

# Forward

THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT

VOL: 26 NO. 8

1ST MAY 1982

PRICE ONE RUPEE

We Say.....

## MAY DAY

Sri Lanka's workers made an important break-through nearly 30 years ago when their fight to make May Day an official public holiday succeeded.

This victory symbolised something more than public recognition of the high importance of this workers' day of international solidarity. It was also an act of national acceptance of the workers as a separate class, with their own identity, interests and aims.

But ever since then, the bourgeois parties have tried to negate that victory. They have sought to take over May Day themselves, erase its working class content and, wherever possible, to use it to highlight disunity within the workers' movement.

Certain mistakes made by the Left parties during the period of the United Front and its government also made it easier for the bourgeois parties to do so.

It is to the credit of the Communist Party that it has, over the past years, tried to restore the fundamental character of May Day as the international day of the working class.

The CPSL's position was not a sectarian one. It had no objection to non-working class forces joining the workers to celebrate May Day. But it insisted that this should not be done at the expense of the workers, by pushing them and their demands and interests to secondary or subordinate positions.

That is why the CPSL wanted a united May Day to be organised EITHER by the Left parties based on the working class OR, if non-working class and non-Left parties like the SLFP were also to take part in the interests of demonstrating the broadest opposition to the UNP government as well, by a committee of trade unions which would invite speakers from the anti-UNP parties also to address the rally. This is a far cry from the "economism" and "mere trade unionism" with which the CPSL has been unfairly charged in some other Left circles.

Unfortunately, the CPSL's proposals were once again not accepted. As a result, on their great day of international solidarity, Sri Lanka's workers have been invited to Galle Face by the UNP to ogle the charms of visiting film star NUTAN and to Campbell Park by the SLFP and its satellites in order to acknowledge and pay respectful homage to the "political leadership" of Mrs Bandaranaike. Only at Dematagoda Park will be the genuine voice of the workers be heard.

But the fight to restore and uphold the class character of May day will go on. For May Day is not the occasion for yet another propaganda meeting, for mere rival shows of strength and spectacle, or even for demonstrating a specious "unity" that may not last the month, but the day on which the workers proclaim their aims and renew their efforts at domestic and international solidarity.

## Our Tasks on May Day

A call for united actions by the trade unions, and by all Left and democratic forces, is made in the main political resolution that will be moved at the Dematagoda Park May Day rally, organised by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, in association with the CFTU, PSTUF, and other trade union centres.

The resolution sets out a series of demands around which these struggles can and should be organised.

Other resolutions to be moved at this rally appear on page 2.

The text of the resolution on the national political situation reads as follows:—

"This May Day rally condemns and opposes the reactionary and neo-colonialist policies of the UNP government.

"These policies are a direct outcome of the vain attempt to develop Sri Lanka on capitalist lines.

"They have eroded Sri Lanka's independence and sovereignty, endangered her security, and associated her with the most reactionary circles of imperialism in world affairs.

"They have led to attacks on democratic and trade union rights, promoted the growth of authoritarianism, and helped the foreign and local capitalist class to grow richer by exploiting our people and resources, while the burdens and impoverishment of the common people have become infinitely worse.

"They have encouraged massive inflation, unbridled profiteering, rampant corruption, base consumerism, vulgar cosmopolitanism and led to the erosion of ethical and social values and national cultures.

"Conscious of the need to defend our country and protect our people against these results of the policy of development on neo-colonialist and capitalist lines, which also animates other capitalist parties to one degree or another, this May Day meeting calls for united actions by the working class, and by all Left and democratic forces, around demands such as:—

### DEMANDS

(1) The government should guarantee that no part or portion of Sri Lanka's territory will be used, either directly or indirectly, to supply military facilities to, or assist, any imperialist power. It should

withdraw its application to join ASEAN and revoke its agreement with the Voice of America.

(2) Sri Lanka should work actively, both within the non-aligned movement and in world affairs generally, to help the fight for peace and disarmament in every way it can. It should uphold the fundamentally anti-imperialist character and aims of the non-aligned movement, and support all struggles for national liberation and against racism. It should follow up the diplomatic recognition of the PLO with similar recognition of the Heng Samrin government of the People's Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and the national liberation movements of SWAPO and POLISARIO. It should implement the UN-sponsored sanctions against South Africa.

(3) The abolition of the GCEC law. The nationalisation of transnational corporations operating in Sri Lanka like the Ceylon Tobacco Company, the Unilever group, Nestles, Batas, and certain pharmaceutical firms. Commercial banking should be made a state monopoly. Public ownership of public sector enterprises, whose ownership and/or management has been transferred to the private sector, should be restored.

### RIGHTS

(4) Democratic and trade unions rights should be fully restored. Prohibitions on demonstrations and picketing should be ended. All legal and administrative restrictions on the free functioning of trade unions should be withdrawn. Anti-democratic legislation like the Essential Services Law and the so-called "Anti-Terrorist" Act should be repealed.

(5) All workers sacked for taking part in the 1980 general strike, and all employees victimised after the UNP assumed power in 1977, should be re-employed or restored to their former positions, with full arrears and compensation for all losses sustained by

them. The draft "Workers' Charter" of 1972 should be made law. Equal pay for equal work should be established. Discriminations against plantation workers should be ended.

(6) Wages should be increased to compensate fully for inflation and the rise in the cost of living. Jobs or adequate assistance for the unemployed. Job selection, transfers, and promotions should be on merit, without discrimination or political bias.

### SUBSIDIES

(7) Basic consumer items should be subsidised for those who cannot afford their present high prices. These should include rice, flour, sugar, infant foods, essential drugs, kerosene, popular varieties of textiles, and the requirements of school-children.

(8) Unconditional withdrawal of the White Paper on Education and other attempts to tamper with or restrict free education, which should be improved and freed from class and racial bias.

(9) Grant of citizenship to all "stateless" plantation workers and other immigrant workers who apply for it. Summon an All-Parties Conference to work out political solutions to the problems of the Sri Lanka Tamils, which will respect their national and cultural rights as well as guarantee that they can live in safety in any part of the country and enjoy, without any discrimination, the same facilities for higher education and public employment available to other citizens.

(10) Put economic development on a sound footing by curbing neo-colonialist penetration, strengthening the public sector, introducing scientific national planning, establishing opportunities for proper consultations with the trade unions and opportunities for worker participation in management of public enterprises, and developing economic and trade relations with the crisis-free socialist countries.

(continued on page 2)

# Long Live May Day!



# Resolutions for May Day, 1982

(We publish below the text of two of the resolutions which will be presented to the May Day rally at Dematogoda Park, Colombo, called by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, in association with the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, the PSTUF, and a number of other trade union centres and public organisations. The main resolution appears on Page One.)

## GREETINGS

"This May Day rally greets and expresses its solidarity with all workers in Sri Lanka and the world over, with all peoples who fight for peace, national liberation, democracy and social progress, for socialism and communism.

"It salutes the peoples and government of the Soviet Union who, led by the great party of Lenin, are successfully carrying forward the transition from an advanced socialist to a communist society. It evaluates highly and supports the Soviet Union's many initiatives to defuse international tensions, defend and extend detente, achieve disarmament in both nuclear and conventional weapons, and thus save humanity from the nuclear holocaust that US imperialism and its allies are preparing for them.

"It also greets and expresses its support for the peoples, governments and leading parties of the other socialist countries, who are not only making great progress in building advanced socialist societies but, together with the great Soviet Union, have made the socialist community a mighty force for peace and social progress throughout the world.

This rally warmly congratulates and solidarises with the workers and other peace-fighters of the USA and

Western Europe who, in their millions, are conducting huge demonstrations and massive campaigns against the preparations of the US and its NATO allies to establish new nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe, to step up the arms race, and to vastly increase arms expenditure.

Amplifying enormously the already unbearable exploitation by the transnational corporations and other capitalist monopolies and neo-colonialist agencies, this intensified arms race has not only brought the world to the threshold of a nuclear war but is directly responsible for the massive unemployment, deteriorating living standards, and curtailment of social benefits that has become a common feature of both developed and developing capitalist countries today.

"This May Day meeting solidarises with the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay, Turkey and other countries who are conducting brave and successful struggles against genocidal and fascist dictatorships supported by US imperialism. It salutes the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada who have lit new beacons of freedom in southern America and the Caribbean,

"It reiterates its firm support for the Arab peoples in their struggle against US imperialism and zionism, for the

defeat of the monstrous Camp David agreement. It salutes the brave Palestinian people, whose long and heroic struggle under the leadership of the PLO to establish their own state is gaining greater and greater acceptance throughout the world. It greets the peoples of Iran, who fight to defend and carry forward their successful national revolution.

"This rally renews its support for the peoples of Namibia who, led by SWAPO, fight successfully to resist the illegal occupation of their territory by the racist South African regime. It expresses its solidarity with the peoples of black Africa in their fight for self-determination and against the barbaric system of apartheid.

"The Polish people, who are defending their socialist gains from the intrigues of US imperialism and domestic counter-revolution, the Afghan people, who defend the gains of the Saur revolution against an undeclared war and armed counter-revolution operating from Pakistani soil, and the Kampuchean and Vietnamese people, who are bravely standing up to the threats and attacks of the Chinese hegemonists and their imperialist allies, are all specially greeted and supported by this meeting.

"This May Day rally greets and renews its solidarity with the peoples of the neighbouring states of the Indian subcontinent and joins with them, as well as with other peoples, in the struggles to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It wishes them further successes in their struggles against military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes and for strengthening their national sovereignty and ensuring democratic advance and social progress.

"On May Day 1982, this rally, on behalf of the workers of Sri Lanka, renews its pledge to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers and all forces of peace and progress throughout the world for a world without war and without the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation".

## INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE

"This May Day rally condemns the efforts of US imperialism and its allies to flout the desire of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, and the peoples of the region that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace.

"Instead of respecting this wish of the peoples, the US and its allies are expanding their naval, air and military bases in this region, which the US has declared an area of its 'vital interests'.

"The US has set up a Rapid Deployment Force to intervene by force in any part of the region it wishes to. It conducts undeclared wars

against Afghanistan, Iran, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos, and has fostered a regional arms race through its massive rearmament of the military dictatorship in Pakistan. It seeks to encircle and threaten India and other countries whose foreign policies it does not like. It continues to sabotage all efforts to hold the UN Conference in Colombo to give effect to its IOPZ resolution.

"This rally condemns the attempts of the UNP government to assist these aggressive designs of US imperialism in this zone by offering support facilities for the US navy at Trincomalee and other Sri Lanka ports, by allowing the Voice of America to establish a communications base in Sri Lanka, and by acting as an apologist for US imperialism within the non-aligned movement.

"It calls on all patriotic and peace-loving forces in our country to oppose each and every attempt by US imperialism and its allies to sabotage the aim of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean and every attempt by our government to help them to do so."

## Lenin's Teachings Live On

The relevance and importance of Lenin's teachings on peace and peaceful co-existence are seen even more clearly to-day when the Reagan administration and the aggressive US imperialists threaten to plunge humanity into the holocaust of a nuclear war, said K. P. SILVA, General Secretary of the CPSL, in the course of a lecture in Colombo to commemorate the 112th birth anniversary of V. I. Lenin.

He said that at this moment, when the fate of peace hung in the balance, it was the duty of the workers and all other sections of the common people of Sri Lanka to join hands with the struggle of peoples all over the world to stop the arms race and the US nuclear build-up, and to achieve disarmament and peace.

K. P. Silva praised the many initiatives of the Soviet Union and of its party and state leader L. I. BREZHNEV personally, to defuse tensions, establish a freeze and reduction in nuclear and other armaments on the basis of equality, and turn the world away from the path of war.

The 26th CPSU Congress and L. I. Brezhnev's speeches at the Soviet Trade Union Congress and at Tashkent had all contained clear and practical proposals regarding detente, disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear war, which deserved the attention and support of all.

The USSR, he said, firmly supported the efforts to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

L. W. Panditha presided over the well-attended lecture.

## Our Tasks on..... (from page 1)

### DEFEAT U. N. P.

"This May Day rally fully associates itself with the mass desire for the defeat of the UNP government in the coming general elections.

"In this connection, it calls on all democratic forces to expose the undemocratic character of the new electoral laws, and to demand the immediate abolition of anti-democratic features like the so-called 'cut-off point' directed against the smaller parties and the national minorities, as well as the arbitrary and discriminatory denial of civic rights to certain prominent opponents of the government. All steps should be taken to ensure that the UNP does not repeat at the next general elections the thuggery, and other malpractices it carried out during the DDC elections at Jaffna in 1981.

"This May Day meeting warns that the mere defeat of the UNP government will not automatically bring about a solution of the people's urgent problems. The replacement of the UNP government by a government that will follow basically similar capitalist, neo-colonial and authoritarian policies will be a hollow victory. The fight to defeat the UNP government must therefore go hand in hand with that of defeating the

whole line of policy, common to most of the capitalist parties, of continuing to try to develop Sri Lanka on capitalist lines instead of breaking out of the capitalist framework and seeking development on lines leading to a socialist society.

"This rally also emphasises the fact that the electoral struggle ahead is only one phase of a bigger struggle that will continue even after the elections, and for which the masses must be prepared. In this matter, the mass struggles outside parliament will be more decisive than the electoral struggle alone.

"This rally therefore calls for the strengthening and further development of the Joint Trade Union Action Committee, which has led the workers' struggles in the past years and can continue to do so. It appeals to the working class and the Left parties to take the lead in unitedly developing the struggle for a socialist-oriented line of advance, rather than tailing behind one capitalist party in order to defeat the order. Leadership of a united working class and Left movement is the surest way of mobilising all other democratic forces for both the defeat of the UNP government and a real solution of the burning problems of the country and its common people.

## U. S. RELIGIOUS GROUPS RAP REAGAN'S N-POLICY

Reagan's nuclear policy, including his massive nuclear re-armament and acceptance of the theory of a first-strike "limited" nuclear war, is under massive fire from a wide variety of religious groups in the USA.

Despite heavy attempts by the administration to stop him, the well-known religious leader and preacher, Rev. Billy Graham, has announced his intention to attend and address an international conference on disarmament in Moscow this month.

Twenty Christian denominations have appealed for an immediate bilateral arms freeze.

Both the Unitarian Church and the Reformed Church of America, which are old and

widely supported Protestant organisations, have sent pastoral letters supporting a freeze to each of their member churches.

Prominent religious figures among America's Roman Catholics have also joined the campaign. One of them is Cardinal John Krol, the conservative Archbishop of Philadelphia, who has been speaking at innumerable anti-nuclear meetings.

The Catholic Archbishop of Seattle, Raymond G. Hunthausen, has also announced that he will indefinitely withhold half his income tax as a protest against the arms build-up.

Other Catholic groups such as Pax Christi, and the Clergy and Laity Concerned, have

joined demonstrations against nuclear arms in the streets and at defence installations.

These Catholic organisations, of whom many bishops are prominent members, have denounced the manufacture and possession of nuclear arms as immoral and talk about a "limited" nuclear war as both lunatic and blasphemous.

Leaders of America's Mormon Church have also come out against the escalation of nuclear weapons. Mormon Bishop Edwin B. Firmage, who is also a Professor of Utah University, and many others have denounced the nuclear arms build-up as "an ultimate act of idolatry, a reliance on false gods that cannot save us but will insure our destruction".



# The Dimitrov Centenary

18th June 1982 will mark the birth centenary of a great revolutionary fighter against fascism and imperialism, for peace, socialism and communism.

He is **GEORGI DIMITROV**, a great leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the international communist and workers' movement.

Born to a poor working class family in Bulgaria and a worker himself from the days of his adolescence, Georgi Dimitrov became a full time Communist Party worker from his earliest adult days. He worked both in Bulgaria and in other European countries where he was often forced to live in exile.

Georgi Dimitrov first came to the notice of world opinion when he was arrested in Germany by the Hitler fascists after they took power in 1933.

## REICHSTAG TRIAL

Anxious to stage an anti-communist provocation in order to justify their dictatorial regime, Hitler and his Nazi gangsters, who were working for the big German monopoly capitalists, arrested Dimitrov and made him an accused in the notorious Reichstag Fire Trial.

The fascists, who were out to destroy democracy and establish the most terroristic and bestial dictatorship of monopoly capitalism, accused the Communist Party of trying to set fire to Germany's Parliament, the Reichstag.

Neither torture nor the other cruelties that Dimitrov was subjected to in prison by the Nazis could break his heroic spirit. In prison, he studied the German language so that he could conduct his own defence. His courage and tenacity aroused a world-wide campaign of solidarity demanding his release.

## ACCUSER

When Dimitrov was produced before the Nazi court at Leipzig,

he conducted himself with great staunchness, turning the tables on the Nazis and becoming an accuser instead of an accused.

His cross-examination of the swash-buckling Nazi leader, Hermann Goering, reduced the latter to mass of quivering rage—so much so that Goering, although a witness, ordered the judge to have Dimitrov forcibly removed from the court-room.

Inexorably, Dimitrov exposed the hollowness of the Nazi charges, established that the burning of the Reichstag was a provocation staged by the Nazis themselves, and defended the aims and policies of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International.

His conduct in the Nazi court became a classic example of how revolutionaries arraigned before bourgeois or imperialist courts should conduct themselves.

Georgi Dimitrov's indictment of fascism from the dock at Leipzig alerted all democratic and progressive forces throughout the world to the evil and menace of fascism and to the need to unite to defeat it.

The world-wide campaign of solidarity with Dimitrov became so strong that even the Nazis could not ignore it. They were forced to release Dimitrov and, later, to let him leave the country.

## COMINTERN

Elected Secretary General of the Communist International shortly thereafter, Dimitrov devoted all his skills,

experience and energies to building up the Communist movement throughout the world and to rallying all democratic and progressive forces for unity with the communists in the fight against war, fascism and imperialism, for peace, national liberation and social progress.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, Dimitrov, as its Secretary General, delivered his now historic report in which he scientifically examined and laid bare the class basis of fascism as the most terroristic form of the dictatorship of monopoly capitalism and elaborated the tactics to defeat it—namely, that of the united anti-fascist front and the united anti-colonial front.

Functioning also as General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Dimitrov headed the struggle to free his country from national and class oppression. Throughout World War Two and until the voluntary dissolution of the Communist International, after it had served its purpose of helping the establishment of Communist Parties in most of the countries of the world, Dimitrov headed the struggle of the Comintern for victory over fascism throughout the world.

On the defeat of fascism, Dimitrov returned to his native Bulgaria where, as President of the Republic and Secretary General of the Bulgarian Communist Party, he headed the efforts of the Bulgarian people to establish

a socialist system in their country, with indissoluble links with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Dimitrov's death over a decade ago was a great loss to the international revolutionary movement. He was a truly great son of the working people, loved and respected by all who fight for peace and social progress.

Socialist countries, Communist and Workers Parties, and progressive forces throughout the world will celebrate his birth centenary on a big scale. Elaborate preparations are already in progress in most countries.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka, too, is making preparations to celebrate this event and to honour his revolutionary hero. A number of lectures and publications are in preparation for May and June. The CPSL has also appealed to other progressive forces to celebrate this centenary celebration in a fitting manner.

## West Germans Say "No" To U. S. Missiles

Tens of thousands of West Germans took to the streets on April 17 to protest against new US missiles in Europe and the men who want to put them there.

The rallies culminated in a 30,000 strong demonstration in Koenigsplatz, Munich, called by young members of Chancellor Schmidt's ruling Social Democratic party and other groups.

Demonstrators carried banners demanding that the FRG should get out of NATO or at least agree to a nuclear weapons freeze.

The recent agreement by which the FRG government agreed to allow the US to treble its forces in West Germany if need arose was also sharply criticised.

All the demonstrations carried banners appealing for a massive mobilisation in Bonn on June 10 to protest President Reagan's visit to attend a NATO summit there.

Similar demonstrations have taken place in other West European cities too, and more are expected in the late spring and summer.

## J. R.'S NEW PLOYS

As an old political hand, President Jayawardene is sensitive to new trends—especially if they are likely to cause him trouble.

He has sought to meet the new family reunion of mother and son in the SLFP with a calculated campaign directed towards destroying the "Bandaranaike image", even including the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

His recent speech in which he accused S. W. R. D. of political opportunism is the start of such a campaign.

President Jayawardene accused S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike of quitting the UNP, not due to political differences, but because he felt that he was being ousted in the line of succession to the post of Prime Minister.

He also offered to supply proof that, when D. S. Senanayake died, S. W. R. D. had sent emissaries offering to rejoin the UNP if it agreed to give him the post of Prime Minister.

UNP District Minister W. Mallimarachchi fired the next shot in this campaign when he said publicly that Mrs. B. had asked him to prosecute Mr. T. B. Illangaratne.

A second line of UNP attack is to accuse the Bandaranaiques of being caste-minded. Taking the cue from Mr. Wijesiri's allegations against Anura Bandaranaike, President Jayawardene has said that Mrs. B's recent stinging attack on Prime Minister Premadasa's accumulation of wealth since he became PM was motivated by jealousy that a person from the PM's caste had attained such high office.

All these remarks were aimed at presenting an image of the Bandaranaike-dominated SLFP as a feudal party which persons from minority castes should oppose.

President Jayawardene is also obviously disturbed over a growing ground-swell and grass-roots campaign, in which many Buddhist priests and prominent laymen are associated.

While one section of this campaign has trained its guns on the President's attempts to do a deal with the TULF, the majority are more concerned with the undermining of standards of private and public morality under the UNP government and its "open economy".

These circles have been indignant over the fact that, despite President Jayawardene's repeated assurances that he and his party will usher in a "dharma" society, social evils of all types are proliferating.

In addition to the massive corruption that extends from top to bottom, these circles point to the fact that, in recent years, Sri Lanka has earned the unenviable reputation as a main centre for international traffic in narcotics and as a paradise for pervers. The big increase in illegal gambling and prostitution, as well as public nudity, that has accompanied the so-called "tourist boom" is another object of criticism.

In an attempt to counter this campaign, President Jayawardene has been making it a point to appear at as many temple and other Buddhist ceremonies as possible, and to see that his presence and speeches at these ceremonies are fully covered by the mass media. Many of his recent speeches, too, contain large chunks of homilies on Buddhist themes. His recent decision to reverse an earlier decision and to allow pirith chanting at the new Parliament building is also seen as part of this effort.

## C. P. I. on Stateless Problem

The following is the text of a resolution on "Stateless People of Indian Origin in Sri Lanka" which was adopted by the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of India, which concluded its work at Varnasi last month:—

"The question of citizenship rights involving about 15 lakhs of plantation workers designated as people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka has been a matter of contention between India and Sri Lanka ever since both countries achieved freedom.

"This is a legacy left over by the former British colonial power, who were ruling our two countries.

"It is a tragedy that these several lakhs of plantation workers, with their natural increase, were deprived of citizenship rights and designated as stateless people, after that island country attained its freedom in 1948. The

political motive of this sinister act is to prevent a major section of the working class from playing any role in democratic development after independence.

"The agreements reached between India and Sri Lanka after protracted delay failed to confer the right of citizenship on the large majority of stateless persons as it was related to repatriation to India proportionately.

"The repatriation formula was coercive and imposed on them against their wish, in spite of opposition from the trade unions representing these workers and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

"These agreements have since expired.

"Many trade unions in that country, irrespective of political affiliation, are demanding immediate conferment of

citizenship rights all these people, leaving the question of repatriation to the willing option of individual workers.

"This is the only democratic solution to the problem of stateless persons of Indian origin.

"The positions of the Sri Lanka government are not based either on realities of the situation or democratic principles

"This 12th Congress of the CPI, echoing the wishes of the democratic sections of the people of both countries interested in good-neighbourly relations between them, calls on the governments of India and Sri Lanka to arrive at a political solution of this problem as early as possible, which will take into account the interests of these workers who for generations have given their labour for the economic development of Sri Lanka".



# C.P.I. Congress Marks Big Advances

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of India, which was held at Varnasi from March 22 to 28, has been aptly described by its General Secretary C. RAJESWARA RAO as "a Congress of Achievements".

*For this Congress summed up the advances made by the CPI since its Bhatinda Congress four years ago, generalised the experiences gained in implementing the line of that Congress, and set new perspectives for further advance.*

The 12th Congress also demonstrated the political and organisational unity of the CPI around its political line.

Its three main documents—the review of political developments and party activity since the 11th Congress, the Political Resolution, and the Organisational Report—were adopted unanimously in plenary session. Elections to the party's leading bodies were similarly unanimous.

This demonstration of the political and organisational unity of the CPI around its line dashed the hopes of the of the bourgeois parties and rebuffed the speculations in the bourgeois newspapers about differences in the party—especially on its attitude to the Congress (I) government.

The 12th CPI Congress, which was attended by 1,562 delegates, attracted great attention, both domestically and abroad.

Domestically, the CPI's principled fight for CPI-CPM unity, for a left and democratic alternative to the Congress (I) government, for social progress and the vital interests of India's masses, and in shaping the anti-imperialist and pro-peace national consensus in foreign policy was highly appreciated, and great interest was shown in what the Communists had to propose for the future.

Internationally, too the CPI enjoyed high prestige. It is one of the biggest parties in the capitalist world. It operates in a major Asian state that occupies a key position in the non-aligned movement and Third World

affairs and exercises an important influence on international developments. Within the international communist and workers' movement, too, the CPI has earned the reputation of an active fighter for the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for closer unity of the world communist movement on the basis of these principles.

The high international standing of the CPI was shown in the fact that its 12th Congress was attended by 106 representatives of 36 fraternal parties, and received messages of greetings and solidarity from most of the communist and workers' parties, as well as the revolutionary democratic parties and movements, of the whole world.

## Internal

Analysing internal developments, the political resolution adopted by the 12th Congress examined in depth the deep crisis of India's economy that had resulted from following the capitalist path of development, and from linking India mainly with the crisis-ridden capitalist world economy.

However, the significant expansion of economic and scientific co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had to some extent helped to minimise the adverse affects of this crisis, to strengthen self-reliance, and to help to build an independent economy.

But owing to the retrograde, pro-vested interest and anti-people policies of the Congress (I) government, the full benefits that could develop from co-operation with the socialist world could not be realised. As a result, the crisis of India's capitalist economy had deepened and begun to affect bourgeois rule itself.

Within two years of her rule, Indira Gandhi's political influence had declined visibly and factional fighting within the Congress (I), a party that depended almost exclusively on Mrs Gandhi's personal and political authority, has flared up.

This crisis of bourgeois rule was demonstrated by

frequent changes of Chief Ministers, resignations, cross-voting and other expressions of Congress (I) in-fighting and instability, as well as by rampant corruption. It had also affected the maintenance of law and order—with a vast increase in robberies, murders, atrocities against harijans, rape and dacoities.

In order to bolster up her cracking authoritarian regime, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had begun to resort to all sorts of anti-democratic practices. These included draconian and repressive laws, the toppling of left-led state governments and the setting up of minority Congress (I) governments in their place, blackmailing the judiciary, and trying to undermine parliamentary democracy by setting up a so-called presidential system.

More and more, India's policies were being dictated to by the World Bank, which led to increased burdens on the masses.

The most right-wing and pro-imperialist section of India's had put forward another bourgeois "alternative" to the Indira Gandhi government on the lines of the Janata government of 1977.

The main spearhead of this "alternative" was the BJP, the political wing of the RSS, a rabidly communal, pro-monopoly, pro-imperialist and anti-communist party. At a secret meeting at Vrianavan the BJP's top leaders had worked out plans on how to seize power by 1985.

## Left and Democratic

As against this, the CPI posed the alternative of a Left and democratic alliance, in which unity between the CPI and the CPM, supported by other Left parties, would be a major part.

Examining the state of relations between the CPI and the CPM, as well as in the left and democratic movement generally, the 12th Congress made concrete proposals on how to achieve greater unanimity and clarity, of view, overcome obstacles, and build greater unity.

It also emphasised that the Left and democratic alternative was necessary not only because the burning questions of the masses cannot be effectively solved within the socio-economic system of capitalist relations, but because it is urgently needed to deal with the immediate problems that will arise in what would be a stormy period ahead.

In the realm of foreign policy, the 12th Congress reaffirmed the CPI's support for the national consensus in support of world peace, anti-imperialism, and defence of India's security and sovereignty against the threats from US imperialism and its allies like

the Peking hegemonists and the military dictatorial regime in Pakistan.

The CPI declared that, notwithstanding its sharp differences with and opposition to the pro-monopoly and anti-people policies of the Congress (I) government in internal affairs, there exists a basis for cooperation with not only the Left parties, but also the Congress (I) and some other bourgeois parties on questions like the fight for peace, an anti-colonial foreign policy, preservation of national sovereignty and security from external threat and attack, national integration, the defence of secularism and minority rights, etc.

Although Prime Minister Indira Gandhi often accused the CPI and other Left parties of not cooperating with her on such issues, in actual fact the position was the other way around. The Congress (I) leaders had sought in different ways to prevent members of their party from cooperating with other forces, mainly the Left, in the peace and friendship movements,

## Five Tasks

The Varnasi Congress set the party five main tasks for the period ahead.

First, that of initiating and leading uncompromising mass struggles against the pro-vested interests, anti-people and anti-democratic internal policies of the Congress (I) government;

## U. S. Negotiator Debunks Reagan's Lies

The duplicity and downright lies of the Reagan administration on the question of the limitation of strategic arms has been publicly exposed by PAUL WERNKE, former chief US negotiator at the SALT talks.

Mr Wernke's testimony followed the exposure by Senator Edward Kennedy that President Reagan was deliberately spreading disinformation when he sought to suggest that the USSR was ahead of the USA in strategic weapons, when, in fact, the USA has a larger number of nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union.

On the basis of this disinformation, President Reagan had tried to push his so-called "zero option", which sought to eliminate Soviet missiles targeted on Western Europe while maintaining the US arsenal intact.

Mr Wernke's factual testimony indicates that improvements in the US missile arsenal over the past decade have offset any advantage the Soviet Union may have had earlier in the deployment of medium-range missiles.

The US, Mr Wernke said, had replenished its missile

Second, consistent political and ideological struggle against the RSS-BJP and other communal chauvanist, divisive and reactionary forces.

Thirdly, building mass movements, which will include all peace-loving and patriotic forces including those within the Congress (I) and secular bourgeois opposition parties, to support the world-wide struggles for peace and national liberation and to defend India's security and sovereignty;

Fourthly, continuing its efforts to build a Left and democratic alternative, as well as unity of the Left parties, with unity between the CPI and the CPM as the spearhead; and

Fifthly, to build the party and the mass movements it leads and extend their influence.

Dealing with organisation, the 12th Congress noted the achievement of political and organisational unification as one of the main achievements after the Bhatinda Congress. It also analysed certain organisational weaknesses that continue and made proposals on how to rectify them.

At the conclusion of the Congress, a mass rally, attended by over 300,000 people was held.

PB member Sarath Muttetuwagama MP attend the Varnasi Congress as the CPSL's fraternal delegate.

## Poojas for P.M.

If the Prime Minister has, as he says, "fully recovered" from his operation and is now perfectly well, why are his supporters continuing to hold Bodhi-poojas throughout the country for his health?

This question is being as widely discussed in political circles as his emergence as a very wealthy man after he assumed this high office.

The marked change in the PM's political style and his generally low-key presence since he returned from his operation in the USA are also subjects of discussion.

But critics of Mr Premadasa within the UNP ranks say that the series of Bodhi-poojas have nothing to do with his health, but are a method the PM has chosen to work himself back into the positions he occupied before he was "devalued" by JR loyalists.

weaponary at the rate of three new warheads every day.

Introducing MIRV technology, the US had added 3 warheads to each of its Minuteman-3 missiles, made it possible for the missiles launched from its submarines to carry 10 warheads that can be fired independently at ten different targets, and fitted the B-52 bombers it used against Vietnam with cruise missiles.

Mr Wernke's authoritative testimony makes nonsense of the Reagan-Haig claim that agreeing to a freeze of nuclear weaponry in Europe will only help the Soviet Union, and given a big filip to the growing demand in the USA itself that the Reagan Administration agrees to such a freeze.

Mr Wernke has also attacked the efforts of the Reagan Administration to establish a so-called "linkage" between arms control and disarmament and what it considers to be Soviet "behaviour" at home and abroad.

He had charged that the theory of "linkage" is both unreasonable and dishonest, and asserted that "arms control has to stand on its own feet" and should not be regarded as "a reward for Soviet good behaviour".



# Confidence Keynotes Vietnam Congress

**C**ONFIDENCE in themselves and the future of their country and party was the keynote of 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which was held from March 27 to 30 at Hanoi.

The CPSL was represented at this Congress by its General Secretary K. P. Silva, whose impressions will be published in our next issue.

The central slogan of the CPV's 5th Congress was: "All for socialist Vietnam and the people's happiness".

1,033 delegates, representing 1.7 million members of the CP of Vietnam, took part in the Congress, which was also attended by the fraternal representatives of 47 other Communist and Workers Parties.

The opening address to the Congress, delivered by PB member TRUONG CHINH, paid homage to the memory of President HO CHI MINH, the outstanding leader of the CPV and a highly respected and loved figure among the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world.

His speech set the tone for the 5th Congress, which demonstrated the solidarity, unanimity of views, and confidence in eventual victory of their cause which permeates all sections of the people of Vietnam, despite the many difficulties they face and the seriousness of the problems ahead, not least of which is the constant threat of aggression from the Peking hegemonists and their US imperialist ally.

The political report of the Central Committee was presented by the CPV's General Secretary, LE DUAN.

It described the victory in the war of resistance to US aggression and the speedy reunification of the country thereafter as one of the brilliant successes of the party and the people.

But owing to the "hostile policy of the reactionaries in the Chinese circles", it was still not possible to ensure the great desire of the Vietnamese people, after 30 years of war, to live their lives and re-build their country in conditions of peace, independence and freedom.

"For a long time now", said LE Duan, "the Chinese leaders have cherished a scheme to annex Vietnam and the Indochinese peninsula as a whole, so as to pave the way for the materialisation of their dream of expansion into south-east Asia."

"In their strategic calculations, the Chinese reactionaries intend to weaken Vietnam in all respects, and eventually to conquer our country with a two-pronged attack, up from the south and down from the north".

## FIRST ATTACK

Noting that the first Chinese attack had been effectively met and rebuffed, LE DUAN underlined the achievements made in the past five years in the economic and cultural spheres.

"Our country", he continued, "is now in a situation wherein it enjoys peace while having to face a kind of multi-sided war waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists acting hand in glove with the US imperialists, and, at the same time, to stand ready to cope with the possibility of a large-scale war of aggression started by the enemy".

In this context, he said, two primary tasks have been set

out: (1) to build socialism successfully, and (2) to stand combat ready in order to defend socialist Vietnam effectively.

Stressing that solidarity and all-round co-operation with the Soviet Union has always been "the keystone of the foreign policy of our party and state", LE DUAN said that the further strengthening of this solidarity and cooperation was vital to defeat the threats to world peace and the security and stability of Asia from the Reagan administration and its Chinese collaborators, as well as the consolidation of the positions of national independence and socialism in the Indochinese peninsula.

Vietnam, he said, had undergone a "new qualitative development" since it joined the CMEA of the socialist community. Firm support for the government and people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and appreciation of the independent role of India in foreign affairs was also expressed.

In conclusion, LE DUAN emphasised the need to enhance still further the party's working class and vanguard character and its ideological work.

## OTHER REPORTS

Two other reports were discussed by the Congress. One, on the economic situation, was presented by PB member and Prime Minister PHAM VAN DONG. The other, on party organisation, was presented by PB member LE DUC THO.

The economic report noted that between 1976 and 1980 encouraging results had been obtained in industry and agriculture despite major difficulties. Three of these years—i.e. 1977 and 1979–80—were years of big natural disasters, which had led to agricultural production falling one million tonnes below target. In 1980, however, the output of 14.38 million tonnes had been 2.9 million tonnes more than in 1975, while there was a marked improvement in 1981 when food production exceeded 15 million tonnes.

Gross industrial production had also improved during this period and the 1980 figure was 12.8 per cent higher than that of 1975. Means of production industry had increased its output by 20.4 per cent, while consumer industry rose by 8.1 per cent. Infrastructure, like transport etc, had also improved considerably.

Setting the main tasks for the 1980s, the CPV emphasised the need to solve the food problem and the supply of better clothes, education and other social needs; to continue to build the material and technological basis of socialism, boosting all-sided economic activities; to complete socialist transformation in the south and consolidate the socialist relations of production in the whole country; to meet defence requirements; and to consolidate national defence and security.

tisement calling for fresh offers from foreign firms "to rehabilitate, develop, operate and market" its oil storage complex at China Bay, Trincomalee, as an "international oil storage complex".

As a camouflage, the press advertisement says that the storage of oil "owned by any military establishment" will be disallowed, but no ban is placed on the supply of oil to warships or to tankers supplying warships.

In the meantime, the Houston-based COASTAL CORPORATION has announced that it is unaware that the draft agreement between itself and the CPC, which was also approved in principle by the UNP Cabinet, has been withdrawn.

Anti-imperialist and peace forces in our country must therefore be on the alert and not relax their campaign until the government announces categorically that it has abandoned this project—not only with COASTAL but with any other company as well.

## TRINCO: NEW MOVES

Public protest here and abroad may have compelled the government to suspend its controversial deal with the US transnational, COASTAL OIL CORPORATION, to set up a "tank farm" to store and supply oil at Trincomalee for the US Navy and RDF, but the government has not abandoned the project.

The deal with COASTAL became too hot to handle, especially after it was disclosed that this TNC had a contract with the US State Department to supply oil to US forces abroad.

So new bidders are being sought abroad for using the 99 storage oil tanks at Trincomalee, each with a capacity of 12,000 metric tonnes, as a "tank farm".

In Parliament on February 26, Industries Minister CYRIL MATHEW said that "better" offers from other companies in the US and elsewhere were being examined by the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

Early in April, the CPC itself published a press adver-

## WHAT THE ARMS RACE COSTS

Five to ten per cent of the world's total output has been devoted to military spending over the past thirty years. Military spending in 1980 itself amounted to 500 billion US dollars.

Each year a sum of 110 US dollars per head, for every man, woman and child in the whole world, is devoted to military purposes.

Yet 570 million people in the world are malnourished, 800 million illiterate, 1,500 million lack health care, and 250 million school-age children do not attend school.

These are some of the findings of a study conducted by a group of governmental experts at the instance of the Secretary General of the UN Centre for Disarmament.

The study reveals that nearly 50,000 nuclear warheads are now deployed, whose combined explosive yield is one million times greater than the atom bomb dropped by the US on Hiroshima in 1945.

Among other striking points made in the study are:

● The cost of one strategic bomber (100 million dollars)

is more than what the WHO spent in 10 years to eradicate small-pox;

● The sale of arms now amounts to more than 26 billion dollars a year and has become a major factor in international trade;

● In 1980 one-fourth of all scientific research expenditure was devoted to military purposes, which also claimed 5 to 6 per cent of the world's total consumption of oil products.

● During the 1970s, 20 per cent of the world's qualified scientists and engineers were engaged in military work. Altogether, 50 million people were directly or indirectly employed in military activities world-wide.

● In 1980, expenditures on the arms race were 19 times greater than what was provided to the developing and undeveloped countries.

Despite all this, the Reagan administration has set a course of huge escalation of the arms race and has blocked and sabotaged all initiatives by the USSR for the reduction and control of armaments.

## Ronnie off again for Aid

Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel journeys to Manila to attend the meeting of the Board of Governors of the Asian Development Bank from April 27 to 30, and to Helsinki to attend crucial meetings of the IMF and the World Bank from May 9 to 15, are being followed with close attention.

Funding for the Mahaveli Development scheme, even for the "election year" of 1982, has begun to experience problems in the form of large financial deficits.

The Mahaveli Development Ministry has reported that funds in hand are insufficient to meet the costs of the scheduled work for the year on the Victoria reservoir project, the Kotmale dam, and several aspects of systems B, C and G of the scheme.

The deficit in relation to the Victoria project runs into many millions of rupees, and the government is unsure whether Britain, which finances this project, will provide the extra cash, taking into account its own problems and its new dispute with Argentina over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

Although the government has asked the Swedish government to make adjustments to meet the new costs of the Kotmale project, the major row in Sweden's Parliament about the way in which this contract was awarded to a special contractor, SKANSA, at the expense of other firms, may hold up further aid.

In system B, an extra 148 million dollars is needed, and

the government seeks aid from Canada and the World Bank.

System C, which covers the Maduru Oya project and is being funded by the USA, has also large financing gaps.

The development of the Elahera canal under system G, which is funded by the E. E. C., has also a shortfall of 44 million rupees.

## UNEASY

Government sources are uneasy about the prospects of getting the increased aid they seek.

The World Bank, they say, is far from satisfied that the government has taken sufficiently effective steps to stop the waste and corruption that is rampant in the Mahaveli scheme, and on which one-third of the foreign aid given is squandered.

In addition, the meetings that the Finance Minister and his team will attend in coming weeks are likely to be stormy ones.

Following the US government's decision to cut down drastically its contributions to the IMF, IDA and the ADF, these institutions, instead of considering new aid, will have to discuss changes in multilateral lending patterns, especially those given through "soft" loan avenues like the IDA and ADF.

Government say that the big shortfalls in funds for Mahaveli development in 1982 are due to inflation.



# MAY DAY IS WORKERS' DAY

Hats off to the CPSL for its principled insistence that the May Day celebrations should not obliterate or push to an insignificant position the essential character of this great day of the workers, the day of their international solidarity.

One is not surprised that the bourgeois parties, who now celebrate May Day as well, should not be anxious to emphasise this fact.

The UNP has tried to turn May Day into a state-sponsored bajaw party. President Jayawardene has insisted that there should be no demonstrations, which he considers to be "vulgar." Instead, the UNP's emphasis is on a mass concert, starring imported and local pop singers, and the usual homilies from the President, PM, JSS chiefs and other notables.

The SLFP (whether divided or re-united) seems to regard May Day as an occasion for paying pooja to Mrs. Bandanaike's "leadership". This aspect has become the first consideration of its celebrations this year. The returned dissidents from the SLFP(M), as well as the assorted Maoist groups and the two factions of the LSSP have been made aware that this is the *sine qua non*.

As for the JVP, the emphasis of its May Day celebration is, like its general political activity, on spectacle and show. Its demonstrations are usually colourful, but lack spontaneity. Instead, they take the form of a militarised parade of the JVP's youthful followers. Very few workers—or, for that matter, adults—can be seen in them. At the JVP's May Day rally, criticism of the UNP is usually muted and low key, while the main substance of the speeches is a broadside against other anti-UNP parties, especially the CPSL and the rest of the Left movement.

In this situation, it is most distressing to see the LSSP, too, forget the essential character of May Day and decide to apply to Mrs. B. for permission to attach itself to her party's celebrations. No doubt, the LSSP has a problem with the split away of Anil Moonesinghe and his supporters, which also threatens a sharp division within its trade union following, already badly depleted. But in its apparent anxiety to stop an exodus to the Anil group by adopting its political line, the LSSP leaders have only made things worse for themselves.

On the one hand, they have retreated from the more independent policies they followed since their last Conference. On the other, they have reduced their party to the humiliating position where its leaders like Colvin R. de Silva and Bernard Soysa have to appear before Mrs. B., flanked on the same sofa by Anil Moonesinghe whom they have dubbed as a right-wing conspirator and splitter, in order to plead for their gracious permission to be allowed to take part in her May day celebration.

Two years ago, when the LSSP broke its alliance with the CPSL and decided to form the ill-fated "5-party alliance"

with the SLFP, the TULF, and the one-man parties of Sanmugathasan and Dinesh Gunawardena, it did so on May Day. At that time, it said that this was a tactic "for May Day only." But things turned out differently, and the "tactic for a single day" became settled policy until the 5-party alliance, which was not based on any programme or principled agreement, disintegrated. Now, once again, the LSSP leaders are trying to justify their repetition of this opportunist move by saying that it is "for May Day only". Let's wait and see whether history repeats itself.

N. K. Gamage

Colombo 10.

## Family Reunion

The family reunion between Mrs. B. and Anura will, of course, help the SLFP(S) immediately and greatly strengthen Mrs. B.'s hand. But what its long-term effects will be is hard to say.

Mrs. B. was always confident that Anura would return to the family fold. At the time of the split, she predicted that he would come back and say:—"Mummy, forgive me!" When in India recently she told a reporter, who asked her whether her son would rejoin her, "Of course! After all, he is a Bandaranaike!". She has been proved right.

Some unkind people have even begun to speculate whether Mrs. B. had stage-managed the whole affair from the start. For the net result has been a spectacular high jump by Anura in the table of precedence of the SLFP. Many senior leaders of both (M) and (S) groups are now out of the running or by-passed, and Mrs. B. has an acceptable stand-in for herself in the next general election.

Whether these crosses and double-crosses will help the SLFP in the long run is, of course, another question. Even if it helps them to win the next election, what will happen thereafter, when it has to face and solve the realities of the intense crisis of the capitalist system in Sri Lanka?

First of all, what has happened has strengthened the mass impression that the SLFP has now become, in reality, an appendage of the Bandaranaike family. President Jayawardene is going all out to exploit this mass impression for his own purposes—including a calculated attempt to besmirch and belittle the image of the late Mr. Bandaranaike himself, as seen in his recent speeches.

But the fact that the UNP tries to exploit a situation does not prove that it does not exist. Anti-UNP forces, including the members and supporters of the SLFP themselves, cannot help noticing that the dispute that split the SLFP in two had nothing to do with policy or principle, but originated in a family dispute about whether Anura or his sister Chandrika should succeed their disqualified

mother in the vacant Attanagalla seat. Similarly, neither Mrs. B. nor Anura paid any attention to their respective party committees when they started and completed family pow-wows about reunion—a fact about which both Messrs Kobbekadduwa and Maithripala Senanayaka have complained publicly from their different points of view.

Another point that arises is whether the family reunion can suppress for long the demand for inner-party democracy within the SLFP that has already begun to surface, despite the imperfect way in which this was manifested through the SLFP(M). As long as the SLFP(S) wants to retain contacts with the masses, it cannot prevent the demand for inner-party democracy from coming up again and again.

The role that tycoon Upali Wijewardene has played in all this is also a matter of concern in progressive circles in and around the SLFP. After doing J. R. Jayawardene's job for him in the UNP by promoting the devaluation of Mr. Premadasa and his supporters, Upali has concentrated on promoting the reunion of his SLFP relatives Anura and Mrs. B., both directly and through his newspapers—so much so that wags now refer to the SLFP that Upali has reunited as the

the only insurance for a safe future—at least for some time.

A. M. G. Ariyapala

Gampaha.

## Play Acting

Play-acting and make-believe have always occupied a prominent role in the JVP's activities.

But ever since its leaders announced that the JVP will "form the next government," they have begun to behave as though they were already Ministers.

They now drive about in berets and uniforms, preceded by motor-cycle escorts and flanked by security men.

Earlier, this was the procedure to herald their arrival at any JVP meeting. But now it has become standard procedure.

Recently, the Colombo Police called a conference of political parties to work out route arrangements for May Day processions. To everyone's surprise and amusement, the JVP's top trio, including Wijeweera and Bopage, drove up, in uniform and with motor cycle escort, to attend the discussion.

This reminds me of the situation two decades ago

broke from the LSSP and called themselves the "true" LSSP, the Colvin-Bernard leadership would have nothing to do with them until they officially changed their name to NSSP. But when Anil and his group create a much smaller split and insist that they have "captured the party" and are now the "real LSSP" (a position immediately accepted by Mrs. B.), Dr. Colvin and Bernard Soysa waste no time to reconcile themselves to the "two-LSSP" policy, and hasten to appear before Mrs. B. (together with Anil) in order to get permission to appear on the same May Day platform, where both groups will be present as representing the LSSP.

Things have surely come to a sorry pass if the question of deciding which group is the LSSP is now left to Mrs. B. Or where the LSSP leaders, who were earlier trying to bring together the warring "S" and "M" groups of the SLFP, now have to leave to Mrs. B. the task of bringing together the warring factions of the LSSP.

It is also obvious that the LSSP leaders were caught by surprise by the Anil defection. They seem to be the only people in the country who were not aware of what was happening. Both inside and outside the party, the Anil group made no secret of their intention to merge with the SLFP(S). The *Dinakara* for its part was equally explicit. Equally well known—and now acknowledged by the LSSP leadership—is the fact that, in all its manoeuvres, the Anil group kept close contact with leading sections within the SLFP(S). Anil himself has acknowledged this indirectly in his post-split interview with the DAILY NEWS.

What the LSSP leaders must explain to their members, if not to the public, is why, after it has been established that the split in their party was masterminded in close consultation with leading sections of the SLFP(S), they immediately rush to hold a common May Day rally with "conspirators" and those who worked closely with them.

R. S. Jayamanne

Ratmalana.

## Caste

In drawing attention to the fact that, since becoming Premier, Mr. R. Premadasa has become a very rich man who can buy Colombo 7 houses, educate his son in a public school in England and his daughter at the Overseas School here, and spend weeks in the USA to have an operation that is commonly done here, Mrs. Bandaranaike has raised a matter which is widely spoken about and needs explanation.

But the only reaction from President Jayawardene, who is talking so loudly nowadays about "dharma principles" and fighting corruption, is to accuse Mrs. B. of being caste-minded!

If ever there was a non sequitur, this is it.

Stella Gomes

Kirillapone.



SLFP(USA). He has added to their strength by helping to promote the Anil split in the LSSP, so as to line up the LSSP or part of it with Sirima. And his newspapers are now calling on the reunited SLFP(S) to announce that it will not change the UNP policy of a "free economy", foreign investments and support for the FTZ. Upali's support can well be the eventual kiss of death for the SLFP and Upali himself the bridge-builder for J.R.'s dream of a "National" government.

Another noticeable feature is that Mrs. B., who wants a "left colouring" rather than Left support, has united around herself a motley crew of anti-communist and anti-Soviet elements. These are not only the assorted Maoist groups, but also the virulent anti-communist Trotskyite and anti-Sovietite, Anil Moonesinghe. UK Trotskyite Ted Grant, who visited Sri Lanka recently to attend the conference of the official Trotskyite party, the NSSP, has also advised that party to gang up with Mrs. B.

So the question can be raised whether Anura's return to the family fold, instead of strengthening anti-UNP unity as he says it will, may instead let loose forces set on taking the SLFP further to the right, along the path of anti-communism that can lead to a "National" government, that J. R., Upali and wide sections of the capitalist class feel is

when the LSSP, under the self-induced belief that they would form the next government, issued the slogan "NM for PM" and even published the names of their "shadow" Cabinet Ministers.

The shock and disillusion among LSSP members and supporters when they found their hopes dashed was sad to see. And the repercussions thereafter are still remembered.

The JVP leaders, who have swallowed J.R.'s dead rope that they are the "real alternative" to the UNP, are trying to repeat history. But they should not forget that history has a habit of repeating itself usually as farce or tragedy.

Premasiri de Alwis

Kandy.

## The Anil Factor

One cannot but agree with the remarks of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva that the LSSP is well rid of Anil Moonesinghe and his group.

Dr. de Silva has dubbed the activities of Anil and his group as a "conspiracy to push the party to the right". If this is so, how do these leaders hope to fight back this "conspiracy" by adopting the opportunist policy for which these right-wing conspirators fought?

Secondly, when Vasudeva Nanayakkara and his followers



# A NEW PARLIAMENT WE DON'T NEED

The UNP government's new Parliamentary complex at Kotte (now renamed Sri Jayawardenapura) and the tamashas connected with its opening are likely to prove even more costly than its tamasha over the visit of Britain's Queen Elizabeth to officiate over the "50th anniversary of adult franchise"

Originally estimated to cost a little over 950 million rupees, the final cost of the new Parliamentary complex is close on 3 billion rupees. It will also cost Rs. 16 million a month to maintain.

*No expense has been spared on the new Parliament complex, which is designed to give less than 200 legislators even better comforts and facilities than visiting VIPs and rich tourists receive in our five-star hotels.*

Even when the government was compelled to enforce massive cutbacks in its accelerated Mahaveli development scheme and virtually to stop its building and housing programme, not a cent was cut from the new Parliament project.

Indeed, costs were allowed to escalate and the architects were sent round to world to obtain the very best in building materials and adornments.

## CRITICISED

The expenditure of so vast a sum on a project with such low economic priority has been sharply criticised.

*It has been pointed out that such an opulent and grandiose building is totally unnecessary and out of proportion in a country where over half the families have monthly incomes of less than Rs. 300 devalued rupees and nearly three-fourths of the dwellings in which the people are forced to live are unfit for human habitation.*

## PROTESTS OVER NEW ELECTIONS CHIEF

Opposition parties are up in arms against President Jayawardene's recent appointment of one of his Secretaries, Mr. S. L. A. Marikar, as Commissioner of Elections as well.

They say that such an appointment can compromise the impartiality of this key post, which has been maintained up to now.

At the moment, two important matters are before the Commissioner of Elections for his adjudication.

One is whether the HAND symbol should be awarded to the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike or the SLFP led by Mr. Maithripala Senanayake. This is a matter in which President

Opposition circles have also pointed out that, when the UNP government took office, it had before it several plans by both government and private architects (including Mr. Geoffrey Bawa, who designed the present complex) which could have given Parliament a new building and all the extra accommodation it could need for next few decades at a cost of between Rs. 50 and 60 million.

## CAPITAL

The decision to spend so much on a new Parliament building, which would be constructed on reclaimed marsh land at Kotte, was linked with the decision to transfer the capital of Sri Lanka from Colombo to Kotte and call it "Sri Jayawardenapura".

It has been noted that such a fundamental decision as the venue of the country's capital has been taken without any consultation with the people—either at the last general elections or through the now-available machinery of a referendum.

The decision, which is now being given the force of law through a gazette notification, was apparently taken by President Jayawardene, whose desire that his name should go down in history is unconcealed, on a proposal by his Minister Anandatissa de Alwis.

*Critics of the decision say that, if a capital other than Colombo was to be considered,*

*the claims of other historical capitals such as Kandy, Anuradhapura, etc. should have been also considered.*

"Why Kotte?", they ask. "Is it because it is the only one which can bear the name of Sri Jayawardenapura?"

## COLOMBO

While gazetting Sri Jayawardenapura as the new "capital", the government has also announced that Colombo will continue to be the "commercial capital".

Ministries and departments will continue to be located in Colombo.

Kotte's residents have complained that, although it has

been declared the capital, all they have gained—apart from the dust pollution during the period of construction—are vastly escalated charges for water, electricity and other deteriorating services.

The wisdom of deciding on Kotte as the new capital without a national consultation or consensus, and of making the new Parliamentary complex its centre-piece, has been questioned by many.

They point to the fact that the decision is a highly controversial one and that any future government may well decide to abandon Kotte as the capital.

"What will happen to the expensive new Parliamentary complex if this happens?", they ask.

Others predict that the decision to make Kotte the

capital may well suffer the same fate as the 1972 Republican Constitution—to be torn up by a subsequent government.

Many critics charge that the only reason why President Jayawardene decided to go ahead with the new Parliament and the project for a new capital was the desire to perpetuate his name—just as the Pharaohs did with the Pyramids and other potentates with their palaces and mausoleums.

"The new Parliament may be lovely to look at and luxurious to work in, but is the money and effort spent on it justified at this time?", they ask.

Workers employed by the Japanese contractors and other sub-contractors, who are now laid off with the end of the project, have now to look for other work.

## Pardons for Germ Warfare Know-How

American efforts to spread disinformative lies that the Soviet Union uses germ warfare in Afghanistan and that Vietnam is doing the same in Kampuchea received a big setback with the recent publication of two studies which revealed that, in addition to the germ warfare it had used in Vietnam, the US had pardoned Japanese specialists in germ warfare after World War Two in return for obtaining their research in this barbaric "expertise".

One of the publications is a book called "The Devil's Gluttony" and is written by the well known Japanese author, Seiichi Morimura. The other is a report on "Japan's Biological Weapons: 1930-1945", which was published in the US scientific journal "The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists".

Both publications quote chapter and verse to establish that, during World War Two, Japan maintained a scientific unit, called Imperial Army Unit 731, where "experiments" and "research" on germ warfare were conducted by subjecting prisoners of war to injections and exposure to toxic and noxious substances.

Most of the prisoners of war—or "research victims" as the Japanese called them—were Chinese, Russian and Mongolian, although Morimura says that Japanese dissidents were also used as victims, while another writer, John Powell, alleges that US prisoners of war were also used.

## "REGRETS"

The Japanese government has now acknowledged that such barbaric studies were in fact conducted and said that it was "most regrettable from the point of view of humanity".

The experiments, which were conducted by some of Imperial Japan's best doctors and scientists, consisted of injecting their captives with massive doses of potent viruses like typhus, small-pox and cholera in order to study their reactions.

Prisoners were also subjected to sub-zero weather and then plunged into boiling water to ascertain how long it took for their skins to peel off.

The reactions of men to injections of horse-blood and of women to injections of syphilis were also studied here.

Prisoners were also exposed to conditions that produced gangrene, frostbite and similar ailments.

## 3 UNITS

Unit 713 had maintained at least three micro-biological research stations, equipped with up to date laboratories, where these "experiments" were conducted.

In charge of the project was the Japanese scientist, Shiro Ishii, who had received his early training in germ weaponry from the Nazis. He argued and convinced the Japanese government that germ warfare would be not only a very potent but also a cheaper and more deadly form of warfare.

After Japan's defeat, some of these "scientists" fell into the hands of the Soviets

and were tried and executed for crimes against humanity. But the US preferred to give a pardon to those who fell into their hands in exchange for the information they had gained from their gruesome experiments.

*Says John Powell, the author of the study published in the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists": "The American government's participation in the cover-up...stemmed from Washington's desire to secure exclusive possession of Japan's expertise in using germs as lethal weapons".*

Both studies are carefully researched and profusely documented. Members of the former Unit 731 who are still alive have been interviewed. Documents, labelled "Top Secret", which show that even in 1947 the US government was fully aware of what was going on have also been published.

The two studies have caused a sensation. Morimura's book has already sold over a million copies. The demand for an official probe of these disgraceful incidents is already rising in both Japan and the USA.

## Cover Up

Now that the two-year domestic and international campaign to compel the UNP government to re-instate the one lakh of employees it dismissed in 1980 for taking part in a strike for higher wages has begun to achieve results, compelling the government to take back about 65 per cent of these workers, two organisations that did great damage to the strike in 1980 are trying to find alibis to cover up their misdeeds.

When the 1980 general strike started, the JVP did its best to sabotage it. Its main trade unionist and brother-in-law of Rohana Wijeweera, President of the Lanka Guru Sangamaya H. M. Fernando, has revealed the precise instructions sent by

the JVP to all its members on how to sabotage that strike.

However, now that general elections are approaching, the JVP has begun to put up posters calling for the re-instatement of strikers, covering up the fact that their dismissal was, in the first place, assisted by the sabotage of the JVP.

Similarly, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, whose leader P. B. Tampoe suddenly backed out of the 1980 strike at the last moment, has now also decided to creep on the bandwagon of the swelling campaign to reinstate the sacked strikers. He has ordered his members to wear badges calling for reinstatement.

## FORWARD

### Subscription Rates

1 year.....	Rs. 24.00
6 months.....	Rs. 12.00
3 ".....	Rs. 6.00

Send your subscriptions to

The Manager, "FORWARD",  
91, Cotta Rd. Colombo 8.



# SPLITS, UNITY & MORE SPLITS

Political circles are still trying to assess the results and possible repercussions of the series of dramatic splits, unity moves and more splits that were a marked feature of developments last month in Opposition circles.

Anura Bandaranaike's break-away from the SLFP(M), together with a number of other Politbureau members of that group, and their attempt to rejoin the SLFP(S) was the main event in all this.

Mr. Bandaranaike has sought to justify himself on the grounds that only the UNP and, to a lesser extent, the JVP were benefitting from the continued split in the SLFP. But his action has, nevertheless, diminished his political image in no small way.

He has laid himself open to the charge that, when it came to the crunch, blood was thicker than politics. He has made it appear that the struggle in the SLFP was not one over the need for greater internal party democracy, but a projection of a feud within the Bandaranaike family. He has also laid himself open to the charge, levelled against him from among both the 'M' and 'S' wings of the SLFP, that what made him jump was his mother's dangling before him the carrot of leading the SLFP in the next general elections, when she will be compelled to step aside by the UNP's new laws.

Whether these charges are true or not can only be decided on the basis of Mr. Bandaranaike's future conduct. But some of the mud slung will certainly stick. Anura's association with Upali Wijewardene in this matter has been made full use of by the Maithripala wing, and Maithripala Senanayake himself has, in one of his more punchy statements so far, dragged out Anura's deal with J. R. Jayawardene at the Kalawewa by-election. Mr. Wijesiri, too, keeps elaborating on his charge of caste-prejudice.



## Objections

Within the SLFP(S), too, neither Mrs. B. nor Anura have had things all their own way. Diverse groups headed by Old Guardists like T. B. Illangaratne and Hector Kobbekadduwa and the Young Turks like the Kumaranatunges and the Siri-Maoists put up a stiff resistance, which may have had bigger results if Mr. Kobbekadduwa, as is often the case in matters which concern opposition to Mrs. B., had not backed down in the last minute.

The objections raised within the SLFP(S) were as varied as the circles that raised them. It was demanded that Anura and his followers should apply individually for admittance as new members (thus blocking future claims to seniority), that each application should be considered on its merits, and that those admitted should serve a "probation" period.

Also demanded as a precondition for re-entry was the winding up of all organisations associated with the Anura-ites and the discontinuance of all "organisers" appointed by them. As far as the trade unions were concerned, it was demanded that Alavi Moulana and Mangala Moonesinghe should work under those whom the SLFP(S) had appointed to head their trade union wing.

Finally, a tough speech by Mrs. B., who made it clear that the SLFP may have to do without her if they did not agree to what she wanted, and the turnabout of Mr. Kobbekadduwa, got a decision to admit Anura and some others, but pointedly leaving out Messrs Suriyaperuma and Sumathipala Jayawardene. But the anti-Anura forces were not routed. They successfully prevented the holding of a "unity rally" between Mrs. B. and Anura at Ratmalana or Kotte, and the names of neither Anura nor any of his merry men appear in the announced list of speakers at the SLFP May Day rally.

Anura himself has been placed in a predicament. If he abandons the two PB members, who were persuaded to join him on his return to the family fold, his image will be

In 1964 Anil Moonesinghe nearly produced a similar split when he persuaded a majority of the LSSP's High Command to break away from the LSSP-CP-VLSSP United Left Front and to join Mrs. B's then Cabinet. A split was avoided only because the Colvin-Leslie-Bernard section of the leadership did not want to push matters to this extreme.

There is little doubt that the present Anil split took place with the full knowledge and support of Mrs. B. and a major section of the SLFP(S) leadership. Anil visited Rosmead Place frequently during this period, and DINAKARA openly backed Anil, called on LSSP members to support him, and helped Anil to organise the operation which he has called "capturing the party".

But the role played by two big tycoons in promoting the Anil defection is even more sinister. Tycoon Upali Wijewardene (who is now backing Mrs. B. & Anura, especially after Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel got the state banks under him to demand the immediate repayment of tens of millions of rupees that Upali had borrowed from them but not repaid) and his newspapers did so openly. But working behind the scenes was another

The split has not, however, been as big as Anil originally claimed. Some of those whom he mentioned as supporters have openly denied this, while others, who have remained silent, have nevertheless stayed with their party. Anil's main support seems to have come—at least among the party cadre—from the top echelons of the G. W. T. U. F. and the U. C. M. U., although the latter had parted company with the L. S. S. P. even before the Anil split. One of the reasons why the LSSP leaders, after expelling Anil and denouncing his move as a "rightist conspiracy", nevertheless decided to do exactly what Anil wanted them to do—namely, join Mrs. B's May Day—probably arose from the panicky desire to stop a bigger exodus from their trade unions and party before they could re-establish control.

Anil has, however, succeeded in making the LSSP High Command look ridiculous. They were clearly unaware of what was going on in their own party and taken by surprise. And they were forced into the humiliating position of having to beg Mrs. B., flanked by defector Anil whom she immediately recognised as General Secretary of the LSSP, for kind permission to take part in her May Day meeting.

Once May Day is over, the LSSP leaders, who are now running round in circles, will have to decide what to do next. They will have to explain to their members why they have given quasi-recognition to Anil's claim to be the "genuine" LSSP, whereas they had refused to have anything to do with Vasudeva dissidents, who claimed the same, until they changed their name to N. S. S. P. And when it comes to election time and matters reach the crunch, they will have to decide whether they will meekly accept what they refused to accept at the time of the DDC polls—namely, Mrs. B's arrogant "take it or leave it" insistence that the LSSP includes its candidates in the SLFP list under the SLFP symbol or not at all.



## Corruption

President Jayawardene seems to have finally realised the need to do something about the massive corruption his regime has spawned and which has disenchanted many of the UNP's more reputable supporters.

The long delayed action against Anura Daniel, the young UNP MP nabbed on a major smuggling charge, was taken despite heavy pressure to "go easy" from powerful caste lobbies and circles within the government itself. But the matter had become too blatant and hot to handle for the President to repeat what he had done at Kamburupitiya and elsewhere and sweep matters under the carpet.

Government newspapers have made much about the recent decision of the UNP's Working

Committee which gives President Jayawardene wide powers to investigate and, if necessary, act against any member of his administration, whether Minister, MP, statutory appointee, or official, on these or similar matters. How he will use these powers remains to be seen.

Closely watched at the moment is what the President will do in relation to the inquiry into irregularities regarding the award of tenders worth over Rs. 5 million by the Ceylon Fertiliser Corporation. The scandal here affects the highest echelons of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research, under which the Corporation comes.

An Additional Secretary of the Ministry has already been interdicted on the order of President Jayawardene himself, who also appointed Cabinet Secretary, G. V. P. Samarasinghe, to investigate and issue a confidential report. This report, become one of the talking points around town.

Minister E. L. Senanayake, who is in a tight corner, has tried to shove the blame onto his Ministry Secretary, Ranjan Wijeratna, who is generally regarded as "JR's watchdog" in the Ministry. He sent Mr. Wijeratne on "compulsory leave", but has had the order cancelled by the President's Secretariat shortly afterwards. Now E. L. himself faces an inquiry by a committee of his Ministerial colleagues, headed by the President.

Of course, the matter of the tenders at the Ceylon Fertiliser Corporation is only the tip of the iceberg as far as scandals concerning Mr. E. L. Senanayake's Ministry are concerned. It was not difficult for the President to haul Minister E. L. over the coals as his political influence has dwindled to almost nil and, like Dr. Jamaldeen, he has become a liability rather than an asset to the government.

But will President Jayawardene also have the guts to take up some of the charges made against Ministries headed by more powerful Ministers? In this connection, it is specifically asked what action he intends to take in relation to charges made against various Departments and corporations under the Prime Minister raised by Mrs. Bandaranaike publicly in a recent speech.

What interests political circles is that President Jayawardene found it necessary to get the okay from the UNP Working Committee to exercise powers he already has to deal with corruption among the highest and lowest in the land. Is it due to opposition within the party and its top echelons to the anti-corruption drive? Or do some circles in the UNP allege that all talk about "fighting corruption" is only a ruse for the President to move against personalities and trends in the UNP that he does not like?

LAST  
PAGE

by  
Gamini

even more clouded and his supporters at mass level may well wonder how much they can rely on him. But if he chooses not to knuckle down, he cannot now go back to the SLFP(M). It remains to be seen how he will get out of this dilemma, and, for once, Anura, back again with mother, remains uncharacteristically mum.



## Anil

The second episode in this chain of events—namely, the defection from the LSSP of Anil Moonesinghe and some of his supporters—has turned out to be a somewhat damp squib.

Since it embraced Trotskyism in 1939, the LSSP has gone through 8 major splits. But the Anil defection is its first split towards the Right. All others, apart from those in the wartime BLPI period, were ones where those who quit the party moved either to the Communist Party or (as in the case of the Tampoe and Vasudeva splits that took place when the LSSP High Command began to move away from Fourth International positions,) those to the ultra-left.

tycoon, Anil's brother Susil, who is a director of the Maharajah Organisation.

Like Upali and some other sections of Big Business, the Maharajah Organisation, while mainly supporting the UNP, felt it was wiser to avoid possible future reprisals by hedging their bets. So Susil Moonesinghe and his wife, who had a direct pipeline to Mrs. B., were both made directors and Anil himself was appointed as an executive and "advisor" for some time. Susil did so well that he was able to build an enormous new house at Jawatte Road (complete with swimming pool). President J. R. Jayawardene was the chief guest at the house-warming, where he was button-holed by Anil who spent the whole evening pleading with him to restore Mrs. B's civic rights.

The interest that these tycoons, who still retain their connections with the UNP, shared in promoting both the Sirima-Anura reunion and the Anil split has made many wonder whether we are not witnessing another ploy directed towards the realisation of J. R.'s old dream of saving capitalism through a "National" Government.