled with experiences designed to elicit commitment, to certain democratic ideals, based on uncoerced social consensus; on the other hand, educators, as an unorganised socioeconomic power group, should understand the political action to insure that conditions will be favourable to the school playing such a role.

The result would be a democratic planning society.

Professor B. F. Skinner's (of Harvard University), conception of the man, is the Planned man. Mankind is an evolving species for whose continued survival, man himself has a profound and anxious concern. Planned people, would be the only member of the human species fit to survive the tests of the future.

Skinner has worked out the set of techniques and principle for the manipulation and control of behaviour, generally referred to as operant conditioning. The term, emphasises the fact that the behaviour operates upon the environment to generate consequences. This is a kind of behaviour that is emitted, initiated by the organism rather than elicited from it. Operant conditioning provides the technological means, by which Skinner would see his educational and social planning put into effect. Skinner's educational position, derive mainly from his contribution in the field of Teaching machines and Programmed instruction. Programming system is designed to accommodate the individual; each child proceeds at his own pace, each step ahead in learning is accomplished by the child on his own and is accomplished by that powerful reinforcer, success. Teaching machines serve three major educational objectives; provision for individual differences; self directed learning, and learning gives impetus to further learning.

Skinner portrayed a world in which men not only planned and designed their own society but also planned and designed the member of that society. Man, has reached the point of ultimate choice in his career on this planet. With the possibility of nuclear obliteration of the human species now at the finger tips of competing world powers, mankind can either anticipate self destruction or take steps to avert it.

Only by gaining control over himself and his deep seated destructive tendencies can man hope to survive. This control depends on his obtaining precise and intimate knowledge of the causes of human behaviour and then putting his knowledge about himself to fruitful use. Men could create better societies and better men than we have ever known. Whole cultures could flourish, in which people can be healthy, happy, secure, productive and creative. There is no time to spare, and world is in a hurry. The cause of human behaviour must become the immediate object of intensive scientific study, and human beings the chief subject of observation and of experimentation aimed ultimately at the production and control of human behaviour.

All present and future knowledge about the causes and control of human behaviour

must be made entirely public, accessible to all men in order that all men may have a voice in how this knowledge is to be used or not used. Unless all such potent knowledge is kept public it could easily fall into the hand of those bent upon enslaving mankind.

Human behaviour could and should be engineered.

Education is the basis upon which Skinner, would build a planned society designed to serve the ultimate values of mankind. Skinner, conceives of a physical reality in which mankind and nature are all one with and each other. Man's place in nature is clear, there is relationship, between his physical and social environment. The direction in which mankind should optimally move in concert with an evolving universe should be pointed out. Men should be urged towards commitment to the experimental method as the means by which to identify, test and eventually realise human values, individual and social. Skinner sees education as the life source of human growth and progress. Planned social re-construction is the best means to ensure man's evolution toward a world in which human understanding would grow apace with human knowledge.

The society can become survival prone, only if a man takes over rational and scientifically guided control and his behaviour. Such control world require, that all social decisions on plans and policies be made on the basis of scientifically tested and grounded values, that education become a community enterprise, with no discontinuity between school and society, that all individuals be educated in the methods and skills of learning of self-control, and of critical reflective, and productive thinking, and that no individual seek or value personal gains or influence for its own sake or at the expense of others.

In such a society, each individual would be free to be himself and to realise his own best way of life within a society that would cherish him and that he would cherish in turn, seeing his own interests and concerns as identical with those of his community.

'There would be no slaves, no masters, no submissive follower, no power-wielding leader in such a society'.

The ultimate goal of education, is species survival; control, obtained and exercised by rational and scientific methods, is the means to this end.

The planned man, Skinner's conception for a survival prone society is a scientific social philosophy. It would be a planned man, community, society, nation, the world.

Man and society can best be understood, as a special case of organism and environment; man does not merely live in an environment, but by means of an environment. Life is an affair of organism and environment. The environment is in the organism just as much as the organism is in the environment. Organism or environment could be discussed separately as an abstraction, but what is directly given for observation is the behaviour of organism-environment. An organism cannot exist as organism apart from an environment, an environment has no existence as environment except as it is in transaction with an organism.

As for individual and society, to conceive, either of man existing apart from society in some so-called state of nature, or of a society or state as having existence and will apart from actual individuals is to create abstractions. To imagine that these abstractions, represent actual entities or a locus of values to block further progress in understanding man as a nexus of social activity, which is again directly observable. Man's behaviour is social behaviour just as his life is environment life. All of society's desire and institutions are the desires and

institutions of men, actual, particular men, just as any given environment is always the environment of particular organisms.

The abstract conflict between individual and society resolves into particular conflicts, at particular time and place, between specific social individuals acting singly or in organised groups. These conflicts centre around differences of opinion concerning the dividing line between public and private affair. Since all human behaviour is social, just as all living involves environment, the fact that a given instance of behaviour can be shown to have social consequences, it should not necessarily be a matter for public regulation.

Education, is always a social affair, for it is a human affair. It is a process of human development. The starting point of educational theory concerns the nature of man and society as conceived by individuals and society.

Man is an old and eternally philosophical problem. From time of old, man, his essence, his existence, aims and actions, his past and future have been a subject of research. In recognizing the world about him, man has meditated upon his place in the world. When changing the surrounding reality, he has pondered his role in the world, his strength and possibilities. 'Know thyself', became a categorical imperative of philosophy at the dawn of civilization.

Today, it has been accepted that, the consequences of his activity can disappear only with the general extinction of the terrestrial globe.

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5. Some thoughts concerning education and the conduct of understanding—*Locke*
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7. Science and Human Behaviour—*Skinner*
8. Philosophy of Education—*Philip G. Smith*
9. The concept of Man—edited by Radhakrishnan and Raju
10. The Bi-Social Nature of Man—*Moriagu Ashley*

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geoisie has yet a way out in the simple expedient of re-arranging the party labels, crossings-over, new alignments, in short, a different seating arrangement in parliament will ensure the preservation of the capitalist order.

However, the Government has not lost sight of the fact that economic crisis leads inexorably to a heightening of the class struggle. Even while large sections of the working class have remained dormant, the Bank Employees have won substantial demands and the Mercantile Employees are fighting back employer-repression, the Estate Employers have been forced to buy the silence of a major Estate Trade Union with a mere ten-cent increase in the daily basic wage.

Other Unions are raising the question of pay-increase. Despite the efforts of the Government and the Coalition forces to side-track the economic issues, rumblings of discontent continue to be heard.

It is not for nothing that the Government continues with the Emergency.

#### CMU SECRETARY'S WARNING

The General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union warned the Annual Delegate's Conference held last month that the employers are intensifying the assault on trade union rights. He said:

"Parallel with the growth of the Union's power, and partly because of it, we have also witnessed the growth of active hostility to the Union and to trade union action generally, on the part of the most powerful vested interests in Ceylon. The moves being made by these vested interests to secure severe legislative restrictions of existing democratic freedoms of the trade unions, also deserves special mention. It is to combat these moves that the Union proposes to mobilize its resistance...."

The CMU is currently engaged in long and difficult struggles against Jafferjees Ltd., Maliban Biscuits and the state-sponsored Insurance Corporation.

A struggle against the Port Cargo Corporation on the question of the right to boycott is to be expected in the immediate future.

Trade Unionists should prepare to give organized aid to the CMU in its fight to preserve trade unions rights, for the struggle concerns not only the CMU but the organized working class generally.

#### CRISIS IN INDIA

The precarious perch of the Congress Party in power after the Indian General Elections is seriously threatened by developments over which the Party and government can hardly hope to have control. The world's most unenviable position today is perhaps held by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

For the first time since Independence, the Government has been compelled to officially designate vast parts of the land as "famine areas". The reports of the famine in the press stagger the imagination. Mrs. Gandhi herself had a first hand view when five hundred "living skeletons" waved her a welcome. We are not told how many of them succumbed to the effort.

The crisis in India is perhaps symbolized by the violent nature of the recent policemen's strike in Delhi. The Government, naturally, had to call in the Army. And it did not take long for political observers to wonder not merely whether, but also when the Army would enter the arena as a political force in its own right.

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# The Progress and Stagnation of Marxism

by ROSA LUXEMBURG

The following article written in 1903 was included in the symposium Karl Marx by Ryazanov (English Edition 1927). It is here reproduced from the New International (USA) August 1940.

Editor

In his shallow but at times interesting causerie entitled *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich and Belgien* (The socialist Movement in France and Belgium), Karl Grun remarks, aptly enough, that Fourier's and Saint-Simon's theories had very different effects upon their respective adherents. Saint-Simon was the spiritual ancestor of a whole generation of brilliant investigators and writers in various fields of intellectual activity; but Fourier's followers were, with few exceptions, persons who blindly parroted their master's words, and were incapable of making any advance upon his teachings. Grun's explanation of this difference is that Fourier presented the world with a finished system, elaborated in all its details: whereas Saint-Simon merely tossed his disciples a loose bundle of great thoughts. Although it seems to me that Grun pays too little attention to the inner, the essential, difference between the theories of these two classical authorities in the domain of utopian socialism, I feel that on the whole his observation is sound. Beyond question, a system of ideas which is merely sketched in broad outline proves far more stimulating than a finished and symmetrical structure which leaves nothing to be added and offers no scope for the independent efforts of an active mind.

Marx, whose prophetic eyes foresaw so many historic events as they lay in the womb of the future.....

Rosa Luxemburg: *The Junius Pamphlet*

## Marxism Too Rigid ?

Does this account for the stagnation in Marxist doctrine which has been noticeable for a good many years? The actual fact is that—apart from one or two independent contributions which mark a certain theoretical advance—since the publication of the last volume of *Capital* and of the last of Engels' writings there have appeared nothing more than a few excellent popularizations and expositions of Marxist theory. The substance of that theory remains just where the two founders of scientific socialism left it.

Is this because the Marxist system has imposed too rigid a framework upon the independent activities of the mind? It is undeniable that Marx has had a somewhat restrictive influence upon the free development of theory in the case of many of his pupils. Both Marx and Engels found it necessary to disclaim responsibility for the utterances of many who chose to call themselves Marxists! The scrupulous endeavour to keep "within the bounds of Marxism" may at times have been just as disastrous to the integrity of the thought process as has been the other extreme—the complete repudiation of the Marxist outlook, and the determination to manifest "independence of thought" at all hazards.

Still it is only where economic matters are concerned that we are entitled to speak of a more or less completely elaborated body of doctrines bequeathed us by Marx. The most valuable of all his teachings, the materialist-dialectical conception of history, presents itself to us as nothing more than a method of investigation, as a few inspired leading thoughts, which offer us glimpses into an entirely new world, which opens to us endless perspectives of independent activity, which wing our spirits for bold flights into unexplored regions.

Nevertheless, even in this domain, with few exceptions the Marxist heritage lies fallow. The splendid new weapons rust unused; and the theory of historical materialism remains as unelaborated and sketchy as it was when first formulated by its creator.

It cannot be said, then, that the rigidity and completeness of the Marxist edifice are the explanation of the failure of Marx's successors to go on with the building.

### The Meaning of "Capital"

We are often told that our movement lacks the persons of talent who might be capable of further elaborating Marx's theories. Such a lack is, indeed, of long standing; but the lack itself demands an explanation, and cannot be put forward to answer the primary question: We must remember that each epoch forms its own human material; that if in any period there is a genuine need for theoretical exponents, the period will create the forces requisite for the satisfaction of that need.

But is there a genuine need, an effective demand, for a further development of Marxist theory?

In an article upon the controversy between the Marxist and the Jevonsian schools in England, Bernard Shaw, the talented exponent of Fabian semi-socialism, derides Hyndman for having said that the first volume of *Capital* had given him a complete understanding of Marx, and that there were no gaps in Marxist theory—although Friedrich Engels, in the preface to the second volume of *Capital*, subsequently declared that the first volume with its theory of value, had left unsolved a fundamental economic problem, whose solution would not be furnished until the third volume was published. Shaw certainly succeeded here in making Hyndman's position seem a trifle ridiculous, though Hyndman might well derive consolation from the fact that practically the whole socialist world was in the same boat!

The third volume of *Capital* with its solution of the problem of the rate of profit (the basic problem of Marxist economics), did not appear till 1894. But in Germany, as in all other lands, agitation had been carried on with the aid of the unfinished

material contained in the first volume; the Marxist doctrine had been popularized and had found acceptance upon the basis of this first volume alone; the success of the incomplete Marxist theory had been phenomenal; and no one had been aware that there was any gap in the teaching. Furthermore, when the third volume finally saw the light, whilst to begin with it attracted some attention in the restricted circles of the experts, and aroused here a certain amount of comment—as far as the socialist movement as a whole was concerned, the new volume made practically no impression in the wide regions where the ideas expounded in the original book had become dominant. The theoretical conclusions of Vol. III have not hitherto evoked any attempt at popularization, nor have they secured wide diffusion. On the contrary, even among the Social Democrats we sometimes hear, nowadays, re-echoes of the "disappointment" with the third volume of *Capital* which is so frequently voiced by bourgeois economists—and thus these Social Democrats merely show how fully they had accepted the "incomplete" exposition of the theory of value presented in the first volume.

How can we account for so remarkable a phenomenon?

### What the Third Volume Did

Shaw, who (to quote his own expression) is fond of "sniggering" at others, may have good reason here, for making fun of the whole socialist movement, in so far as it is grounded upon Marx! But if he were to do this, he would be "sniggering" at a very serious manifestation of our social life. The strange fate of the second and third volume of *Capital* is conclusive evidence as to the general destiny of theoretical research in our movement.

From the scientific standpoint, the third volume of *Capital* must, no doubt, be primarily regarded as the completion of Marx's critique of capitalism. Without this third volume, we cannot understand, either the actually dominant law of the rate of profit; or the splitting up of surplus value into profit, interest and rent; or the working of the law of value within the field of competition. But, and this is the main point, all these problems, however important from



the outlook of pure theory, are comparatively unimportant from the practical outlook of the class war. As far as the class war is concerned, the fundamental theoretical problem is the origin of surplus value, that is the scientific explanation of the economic and social process of capitalist society.

The working class will not be in a position to create a science and an art of its own until it has been fully emancipated from its present class position.

"The theoretical works of Marx gave to the working class of the whole world a compass by which to fix its tactics from hour to hour, in its journey toward the one unchanging goal".

Rosa Luxemburg: *The Junius Pamphlet*

### The Field of Creative Energy

The utmost it can do today is to safeguard bourgeois culture from the vandalism of the bourgeois reaction, and create the social conditions requisite for a free cultural development. Even along these lines the workers, within the extant form society, can only advance in so far as they can create for themselves the intellectual weapons needed in their struggle for liberation.

But this reservation imposes upon the working class (that is to say, upon the workers' intellectual leaders) very narrow limits in the field of intellectual activity. The domain of their creative energy is confined to one specific department of science, namely social science. For, inasmuch as "thanks to the peculiar connection of the idea of the Fourth Estate with our historical epoch," enlightenment concerning the laws of social development has become essential to the workers in the class struggle, this connection has borne good fruit in social science, and the monument of the proletarian culture of our day is—Marxist doctrine.

But Marx's creation, which as a scientific achievement is a titanic whole, transcends the plain demands of the proletarian class struggle for whose purposes it was created. Both in his detailed and comprehensive analysis of capitalist economy, and in his method of historical research with its immeasurable field of application, Marx has offered much more than was directly essential for the practical conduct of the class war.

Only in proportion as our movement progresses, and demands the solution of new practical problems, do we dip once more into the treasury of Marx's thought, in order to extract therefrom and to utilize new fragments of his doctrine. But since our movement, like all the campaigns of practical life, inclines to go on working in old ruts of thought, and to cling to principles after they have ceased to be valid, the theoretical utilization of the Marxist system proceeds very slowly.

### We Must Learn To Use Marxism

If, then, today we detect a stagnation in our movement as far as these theoretical matters are concerned, this is not because of the Marxist theory upon which we are nourished is incapable of development or has become out-of-date. On the contrary, it is because we have not yet learned how to make an adequate use of the most important mental weapons which we had taken out of the Marxist arsenal on account of our urgent need for them in the earlier stages of our struggle. It is not true that, as far as the practical struggle is concerned, Marx is out-of-date, that we have superseded Marx. On the contrary, Marx, in his scientific creations, has outstripped us as a party of practical fighters. It is not true that Marx no longer suffices for our needs. On the contrary, our needs are not yet adequate for the utilization of Marx's ideas.

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Thus do the social conditions of proletarian existence in contemporary society, conditions first elucidated by Marxist theory, take vengeance by the fate they impose upon Marxist theory itself. Though that theory is an incomparable instrument of intellectual culture, it remains unused because, while it is inapplicable to bourgeois class culture, it greatly transcends the needs of the working class in the matter of weapons for the daily struggle. Not until the working class has been liberated from its present conditions of existence will the Marxist method of research be socialized in conjunction with other means of production, so that it can be fully utilized for the benefit of humanity-at-large, and so that it can be developed to the full measure of its functional capacity.

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(Continued from P. 70.)

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# Agrarian Problems and Prospects of Developing the Jaffna Region of Ceylon

by S. SELVANAYAGAM

A SURVEY of six villages in the Jaffna region<sup>1</sup> was undertaken by the author in the year 1960—61. The object was to study the pattern, changes, and trends of agricultural land use and related problems. Five of the six villages were from the peninsula where the land use is more intensive and complex than in the remaining island village.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of the data gathered in the field survey revealed that although the land use was fairly well adapted to the local environment yet it was associated with a host of problems. The problems arose from circumstances such as the exceedingly small size of farm lands, the reasonably large size of peasant families, varying and unreliable amounts of agricultural income, excessive farm expenditure, inadequate credit and agricultural extension service facilities, and unemployment and under-employment. These conditions were found in almost all the villages and hence indicated the general agrarian situation of the Jaffna region. The main problem was the small and rather unreliable incomes from agricultural products. This was true especially in the case of peasant families cultivating paddy and certain varieties of tobacco. (Ofcourse families cultivating relatively larger holdings of good garden land derived cash incomes of over Rs. 19,000 a year). The low agricultural income was due to two fundamental factors:

1. the limited land available for cultivation. Of the three categories of land in this region namely garden land, paddy land, and waste (rocky and sandy tracts, and marshes), it is the garden land that yields good cash income.
2. the lack of employment opportunities outside agriculture.

The best chance of relieving the difficulties associated with the above two factors probably rests in a policy embracing the following:

- a. intensification of existing agriculture
- b. reclamation of unused land,
- c. industrialization,
- d. emigration and settlement.

**Intensification of existing agriculture.** The land use in the Jaffna region is well adapted to the environment, and fairly intensive especially on the garden lands. Garden cultivation is practised on the best lands of the region. These lands which are irrigated from wells are devoted to the growing of crops yielding the highest cash income. Paddy lands, homesteads, and other highland tracts which belong to the rather moderate and poorer classes of land quality are characterized by a less intensive form of land use. In many villages in the Jaffna region paddy cultivation has been reduced to the status of a subsidiary crop production. The same may be said of tree crop production in homesteads and growing dry grains such as *kurakkan* and *varagu* and tree crops on other highland tracts. There is thus clearly a need for planning the use of land in the following categories: (a) paddy lands—in certain parts of the region paddy lands could easily be made to yield more income. Paddy lands in the peninsula are more favourable for such use than those lands in the islands. Paddy lands having adequate drainage facilities could be conveniently made into garden plots for the intensive cultivation of cash crops. This is being done in a number of villages in the peninsula today. (b) homesteads—these lands around dwelling houses usually carry a few tree crops such as coconut, palmyra, mango and jak. Most homesteads have good supplies of well water and as such these lands could be cultivated fairly intensively. In addition to the tree crops mentioned above, *murungai*, lime, and vegetables could be cultivated profitably. But unfortunately there is very little systematic cultivation on these lands at present. (c) other highlands—these lands with thin soils and without irrigation water are at

present not suitable for any intensive cultivation. Wherever possible these lands could be used for palmyra, coconut, tamarind, and such other tree crops. Palmyra is a hardy palm and is well adapted to the rather arid conditions prevalent in these areas.<sup>3</sup>

Even in the case of garden lands cultivation could be further intensified by the adoption of modern techniques of production. With various varieties of tobacco, onion and potatoes too have become important cash crops in recent years. Even paddy lands having adequate drainage facilities and well-irrigation are used for the cultivation of onion, beetroots, and other vegetables after the paddy harvest. The introduction from time to time of new cash crops is a welcome tendency, and this favours further diversification of the pattern of agricultural land use in the region. In regard to all categories of lands the emphasis should be laid on obtaining the maximum yields from the present cultivated areas. The following are some of the possible lines along which to improve agriculture on such lands:

1. the adoption of intensive techniques of cultivation. These techniques include the optimum use of manures and fertilizers for selected varieties of crops, high response seed varieties, weed and pest control, conservation of water and soil, adoption of measures to minimise damage by floods and by an influx of salt water, and timely cultivation and harvesting operations.<sup>4</sup> Cultivators in many villages in the region are now using fertilizers, selected seed varieties and pesticides. They also weed their crops. In certain parts tractors are used for the first ploughing. Extensive use is made of the oil pump to lift water from wells.<sup>5</sup>
2. Improved credit and marketing facilities. It is clear from field experience that the co-operative organisation in many villages has not been catering fully to the needs of peasant cultivators. With regard to the credit facilities offered there are many shortcomings.<sup>6</sup> The village cultivators require credit both for consumption and production needs, and therefore the co-operatives

should be well organised to cater to such needs. Marketing of agricultural products is also an important aspect since the region produces mainly cash crops for sale. Private mudalalis and middle men usually play an important part in this activity. Where as the marketing department plays a rather insignificant role. It is vital that this department should be reorganised to work more efficiently. Suitable changes should also be made in the government guaranteed price scheme to include as far as possible all cash crops raised in this region. At present only a few crops are purchased at guaranteed prices by the co-operatives.

3. efficient agricultural extension service. It is true that officers attached to the extension branch of the Department of Agriculture are functioning in various parts of this region. But their activities are confined to the periphery of the problem. There are several villages in this region which have not been covered by field demonstration on modern techniques of cultivation. As such it is important to reorganise the extension service and also to stimulate research about new crops, fertilizer use, and so forth.

Livestock farming forms an inalienable part of proper land use planning. But in the Jaffna region progress has been rather limited with regard to livestock. The lack of pasture facilities is an important factor that hinders progress in this direction. This is largely due to the unfavourable climate with its long dry season and the limited extent of suitable open tracts in the region. There is however, scope for goat rearing and poultry production. These provide a very paying source of income for peasant families and could be started with a small capital. There is at present government assistance given to such ventures, and already there is great enthusiasm among peasant and lower middle class families in regard to poultry farming.<sup>7</sup>

**The reclamation of new lands.** These lands are found scattered and belong to the following three types:

- a. rocky waste,
- b. alkaline flats,
- c. coastal sands.

The rocky tracts are largely confined to the highland parts and much of it is in the western half of the peninsula. Some of these rocky patches had already been reclaimed and developed for the cultivation of garden crops and also for residential uses (e.g. Kopai, Atchuvely, Punnalaikadduvan villages). The reclamation of rocky lands continues, but it is hindered in the case of poor families by the lack of capital. Large sums of money are usually required to remove the limestone outcrops and to sink wells. Financial assistance from the government in the form of long term loans (through local co-operatives) might help the poor cultivators to reclaim such rocky patches. Most of them own at present microscopically small pieces of garden lands, and a systematic reclamation of the unused patches of rocky waste would enable them to augment progressively the extent of such precious lands.

The alkaline lands include the coastal flats and the relatively large acreage of land around the two inland lagoons, namely Uppu Aru and Thondaimanaru. Much of these lands is impregnated with salt and therefore unsuitable for cultivation at present. But these are considered potentially cultivable and could be reclaimed and developed for crops and pasture.<sup>8</sup> The reclamation of the alkaline tracts around the two inland lagoons is already under way. The outward entrances of these lagoons are blocked and the salt in the fine and compact soils of the flats is being washed away by processes of leaching and drainage. Once the reclamation scheme is complete these low-lying lands with fine silt and clay would become available for paddy and other subsidiary crops. It is estimated that about 15,000 acres around the Thondaimanaru lagoon alone would become available for cultivation.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, a considerable acreage of land around the Uppu Aru lagoon, and in the Araly and Velanai coasts could be reclaimed for crops and pasture. With the exception of some preliminary measures adopted in regard to the reclamation of lands around the two inland lagoons, no serious attempt has been made to reclaim the unused alka-

line tracts in the other parts of the Jaffna region.

The sandy tracts occupy extensive acreages in the south and southeast of the peninsula. Narrow belts of coastal sands are also found in other parts. A small extent of the sandy lands in the south of the peninsula is under coconut. Scattered patches elsewhere are also covered by palmyra and settlements. However large tracts of such lands still remain unutilized, and in the southeast of the peninsula these lands are covered by occasional scrub and grass. These sandy tracts are good aquifers and if well water can be provided a good proportion of these lands could be used for mango orchards and coconut cultivation. There are a few useful mango orchards in the Tenmaradchi and Pachchilaipalli divisions. But on the whole little effort has been taken to assess the potentialities of such lands or to plan its use in the light of modern land utilization studies. These sandy tracts no doubt have the disadvantage of being removed from the densely settled parts of the peninsula. With the exception of the trunk road and the railway, roads are few. The relative absence of good roads, distance from the densely settled parts, paucity of well water, and the infertile and alkaline soils especially in the coastal belt, are some of the factors which hinder the development of these lands. These factors explain the relative neglect and the sparseness of settlements in these parts of the peninsula.

The question remains as to how many viable homesteads could be established if the reclamation work of all unused lands were completed. The total acreage of land capable of being reclaimed and developed is large but not known. But the prospects of economic utilization of reclaimed areas are not as impressive as mere acreage figures might suggest. The rocky waste might yield useful land for garden crops and settlements if water can be made available, but it is hard to think that garden lands can be established quickly or in large expanses. As for the alkaline flats including 15,000 acres around the Thondaimanaru lagoon, these are suitable for paddy and a few other subsidiary crops which are subsistence crops in the main and command little by way of cash returns. No garden lands could be established at such low levels. The sandy

racts are only suitable for tree crops such as coconut, mango and palmyra.

**Industrial development.** The policy of intensifying the present agriculture and reclaiming and developing the unused lands would no doubt offer some relief to the agrarian pressure, but this would be only a temporary palliative for this could be the basis of improved living standards for only a small proportion of the people in need of better opportunities. For the remainder of the people industrial development seems the best solution. The Jaffna region lacks the 'base' for a continuous and sustained process of industrialization. It is conspicuous for its poverty of economic minerals. With the exception of salt and limestone and some mineral sands there are no significant mineral resources. The two major industrial concerns in the region are associated with the manufacture of salt and cement. There is plenty of high quality sedimentary limestones and sea water but the present production of cement and salt is disproportionately small.<sup>10</sup> The cement industry at Kankasanturai at present produces about 80,000 tons of cement per annum. The Elephant Pass government saltern which is the largest of the salterns in Ceylon produces on an average about 200,000 cwt. of salt. These figures clearly show that these two concerns are producing much less compared with the usable raw material resources. Thus there is no doubt that these two industries could be expanded. With the expansion envisaged of the cement industry the production at Kankasanturai is likely to increase. If expansion were to take place on economic lines steps should be taken to minimise the costs of transport and electricity, and to develop the Kankasanturai port in order to facilitate cheap water transport. In addition a few other ancillary industries might be established. The Paranthan chemical industry established recently to the south of Elephant Pass is largely based on the supply of salt from the nearby government saltern; at present it produces only caustic soda and chlorine (much of the chlorine goes waste since there is no large market for it). Although there had been plans to develop the other sectors of production of the chemical industry namely the manufacture of D.D.T. and fertilizers, so far no effort has been made in this direction.<sup>11</sup> Consequently the plant

has been working under-capacity and at a tremendous cost to the government.

Fishing is another industry which deserves mention here. But unfortunately the organisation of social groups on narrow caste lines hinders the development of this industry. Only a few caste groups namely *thimilari*, *karaiyar*, and *mukkuvar* are associated with it. Mostly traditional methods are employed in fishing. Modern methods have been introduced in the past decade in certain parts. Jaffna town and Myliddy are two important areas in this region which have made some progress in mechanized fishing. The use of mechanized boats, nylon nets, and other modern gears are now becoming popular among the local fishermen. The Department of fisheries gives some assistance to these fishermen by granting long term loans for mechanized boats and nylon nets and by providing demonstration facilities through the fisheries extension service for the improvement of fishing methods. Owing to these activities there has been a marked improvement in the fishing industry of this region.<sup>12</sup> The extensive continental shelf surrounding the Jaffna region abounds in a variety of fish. Besides this, the Pedro bank which is about 1,000 square miles also lies close to this area. This bank has not been properly exploited at present. The smaller boats used by the local fishermen are usually confined to the lagoons and coasts. Fishing operations in the Pedro bank might be handled by a fleet of mechanised boats and small trawlers.<sup>13</sup> One of the pre-requisites for the expansion of the fishing industry is the development of harbour facilities and those harbours in the Jaffna region (Jaffna, Kankasanturai, Myliddy, Point Pedro, and Kayts) should be remodelled and completely rebuilt to make them suitable for modern fishing operations.

Apart from the three above mentioned industries, there are also a few small scale industries (cottage types). The tobacco industry (tobacco curing, cigar making, etc.), one of the oldest, is fairly well organised. The other small scale industries, the majority of them came up in the past decade or so, include the manufacture of textiles (sarees, towels, banians, etc.), confectionary, aerated water, aluminium wares,

clothing, coir and palmyra products, and printing. Of these the manufacture of textiles has taken a leading position. There are several handloom centres producing good quality textiles. There are also power loom centres in Jaffna town and Vallai. Workers in this region are known for their traditional skill in textile manufacture and optimum use should be made of these people.<sup>14</sup> A variety of other small scale industries could be established with a small capital and with the available resources. These industries would provide opportunities of employment for at least a fraction of the unemployed in each village besides serving as subsidiary occupations for those engaged in seasonal agricultural pursuits.<sup>15</sup> Most of these industries could be set up by private individuals with relatively small capital and equipment. But the marketing of articles produced locally is the most important aspect of rural industrialization, and it is vital that the government should arrange to purchase at guaranteed prices at least the important products such as textiles and coir products. This would help a great deal the working of these small village based industries and crafts. The co-operatives and the rural development societies, which were organised with a view to develop and foster village industries and crafts, have in actual fact, done very little in this direction.

In regard to industrial development mention must be also made about the educational system. Up to the present time education was intended to enable one to enter the public services or professions such as medicine, engineering, and law. Owing to the undue bias on this sector of employment greater emphasis was laid on academic education rather than on technical and training in trades. The vast number of missionary schools in the Jaffna region turned out men and women for the various public services and other professions. But the situation has changed now. The avenues of employment in a large number of the services are now almost closed. The passing of the official language act in 1956 making Sinhala the only official language of the State has further weakened the prospects of employment for Tamil youth.

**Emigration and settlement.** Emigration has been one of the outlets for the popu-

lation pressure of this region for over a century. Emigration has been on two lines: (a) emigration to other countries, (b) migration to other parts of Ceylon.

A small number of the English educated Jaffnese emigrated especially to Malaya in search of better paid jobs. It is generally believed that emigration to Malaya began about the year 1867.<sup>16</sup> The emigration became considerable in the first two or three decades of the present century. But a good number of those who had emigrated to Malaya returned to Ceylon soon after the second world war. According to the Malayan Census there were only 16,783 Ceylon Tamils in Malaya in 1946. The number further decreased after 1946. The emigration of Jaffna Tamils to other countries in the recent years has been rather insignificant, but some educated and skilled personnel moved out owing to changes in the political atmosphere.

In Ceylon a good number of the English educated Jaffna Tamils found employment in the administrative, and other services in Colombo and other major towns. But only a fraction of this number settled down permanently in these towns except perhaps in Colombo. The majority although working in the south had their permanent homes in the Jaffna region. The situation is very different today. There has been a progressive reduction in the number of Jaffna Tamils entering the various government services in the recent years. The number became greatly reduced after the official language act of 1956. This is seen today in the large number of educated unemployed (G.C.E. and University qualified persons) in the Jaffna region.

The only area which permits immigration and settlement at present is the Wannai. People from the Jaffna region started filtering into this rather desolate and disease infested country only in the late 1930's. But with the eradication and control of malaria and the restoration of ancient irrigation works for peasant colonization there has been a considerable increase in the number of colonists and settlers in this region. The peasant colonies of Kilinochchi, Paranthan, and those around Vavuniya, Mannar, and Mullai-

tivu show the extent of development and settlement that has taken place in the past two decades. This is certainly an achievement. However the land so far developed and resettled is small compared with the total extent of the Wannu. There is thus a vast tract of jungle land which could be opened up and progressively developed for agriculture and settlement. It is only this relatively undeveloped Wannu that could

offer some relief to the excessively populated villages in the Jaffna region. But it is the irrigable extent alone that would become economically useful. The utilization of the highland has been a problem to the agriculturist and the planner, and it will continue to be a problem until some form of use has been evolved for the vast tract of highland in the dry zone of Ceylon.<sup>17</sup>

1. The Jaffna region embraces the northern peninsula and the group of islands on its west. The region has a unique geographic personality and is differentiated from the mainland portion of the dry zone of Ceylon.
2. Kopai, Chunnakam, Kantharodai, Inuvil, and Thavady from the peninsula and Naranthanai from the islands were selected for the survey.
3. S. Selvanayagam, 'Intensive farming and agricultural trends in the Jaffna region of Ceylon', *The Journal of the National Agricultural Society of Ceylon*. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Kandy, 1966), pp. 21-35.
4. G. V. Wickramasekera, 'Probabilities for self sufficiency in rice', *Proc. of Cey. Assoc., for Advancement of Science*, (Colombo, 1955), pp. 71-82.
5. S. Selvanayagam, *op. cit.* p. 22.
6. Sarath Amunugama, 'Rural Credit in Ceylon', *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Colombo 1964), pp. 135-143. also S. J. Thambiah, 'The co-operatives in relation to the economic needs of the Ceylonese peasant' *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Colombo, 1958), pp. 37-61.
7. S. Selvanayagam, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31.
8. F. R. G. Webb, *Report on the Jaffna peninsula Lagoon scheme*, (Colombo, 1945)
9. Director of Irrigation, 'Notes on visit to irrigation Schemes, Jaffna Peninsula,' *Trans. Eng. Assoc. Cey.* (Colombo, 1952), pp. 207-213.
10. K. Kularatnam, 'Minerals and the economic development of Ceylon', *The Ceylon Economist*, Vol. 3 (Colombo, 1954), pp. 11-26. also D. B. Pattiaratchi, 'Limestones', *The Ceylon Geographer*, Vol. 18, Nos. 1-4, (Colombo, 1964) pp. 21-26;  
G. W. Naylor, *Report of Reconnaissance Mission to Ceylon in connection with state industrial Corporations*, (Colombo, October 1966.)
11. Nicholas Kaldor, 'Observations on the problems of economic development in Ceylon', *Papers by visiting economists*, National Planning Council, (Colombo 1959) p. 29:.....that fertilizers and cement are the two obvious cases for development since there is an almost unlimited potential demand for them in neighbouring countries. At present Ceylon does not manufacture fertilizers, while cement production, supplies only about one-quarter of current requirements.'
12. The damage caused to the fishing industry by the cyclone of 1964 was heavy. There was loss of life and property but those involved had not been adequately compensated by the government. The recently instituted Fisheries Corporation has plans to develop the fishing industry of Ceylon and the region is likely to benefit by its activities.
13. *The Ten Year Plan*, National Planning Council (Colombo, 1959), p. 299. The proposed plans of the Ceylon Fisheries Corporation suggest the likely future development in the fishing industry especially in regard to deep sea fishing,
14. S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch power in Ceylon*. (Amsterdam, 1958), p. 161. In the latter half of the seventeenth century 'the Dutch had attempted to foster weaving, painting and dyeing of cloth in Jaffna. Weaving did not spread and become popular in Jaffna because of the restrictions of caste. But dyeing and painting was more effective.' Also Hiran D. Dias, 'Economic development for Ceylon', *The Ceylon Geographer*, vol. 17, Nos. 1-4, (Colombo 1963), p. 6.
15. R. V. Rao, *Cottage Industries and their role in national economy*, (Bombay, 1949), pp. 16-18. Also Raanan Weitz, *Rural planning in developing countries*, (London, 1965), pp. 90-99.
16. Report of the general and economic conditions of the Ceylonese in Malaya, *Sessional Paper*, IX, (Colombo, 1946), p. 1.
17. B. H. Farmer, 'The Ceylon Ten-Year Plan, 1959-68', *Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Wellington, 1961), pp. 135-136 also *Pioneer Peasant Colonisation in Ceylon*, (London, 1957) p. 346.



# 1967 May Day Resolutions

1. The U.C.C.T.U. May Day Rally records with pride the powerful struggles that its constituent Unions have conducted since May Day 1966, namely:—

- (i) The 45 days strike of two lakhs of workers led by the D.W.C. on tea and rubber plantations for Rs. 17/50 S.L.A. from 13th June, to 31st July 1966.
- (ii) The 88 day strike of the National and Grindlays Branch of the Ceylon Bank Employees' Union on the issue of promotions of Union members to higher grades in the Banks with the right to remain in the Union which culminated in a 16 day general strike in the Banks.
- (iii) The 23 day general strike of Branches of the Ceylon Mercantile Union in establishments of the Employers' Federation of Ceylon on the issue of a revision of the Collective Agreement of 1961 which took place from 1st to 13th November 1966 together with a boycott by the Port Cargo Corporation Branches of the Ceylon Mercantile Union against all imports and exports of the Federation Companies from 17th to 23rd November.
- (iv) The struggle of the Ceylon Mercantile Union against the mass dismissals of all the workers of the Port of Trincomalee in the middle of November 1966 which culminated in a boycott by the Port Cargo Corporation Branch of all tea other than shipments to the Middle East ports from 17th to 27th January, 1967.
- (v) The 59 day general strike of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union on the demand for:—
  - (a) D. A on pensions.
  - (b) Revision of salaries
  - (c) Higher bonus in the Commercial Banks & other matters, which took place from 1st February, to 31st March, 1967.

In relation to the strike led by the D.W.C. this May Day Rally notes that the strike did not directly result in a wage increase mainly because of the refusal of the C.W.C. to support the struggle, and the efforts of its leadership to prevent worker struggles.

In relation to the strikes of the C.B.E.U. and the C.M.U. the May Day Rally notes they achieved substantial success because of the unity and determination of other membership and the completeness of the strike in their respective sectors.

In connection with all those struggles this May Day Rally salutes the determination of the workers and their Unions to fight notwithstanding the State of Emergency.

2. Even though the Government has not resorted to the use of its Emergency Powers against the strikes that have taken place under the Emergency and even though the Government has not renewed many of the restrictions of democratic rights and civil liberties originally imposed when the state of Emergency was declared in January, 1966, this May Day Rally points out that the Government has utilised Emergency Powers to postpone Local Government Elections and suppress the publication of an Opposition News Paper and is continuing to maintain a State of Emergency which constitutes a continuous threat to democratic rights and civil liberties of the people. Whilst pointing out that this is only a confession of the Government's fear of the masses, this May Day Rally accordingly demands the ending of the State of Emergency forthwith.

3. This May Day rally denounces the moves that have and are being made by the most powerful interests in the country, including the most powerful sections of the Press, to secure the suppression or further Legislative restrictions of the democratic freedoms of workers to join or to form trade unions of their choice and to take any form of trade union action as and when and to such extent as they may deem necessary in their interests.

This May Day Rally points out to the Government and to the People of Ceylon that the only democratic way to promote so called "industrial peace" which the capitalist Press continually demands, is to provide the workers with social and working conditions under which they will not find it necessary to resort to trade union action.

To seek to suppress or to restrict the freedom of the workers to take trade union action in order to secure "industrial peace" would be to confess inability or unwillingness to deal effectively with the causes of such action. This can only be to the advantage of the exploiters of the workers.

This May Day Rally accordingly resolves to restrict by all necessary means inclusive of a continuous general strike any attempt on the part of the Government on any pretext whatsoever to suppress or restrict the existing democratic rights of association and action of workers and calls upon the Government to repeal existing legislation which restricts the freedom of association of public servants and which provides for the declaration of "essential services" or for compulsory arbitration whereby workers may be prevented from taking or continuing to take trade union action.

4. This May Day Rally condemns the cut of one measure in the subsidised rice ration which was imposed by the Government in December, 1966, since this has had adverse economic effects on most sections of the people, including all classes of workers, in the continuing and ever increasing shortages of many essential consumer commodities which have resulted in the high cost of living and falling living standards for the masses of the people.

This May Day Rally accordingly calls upon the Government to restore the rice cut and to take effective measures to stop the drain of the wealth of the country by vested interests that control the country's foreign trade and related economic activity instead of imposing additional economic burdens on the people.

5. This May Day Rally denounces the attempts made to bring about the mass deportation of plantation workers and other persons now described as Stateless under the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964.

This May Day Rally points out that the so called stateless persons have been unde-

mocratically denied or deprived of citizenship rights in this country and that the Indo-Ceylon Agreement really amounts to a barter over the heads of these people whereby Ceylon is to grant a minority of them citizenship only if the majority accept Indian Citizenship and leave the country irrespective of their wishes in the matter or the hardship they may suffer.

This May Day Rally expresses its full solidarity with the demand that none of these people should be forced to go to India against their wish or be denied Ceylon Citizenship if they desire it.

6. This May Day Rally demands that plantation workers be granted the Special Living Allowance of Rs. 17/50 and condemns the plantation owners for continuing to deny the workers even this limited wage increase whilst purporting to have met their desperate need of a proper wage increase with a paltry addition of -/10 cents in their daily wages.

7. This May Day Rally repeats the call of the U.C.C.T.U. for the reinstatement of all workers who were victimised in consequence of their strike of January 8th.

8. This May Day Rally denounces the attacks that have been made by various employers against trade unions formed by their workers and emphasises its solidarity with the struggles that are now going on against such attacks whilst urging that the Government enact legislation immediately to prevent victimisation of workers.

9. This May Day Rally expresses its solidarity in particular with the continuing struggle of the Vietnamese People against the armed forces of the United States and its Allies in Vietnam and denounces the continued occupation of Vietnamese territory and the inhuman destruction that is being perpetrated by these forces.

This Rally accordingly declares that the only effective way in which the Government of Ceylon can help to promote peace in Vietnam is to give its unqualified support for the demand for the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam and the withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its Allies in Vietnam.

This Rally welcomes the setting up of the International War Crimes Tribunal and calls for the widest possible assistance to the Commission in the exposure of the True War Criminals in Vietnam.

# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (X)

by R. S. BAGHAVAN

## TROTSKY ON UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

IN the early years of the 20th Century, when the nature of the impending Russian revolution was being debated in revolutionary circles, Trotsky drew attention to important consequences that followed from the uneven development of Russia,

In 1904 Trotsky concluded that the uneven development of Russia would pose before the Russian working class the tasks of the proletarian revolution even though the bourgeois revolution had yet to take place and the country was not yet "ripe" for socialist revolution. This was the central theme of his theory of "permanent revolution".

In his first major theoretical work, *Results and Prospects*, he wrote:

"In a country economically more backward the proletariat may come to power sooner than in a country capitalistically advanced....

The idea of some sort of automatic dependence of the proletarian dictatorship upon the technical forces and resources of a country is a prejudice derived from an extremely over-simplified 'economic' materialism. Such a view has nothing in common with Marxism....

"The Russian revolution, according to our view, will create conditions in which the power may (and in the event of the victory of the revolution must) pass to the proletariat before the politicians of bourgeois liberalism get a chance to develop their statesmanly genius to the full...." (467)

### The Uneven Development of Russia

Capitalism in Western Europe passed through the stages of handicraft and industrialism to imperialism. In Russia, how-

ever, as in the colonies, capitalism was fostered by foreign imperialist interests, and, because of its late development, grew at a tremendous pace, skipping a number of stages.

In 1908, Trotsky observed:

"Modern urban Russia is a product of the last few decades... Russian history did not pass through the stage of medieval handicraft... European capital created Russian industry in a few decades...." (468)

Russian politics, in consequence, was forced to keep pace with the rapid development of capitalism. Trotsky notes that:

"The political development of Russia, beginning with the middle of the last century, is measured by decades. The sixties—after the Crimean War—were an epoch of enlightenment, our short-lived eighteenth century...." (469)

The development of political consciousness of the Russian proletariat was equally rapid. The Russian proletariat, Trotsky says, "was thrown into the factory cauldron snatched directly from the plough...." (470)

He notes in contrast that in England and Germany, "the proletariat has gone through a long period of parliamentary experience. In Russia, on the other hand, there was very little of a parliamentary system for the workers. That is, the Russian proletariat learned its parliamentary history from an abridged handbook." (471)

Thanks to uneven development, the Russian proletariat which had slumbered through almost the whole of the 19th Century was ready for revolution by 1905. And it is a historic fact that Russia saw Soviets before it saw its first parliament.

"The Revolution has come," Trotsky wrote in 1905. "One move of hers has lifted the people over scores of steps, up which in times of peace we would have to drag ourselves with hardships and fatigue." (472).

The Revolution did the same for individual leaders of the working class. From followers of Father Gapon in January 1905, they became leaders of the Soviets in October. "Nine months of revolution had made those men grow, as they made grow the entire working class which the Soviet represented." (473).

In explanation of the uneven development of Russia, Trotsky writes:

"A backward country assimilates the material and intellectual conquests of the advanced countries. But this does not mean that it follows them slavishly, reproducing all the stages of their past.... Although compelled to follow after the advanced countries, a backward country does not take things in the same order. The privilege of backwardness—and such a privilege exists—permits, or rather compels the adoption of whatever is ready in advance of any specified date, skipping a whole series of intermediary stages:....

"The possibility of skipping over intermediate steps is of course by no means absolute. Its degree is determined in the long run by the economic and cultural capacities of the country. The backward nation, moreover, not infrequently debases the achievements borrowed from outside in the process of adapting them to its own more primitive culture.." (474)

### The Nature of the Russian Revolution

As early as 1525, the Peasant War in Germany heralded the breakdown of feudalism in Western Europe; yet the first major breakdown of the capitalist system in Germany occurred only in 1918. The bourgeois revolution in England began in 1640; but almost three hundred years had to pass before Britain saw its first general strike. In contrast, only a period of ninety two years separated the French bourgeois revolution and the Paris Commune, the likes of which Britain has yet to see. Rus-

sian society which had not produced its bourgeois revolution up to the end of the 19th Century, was convulsed by three revolutions in the first two decades of the 20th.

Trotsky comments:

"The law of uneven development brought it about that the contradiction between the technique and property relations of capitalism shattered the weakest link in the world chain. Backward Russian capitalism was the first to pay for the bankruptcy of world capitalism."

"Russia was so late in accomplishing her bourgeois revolution that she found herself compelled to turn it into a proletarian revolution. Or in other words: Russia was so far behind the other countries that she was compelled, at least in certain spheres, to outstrip them. That seems inconsistent, but history is full of such paradoxes. Capitalist England was so far in advance of other countries, that she had to trail behind them. Pedants think that the dialectic is an idle play of the mind. In reality, it only reproduces the process of evolution, which lives and moves by way of contradictions." (475)

### Uneven Development is Concrete

Uneven development does not, of course, work in the abstract. The law operates in concrete circumstances. Historical factors place limits on the levels which uneven development can reach.

"The *unevenness* of historical development of different countries *is itself uneven*," Trotsky warns us. "For America there is *one* scale of unevenness, for Europe there is *another*...." (476)

### Some General Observations

The law of uneven development is indispensable to an understanding of the nature of the development of backward countries.

Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* is not only a masterly account of the development of Russian history, but also, by the very nature of the subject, a treatise on the significance of the law of uneven development.

Uneven development, he says there, is "the most general law of historical development," (477) implying that uneven development affects not backward countries alone.

Uneven development, he says, elsewhere, "permeates the whole history of mankind, and especially the history of capitalism." (478)

V. Gordon Childe has pointed out, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that the Neolithic or Old stone Age ended before 3000 BC in Egypt and only after 1800 AD in New Zealand. (479)

E. N. da C. Andrade and Julian Huxley have noted that till the 18th Century road speeds remained what they were since Roman times. Then there was a sudden acceleration. The same phenomenon occurred with regard to communications generally and to illumination. (480)

Trotsky characterised the law of uneven development in history by "the most primitive beginnings, the latest European endings," (481) a description that is self-evident when one considers the first results of the impact of European civilization in Asia, Africa and America. In the early stages of contact with Europeans, in the weapons of destruction if in nothing else, the natives followed the European example. The primitive bow and arrow gave way to guns and powder.

On the European, that is, the bourgeois, impact, on backward countries, Trotsky comments:

"The growth of productive forces and the deepening of social inconsistencies is undoubtedly the lot of every country that has set out on the road of bourgeois development. However, the disproportion of tempos and standards, which goes through all of mankind's development, not only becomes especially acute under capitalism, but gave rise to the complex interdependence of subordination, exploitation, and oppression between countries of different economic type.

"Only a minority of countries has fully gone through that systematic and logical development from handicraft through do-

mestic manufacture to the factory, which Marx subjected to such detailed analysis. Commercial, industrial and financial capital invaded backward countries from the outside, partly destroying the primitive forms of native economy and partly subjecting them to the world-wide industrial and banking system of the west. Under the whip of imperialism the colonies and semi-colonies found themselves compelled to disregard the intervening stages, at the same time artificially hanging on at one level or another. India's development did not duplicate England's development; it was a supplement to it." (482)

One should not infer that unevenness is the fate of the backward countries alone. English history too has known its period of unevenness. Writing on the Chartist movement, Trotsky pointed out:

"The Chartist epoch is immortal by reason of the fact that for the space of ten years it gave us in a compressed form apparently the whole gamut of proletarian struggle—from petitions in Parliament to armed insurrection." (483)

#### Rosa Luxemburg on Uneven Development

After expounding her views on the nature of the impending Russian Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg writes in her *Mass Strike* (1906):

"But history does not wait patiently till the backward countries, and the most advanced layers have joined together so that the whole mass can move symmetrically forward like a compact column. It brings the best prepared parts to explosion as soon as conditions there are ripe for it, and then in the storm of the revolutionary period, lost ground is recovered, unequal things are equalized, and the whole pace of social progress changed at one stroke to the double quick." (484)

Development, she emphasized, "does not proceed in a beautiful straight line but in a lightning-like zig-zag." (485)

Trotsky stressed the same point:

"Liberal scholars...used to depict the whole of the history of mankind as a continuous line of progress. This was wrong.

The line of progress is curved, broken, zig-zagging. Culture now advances, now advances, now declines..” (486)

### The Uneven Development of China

It should not be necessary to draw attention to the uneven development of China in our own lifetime. No one can today dream of carving up the “Chinese melon”—the imperialist programme of the 19th and early 20th Centuries.

The reasons for this sudden spurt in development of China from a semi-colony to one of the major world powers are not hard to find. Imperialism forced the pace.

Harold Isaacs, in his *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, (1938) explains:

“Social change came belatedly to China. That is why it is today a land of deeply chiselled contrasts. It is forced by the pull of a whole world system to make the leap from wooden plough to tractor, from palanquin to aeroplane....

“Tardily forced to find a place in the main stream of world history, China had to make a mighty leap forward. It had to make in decades the changes the West had accomplished in centuries. This wrench could not occur without the most profound convulsions..” (487)

It should not be surprising, therefore, that, in 1932, Trotsky foresaw the possibility of the victory of the proletarian revolution in China before that of Great Britain. He wrote: The economic and cultural superiority of (Great Britain) can be expressed in exact figures. The impressiveness of these figures does not, however, preclude the possibility that the workers of China may win the power before the workers of Great Britain.” (488)

China, the cradle of one of the earliest civilizations, having vegetated for centuries, has now become the arena for the feverish construction of a new society.

### The Uneven Development of Japan

When the 19th Century dawned on Japan feudal rulers were in undisputed control over the land. For more that two and a half

centuries no Westerners had been permitted entry, no natives had been allowed to go abroad. Yet Japan was not destined to remain in self-imposed isolation for long. In 1854, the American Commander Mathew Perry forced the country open to capitalist trade and pushed Japan on the road of frenzied capitalist development. Exactly fifty years later, thanks to uneven development, Japan announced her emergence as a major world power by smashing the Czar’s navy in the battle of Tsushima. Ten years later, Japan’s transformation into an imperialist power was obvious. Today, despite its defeat in the Second World War, Japan has re-emerged as a major industrial power.

### RETARDATION AND REGRESSION

Unevenness of development does not always and everywhere imply only an increase of growth.

Unevenness includes retardation and also regression.

In *Capital* Marx writes of the regression in the development of capitalism in Italy:

“In Italy, where capitalistic production developed earliest, the dissolution of serfdom also took place earlier than elsewhere. The serf was emancipated in that country before he had acquired any prescriptive right to soil..When the revolution of the world-market, about the end of the 15th Century, annihilated Northern Italy’s commercial supremacy, a movement in the reverse direction set it..” (489)

Writing on Spain, Marx pointed out that the Spanish towns, “since the establishment of the absolute monarchy...have vegetated in a state of continuous decay..” (490)

Marx, perhaps more than anyone else, was aware of the occasional change in direction of historical progress. “Revolution,” he said once, “needs from time to time the whip of the counter-revolution..” (491)

Engels in a note on Darwin, elevates the law of retardation to a “basic law”:

"Each advance in organic evolution is at the same time a regression, fixing **one-sided** evolution and excluding evolution along many other directions.

"This, however, is a basic law." (492)

American frontiersmen armed with muzzle-loaders which took time to reload would have realised this when they had to fight the "Red" Indians who had endless stocks of arrows in their quivers. It took Whitney's automatic guns to remove the initial "disadvantage" in the advance from bows and arrows to muzzle-loading firearms.

Of late 19th Century America, Engels said:

"In such a country, continually renewed waves of advance, followed by equally certain set-backs, are inevitable. Only the advancing waves are always becoming more powerful, the set-backs less paralysing, and on the whole the thing moves forward all the same..." (493)

He was not, however, unduly optimistic that on the whole mankind moves forward. In 1888 he wrote that another war "would place all of us before the alternative: either a regression to nothing but pure agriculture for *home-consumption*...or—social transformation..." (494)

In 1892 he wrote of the prospects of the German Social Democracy:

"The war will bring either victory in two or three years or its absolute ruin for at least fifteen or twenty years." (495)

And again he said, "Capitalist society faces a dilemma, either an advance to Socialism or a reversion to Barbarism..." (496)

### Lenin on Retardation

In his *Imperialism* Lenin refers to the retardation of "countries with an old capitalist development (France and Great Britain), whose progress lately has been much slower than that of the previously mentioned countries", (America, Germany and Japan). (497)

And again:

"It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the possibility of the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a more or less degree, one or other of these tendencies. On the whole capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before. But this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general; its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (such as England)." (498)

"Imperialism" he says, in brief, is decaying capitalism". (499)

Lenin emphasized that regression was part of the pattern of growth of capitalism.

"Capitalist production", he said, "cannot develop except by fits and starts, two steps forward and one step—sometimes even both steps—back." (500)

The same, he said, is true of the labour movement, which, "is not measured by the criterion of some fantastic ideal, but is regarded as the practical movement of ordinary people...."

"The enlistment of ever larger numbers of new 'recruits', the enrolment of new strata of the toiling masses, must inevitably be accomplished by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by temporary reversions to antiquated methods..." (501)

### Trotsky on Regression

We have already referred to Trotsky's comment that:

"Capitalist England was so far in advance of other countries, that she had to trail behind them..." (475)

He also observed that "Historic dialectic played an evil game with Britain, transforming the advantages of her earlier development into the causes of backwardness..." (502). This, incidentally, is an example not only of regression but also of negation.

In 1931, Trotsky had occasion to refer to the revolutionary situation in Spain. Looking back at the country's history he wrote:

"The discovery of America which at first enriched and elevated Spain, was subsequently directed against it...."

"The retardation of the economic development of Spain inevitably weakened the centralist tendencies inherent in capitalism.."

"If by the permanent revolution we are to understand the accumulation of social revolutions, transferring power into the hands of the most resolute class, which afterwards applies this power for the abolition of all classes, and subsequently the very possibility of new revolutions, we would then have to state that in spite of the 'uninterruptedness' of the Spanish revolutions, there is nothing in them that resembles the permanent revolution; they are rather the chronic convulsions in which is expressed the senile disease of a nation thrown backward.." (503)

Explaining the relapse of the USSR under Stalinism, Trotsky wrote in 1937:

"It is for the very reason that a proletariat still backward in many respects achieved in the space of a few months the unprecedented leap from a semi-feudal monarchy to a socialist dictatorship, that a reaction in its ranks was inevitable.." (504)

He expounded the generalization that:

"Revolutions have always been followed by counter-revolutions. Counter-revolutions have always thrown society back, but never as far back as the starting point of the revolution.." (505)

With this generalization it is impossible not to agree when one remembers that the English Revolution of 1640 was followed by the restoration, the French revolution of 1789 by the Empire of Napoleon, the Russian Revolution of 1917 by Stalinist reaction and the German Revolution of 1919 by Hitler's fascism.

Trotsky was keenly aware of the warning of Engels that humanity faced the grave

danger of a relapse to barbarism. He concluded his 1917 pamphlet, *What Next?*:

"A permanent revolution or a permanent slaughter: that is the struggle in which the stakes are the future of man!" (506)

In her "*Junius*" Pamphlet, Rosa Luxemburg expresses the same fear:

"The present massacre, one whose like has never been seen, is reducing the adult working population to women, the aged, and cripples. It is a blood-letting that threatens to drain the last drop from the European labour movement. Another such world war and the prospects for socialism will be buried under the rubble heaped up by imperialist barbarism.." (507)

This has not happened. But we must remember that Luxemburg wrote her pamphlet in prison in 1915-16, and, considering the historical period, her fears were justifiable.

In her last speech, made on December 30, 1918, she repeated:

"Matters have reached such a pitch that today mankind is faced with two alternatives: it may perish amid chaos; or it may find salvation in socialism..Socialism is inevitable, not merely because the proletarians are no longer willing to live under the conditions imposed by the capitalist class, but, further, because if the proletariat fails to fulfil its duties as a class, if it fails to realize socialism, we shall crash down together to a common doom." (508)

### Uneven Development in Nature

Readers will be quite familiar with three of the physical states of matter—the solid state, the liquid and gaseous. Water, for example, can exist as ice, as liquid and as steam.

Two factors determine the physical state in which a substance exists: temperature and pressure.

Ice when heated turns into water, and if the heating is continued, becomes steam. On cooling, the reverse process occurs.



Under ordinary pressures, however, this phenomenon does not occur with all substances. For example, solid carbon dioxide (the "dry ice" of the cold rooms) or iodine crystals, when heated, pass directly from the solid state to the gaseous, skipping the liquid stage. Other substances can be made to do the same by changing the pressure to which they are subjected.

Again, we can "super-heat" water under high pressures so that the boiling point is "postponed" beyond 100 degrees Centigrade, its "normal" boiling point; or, make it boil "earlier" by reducing the pressure.

We can make solutions "super-saturated", metals "super-conductive" of electricity.

Students of science will come across many more examples of unevenness in nature.

### Rates of Evolution

In his *Irregular Movement of History* William Wards quotes G. G. Simpson on rates of evolution:

"The most striking things about rates of evolution are that they vary enormously. . . If any one line of phylogeny is followed in the fossil record it is always found that different characters and parts evolve at quite different rates, and it is generally found that no one part evolves for long at the same rate. . . ."

"Rates of evolution also vary greatly from one lineage to another, even among related lines. . . ."

"There are, further, characteristic differences of rates in different groups. Most land animals have evolved faster than most sea animals—a generalization not contradicted by the fact that **some** sea animals have evolved faster than **some** land animals. . . ." (509)

### Recapitulation

The theory of evolution suggests that in the course of about 500 to a 100 million years, living organisms, starting from simple cell forms, have developed into the complex forms of today, man being the most complex of them all.

Human embryology however watches the process re-enacted on an abridged period. Once fertilized by the male sperm, the female ovum grows into a fully developed human baby in nine months.

In 1874 Ernst Haeckel put forward his theory of "Recapitulation" or "Law of Biogenesis" stating that the embryonic development of the individual took the same course as the evolution of the species, but, of course, at a highly accelerated tempo and with the skipping of a large number of stages. "Ontogeny," he said, "repeats phylogeny."

The law has, of course, been modified with the results of observation over the years. In its present form as stated by de Beer in 1940 it runs: "Ontogeny repeats fundamental steps in the ontogenies of ancestral forms, especially when these steps are of structural or functional importance to the individual." (510)

Moreover, the growth of the embryo is not even. Embryologists tell us that the foetus grows fastest in its third to seventh months.

It has also been noted that in embryonic development, some phases are more advanced than the succeeding ones, indicating that retrograde steps have to be taken in the forward development of the embryo. (511)

After the impact of Darwin's theory of evolution and Haeckel's theory of recapitulation, it is not surprising to find psychologists trying to formulate a parallel theory of human mental development.

One has often heard that childhood is similar to the primitive state of man, and, conversely, that savages represent "the childhood of the human race".

It was Freud's view that the human unconscious is the depository of Man's evolutionary past. Of savages and semi-savages, he writes:

"...In their psychic life we can recognize a well-preserved, early stage of our own development." (512)

A similar phenomenon has been noticed in the artistic development of the child.

L. N. Staniland says: "...The stages by which a child gradually begins to draw and paint...may recapitulate to some extent the early stages in the gradual development of art in primitive man...." (513)

Historians, too, have had recourse to the theory of recapitulation. William Warde quotes A. M. Simons on American history:

"The course of evolution pursued in each colony bears a striking resemblance to the line of development that the race has followed." (514)

### Growth of the Baby

Uneven development is clearly a part of the pattern of Nature.

The human baby is the most helpless of newborn animals.

But, by way of compensation, its growth is uneven. The various organs develop at different rates. The eye is slowest to grow, there is hardly a change in size in all the period of growth. Some organs begin to function only in adolescence.

Not only anatomically, but physiologically and psychologically too, its growth is uneven.

### Regression in Human Growth

The human hand has developed into the most complex hand in the animal world. But our feet are no longer prehensile, except for a brief period in infancy. Phylogenetically, we have regressed from our animal inheritance. The human tail, as is well known, is a useless vestige.

Freud has shown that the development of sexuality of the individual occurs di-phasicly. In the latency period, beginning at the age of about five, human sex life regresses and emerges in adult form only with puberty.

It is not accidental that Freud had to expand the concept of regression in psychic life: clinical evidence forces on us the recognition of the unevenness of mental development. (515)

Another psychoanalyst, Ernest Jones, commenting on Geza Roheim's theory of tribal development states:

"He invokes the law of retardation to explain the transformation of an animal into a human being and also of savagery into civilization." (516)

In conclusion, we need only state that no one who has dropped his milk teeth need be reminded that regressions occur in Nature.

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