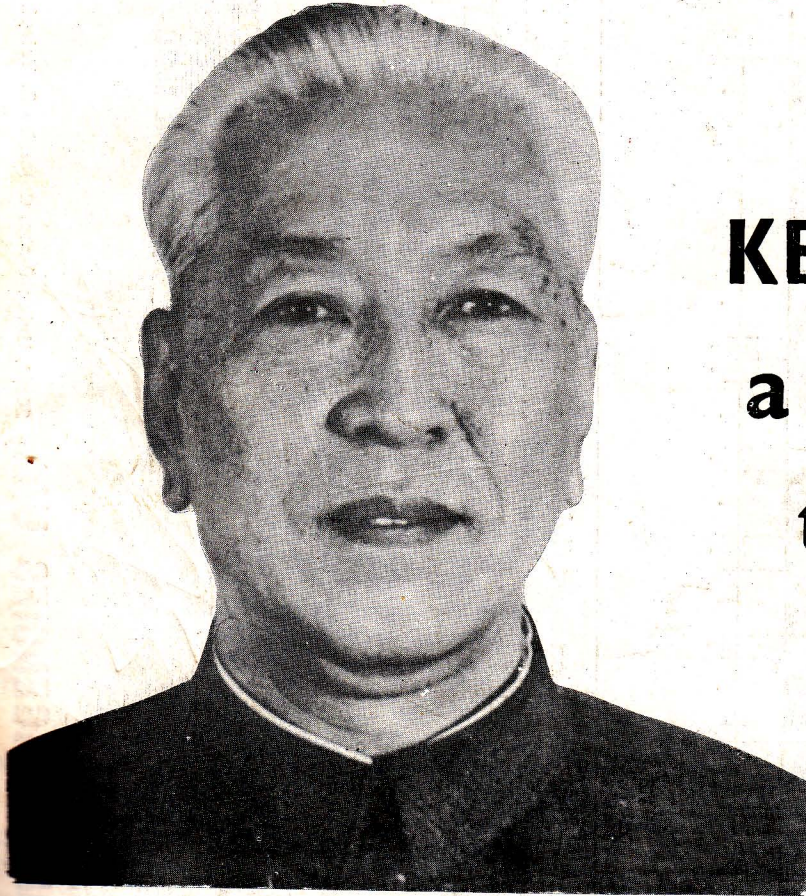


GUARDIAN



KENG PIAO: a poser for the SLFP

The turbulent Mahaweli

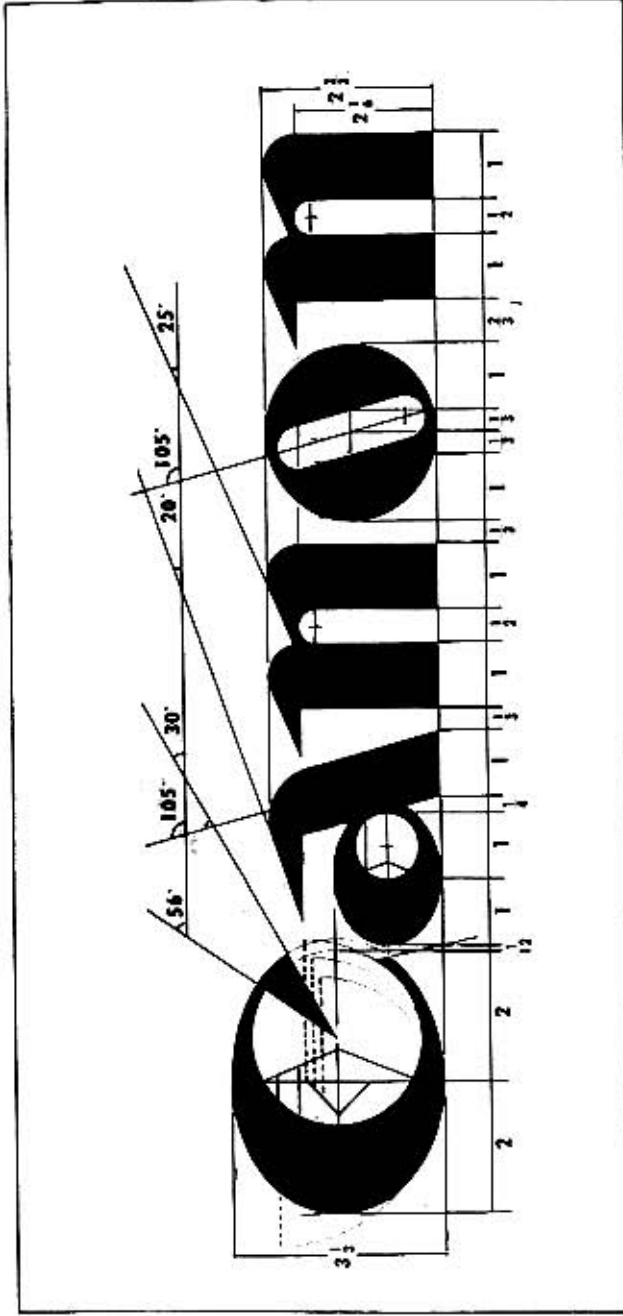
Anura : threat to resign

China's world view

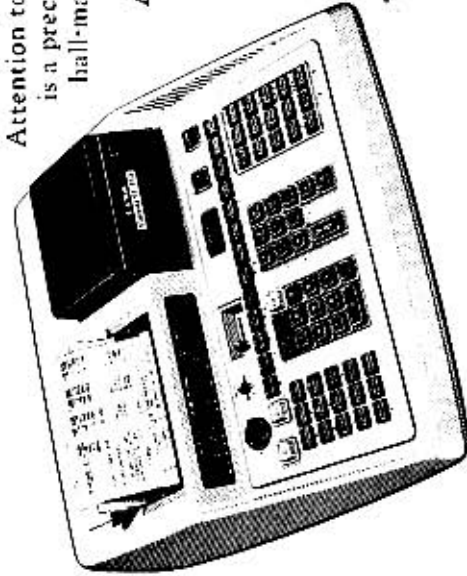
The Bhutto trial

Also: Martin Wickremasinghe • Literature & politics • Satire

Attention to Small Details...



Attention to small details makes a big difference especially when it is a precision product. Consider the Canon trade mark, it's the hall-mark of precision in its format. Attention to even such a small detail did you say? Yes, that's Canon all over! And so, right down the assembly line, nothing is left to chance. Test, check and test again. Only 100% perfection makes the grade with Canon. Otherwise a Canon product does not reach you!



**If You Haven't Got A Canon
You Haven't Got the Best!**

Sold and Serviced by



METROPOLITAN AGENCIES LTD., 209/9, Union Place, Colombo 2. Telephone: 35947

Trends

Back to Papa

Evicted from the Fourth International, orphaned 'Trotskyist' LSSP found an ideological foster father in Yugoslavia's anti-Stalinist Tito. Sometime ago "Titoism", "self-management" etc were part of the party's favoured idiom. But Tito moves in mysterious ways, rightwards, leftwards, and sideways. Soon Chairman Hua Kua Feng will return President Tito's visit though Tito was target No. 1 in China's campaign against revisionism. Meanwhile, at home, Tito has been locking up all the "Trotskyists", especially academics and intellectuals, who wrote 'deviationist' articles to theoretical journals.

In a renewal of ideological love between Titoists and one-time Trotskyists here, the LSSP leader, Dr. N. M. Perera was the handpicked Sri Lankan delegate to the 11th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist party.

Voices of silence

With so much controversial laws on the books and in draft form, legal circles find the silence of local lawyers' associations embarrassingly deafening. In the last few years these associations were so active as champions of human rights and democratic liberties, that they won the respect of peers and outsiders alike. Asked to explain a bright young attorney demurred: "I am a member emeritus..." he said bashfully.

Flog 'em

There is trouble brewing in what snooty English-language editors in pre-1956 days used to call Lake House's "native quarter". Some young and not-so young journalists downed

their pens the other day, stood on the desks and berated the management.

While ace-advertising man, R. Bodinagoda is minting money for the Old Firm, the editorial floor is becoming 'mess media' than 'mass media'. The trouble started with the pre-election strike pulled by UNP loyalists and 11th-hour turncoats. For those who marched out on strike (and put out their necks) the loyalty line is clear. Those who did NOT strike are not "loyalists". But it is precisely those men who have got the key posts and the lucrative jobs and that makes the "loyalists" really turn green.

As things get messier week by week, one top trouble-shooter has gracefully withdrawn and found shelter in 'the other place'. Another imported fireman is on the way. But what is to be done with the restive native tribes? Flog 'em?

Under the bed

Eyebrows are being raised in New York at the sight of Sri Lankan sleuths. What are they up to? Looking for black panthers in Harlem or tigers in the asphalt jungle. UN diplomats point to a clue in an article written some years ago about ex-Ambassador Shirley Amerasinghe who is evidently no favourite of some high-level compatriots in Manhattan. The caption to Amerasinghe's picture said "An eye for the ladies". Amerasinghe co-founded his critics by getting himself elected President of the Law of the Sea Conference (Sea Bed and Ocean Floor). Are his envious colleagues looking for dirt on the sea bed or under Park Avenue beds?

Letters

Limelight

Some like to bask in it, others prefer the Spotlight. Generally politicians prefer the former. Satan's vanity and love of the limelight leads him often to prevaricate the truth, and revel in the fruits of discord which he so deftly sows.

J. de S Wijeyeratne

Lenin, pragmatism and such

Reggie Siriwardena while rightly scornful of the LSSP's doublethink should explain just what he considers a democratically elected government is supposed to do when faced with armed insurrection. He would not claim, I presume, that it should tamely give in and hand over power to the rebels however brave, idealistic and sympathique they may be. With hindsight it is easy to see that the official reaction to the rising of 1971 was excessive but in the dust of battle it is not easy to work these things out nicely and precisely. Besides, how much of the overkill was the government's own doing and how much of it was private enterprise on the part of the police and the armed services has not yet been researched.

Now about 180° turns:—

According to the gospel the revolutionary movement must arise spontaneously. It cannot be 'made'. Neither force nor exhortation can make it run ahead of the underlying economic conditions. In 'What Is To Be Done?' (1902) it suited Lenin to discard this most sacred text. It was settled Marxist theology that the bourgeois revolution must be completed before the proletarian revolution could properly begin. Lenin found it convenient to lay down that this was 'antiquated theory' and formulated a new exegesis of the co-existence of the bourgeois provisional government and the soviets which he enunciated in 'On Dual Power' (1917). (180°).

When Lenin returned to Russia he was the leader of a minority even among socialists who were themselves a minority in the bourgeois provisional government. He

LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. 1 No. 5 July 1, 1978

CONTENTS

2	Crossword
3-5	News background
6-11	International news
12	People
13	Press opinion
14-15	Spotlight
16-20	The Arts
21-23	Politics
24-26	Satire

Published by Lanka Guardian Publishers, South Asian Media Centre, Third Floor, YMBA Building, 126 3/28 Main Street, Colombo - 1.

Telephone: 29028.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva

Printed by Ananda Press
82/5, Wolfendhal Street,
Colombo - 13.

did not favour armed resistance to the provisional government and repeatedly denied that his group was for seizure of power by a minority or for reforms not ripe 'in the consciousness of an overwhelming majority. But very soon afterwards (in August) he came out with a flat assertion that in politics majority rule is 'a constitutional illusion'. (180°).

In November Lenin adopted a land policy which he took over wholesale from his opponents. He made a virtue out of necessity and described this decision as 'democratic' in self-approbatory terms. (180°). In May 1918 he completely reversed this policy in his letter to the Petrograd workers calling for a mass crusade against the peasants. (180°).

Also in line with Lenin's pragmatism was the New Economic Policy of 1921 under which there was a return to capitalism and the profit motive. These and many more 180° turns made Lenin a veritable whirling dervish.

Colombo-3. Costain de Vos

Setting record straight

In F. R. Leavis — *From Rebellion To Tyranny* (May 15th) Mr. Reggie Siriwardena sought to make a point against the denizens of "Sri Lanka's small world of Eng. Lit." without stopping to check his facts. He asserted that it "used to be taken for granted that at A Level or at University there was only one novel of Dickens fit to be prescribed as a text — *Hard Times* because "Leavis had pronounced that this was Dickens one great novel."

The fact is that at Peradeniya, for example, *Hard Times* has hardly figured on syllabuses for at least twenty-five years and that the most commonly prescribed Dickens novels have been *Bleak House* and *Great Expectations*, Mr. Siriwardena's own preference! Indeed, *Great Expectations* was the prescribed text for General Degree students in the early sixties, some time before Mr. Siriwardena "shocked" an academic by prescribing it on one of the campuses.

Perhaps Sri Lankan Departments of English are not as 'Leavisian' as they are sometimes thought to be.

I say this, however, merely to set the record straight, and not from any wish to devalue either the importance or the impact of Leavis's criticism.

Ashley Halpe
University, Peradeniya

Another view

I began reading your beautifully printed journal replete with glossy cover & classy advertisements, with great expectations. Judging from the June issue, (I missed the May & April ones) the *Private View* on "Gadflies," 'Trends' & the TULF interview are the only three interesting articles; of course the article on Sai Baba would appeal to all sensation mongers, being the truth. The "News Background" made a few tame though lively remarks, but on the whole it is dull and cautiously worded. Where is the incisive wit and coruscating cut and thrust that once graced the pages of the *Daily News*, the *Sunday Observer* and the *Sunday Times*? Please don't feel shy about printing this.

Jegatheswari Nagendran
Colombo 5.

Cryptic Crossword No. 3

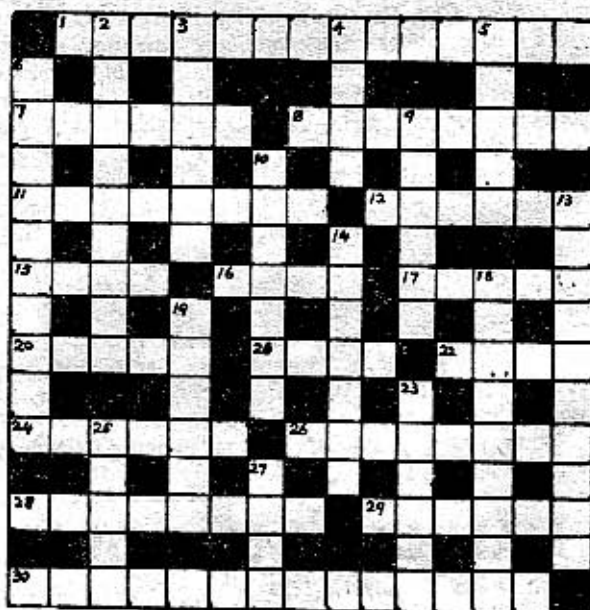
by Stripex

Across CLUES

1. Compare torn Red to Sri Lanka politician. (6, 1, 1, 6)
7. See two votes right for Persian king. (6)
8. Cures — but finally expires. (8)
11. Professed bete-noire of 1 about lawsuit. (8)
12. Some are best at using their position in society. (6)
15. When we have shuffled off this mortal — (Hamlet) (4)
16. Angle to seek compliments. (4)
17. Red-cap omits a large number to sum up shortly. (5)
20. Fisher would wish to have 16 here. (2, 3)
21. Short account about town in Israel. (4)
22. Cape Town Burgher. (4)
24. Nobleman in New York — or, almost. (6)
26. Most unrelenting extract from Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. (8)
28. Sunny side up. (5, 3)
29. Fat Greek as pre-fix. (6)
30. Where the ungodly cook up things other than 16 and 28. (7, 7)

Down

2. All of us Lankane together. (3, 6)
3. Agreement from Sartre at youth festival. (6)
4. Fitting encounter. (4)
5. Police Department turns up French and without order. (5)
6. Draw out charged particle lineage. (10)
9. Wring out former wrong. (6)
10. Funny .. (7)
13. ... noise apart, can become disunion. (10)
14. Schoolhead among a number is parched. (7)
18. James Fenimore dined to collaborate. (2-7)
19. Such a character is solid to a T. (6)
23. Circle begins with its part, ends in a nervous condition. (6)
25. I bail out some excuse. (5)
27. Grows old a long time. (4)



Solution to Cryptic Crossword No. 2

ACROSS — 1. The detached view 7. Caves 8. Super
10. Rave 11. Levis 12. Ludo 15. Selects 16. Garment
17. Interim 20. Clobber 22. None 23. Burst 24. Eric
27. Often 28. Outer 29. The head of police.

DOWN — 1. Towards midnight 2. Envy 3. Answers
4. Hasting 5. Dope 6. Without practice 7. Cavil 9. Route
13. Scare 14. Groom 18. Tango 19. Mourned 20. Cast off
21. Borer 25. Styx 26. Otto.

SLFP - an elephant to swallow

Vice Premier Keng Piao who was received by the Prime Minister with all the ceremonial fanfare, including bands, national anthems and a State drive, left on a quieter note. Diplomats noted that there was no communique after this official visit, and journalists were disappointed at the absence of a press conference. They were particularly keen on getting a first-hand Chinese account of the confusing situation in Indo-China.

Despite the low-key departure, Keng Piao's visit deserves serious study not only by those interested in the general direction of Chinese foreign policy and its new thrust but also in Peking's attitude to Third World governments. Most of all, it has implications for the SLFP which has grown to believe in a "special relationship" with China. Mrs. Bandaranaike's 50-minute conversation with the Chinese leader will doubtless help her to assess the situation. A pleasing picture in the SLFP daily "Dinakara" of Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, President of the Sri Lanka-China Friendship League, garlanding Mr. Keng Piao can hardly conceal the fact that the SLFP policy-makers have now to "swallow an elephant" in the shape of Keng Piao's lavish praise for President Jayewardene and his government's domestic and foreign policy.

Foreign policy has always been the SLFP's forte. The two most outstanding achievements in that sphere (the Indo-Ceylon agreement and the chairmanship of the non-alignment movement) lie to the credit of the SLFP and Mrs. Bandaranaike. Though the UNP, for propaganda purposes pooh-poohed the summit, its many advantages, however invisible, are accruing to the present regime as surely as the benefits of the post 1975/76 upward trend in tea prices.

But the SLFP's foreign policy, in its actual conduct had a major defect—its subjectivism. Too much emphasis was paid to personalities and personal relationships—Nasser, Tito, Indira, and Chou were considered 'family friends'. It was forgotten that national policies, specially in international affairs, are founded on a stark appreciation of perceived interests, and on realpolitik.

When Mr. Nixon's Defence Secretary James Schlesinger called China America's "quasi-ally", he may have been premature or given to exaggeration. But from the Bangladesh war (and the insurrection here) to the Kissinger trip, a dramatic turn in Chinese policy can be observed. Rightly or wrongly, China perceives the USSR as the main enemy. Everything else, including ideological considerations, is subordinated to that fundamental interest.

The London-returned academics, the lawyers, writers and journalists, and the ex-Ambassadors who do the "thinking" for the SLFP may argue that China's open support for certain regimes is conventional state-to-state relations. But this evasive rationalisation can prove pure self-deception. It was not polite diplomacy that made Foreign Minister Huang Hua rush to Zaire from New York and promise Mobutu help. Nor was it ordinary courtesy that made him go to Ankara where Turkey is having trouble with NATO, and Mr. Ecevit was preparing a visit to Moscow. With the internal situation more stable, Peking is following its anti-Soviet line with greater vehemence. As it does so, its interests will objectively coincide with western interests. A perfect example is its current campaign against Cuba, Sri Lanka's successor as non-aligned chairman.

After Keng Piao's visit, Pakistan radio announced proudly that

'the Bhutto era' in foreign policy had come to an end since Peking had given its warmest blessings to General Zia. What of the Bandaranaike era?

Foreign policy was the SLFP's trump card. But when Brzezinski played the China card, it was J.R. who has been dealt a strong hand in Colombo. While the SLFP policy-planners may have to swallow an elephant, its future leaders like Mr. Anura Bandaranaike may have to exorcise the lingering ghosts of 'Janavegaya' thought.

UNP dilemma over TUs

UNP trade union bosses vs. the corporation bureaucrats—that's the UNP's latest dilemma. The issue surfaced sharply at last week's Working Committee meeting.

UNP unionism, like SLFP unionism to some extent, thrives on State patronage and the prospect of patronage. Since the two major parties have shared power for more than 20 years, young men looking for jobs and others looking for promotion and other perquisites join up in SLFP or UNP organisations. As a rule, they join the UNP or SLFP unions just before the elections depending on which party is in opposition or "shadow" government. Thousands belong to these somewhat loose organisations while remaining members of other, usually Left-inclined unions. Their heart is in the union of their 'real' choice, but their self-interest lies in the government or government-to-be. As the economic-and-job situation worsens—and it has kept worsening—the trend is even stronger.

Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is an 'organisation man' and as part

of the party's thorough re-organisation, he beefed-up the main units, including the trade unions. For the first time, the Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya became something more than a name board.

Election victory often means jobs-for-the-boys, particularly the key posts and the jobs with the perks. This is specially true of the State corporations which, unlike the government departments, enjoy a certain hire-and-fire (out go the blues, in come the greens or vice versa) interdiction—compulsory leave—punitive transfer autonomy.

As a result, July-August saw a "green guards" revolution of sorts. In the CTB, Port, Petroleum, Textiles, etc there was near pandemonium. Lake House was perhaps the most dramatic example.

With its IMF-oriented economic policies, the government has made the corporations 'performance-conscious'. The Treasury keeps saying 'no subsidies' 'no loans' etc. This means it cannot increase its cadre beyond a certain point. But the trade unions and the party supporters keep asking for more jobs, or better jobs, for the boys. Their criterion is "loyalty" and hard work in opposition. The reward is a job or a promotion.

But the corporations—or any institution—has to give due weightage to competence if 'economic efficiency' is the government's main demand. So the UNP is caught between imperatives of its chosen policy, and political pressures on the party machine. The trade union bosses are caught in the crunch.

Government policy finds expression, for whatever its worth, in an impersonal "Job-Bank" but party interests would prefer the corporations to function as usual—i.e. as free-wheeling employment exchanges where the UNP trade union boss is the placement-promotion officer resident.

United Front to protect students

An issue-oriented "action front" of the SLFP, of the

Old Left and the New Left has just got off the ground. For the first time in years representatives of 14 parties met recently at Kelaniya to discuss joint action to protect students and student's rights. These include the SLFP, LSSP, CP, JVP, PDP and nine other leftwing parties of various ideological inclinations ranging from Maoist to Trotskyist and Stalinist.

The LSSP and CP are supporting the move at the provincial level since the LSSP High Command in Colombo does not wish to officially participate in discussions that include the 'rebel' LSSP (Nava) of Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, who recently captured 'power' in the GCSU elections.

Though the talks were strictly confined to a single question political observers attach some importance to this development. Rank-and-file pressure, they feel is forcing each opposition party and group, big or small, to act together on concrete issues. Popular pressures, with the unions and youth as the most articulate groups are compelling these organisations to sink personal and political quarrels, and also ideological and international alignments. The pressure is all the stronger because the defects of a manifestly ineffective opposition are traced to the extreme fragmentation of oppositional forces.

These ideas, incidentally, have found a voice in a new Sinhala paper called "National Liberation" which raises the slogan of a united national front which will lead the people on the socialist path. The inspiration for this journalistic venture comes from a group of young politicians who have close links with the PDP that officially severed connections with the U. F. but still has intimate personal contacts with the U. F. leadership. This group also has active connections with both the SLFP and the "new" Left groups.

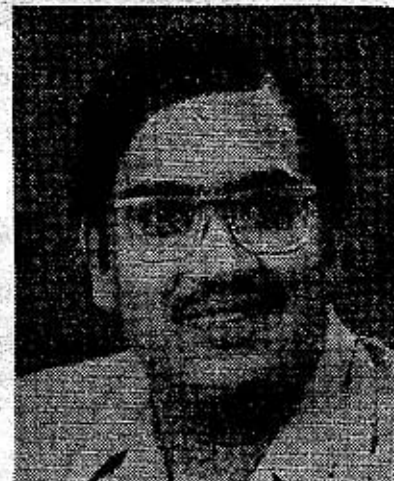
The outcome of the Kelaniya talks came as a surprise especially after the fracas in Kalawewa, just before the JR - NM - Colvin "mission". An anti-LSSP poster campaign launched by other Left

groups led first of all to running battles between assorted "reds" with the local "greens" plunging in with full force. An SLFP'er said: "we were strictly non-aligned".

'I'll resign' warns Anura

"If the party is not completely cleansed of all undesirable elements after we start its re-organisation I am ready to resign....." warned Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, MP when he addressed an SLFP trade union recently.

Mr. Bandaranaike said that the UNP was utterly unpopular and even its top rung was aware of the voters' disenchantment with the government. I move freely among the younger politicians of the UNP and I have heard their groans and moans. Some of them prefer to stay in Colombo than go and face their supporters who ask them questions about all the rosy promises they gave and the job cards they filled up.



"But are we to be satisfied with the thought that the UNP is unpopular? Must we not ask the more positive question—'How popular is the SLFP?' Speaking for myself, I am not very happy with the answer. We must work positively to regain the SLFP's popularity."

Questioned on what steps he would recommend, Mr. Bandaranaike said that in the proposed re-organisation, the SLFP will be

thoroughly democratised. Every decision, starting from policy to selection of candidates for all the elections and party officials, will be decided by party members through a secret ballot. "And this must start in Attanagalla" he said. (Attanagalla is the constituency of party leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike). "It must also apply," he added, "to Madawachchiya, Kolonnawa, Dompe, and of course Nuwara Eliya."

(These are the constituencies contested last year by Messrs Maitripala Senanayake, T. B. Ilangaratne, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike.)

"In this way, party supporters can freely and democratically get rid of unpopular and undesirable elements in the SLFP."

Shan, 13 CPs, take Albanian line

Mr. N. Sanmugathasan who split the Communist party of Ceylon over the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute in the early 1960's, has now joined 13 other Marxist-Leninist parties (many illegal) throughout the world in making a formal break with Peking and adopting the anti-Moscow, anti-Peking Albanian line.

Before Kampuchea, the Albanian party was the sole ruling C.P. to support the Chinese. A fortnight ago, politburo member Ramaz Alia led a stinging attack on China's 'three worlds theory'. The rally was attended by party chief Enver Hoxha.

Fourteen C.P.'s, including Mr. Sanmugathasan's Ceylon Communist party, have now held 'special conferences' and produced similar resolutions on this theory. The parties concerned are: the C.P. (Marxist-Leninist) of Argentina, the Brazilian C.P., the C.P. (M-L) of Greece, the C.P. (M-L) of Bolivia, the C.P. (M-L) of Columbia, the C.P. (M-L) of Italy, the Revolutionary C.P. of Chile, the Portuguese C.P. (reconstructed), the C.P. (M-L) of Britain, the C.P. of Germany,

the Marxist-Leninist C.P. of Ecuador, the Communist party of Spain, the Revolutionary C.P. of Uruguay. A faction in the C.P. (M-L) of Kerala is also supporting the Albanian line.

It is now clear that this is a co-ordinated move planned in Tirana at a conference held last year. Mr. Sanmugathasan attended the meeting.

The 2000 word resolution of the Ceylon C.P. makes the following principal points:

(1) The theory is NOT based on a class analysis and is therefore un-Marxist.

(2) The division of the world to 'three worlds' and the view that US imperialism is on the defensive leads to the dangerous and opportunistic line that all Third World forces should be united, and support even US imperialism, in order to isolate and oppose Soviet social imperialism.

(3) While contradictions between these two should be exploited the Peking theory is a 'varicature' of this tactic, and harms the interests of revolutionary and liberation movements.

(4) The revolution in each country is primarily directed at the internal reactionary forces, but the Three World's theory leads to the support of reactionary and even fascist forces, and is therefore class collaborationist.

(5) Thus three world theorists rush to defend Zaire, Somalia etc. merely because they break away from 'Soviet social imperialism', and cannot for example condemn Sadat's betrayal of Palestinian revolution.

(6) On the other hand, it leads to the support of lesser imperialisms (Japan, West Germany, Britain etc) in support of NATO, the EEC, who are all exploiters of this 'third world'.

To consider the Third World as a homogeneous unit is an anti-Marxist-Leninist concept, which ignores the class nature of each Third World state, government and ruling group.

INVITE US TO CATER FOR YOUR PARTY

6
to
60
or
more

PAGODA

Catering is a speciality
We cater for any
function large or small:
Weddings, engagements,
cocktails, luncheons,
dinners.

PAGODA
RESTAURANT too
is available for your party.

Phone: 23086, 29236.

PAGODA

105, Chatham Street,
Colombo 1.

Cyril Rodrigo Restaurants
Ltd.

Chill winds over detente

In rejecting Dr. Castro's flat denial of Cuban involvement in the invasion of Zaire's Shaba province by Katangan rebels, President Carter questioned in effect the Cuban leader's honesty. Castro, for his part, minced no words in calling Dr. Brzezinski a 'liar' and 'a manufacturer of lies'. While the *New York Times* has described the Carter administration's allegations against Cuba "unworthy of US diplomacy to begin with", the Latin American correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the White House views "fly in the face of publicly advanced statements by



Small snack for Zbig man:
Zbigniew Brzezinski

Abrasive phase

Carter's leadership or lack of it, became one of the global issues that come to trouble allies, friends and even foes. Therefore, those who expected him to give his foreign policy a clear focus in his Annapolis address were disappointed.

But the speech accurately reflected not only Carter's split mind and that of his two principal aides, but also that of the American public which wants the President to be tough with the Russians while, at the same time, preserving detente.

My feeling is that the search for agreements to reduce the risks of war will go on even more intensively, though progress will be slow.

Soviet-American relations are entering a more abrasive, more competitive phase which will keep Messrs Vance and Brzezinski very busy in their respective roles and the world increasingly on tenterhooks.

Henry Brandon

(London *'Sunday Times'*)

both CIA director Stansfield Turner and Defence Secretary Harold Brown". The CIA, the added, is now "under considerable pressure to come up with corroborating support for the administration's claims". A week later, the C. I. A. public information officer obliged by releasing a CIA memo to the White House which has since been used in what the *New York Times* called a "public effort" to allay widespread fears that the Administration is trying to pull a "con-job" not unlike the way the American public was fooled over the Tonkin Gulf incident.

Whether the "evidence" has no real substance or is merely "circumstantial", the end-result has been a sudden plunge in US-Cuban relations which were slowly advancing towards normalisation.

The presence of little Cuba, a bastion of revolution and a Soviet ally on the doorstep of the giant United States, the citadel of world capitalism marked such an abrasive juxtaposition that it nearly led to an open super-power confrontation during the missiles crisis. Since then relations between the countries have slowly but steadily improved.

In most official accounts, the US sees this positive development

as a direct outcome of Cuba's renunciation of its role as 'an exporter of revolution' to a chronically volatile Latin America which is North America's backyard, and traditional sphere of influence, and huge investment, and a vast area for extractive exploitation. In ideological terms, the transition is characterised as a welcome change from adventurous Guevarism to a realistic Castroism.

Many American analysts however credit Castro with much more. The leading Latin American specialist of the Georgetown Centre for Strategic Studies, in Washington, calls it Castro's "multi-track policy". Its main features are:

- * internal consolidation; economic and political.

- * intelligent, mutually advantageous identification of close, common interests with other Caribbean states, notably Jamaica and Guyana.

- * clever use of the basic contradiction between US economic hegemony and the domestic, economic interests of each Latin American state, whatever its political structure or ideological inclination.

- * establishment of diplomatic relations with so many members of the US-sponsored O. L. A. S. that a majority no longer supported Washington's policy of 'isolating' Cuba.

Thus, Cuba gradually succeeded in breaking out of the circle of American containment.

Though the US trade embargo continues, diplomatic offices (special interests sections) have been opened in Washington and Havana. Why then this sudden about-face? The ostensible reason is Cuba's African role. It's clear

however that the cold gusts over the Caribbean are only part of the chill winds blowing through Soviet-American relations.

Since just before the NATO meeting in Washington, the Carter Administration's Big Four opened up on Moscow. The barrage by

(Continued on page 9)

Katanga tangle

President Carter's vigorous charges that Cuba bore responsibility for last month's invasion of Zaire were unworthy of U.S. diplomacy to begin with. They turned out to be unprovable except by a kind of guilt-by-association. They undoubtedly inflamed U. S. passion for no discernible good reason. And they threatened for a few days this week to embroil the U. S. presidency in another Ton-kin-like test of credibility in which a proud and promising new President would have to tangle in the pits with, of all people, Fidel Castro.

* * *

So just one more time around the bush:

The Carter administration was eager from the start to assume that the Katangan invaders of Zaire were Havana's puppets. Yet Katangans, progressively supplied by Belgians, Portuguese and finally Angolans, have been trying for nearly two decades to dislodge the Mobutu regime or to dismember Zaire. Recently based among fellow Lunda tribesmen in Angola, and carrying Western as well as Soviet arms, they have kept at it. They have been tolerated and, indeed, encouraged, by the Angolan government because Gen. Mobutu has been giving aid and arms to its enemies. Many of the Katangans were undoubtedly trained by Cubans, whose forces stand guard over the Angolan regime. Cubans may have prepared the Katangans for the latest invasion, as Mr. Carter contends, and also discouraged them from it, as Mr. Castro now insists. So what?

With or without a Cuban involvement, Mr. Carter seemed determined to lend a hand in rescuing the Mobutu government, and giving its bankrupt treasury yet another infusion. Zaire is a mess and seems destined to remain a mess for a long time while Western interests—as foreign to Africa as the Cubans—seek to salvage their investments in Katangan ores and Mobutu bonds.

— The New York Times

IMF, PERU, EGYPT

In the wake of a general strike that paralysed Lima, the Peruvian capital, General Morales Bermudez, the President imposed a state of emergency. The strike was a protest against sharp increases in food and petrol prices. As a result of the emergency elections to the Constituent Assembly were postponed from June 4 to June 18. The Constituent Assembly was expected to pave the way to parliamentary government after a decade of political chaos and military rule. Now many of the candidates are under detention.

A nearly bankrupt Peru could not resist too long or too much the terms dictated to it by the I. M. F. The Peruvian sol was devalued, food prices went up by 50% and transport costs by 40%.

In Egypt, the I. M. F. has offered a 3-year standby credit of 750 million dollars. (Egypt's current account deficit is expected to run at 2 billion dollars up to 1980). Successful negotiations with the IMF will guarantee Egypt more financial support from G. O. D. E., a consortium of Arab donors consisting of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE.

"Mr. Sadat's present crack-down on his more vigorous oppo-

nents may in part be due to the realisation that further uncomfortable doses of economic medicine will have to be swallowed later this year" the *Financial Times* reported. It adds: "Although political considerations ensure that Saudi Arabia will not abandon President Sadat, the Saudis have let it be known that they wish to see a much stricter program of economic control in Egypt."

Commenting editorially on the IMF's policies as a whole, the *Financial Times* observed:

"The present Peruvian crisis and similar difficulties facing the Jamaican authorities raise yet again the question of the appropriateness of the demands that the Fund makes on developing countries as the price for its assistance. Austerity measures which rich countries such as Britain find burdensome but in the last event tolerable can have devastating effects on the political and economic fabric of poorer countries. As at least one Minister indicated last week the Fund's attitude to developing countries may well have to come under closer scrutiny in the future"

Sino - Pak road link

One of the happier moments in Vice Premier Keng Piao's five-day stay in Pakistan en route to Colombo was the ceremonial opening of the 500 mile long Karakoram Highway. This highway which took nearly 20 years to build is an all-weather road-link between Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, itself a new city, and China's strategically important Sinkiang province.

On one of his many visits to Peking, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was able to persuade the Chinese government to help him construct this major roadway.

China responded at once to the request of its important Asian ally by placing at Pakistan's service several hundred engineers and a skilled work force of over 10,000.

In a brilliant collaborative operation, Pakistan and Chinese engineers then finished the job in less than 4 years.

This *Reuter* despatch explains its wider significance:

China will get "back door" access to the Middle East and Africa as well as a much quicker route to the West.

The new highway, connecting with a railhead in China, will cut days—perhaps weeks—off the present sea route from China to the West across the Pacific.

(Continued on page 11)

Did Bhutto get a fair trial?

by Harischandra Mendis

(The author, an attorney-at-law is the secretary of 'Friends of Pakistan'.)

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and several others were charged with conspiracy to murder one Ahmed Raza Kasuri, a political opponent, and the consequential killing of Kasuri's father. At first, one was made to believe, mainly from the numerous handouts liberally distributed by the local embassy, that Bhutto had a fair trial. But from the news that has been leaking through the heavy censorship in Pakistan, mainly to the Western press, and from the information provided by recent visitors to that country, far from having had a fair trial Bhutto seems to be the victim of a big political conspiracy.

The appeal against the conviction and the sentence of death passed on Bhutto and his men was taken up on the 20th May and is being argued before the Supreme Court of Pakistan at Rawalpindi. It is being argued in a tense atmosphere, where even young boys and respected journalists are being flogged in public on the orders of summary military tribunals. However, it is expected that Bhutto and his men will be released after several weeks of argument, since the material in favour of them is voluminous and overwhelming and the Supreme Court of Pakistan renowned for its independence, is likely to withstand any pressure that may be brought to bear on it.

When Bhutto and the other accused became aware that they were to be tried by the Lahore High Court and that the trial court was to consist of the Acting Chief Justice and four other judges, they filed application before the Supreme Court challenging the constitution of the Court on certain very valid grounds. The Supreme Court, without going into the merits of these applications directed the accused to take them before the trial court at the very outset. It would have been more appropriate for the Supreme Court

to have heard and disposed of these applications (by the superior court). The accused had made very serious allegations of bias against the Acting Chief Justice, who was to preside over the trial court. A judge, who had earlier allowed bail to the accused including Bhutto, was not included as a judge of the trial court, for he was suddenly shifted as a legal Secretary.

The accused had no option but to take up these objections before the trial court. The Acting Chief Justice, presided over the trial court which heard various allegations of bias against himself, and dismissed these allegations even without a comprehensive examination of these allegations. The Acting Chief Justice thought it prudent to hear the very serious allegations of bias against himself made by the former Prime Minister facing a capital charge and dismissed them stating that the 'matter was not being heard by the Acting Chief Justice alone, but by a large Bench of Five judges.'

The other objection taken by the accused that by virtue of the fact that the Acting Chief Justice had been appointed Chief Elections Commissioner, and that the Constitution debarred the Chief Elections Commissioner from holding any other office, was also dismissed. In fact, none of the local embassy's excerpts from the judgement are able to give any reason for the dismissal of this objection by which a very strong disqualification was attached to the ACJ.

The prosecution case was that Bhutto, when he was Prime Minister in 1974 became angry with a political opponent called Ahmed Raza Kasuri and conspired with the Director-General of the Federal Security Force, and the latter, through some subordinate officers of the said Force, planned the killing of Kasuri on the night of 10. 11. 74, but instead killed Ahmed Khan, Kasuri's father.

There are many suspicious, strange and unsavoury features in the case. The motive proved against the ex-PM was a statement made in the National Assembly and quoted from the Hansard. After an exchange of words in the Assembly, Bhutto had told Kasuri: "I have had enough of you. Absolute poison". And I will not tolerate your nuisance". They were obviously words uttered in the heat of argument, suddenly and without any pre-meditation. These words were accepted as evidence of motive and that Bhutto conceived an idea of killing Kasuri when he uttered these words in the National Assembly in the heat of debate.

The main witnesses in the case are in the 2 approvers, Musood Mohad Mahmud and Gulam Hussein. The term 'Approver' is used in India and Pakistan to denote accomplices, who have been given conditional pardons to become state witnesses. Invariably, the approvers who are made witnesses are lesser degree participants in the crime whose aid is solicited to help the State prove the case. But the strange thing in this case is, that the main participants in the alleged crime are approvers, while the minor or subordinate, participants who carried out the directions of the Federal Security Force, who allegedly planned the whole crime, is an approver, while M. M. Abbas, his subordinate, who carried out the directions of the former are accused. Thus Massood Mahmud, who was the Director General of the Federal Security Force, who allegedly planned the whole crime, is an approver, while his assistants, Mustafa and Iqbal, sub-Inspectors, who carried out his directions, are accused. It is really the leaders, who planned and directed operations, who have become witnesses against those who carried out their orders.

The only evidence connecting Bhutto with the conspiracy is that of the approver, Musood Mah-

mud. It is a universally accepted principle of evidence that an accomplice's evidence must be accepted with great caution. This is done for several reasons. An accomplice is likely to swear falsely to shift the guilt from himself. As a participant in crime, and hence as an immoral person he is likely to disregard the sanction or an oath. Also, since he gives evidence in the hope of a pardon, he has an interest in the prosecution case. Apart from this rule, both in India as well as Pakistan, an approver's evidence has to satisfy a double test. His evidence must show that he is a reliable witness and he must also receive sufficient corroboration. There does not seem to be any acceptable evidence to corroborate Masood Mahmud, who alone implicates Ali Bhutto. In fact several pages of the Lahore High Court judgement in the case are a pathetic apology for lack of corroboration. The evidence of witness Saeed Ahmed Khan, though claimed to be corroborative of the charge of conspiracy, does hardly touch on the conspiracy at all. In fact as a last resort to give legal justification for the verdict, the Court has resorted to the most far-fetched and the least desirable type of evidence as the following paragraph of the judgement demonstrates.

"However, according to the Court, this was a fit case in which the confession could be taken into consideration to give strength to the evidence of Amir Badshah Khan & Fazal Ali. There is not only the confession which can be pressed into service for the above purpose. There are also confessional statements made under Section 342 of the CR. PG.

The confessions referred to are the confessions of co-accused pressed into service (Military style) against co-accused. Some of the accused, who made confessions withdrew them alleging duress and threats. In a country where journalists are flogged and jailed after summary trial for publishing pro-Bhutto news of peaceful protest, or young boys uttering pro-Bhutto slogans are publicly given lashes after summary trial by military

courts, one could imagine the value to be placed on confessions, quite apart from the legal infirmity attached to such confessions even when taken under normal civil conditions.

There were serious allegations that the accused were not being given the facilities necessary for their defence. In fact, after a certain stage, Bhutto, while a very important witness, Gulam Hussein, was still under cross-examination withdrew his instructions to his lawyers, when he felt that they were not allowed to defend him properly. The Court then attempted to assign counsel to Bhutto at state-expense. This too was thwarted by his refusal to cooperate with the lawyers given to him by the Court. He was then allowed to conduct his own defence. But he refused to cross-examine and to participate in the 'in-camera' proceedings, as he felt that his defence was being greatly hampered and that his participation would only enable the Court to give the rest of the world that a fair trial was being held. Even when he tried to make a statement under section 342 of the Cr. P. C., he felt that it was not being recorded accurately, refused to sign it, and after he was taken to jail, sent an application through the Superintendent of the Prison, asking that it be recorded properly.

While the trial was in progress General Zia's conduct was highly pre-judicial to the accused in the case. There was no 'sub judice' rule for him. In statements both in the Pakistani and foreign press in interviews given to correspondents and over television and radio, he made highly disparaging statements about the accused in the case and almost passed judgement in advance against them.

The Western press also reported that General Zia, the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, had a conference with the judges of Lahore High Court trying Bhutto and the other accused a few days before judgement was given.

It is because of the above that many Western papers—several of them unsympathetic to Bhutto—

claim that the former premier of "Pakistan did not have a fair trial.

How is it then possible that after the overthrow of Prime Minister Bhutto, his greatest political rival Pathan leader Wali Khan, found guilty by a Pakistani Court of high treason and sentenced to a lengthy prison term, has been set free?

Chill winds . . .

(Continued from page 7)

Brzezinski, Brown, Vance and Carter himself was obviously well orchestrated. But was it purely rhetorical and propagandist? Or had it some serious content and therefore policy implications?

The American "offensive" assumed the following form:

- a) linking SALT, human rights issues and the Soviet role in Africa.
- b) American blessings for a NATO - inspired (mainly French) intervention in Zaire.
- c) Brzezinski's "China card", and Peking's intensification of its anti-Soviet campaign, with a selective target in Cuba within the non-aligned world.

With memories of the Kissinger-Rogers row, Washingtonologists see Brzezinski's hawkish hand rather than Vance's 'soft' line in the hardening anti-Soviet attitude. This could be a typical error of American reportage and comment with its proclivity for 'personalizing' situations, especially conflicts.

As an experienced British observer noted, "The two men represent an ambiguity that exists in Carter's mind and character".

Two other commentators offer a more objective explanation. In "Carter moves right in quest of popularity", Geoffrey Sperling in the 'Monitor' says that Carter hopes to regain popular favour by showing 'toughness' to the Soviet Union, and getting tough on domestic economic issues, mainly social welfare spending. Both Sperling and David Bell (*Financial Times*) agree that "the period of post-Vietnam isolationism" is over and public opinion demands a President 'who stands up to the Soviet leaders'.

New perceptions of superpowers

by Chintaka

"Our shared views outweigh our differences" said Zbigniew Brzezinski, Mr. Carter's National Security Adviser, after three days of talk with the Chinese leaders in Peking. Next week, China's Foreign Minister Mr. Huang Hua led a severe attack on the superpowers and their stand on disarmament but was particularly savage in his criticism of Soviet policies. On June 5th, Mr. Huang Hua was in Zaire, the first important Chinese leader to visit Africa since Premier Chou's historic tour. There, he promised aid to President

Mobutu in his fight against the forces of Gen. Nathaniel Mbumba of the Congo National Liberation Front in Shaba province. He also launched a vitriolic attack on the Soviet Union and Cuba. While Sino-Soviet relations remain sharply hostile and Sino-American relations show steady improvement, a dispute over islands off Okinawa is still an impediment to a new Sino-Japanese Treaty. This essay is a study of China's changing perceptions of the international situation, and its view of the USSR and the Third World.

Mr. Huang Hua's recent broadside at the Soviet Union as "the more aggressive of the two superpowers" and "the most dangerous source of a new world war", was a stark reminder of how far the world-view of the Chinese Communist Party has changed since the day, 55 years ago, when (in an essay dated July 23rd) Mao Tsetung stated pithily, that "America is the most murderous of hangmen." This view of the U.S. as the principal, though not necessarily sole, enemy of China and the world's masses, persisted in Mao's thinking and the policy of the C.C.P. under his leadership until roughly a decade ago. The important exception was of course, the period of the second world war where the Fascist powers were seen as the main enemies.

However, after the war in 1946, Mao reverted to his view in his famous interview with Anna Louise Strong—the interview in which he made his statement that "the atom bomb is a paper tiger". In the course of this discussion he said, in his customarily pungent manner: "The people of all countries... should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs". In the post-war period, when the U.S. actively backed Chiang Kai Shek during the civil war Mao put it thusly: "U.S. imperialism

and its running dog Chiang Kai Shek have replaced Japanese imperialism and its running dog Wang Ching Wei and adopted the policies of turning China into a U.S. colony, launching a civil war and strengthening the fascist dictatorship".

This was in 1947 and Mao's foreign policy in the post-war period was in keeping with the line of the Cominform which had been newly established that year. The hottest point of the cold war was the Korean conflict in which volunteers from the infant socialist state hurled back the U.S. offensive—an offensive which Mao perceived as not merely a threat to People's China, but as a doubly dangerous one because it established a precedent by invading a member of the Socialist camp i.e. North Korea. According to John Gittings' fairly recent study of Chinese foreign policy, Mao personally decided in favour of the Chinese intervention during the inner-party debate. Mao's eldest son died in the fighting in Korea.

Mao's view of the United States as chief adversary can be seen once again in his statement supporting the people of the Congo, issued in November 1964. In it he said, "People's of the world, unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" In July 1966, Mao listed "U.S imperialism" be-

fore "Soviet revisionism" and "Japanese reaction" as being the forces which opposed the newly launched Cultural Revolution. At the 9th Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969 which Mao attended, U.S. imperialism was listed preceding, but in the company of, Soviet imperialism. However, the October 6th 1972 issue of the Peking Review stated that "Soviet social imperialism is more dangerous than the old style imperialist countries."

"It is clear that between the 9th Party Congress of '69 and the 10th of '73 the CCP had changed its opinion of the United States as its chief antagonist. In his report to the 10th Congress Chou En-lai itemized the two central contradictions on a global scale as firstly being between the two superpowers, and secondly between the two superpowers on the one hand and the rest of the world' people on the other. China's statements and actions since the early '70's prove conclusively that her perception of the U. S. has drastically changed. Mr. Huang Hua's speech at the UN General Assembly's current Special Session on Disarmament is just another case in point, though its vitriolic tone had surprised even Western China-Watchers.

What then of China's view on the Soviet Union, and her relations with it? One can identify several broad phases in the relationship between the two countries and their Communist parties. The first lasted upto 1956, the year of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. For Mao, China's relationship with Russia under Stalin was indeed 'The Greatest Friendship'—to use the words with which Mao entitled the article he wrote on the death of Stalin.

Despite certain tactical differences, which occurred mainly due to factional struggles within the Comintern, distance between the

two countries, and extremely difficult communications which sometimes led to misinformation in Moscow of concrete conditions of the rapidly unfolding struggle in China, it is clear that Mao always regarded Stalin with admiration, respect and gratitude. (In fact, it has been calculated that the largest number of quotations from a single source contained in the first 4 volumes of Mao's selected works—25% to be exact—are those from Stalin). The high point of this greatest friendship was the signing, in February 1950 by Stalin and Mao, of a 30 year Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid' which gave China tremendous confidence in the face of U. S. intervention in Korea.

The second phase originated in 1956. According to an official CCP statement during the Open Polemics in '63 "the differences of principle in the international communist movement began with the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956.. which was the first step along the road of revisionism taken by the leadership of the CPSU". The differences began with Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin and the CCP's criticism of it, but subsequently ranged over a wide variety of issues. The main issue was the strategic posture of the international communist movement. Khrushchev wanted some sort of accommodation with the U. S. modifying Lenin's policy of 'peaceful coexistence'—which was originally meant as a tactical retreat, and in any case was operative only in the realm of inter-state relations and never intended to be the main international policy-line of the communist parties.

Mao on the other hand argued that the world correlation of forces favoured socialism and national liberation movements—a view that Stalin had expressed in his final speech to the Soviet Communist Party at its 19th Congress of 1952. Mao thought, that rather than adopting a defensive or status-quoist strategy, the world communist movement should pass over to the strategic offensive—the 3rd phase of his Peoples War Strategy. At the Moscow conference in November 1957 Mao

stated his view in characteristic fashion: "In my opinion, the international situation has now arrived at a new stage. There are two great winds in the world today. That is the East Wind (the socialist world) and the West Wind. In my opinion, the fundamental feature of the present situation is that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. The socialist forces are infinitely more powerful than the imperialist forces. Mao considered the Soviets headstart over the USA in nuclear rocketry (the first sputnik and the ICBM) to be a decisive factor in the world balance of forces at the time.

Basing itself on Leninist classics like 'Imperialism: the highest stage of Capitalism' and 'Socialism and War', the Chinese Communist Party rejected Khrushchev's contention that wars, could and should be averted in a nuclear era since they would lead to a world wide atomic holocaust. The CCP argued, as Lenin and Stalin had done, that wars were inevitable so long as imperialism existed, since, by its very nature, imperialism was aggressive and expansionist. The Chinese C.P most strongly rejected Khrushchev's other thesis of the possibility of a peaceful parliamentary road to socialism, and Mao reiterated Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy by stating that "all political power flows from the barrel of a gun". In time, the CCP charged Khrushchev with substituting 'peaceful coexistence' for the correct policy of 'proletarian internationalism'.

Yet, in the initial stages of this phase, China's criticisms were both constructive and comradely, and after the Moscow meeting in '57 Mao stated, that "no power on earth could separate" the USSR and the PRC. In 1962 though, in a speech to 7000 cadres, Mao said that "party and state leadership in the Soviet Union has been usurped by revisionists. yet it won't last long." (This speech was officially published only in 1967.) At the 10th Plenum of the CCP in September 1962, 'US imperialism' and 'Japanese reaction' were listed as China's enemies—and not the Soviet Union. By the next year,

Chinese criticism of the CPSU as well as that party's rejoinders had changed in tone to one of rancour and hostility. During this phase, Peking adopted a policy of unity and struggle vis a vis the CPSU, seeking to outflank it from the left by sharp polemics and vigorous assistance to national liberation movements. It is important to note that in this period several of the most important communist parties either openly supported (Albania) or sympathized with the Chinese Line (North Vietnam, North Korea and Japan). Today's friction between Vietnam and China is a sharp reminder of the changes that have taken place in China's foreign policy over the years.

Next: Crucial turning point

Sino — Pak . . .

(Continued from page 7)

The twisting highway, carved out of the walls of mountains, climbing 15,000 feet over the Khunjab Pass and crossing swirling torrents fed by surrounding glaciers, will speed goods and equipment towards the port at Karachi for trans-shipment.

The highway also opens up remote areas of Pakistan, peopled by tribes whose main contact with the outside world has been through a small barter trade across the border with China.

It should also open up to tourism the northern mountains—extensions of the Himalayas—that are at present served only by two small airstrips.

The opening of the highway, after 20 years of labour during which much of the necessary explosives and supplies could get through only on the backs of porters, also comes at a convenient time for Pakistan.

It is seen as strengthening Chinese influence here at a time when Pakistan is concerned about the Soviet Union's next step after the successful pro-Communist coup in neighbouring Afghanistan.

Free speech defender

The most powerful journalist in the world, is how the American diplomat and journalist, Edward Sheen, called him, but that has not deterred President Anwar Sadat from placing Nasser hero worshipper Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, under house arrest. When he was 24 Heikal had already become an internationally renowned journalist, but Nasser



Hassanein Heikal
Renown at 24

was unimpressed when he met him for the first time saying that he expected to see an older man. But soon Heikal through his emotive writing was spelling out the philosophy of the Arab revolution and pointing his finger to the philosopher behind it all—Gamal Abdel Nasser.

That Heikal should continue to spell out the philosophy of the Arab revolution is not surprising, what is surprising is that Anwar Sadat who was himself hand in glove with this power behind the throne is no longer amused by Heikal's frank speech. A powerful defender of the freedom of speech Heikal has transformed the Al Ahram from a dying newspaper into a model of journalistic excellence. Heikal's arrest has

not gone unnoticed—a storm of protest is blowing over the Arab world.

Bow wow!

Dog, of course, does not eat dog, but the Aththa, the communist daily, was aghast that the animal was now even chewing up the bones. The occasion for the expression of this disgust was an article written by Lake House director and one time feature writer of the Dinamina, Sisira Kumara Manikkaratchie, on the subject of Martin Wickremasinghe, one time editor of the Dinamina. What seems to have provoked Manikkaratchie was the glowing tribute paid by Joseph Needham, internationally famed Sinologue, who was here recently to make the inaugural lecture on his friend Martin Wickremasingha, writer and novelist and pioneer of modern Sinhala fiction. Needham should stick to the subject he knows, suggested Manikkaratchie, who has taken upon himself to tell the world that "there is nothing inside the skull of Martin Wickremasinghe". Aththa was constrained to plead with the President to "Oh keep dog far hence... Or with his nails he will dig it up again."

'Glory of the elixir'

They call him "The Taoist of the Ten Constellations", And also "The well-tuned Lute". But they have done better with "Glow of the Alchemist" and "Glory of the Elixir". They are the many efforts made by the Chinese to translate what they think is hidden in the plain and simple name, Joseph Needham, author of the monumental "Science and Civilisation in China". In Sri Lanka last month he was here to make an inaugural lecture in memory

of Martin Wickremasinghe. Asked about his recent visit to China, Needham referred to the Gang of Four as G4, not so much in imitation of chemical formulac but because of his dislike of communist jargon. They—the G4—he said, were a heretical sect, a phenomenon that is rare in Asian history when compared with Europe's. Needham was relieved to find them out of the way and welcomed the scientific spring blooming now.

The real reason

People no longer recognise him as quickly as they did, says still handsome Cary Grant (74). One reason is that Grant has not been in the movies for the last twelve years and so has been somewhat out of touch with his fans. But



Cary Grant
'Have I changed that much, too'

Grant thinks he knows the real reason, and it is not hard to guess from the picture the Herald Tribune published of him recently. He is not deceived, he says, when people still say, "You still look great". But Cary Grant is more realistic, "What's going on in their heads is the disappointment at how I do look. Then they immediately wonder to themselves, 'My Gawd, have I changed that much too!'"

ජනදින

Raising the flour price

As a proof of its bone fides the first thing that the United National Party did on assuming office was to abolish the 25 cents hospital stamp fee and reduce the price of flour. But in the past 11 months it has increased the price of a countless number of goods. The indications are that in expectation of aid from imperialist institutions the present government is bound to up the price of flour to Rs. 1.12 or even more, raise bus fares (as it is doing now) and be forced to cut health and education facilities. The latter date is not far, to judge from present trends. If it does not do that not only would the Mahaveli scheme be in jeopardy but the loss of aid would be a threat to the existence of the government itself.

දිනකර

So easy to export rice

So great is the amount of rice we have now that for the first time in the history of this country we can export rice, says the Finance Minister Mr. Ronnie de Mel, in yesterday's Observer. To anybody with average intelligence it must appear that either the Minister is joking or that a government paper is making him out to be a joker. Either explanation is acceptable to us. If we have enough rice for export then why on earth do we continue to import rice and

set up flour mills? However that may be we have always had the opportunity of exporting rice in the Minister's style by packing it off in American ships that bring flour and Chinese ships that bring rice and boast about this export achievement. But whom are we trying to fool? It is by this kind of sleight of hand that the present government is trying to develop this country. Great is our pity for them.

Sunday Times

(London)

Time for Sadat to think again

Six months ago, Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem caught the imagination of much of the world. The vision and courage of the Egyptian leader rightly won him the admiration of men of goodwill everywhere. Today that bold initiative is stalled. That is certainly not Sadat's fault. But in the deteriorating economic and social climate in Egypt, he is showing disturbing signs of over-reaction to the criticisms of political opponents and of the Press. Egypt is not an easy country to govern. Popular protest can suddenly flare up, as it did in the riots against higher food prices last year, from a spark to a forest fire. But this does not justify Sadat's outburst of hostility towards journalists, Egyptian and foreign, which have led him to compare Mr. Muhammed Heikal, easily Egypt's best known journalist, to Lord Haw-Haw. Mr. Heikal and four other prominent writers have been ordered to appear before the prosecutor for investigation.

Like most other countries in the Middle East, Egypt does not have anything resembling a free Press. She already compares unfavourably in this respect with Israel. If Star Chamber methods are now to be employed against her leading journalists for having, in the past, criticised the regime and its policies, then Sadat's own reputation, and indirectly his own credentials as a peace-maker, will certainly suffer.

දිනකර

Endless blows

We have so much money, we don't know what to do, says the Prime Minister. There's no currency stronger than the Sri Lankan rupee, says Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel about the devalued rupee. Agriculture Minister waxes eloquent on reaping another's harvest. To judge from what the UNP cadgers are saying we have never had it so good. But out of such blue skies the people have been struck severe blows one after another. Having uttered every conceivable lie about keeping the poor alive this government has betrayed the people by hitting them below the belt in the last 10 months. When the next budget is designed it would not be surprising to find, in the absence of anything else, that the government has had to subsidise the manufacture of coffins for those 'walking skeletons'

Unquiet flows the Mahaweli

When Mr. Raju Coomaraswamy was ushered into the presence of Mr. Robert McNamara, World Bank President, he was greeted warmly. But the atmosphere soon turned cool and then a bit chilling when Mr. Coomaraswamy started to talk money for the accelerated Mahaweli.

From the computer brain of Mr. McNamara came such searching questions that Sri Lanka's hand-picked Mahaweli mendicant, though an experienced diplomat, began to hem and haw.

At the aid group meeting in Paris, the IBRD did a doubleturn. It was Mr. McNamara's Asian Vice-President who surprised several delegates by dropping the word that the 380 million dollars (Rs. 6000 m.) did not include the Mahaweli.

Pledges came quickly — especially from Britain and West Germany, but they were all qualified commitments. Each project picked up by the foreign government would be financed after a feasibility study by their own experts.

The feasibility study of course would be financed! Some studies can take 1 to 2 years. Britain was the first on the job and the second stage of the study will be started soon. Yet even Britain is extremely careful in all its official statements and press releases.

But money and jobs apart (1 million youths, Chinese style!) there are many other socio-economic aspects to this huge project. This is a report on one such controversial feature.

While the Government makes extravagant claims regarding the fast acceleration of the Mahaweli Development Scheme, this scheme is fast becoming the most controversial issue of the day. What has caused particular anxiety has been the realisation that by accelerating the Scheme it becomes proportionally difficult to rectify errors that will arise in the process of implementation. Already several areas have been identified as potential trouble spots and the debate on the viability and desirability of particular aspects of the scheme continues to grow.

The issue that has been most in the news is the destruction of the existing tanks in the Kalawewa area. This area, designated Area H, involving over 70,000 acres of land is the first area to be developed under the Mahaweli Scheme. In the past, as at Gal Oya, the approach was to irrigate and settle people on virgin land. It was subsequently found however, that the destruction of such jungle land was not quite the best thing to do.

With increasing ecological consciousness, the desire to protect existing vegetation grew. The Mahaweli Scheme therefore seeks to take water for irrigation to areas, such as that surrounding the Kalawewa Tank, which are already inhabited and cultivated.

The diversion of the Mahaweli Ganga to Area H begins near Kandy, where a barrage is placed across the river at Polgolla. The purpose of this barrage is to lift the water in the river to a sufficient level, so that it spills over into the tunnel that will carry the water down to the Ukuwella power station. From this 40 megawatt power station, the waters of the Mahaweli now flow into the artificial reservoir at Bowatenne. It is here that the water destined for Area H is stored. After cascading down to its own power station, the waters of the Bowatenne Reservoir reach their destination.

During the last seven years, in Areas H1 H2 H7 and H9, around 30,000 acres have been irrigated.

During 1978 on the other hand, it is proposed to bring 40,000 acres in Areas H4 and H5 under irrigation. In order to achieve this, there has been occurring the wholesale levelling of existing tanks and the villages that they serve. In the days preceding the President's visit to Kalawewa, around ten tanks were breached.

By destroying the tank villages, one makes the villagers totally dependent on channeled water and breaks up the cohesive tank villages that have existed for centuries. What is more, the compensation being offered is meagre. The villagers are expected to construct a house on the half acre homestead by resorting to a bank loan. But since they become owners of their new land only after completing payment of all instalments, they have no security to offer.

If the Mahaweli Board is to abandon its policy of tank destruction, and if they were to adopt instead a mechanism which permitted many of the tanks to remain and be fed by the waters of the Mahaweli, it would mean that they would have to go back to their drawing boards. How can they possibly keep up the pace of work if there is a complete reversal of existing plans?

Another problem has already emerged due to the positioning of the new channels. The channels in the H Area are cut high on the ridges of valleys that they irrigate. This results in water loss and water seepage which waterlogs the fields. This restricts the diversification of crops. Further, it will tend to alter the chemical composition of the soil in this area.

In the process of accelerating the Mahaweli, it is estimated that fifty percent of the work, involving the minor irrigation operations, will be abandoned for the present. This is because it is doubted that Sri Lanka will be able to raise the funds for the project in its totality.

In any case, the massive inflation that would spring from such heavy government expenditure, may well wipe out accrued benefits.

Now, the farmers in the H Area, are being made psychologically and practically dependent on the Polgolla Tunnel for their water—not only for irrigation, but also for domestic use and livestock rearing. The precarious nature of agriculture and life in the H Area becomes obvious. The deliberate or natural destruction of the Polgolla Tunnel could starve out these farmers, in this vulnerable area.

A million acres — a million people

“..... the Mahaweli Development Scheme where we are telescoping thirty years work into five years. Already the task force that was set up has reported to us. I think that document will be tabled in this House by the Hon. Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways on how we can find the necessary personnel, the surveyors, the engineers, how we can provide the necessary employment and labour to clear the elás, to cut down the jungles, to build houses and to perform the other tasks necessary for the implementation of a thirty-year plan in five years. I feel that it can be done and we have not been misled by the officers.

“The Mahaweli Development Scheme consists of three phases and each phase is independent of the other phase. Each phase can be undertaken on its own merits and its own viability. We intend to undertake the three phases in one simultaneous operation. We need money for that, and in order to get that money Mr. Raju Coomaraswamy has been sent to meet the World Bank authorities, the I. M. F. authorities and other authorities, and I do not see any reason why, if we follow the path of this Budget, other countries should not come to our aid and provide the necessary money for the completion of the Mahaweli Development Scheme in five years.

“What does that mean? It means you will have a million acres of cultivable land - 650,000 acres of new land and 350,000 acres of old land - to be irrigated twice a year. You will have a million people employed on this work, and after that you will have the colonists. The supply of electricity will be doubled.....”

— J. R. Jayewardene

The tanks in the H Area are being destroyed and dependence on Polgolla and Mahaweli being forced on them, in a situation where work has not even begun on the Kotmale regulatory reservoir. This reservoir, upstream at Kotmale, will store up and regulate the water in the river, and thus insure against shortages downstream. Up to now it has not even been decided who will build this reservoir and where the funds will come from.

Despite the impressive figures that the plans carry, it is a fact, one that Gal Oya and Uda Walawe substantiate, that water availability is overestimated. But utilisation of water is dependent on the farmers and their habits. For example, the traditional habit of flooding the paddy fields to kill off weeds persists. This leads to wastage of water. So does the practice of letting excess water flow out of the fields into the drainage channels. In addition, the absence of village tanks will lead to the non-utilisation of rain water from Mahaweli.

So long as the village revolved around a tank it had a sense of community, and provided for the socially optimum use of water. But channel fed agriculture creates an individualism that is wasteful. This has been the experience in other colonisation schemes. One estimates therefore that there will be a heavy load thrown on the Mahaweli no sooner than the entirety of Area H comes in for irrigation.

Area H was chosen as the first stage to be fed by the Mahaweli Scheme because it is well studied and was familiar to the agronomists. The research station at Maha Illupallama, nearby, had conducted helpful pilot projects, the experience of which was relevant to plans affecting both Area H and the area north of Anuradhapura, designated Area I and Area J. Thus Areas I and J were earmarked for the second phase of the Mahaweli Scheme. Extending up to the Elephant Pass it was even conceived that the lagoon could be converted to fresh water and the Jaffna peninsula irrigated.

The third and final phase of the Mahaweli was due to irrigate the

eastern section, designated Areas A, B, C, D and E. The water for this area, would come across the Victoria Reservoir and be stored at Randenigalla. Areas A to E, sparsely populated, has hardly been studied. It was proposed under the thirty year scheme, to gradually irrigate the area, learning by trial and error.

In a dramatic reversal of policy the new government has changed the order of irrigation. Areas A to E come first. Only then will Areas I and J be attended to. The question that arises is, given the new order and priority, will there be enough of water in the Morakakanda Reservoir, which provides storage for the northern areas; or will the load be too great on the Mahaweli? Will waters ever flow to the north?

What has prompted this reversal of priorities? It is believed that the government intends to give out land in the less inhabited Areas A to E, to local and foreign companies, giving them large tracts of land to develop. There is a precedent for this. During the last UNP government, land in this area was given out to local companies. But at that time the land was not irrigated. Now it will draw on the Mahaweli for its irrigation.

The identification of 2½ acres as the ideal economic unit for a family came after much research and experimenting on the part of our agricultural scientists. While providing an adequate income for a family, such holdings dispense with the need for hired labour. The rationale being, to prevent the emergence of a rural proletariat with all its attendant problems. It is now being proposed to group the land holdings, and to create management firms to fulfil the decision making function for the composite area. The introduction of firms either as owners or as managers, will lead to the rise of a rural proletariat and the growth of different classes with different class interests.

In view of all of these questions that have now come up, it is pertinent to ask whether a lot is being pushed passed people without their knowing the true implications?

Martin Wickremasinghe - myth and reality

by H. A. Seneviratne

Any attempt to make a "myth" or "mystery" of a literary figure who is dead is a sure sign of decadence, not only of literature but also of a given society.

Martin Wickremasinghe (1891-1976) still holds a key position in the field of art and literature in this country even without any assistance from those who are making a futile attempt to put him on a foundationless pedestal. This key position is held by Wickremasinghe notwithstanding the many limitations he had as a scholar, writer and thinker. To try to suppress his limitations that were, in fact, part and parcel of the heritage he acquired from the society in which he lived and worked, is to perpetrate a crime on the future generation of writers and intellectuals. This crime is being committed right now. Perhaps there is an attempt to live on the dead man's reputation, for mediocrity has no better resort. Otherwise, there is no reason why any serious and scientific analysis has not been made of Martin Wickremasinghe's real contribution.

As the writer of this article is personally aware and has seen from Martin Wickremasinghe's works, Wickremasinghe had a profound respect for Marx, Lenin and leftism, although, quite correctly, he had not much respect for either the local prototypes of Marx and Lenin or the proponents of leftism in Ceylon. Now, the non-existence of a modern political organisation of a real left to absorb our new intelligentsia has given rise to a situation where they are forced to express themselves solely through art and literature. It however, is a temporary phenomenon, which might itself tend to assist in the formation of a new left since the social crisis, in particular, cannot be solved by bourgeois methods and organisa-

tions. The real meaning of the attempt to place Martin Wickremasinghe on the dizzy heights of a noble pedestal without any critical analysis of his work clearly lies in the fear lingering in the hearts of the present day "intellectuals" that the future intelligentsia might go beyond the periphery carved out by Wickremasinghe and upset their safe assumptions. Martin Wickremasinghe was the pioneer in introducing Darwin's teachings to the Sinhala reader. This was no easy task at a time when the Sinhala language itself had not become so flexible as to cope with the requirements of expounding modern scientific theories. Nevertheless, in his original writings Martin Wickremasinghe showed signs of the traditional mysticism of our society although he had imbibed much of the modern thought. In him, mysticism and scientific thought blended in a peculiar fashion.

"Everything in this world develops gradually," he said. "Human beings also gradually develop and reach maturity. The stone-age Veddah emerged from the evolution of an ape-like animal. This Veddah evolved into the present day intelligent-man. It is not the stone-age veddah but the intelligent man who attained consciousness of good and evil. This evolution occurred only with the passage of millions of years. Should we not think that, if not in another six or eight hundred years, at least in another twenty or thirty thousand years, an ideal type of of man without greed for wealth, without jealousy, enmity, pride or prejudice, will emerge?"

This paragraph which is translated from an article by Martin Wickremasinghe has the key, as it were, to his thinking. He had carried the theory of evolution to such extremity that he had forgotten the condition of the survival

of the fittest in the evolutionary theory. It must be remembered that the fittest is often the toughest and not the best to fit into Martin Wickremasinghe's synthesis of the ideal man.

Wickremasinghe believed in the spontaneous attainment of man to the ideal level, probably influenced by the concept of *Karma*. But is not any theory of spontaneity a negation of the theory of *Karma*? Wickremasinghe did not also give much consideration to the conscious work of man to reach a higher level, which to me is the crux of social evolution. Martin Wickremasinghe was, therefore, faced with a contradiction, a kind of a dilemma. This was reflected in his utterances particularly regarding social upheavals. He described the April '71 incidents, for example, as a "high handed fight" that was contrary to the Sinhala New Year and the Vesak festival". (Sri Lankadeepa, 7th May 1971). To have made such a statement at a time when the government in power was carrying on a "war" on ill-equipped youth, with modern weapons and foreign assistance, notwithstanding the Sinhala New Year and the Vesak festival, reveals a lack of judgement, to say the least. He even went to the extent of relying on the fantastic stories published in the partisan press on this uprising of a section of the youth in 1971. "Those who read the news papers are aware," he said, "that the J. V. P leaders are even prepared to kill their parents in order to achieve the aims of their clique"! (Sri Lankadeepa, 7th May 1971).

These statements only show how profoundly shocked Martin Wickremasinghe was when he saw that the fifty-year-ago village he depicted in his novel, "The upturn in the village" ("*Gamperaliya*") really upturned in a way that he was never able to foresee. They also indicated that he had not worked

out to its logical conclusion the outcome of the changes in the village he had already mirrored and that he did not have a proper understanding of the type of repressive government that had evolved itself over the years with the rest of the socio-economic process Martin Wickremasinghe was so fond of analysing. This limitation of his was already seen in *"The Rise of the Soviet Union"* ("Soviet Desaye Negeema") which he published in 1971. In this work he extolled the bureaucracy and said that "a country cannot be ruled without such a bureaucracy." ("Soviet Desaye Negeema") 1961, page 90). Despite his great regard for Lenin, he once said that "it is one of the precepts of the Soviet government to restrict individual freedoms for the benefit of the entire people"! (Sri Lanka-deepa, 13th September 1970).

In spite of these serious misconceptions Martin Wickremasinghe's contribution towards aesthetics and the creation of a modern literature in this country is outstanding. His three novels, "Gamperaliya", "Viragaya" and "Bavatharanaya" alone would have made him a colossus in the field of our contemporary literature. Unfortunately, no proper evaluation of these works have been made so far, to pinpoint the social truth contained in them. The reason for this becomes quite obvious when one reads these works with an open mind. "Gamperaliya" depicts the woes and lamentations of the men and women living in a village society that is beginning to be overrun by commerce and capitalism, whilst "Viragaya" gives a shocking account of the innermost sufferings of an individual who is a product of the same decadent system and prone to nihilism.

Martin Wickremasinghe's controversial novel, "Bavatharanaya" is an attempt to de-mystify the character of Siddhartha who later became the Buddha and to bring out the nature of his struggle against exploitation and bondage.

In the context of the period into which Martin Wickramasinghe's formative years fall, his work is truly significant. But an evaluation

of his life and work should be done with a view to helping the future generation of intellectuals to attain a much higher standard. This is yet to be done, not due to any fault or limitation of Martin Wickremasinghe, but to the shortcomings of those still living and often seeking refuge under the "aura" of his name.

(The author is a well-known Sinhala short-story writer.)

Books

Literature and politics

WRITERS AND POLITICS IN MODERN BRITAIN by J. A. Morris (Hodder and Stoughton, £1.75).

This is the first of a series of paperbacks which will deal with the relations between writers and politics in different European countries in modern times. Compared with that of Russia, France, Germany or Spain (the subjects of some of the books to follow), the literature of contemporary Britain seems markedly non-political. Twentieth-century Britain had no revolution, no civil war, no experience of dictatorship, no occupation and resistance movement: the General Strike of 1927 and the Great Depression represent the peaks of general political activity in a period in which Britain was for the most part an island of stability and tranquility in a disturbed Europe.

How does one trace the relations between literature and politics in a society where writers have been largely indifferent to politics? Dr. Morris notes in his opening chapter that "there are those who will claim that *all* literature is political, which, if true, would instantly invalidate any reason for writing this essay." He settles for a definition of 'political literature' as concerned with 'affairs of state,' then confesses that, even so, it is

hard to draw a line of distinction between 'political literature' and 'social literature'.

There seems to be some critical confusion here. Not all literature is political, if one intends to treat political literature as a genre in the same sense in which one talks of religious literature or nature poetry or science fiction. But all literature can be examined politically, and this seems to me the more significant and fruitful approach in discussing literature and politics. The overt expression of political ideas in literature (writing about 'affairs of state') is often less influential than literature of whose implicit political content the writer himself may be unaware. The most trivial escapist fiction which is innocent of any conscious political intentions is far more powerful in upholding a class and power structure through the popular myths it disseminates than the committedly right-wing literature of Wyndham Lewis or Roy Campbell that Dr. Morris examines.

At the end of his 94-page survey Dr. Morris comes to the conclusion that 'political literature that succeeds as *literature* does so, not despite its political content or commitment, but because of an aesthetic potency unassessable and unjustifiable in political science.

Secular devils, too, of whatever shade or colour may well have the best tunes'. The phrase 'aesthetic potency' here represents an intellectual blur, unless Dr. Morris simply means that literature is to be judged solely by its success in communication, by its style regardless of its content, and that would make it a technical exercise devoid of any larger human significance. One can appreciate Dr. Morris's anxiety not to fall into the simplistic critical method of judging works of literature by the political ideas or beliefs that can be abstracted from them and their acceptability or non-acceptability to the critic himself. But political criticism of literature need not be as simple-minded as that.

Engels long ago pointed out (though few Marxist critics have taken notice) that the 'reactionary' Balzac was a greater social realist

in his novels than the 'progressive' Zola, because 'his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathizes most deeply—the nobles.' The critic of literature should be concerned not with the writer's political beliefs *qua* beliefs but with the experience and imaginative vision of society conveyed through the felt life of the work, and this may be different from or even at variance with the consciously held beliefs of the writer.

I suggest that such an approach gives us a basis for distinguishing between the poetry of Yeats and of Eliot, both of whom, as Dr. Morris recognises, held strongly authoritarian right-wing opinions (Eliot was anti-semitist and was a disciple of Charles Maurras, the later collaborator with the Nazis, while Yeats wrote marching songs for the Irish fascist movement with which he sympathised). In Eliot's work I see no gulf between the beliefs and the poetry: Dr. Morris rightly notes the animal imagery, suggestive of some low and repellent form of life, which recurs in Eliot's anti-semitic references, while the caricature of working class conversation in the *bub* scene and of lower middle-class sex in *The Waste Land* reflects Eliot's rooted class antipathies. In Yeats's poetry, on the other hand, there is, under the pressure of events like the Easter uprising, a tension between Yeats's right-wing beliefs and his imaginative response to reality—especially in the magnificent *Easter 1916*. It is when this tension is absent that Yeats relapses into the simple nostalgic idealisation of the aristocratic past ('all that great glory spent') of his lesser poems. The distinction I have suggested between political belief and imaginative vision should help us also to place the left-wing English writers of the thirties—Auden, Spender, Day Lewis, Rex Warner, Edward Upward and the rest—in whom an intellectual political commitment found no counterpart in lived experience. It was George Orwell who made the most acute diagnosis of the reasons for the immaturity and falsity of the English left-wing creative writing of the

period. Dr. Morris quotes his comment on a line from Auden's *Spain*, 'The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder.' conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder'. Orwell said: 'It could only have been written by a person to whom murder was at most a word.'

Yes, indeed. And yet when Orwell came to write his political fantasy of the future, 1984, he revealed as betraying a shallowness and over-simplification in this anti-Communist hysteria. Of 1984 we may say that it could have been written by somebody to whom totalitarianism was, not a word, but a projection of his own irrational phobias. One has only to compare it with the work of European writers who had first-hand experience of the police state—Victor Serge's *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, Tibor Dery's *Niki*, Nadezhda Mandel'shtan's *Hope against Hope*—to see the difference. The pro-CP critic quoted by Dr. Morris who called 1984 a 'horror comic' no doubt had an axe to grind, but he was right.

Reggie Siriwardena

Media

Not safe to be free

Larry Flint, publisher of *The Hustler*, was facing an obscenity trial in Georgia. In the midst of the case, someone, either the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia or the CIA, took the law into their own hands and shot Flint. The young publisher survived—but remains paralysed from the waist down.

Flint who recently had a personal encounter with Jesus Christ and is now a disciple of Ruth Stapleton, sister of the US President, had just taken the smut out of *The Hustler's* pages. But he has too many enemies. The KKK hates him. So does the Mafia who resent his independent

publishing empire. And his latest *bete-noire* is the CIA whom he has brushed against while digging into John Kennedy's assassination.

It would appear therefore, that even in the United States, it just isn't safe to be free. There seems to be little guarantee of freedom of publication, there is no security against those who seek to silence the press.

In countries such as ours the survival of a free press is also becoming a risky proposition. This occurs in a situation where priorities are historically determined. Parliamentary democracy and a pluralist system have fashioned a welfare state whose citizens have increasingly looked to the state to protect living standards. The inability of successive Ceylonese Parliaments to hold the price level and provide employment has not deterred politicians from continuing to promise economic emancipation.

Impotent administrations have had to contend with the violence of frustration, be it in the Fifty-three Hartal or the Seventy-one insurgency.

Alive to the impatience of mass expectations, threatened by the prospects of open rebellion, recent governments have looked in vain to a paradigm of development bureaucratically imposed from above. The oligarchy that holds power has reacted against that media which they believe, acts counter to development. They see their grandiose schemes as sacrosanct. And interpret any criticism as counter-development. This pattern is not peculiar to our own country, it is the pattern that has emerged throughout the developing world.

An ideology has begun to emerge which sees the irrelevance of a Westminster type system, brands as archaic freedom of criticism and falls back on the security of the one party state. From Chile to Singapore, Cambodia, to Zambia, this is political reality.

But the witchdoctors of the development oligarchy become victims of their own system. They repeatedly fail to see the cornerstone

of development which they, the builders, overlook. And this is participation. Development sans participation is not progress, it is fiction. Macroeconomic growth models are no substitute for participation.

There can never be participation without information and expression. And this is the function of the media. A tame media cannot inform people of the relevance of development for them, nor can it provide a feed-back on opinions and strictures which the people themselves generate.

Leaders and Governments have become enamoured by technology that has given them an electronic media through which they can talk and a print media which talks about them. But this media may well be talking above the people than to them. This is not communication, and never will be.

Until the development oligarchy in our countries arrive at a level of security and get over the paranoia of their anxiety, they can never fulfil their desired role. Unless they are prepared to listen to their critics, respect contrary opinion and tolerate dissension, there can be no progress in the mature sense of the word. And all this can only occur in self confident societies, convinced of their stability, alive to their limitations and adult in their psychology.

Power in itself can never settle questions of development, this is a facile philosophy that too many in the labyrinth of command subscribe to. History tells us that unrestrained power can only cripple the system it sets out to build.

In the great drama of development the media must play a pivotal role. This is not merely a symptom of our megalomania, it is the sober lesson of history. Systems that exclude freedom of expression, centres of power that do not let the people talk back to them, are systems that bear the seeds of their own destruction.

— J. S.

Tongpan — 2

When reality overtook art

Baljit Malik, a free-lance journalist, was in Thailand recently and watched an important event—the making of a film. It was part film part seminar as the story was built round a seminar that took place in 1975. This is the concluding part of his two-part article.

The seminar which runs through the film, alternating with scenes of Tongpan's struggle for existence, actually took place during a very tense period in Thailand's 3 year period of Liberal Democracy. During this period, in certain parts of the country, peasants like Tongpan were no longer content with brooding quietly over their miserable lives. They had also learnt the hard way that disorganised bursts of anger and violence would lead them only further downhill. It was a time when students, intellectuals, workers and peasants were beginning to break away from their isolation and were developing closer links with each other. Socially conscious men and women, and other nationalist-minded groups in Thai society, were becoming increasingly frustrated as well as angry to see their country being turned into a dumping ground for Japanese and Western goods. They could see their own culture and way of life being destroyed by conniving groups within their own country aided by strong blasts of cultural imperialism from abroad. But they also realised that only a well-organised political movement could check the economic and cultural exploitation of the Thai people.

Peasants such as Tongpan had not remained untouched by the spreading consciousness to resist their exploitation and to struggle for a society in which peasants and workers would no longer remain mere share-croppers or wage labourers without any power of their own. Peasant organisations such as the Farmers' Federation of Thailand had sprung up with chapters in different districts and

provinces. Demands began to be made, followed up with actions, for fairer rents and land reform. Corrupt officials soon found out that the people were beginning to keep an eye on them; profiteers and moneylenders also found that they could no longer get away easily with their dubious activities.

In the face of opposition all the way from the village to campus level in Bangkok, an entire spectrum of vested interests ranging from corrupt petty officials, through the military upto the American Embassy and the C. I. A. was affected by the growing political consciousness in the country. So, the affected groups too decided to organise themselves and to hit back. And hit back they did, and that too with acts of fascist vengeance. Just before the seminar in 'Tongpan' actually took place, one of the FFT's leading organisers had been murdered. In fact, over a period of a few months, almost a couple of dozen peasant leaders had been brutally exterminated. And, what is more, not a single enquiry followed these murders and not a single culprit brought to book.

Tongpan disappears

The events shown in 'Tongpan' were in a way, symbolic of the failure of attempts to create suitable conditions for a dialogue between different interest groups and classes in Thai Society. Even Tongpan left the seminar undetected in the middle only to discover tragedy awaiting him at home. While the experts and intellectuals were talking away, his wife had died at home, having succumbed to the sickness of poverty, the

sickness of a system of health-care restricted to Bangkok and to those with money and wealth. And so, reality overtook 'art'.

In the film, after the seminar the student who had persuaded Tongpan to take part in it returned to the village to look for his missing friend. But Tongpan was no longer there and nobody knew where he had gone. May be he had really come to the end of the road...or had he arrived at the threshold of renewed hopes and a new struggle against injustice? Had Tongpan actually convinced himself of the futility of dialogue in a system which reorganised communication only as a top-down process? No, nobody knew where Tongpan was, and nobody knew what was in his mind.

Another tragedy

Along with the tragic episodes of peasant life in 'Tongpan' there is another tragedy that runs through the film. It is the tragedy of Thailand's brave student generation of the early and mid-seventies. It was the students who were in the vanguard of the movement to inject at least some social and political content into Thailand's experiments with Liberal Democracy from 1973-76. And it was they who were martyred in a hail of bullets that the authorities and their fascist front organisations rained on them as they were gathered in a peaceful demonstration in the campus of Thammasat University on 6th October 1976. The film ends with an epilogue in words which describes what happened on that fateful day.

'Tongpan' is indeed a living document, a film that stands against injustice, and for equality; for self-reliant development and resistance against imperialist economic penetration; a film that stands for the real Thailand and speaks for an Asia that seeks not to be a shadow of the West, but cast in its own mould of resurgent history and tradition.

45 CFR 205.10

It is not only in Sri Lanka that the bureaucrats love to tie themselves up hand and foot with red tape. It happens in the US too. But whereas in Sri Lanka the outcome of all this hogtying is to produce near-total inertia in the bureaucracy causing fierce resentment in the general public, in the US it produces excessive activity on the part of the bureaucracy causing fierce resentment in the general public.

The State of Illinois used to pay abortion costs for all women qualifying for Medicaid assistance but decided last November not to do so. According to Regulation 45CFR205.10 of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare the Illinois Department of Public Aid was required to inform all Medicaid recipients of this decision in writing. There were more than a million such persons including 50,000 residents in the State's homes for the aged. These elderly folk were outraged to receive a letter from the Department of Public Aid saying they would no longer be eligible to have abortions at the State's expense.

Personally I think 45CFR205.10 is superior to our own FRR and ARR because if it errs, it does so on the side of keeping the public informed. Our own bureaucrats would have kept the information a dark secret to be sprung at the last minute as a surprise on some woman who had made all arrangements to make use of the concession. And not out of malice or general bloody-mindedness but simply because it would not have occurred to anybody that the fact that the concession had been withdrawn was deserving of being conveyed to the public.

Sir Harold

It was not generally noticed that among the passengers on

board the plane bearing Prince Charles to the funeral of Sir Robert Menzies which touched down at Katunayake was Sir Harold Wilson.

Sir Harold has always been my idea of what a politician, and particularly one professing socialism, should not be. Devious and plausible at all times, he was adept at taking a public stand which was honourable and principled on any issue while quietly pursuing an altogether different self-serving course.

It was he who as Prime Minister of Britain publicly postured with an uncompromising stand for NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority African Rule) while privately informing Smith that he would not send British troops to Rhodesia to prevent UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). With the consequences the world now knows.

This great socialist crowned his career with being made a Knight of the Garter, a concept as grotesque as a rabbi becoming a pork butcher or a Buddhist monk a colonel in the army.

How's that again?

When he was at the estate, about 9 a. m. on August 19, four men came and robbed the fowls.

— (Newspaper report of schoolmaster's evidence before Sansoni Commission)

Some well-to-do birds, no doubt.

Another View

Humpty Dumpty had a lean summer
Humpty Dumpty's spring was a bumper
Humpty's winter was no good at all
But Humpty Dumpty had a great fall.

— (Kit Wright)

(Contd. on Page 26)

Eurocommunism : the debate goes on

I

N Sanmugathasan in his article absolutises armed struggle as the road to the socialist revolution. He rules out any possibility of the working class capturing power by peaceful means. He brands all those who advocate the possibility of peaceful transition as revisionists and degenerates.

However the founders of Marxism - Leninism (Marx - Engels - Lenin) never rejected any form of struggle. And they did see the possibility of the working class capturing power by peaceful means. "Insurrection would be madness, where peaceful agitation would move swiftly and surely do the work" Marx said, and Lenin stressed that "the working class would of course prefer to capture power peacefully."

This shows that the founders of Marxism - Leninism never absolutised armed struggle as Comrade Shan would like us to believe. In fact Marx considered possible the peaceful abolition of bourgeois rule in such countries as Britain and the United States. "We know of the allowances we must make for the customs, institutions and traditions of the various countries and we do not deny that there are countries such as America, England and I would add Holland, if I know your institutions better, where the working class may achieve their goal by peaceful means." - Marx declared at a meeting in Amsterdam in 1872.

The Right Wing opportunists (like the Eurocommunists) and the Left Wing opportunists (like Comrade Shan) contrapose to each other the peaceful and non-peaceful development of the revolution. The right-wing opportunists absolutise the peaceful development of revolution considering it as the only possible one. They over-estimate the

parliamentary and legal forms of struggle, underestimate the non-parliamentary ones and reject the illegal forms of struggle. They do not want to recognise that in certain circumstances the armed struggle and illegal forms of revolution work are necessary and inevitable for the seizure of power.

The left-wing opportunists on the other hand bluntly believe in Mao's formula "power grows out of the barrel of a gun". They are unable to understand that the development of the world revolutionary process makes it possible to win power in a peaceful way!

A socialist revolution is not a conspiracy or a coup staged by a group of "active revolutionaries" but a struggle by the working class under the leadership of a Marxist - Leninist party.

I advise Com. Shan to go through the history of the Bolshevik party of Lenin once more. Here he will see that at different stages of the revolution, the Bolshevik party applied flexible and non-peaceful, legal and illegal, means of struggle and displayed ability to combine them and replace one form or method by another.

The C. P. of Sri Lanka and other fraternal parties in the international communist movement, see the possibility of peaceful transition in their respective countries, but do not rule out armed struggle nor make an absolute of peaceful transition.

In this lies the fundamental distinction between the strategy and tactics of Leninism on the one hand and both social democratic reformism (as shown by the Eurocommunism) and petty bourgeois adventurism as shown by Comrade Shan.

Kandy

Mahendran Raja

II

While heartily congratulating Mr. N. Sanmugathasan on his brief but most effective rejoinder to 'Sri Lankan Eurocommunist' Leslie Goonewardena and associating myself with his views, I would also like to pose a few questions to him.

Why have ideologists of the Soviet Communist Party criticized Eurocommunism - not merely for its anti-Sovietism, as Mr. Leslie Goonewardena asserts, but also on important questions of Marxist - Leninist theory? Here I refer primarily to the writings of Dr. Konstantin Zaradov, the Soviet Union's foremost expert, next to Boris Ponomarev, on the world communist movement and Editor-in-Chief of the principal international communist magazine 'Problems of Peace and Socialism'. Dr. Zaradov's subdued but sustained polemic on Eurocommunism commenced in 1975, with a commemorative essay on Lenin's 'Two Tactics' published in 1905. This essay, which rejected the idea that an 'arithmetical majority' guaranteed a successful transition to socialism, provoked pointed rejoinders from the Italian CP's main organ 'Avanti', as well as from other West European CP's. Dr. Zaradov was however summoned by Leonid Brezhnev and congratulated on his article. He resumed his low-key offensive in a 12,000 word article published last year in 'Communist' which is the chief theoretical journal of the Soviet CP. The importance of this article in the relationship between the CPSU and the Eurocommunist CP's was remarked upon in the Western press, notably by the well known Sovietologist Victor Zorza, who was one of the first observers to predict the Sino-Soviet schism.

The 'Economist' (May 6th), the magazine which Marx once described as the most intelligent

defender of capitalism, features a special article which draws the attention of its readers to fresh developments in the CPSU's theoretical dispute with the Euro-communists. This time Dr. Zaradov has published two new books which deal obliquely with the subject. The first is entitled "Three Revolutions in Russia and Our Time".

In it, says the 'Economist' "he is scathing about those who dream of convergence between capitalism and communism, of capitalism growing simply into communism with the communists sailing into power as part of a loose coalition with non-Marxists, Social Democrats, Catholics, Protestants and other strange folk... Mr. Zaradov is much kinder to the 'revolutionary romantics' on the extreme left... (he) pulls out of the hat a surprisingly warm, even respectful remark of Lenin's about the 'Red Brigades' of his day—the so-called Socialist Revolutionaries of pre-1917 Russia".

The 'Economist' goes on to say that Dr. Zaradov's other new book captioned 'Socialism, Peace and Revolution' is a critical background essay on the implications of the European Communist Parties conference held in East Berlin in July 1976.

In the same article the magazine also comments on another new publication by yet another top CPSU ideologue Y. Krasin, entitled 'Theory of the Socialist Revolution.' It says: "Mr. Krasin argues that real political power is always much more important in the long run to Communists than even the biggest arithmetical majorities... significantly one of the chapters in Mr. Krasin's book bears the title 'The Question of power—the basic question of the Socialist Revolution'..."

Another allied fact I would like to bring to Mr. Sanmugathan's attention is that the East and West European CP's which have been most critical of the theoretical basis of Eurocommunism, have been the most pro-Soviet ones referred to be in the Western press as 'Semi-Stalinist'. I refer

here to the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak and GDR CP's (within the Eastern European bloc) and the Portuguese, Greek and Finnish CP's (among the non-ruling ones). A pro-Soviet group within the British CP has also broken off, criticizing the Eurocommunist line, and formed a new CP under the leadership of Sid French. A similar process is underway in the Spanish party too and is spearheaded by the pro-Soviet Catalan Communist Party.

How does Mr. Sanmugathan explain the 'revisionist' and 'bourgeois' CPSU's criticism of Eurocommunist revisionism?

— D

III

Mr. Sanmugathan correctly titles his reply to Leslie Goonewardene "A Farewell to Arms."

Bernsteinism and Kautskyism was the revisionism of Marx's time. Menshevism was the revisionism of Marxism in Lenin's time. Popular Frontism, was revisionism during and after the life time of Stalin. Bernsteinism, Kautskyism, Popular Frontism, Peaceful Co-existence and Eurocommunism are all different brands of revisionism of Marxism.

The essence of Eurocommunism which is contemporary revisionism is the programmatic alliance of the working class parties with the party of the National Bourgeoisie (Sri Lanka) S. L. F. P. or the Party of Bourgeoisie itself the Christian Democrats of Italy. In all these forms there is one underlying theory—i.e. defusing the revolutionary potential of the working class by tying it to the chariot of the bourgeois state. They all held and hold the view of "peaceful and gradual transition to socialism" through Parliament.

One can show through the history of the international communist movement how time and again the Stalinist leadership subordinated the working class parties to capitalist parties for the sake of expediency.

Even the great Lenin was at one with the Mensheviks before the Revolution. He held the view

that the Russian Revolution was to usher in a bourgeois republic. But Lenin dissented from them in his view that the proletariat and peasantry were to carry through such a revolution. Lenin held in his pamphlet "Two Tactics of Social Democracy" that "Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian Revolution. What does this mean? That the democratic changes in the political system and economic and social changes which has become indispensable in Russia, "do not of themselves signify destruction of capitalism or the downfall of the reign of the bourgeois i. e. on the contrary they will for the first time really throw open the field of the development of a European capitalism, as in Asian capitalism, thus making it possible for the first time, the reign of the bourgeoisie as a class".

Trotsky alone disagreed with the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, the latter led by Lenin. He held that in undeveloped countries the bourgeois democratic revolution does not stop after the overthrow of the feudalists. It proceeds immediately to the socialist tasks, the next stage of the revolution, under the leadership of the party of the working class—There is no time lag between the two stages for a period of capitalist development as Lenin earlier held in "Two Tactics". Nevertheless when the Revolution broke out in February 1917, Lenin writing on March 21st in his "Letters from Afar" abandoned his earlier theory. Said he "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a transition from the first stage of the revolution, which owing to the insufficient power of the working class, handed over the power to the bourgeoisie, from the feudal class". Let us see what Stalin's views were at this critical moment in the Russian Revolution. "Pravda", edited by Kamanev and Stalin in March 1917 wrote:—"Of course, there is no question among us of the downfall of capitalism, but only the downfall of autocracy and feudalism, Russia, they assumed, holding on to the old Bolshevik slogans of "democratic dictatorship" as oppo-

sed to proletarian revolution and dictatorship. The provisional Government of Kerensky had to be supported "conditionally" and "in so far" as it would renounce annexations or conclude peace. ("A Farewell to arms!") It was only Lenin's iron willed leadership which made the Bolshevik Party abandon the outworn old Bolshevik theory. "To arms!" "Form Soviets for dual power!" were the new slogans. He now demanded a complete break with the bourgeois regime, as set out in his "Letters from Afar" which put the masses on the road to insurrection and seizure of power.

If Lenin's great positive achievement was the ideological rearmament of the party in 1917, its disarmament since 1924 was Stalin's negative achievement in furthering the cause of revisionism, which were to emerge later under the different brands of popular frontism, peaceful co-existence, national frontism etc.

Stalin's theory was to set up workers' and peasants coalitions, not to realise socialism, but merely to liquidate autocracy and feudalism—this was enunciated in the now notorious theory of the "People's Front". In China, it worked out disastrously in the early part of the Chinese Revolution—The "Bloc of Four Classes"—(The "Peoples Front" with another name)—representing in alliance of the proletariat and the middle classes or peasantry. In Sri Lanka, the SLFP-CP, the hotch-potch Coalition of the bloc of five Sangha, Veda, Guru, Govi, Kamkaru, of different social strata.

In Britain the C. P. proposed a "National Government" with Churchill during the War!—allegedly "to save Democracy from Fascism"! In Sri Lanka too the C. P. sought admission to the Ceylon National Congress, the precursor of the UNP. It was only because of D. S. Senanayake's opposition that it fell through. The C. P. at its Third Congress held in Atureliya in Nov. 1948 admitted this fact. The "Forward" the official organ of the C. P. of 1. 11. 48 says...

"The C. P. regarded the participation of the national bourgeoisie was a sine qua non. It assigned to the local bourgeoisie an oppositional role to imperialism, which had no basis in fact. It was this assessment which made the C. P. to subsequently pass a resolution of electoral support to the UNP". This was however withdrawn because of popular opposition. Mr. Sanmugathasan do not forget that you were then a leading member of the C. P. when you were actively peddling revisionism yourself thirty years ago!

— Amaradasa Fernando

IV

It is easy for people like Sanmugathasan who have always opted to play a lovely romantic revolutionary role outside the mainstream of politics to mouth tired Marxist cliches. But the Euro-communist parties and our own L. S. S. P. which are very much in the forefront of the political struggles of their respective countries have to constantly re-mould and adjust their thinking and strategy according to existing conditions. I think the criterion of judging a political act should not be whether it fits into some theoretical abstraction, but whether it has advanced the cause of humanitarianism and democracy.

We are yet to see countries like France and the United Kingdom where the armed forces have been traditionally under definite political control, making serious attempts towards socialism. But if such a move is made it is difficult to imagine these armed forces daring to intervene in the process. We also must not forget the fact that in countries like Holland and France trade union rights have even been conceded to the armed forces.

Finally, the communist parties in the respective countries are in the best position to evaluate the nature of the state and act accordingly. Euro-communism is a creative as well as a necessary development of Marxism.

Colombo.

Ravi Perera

Tune in to
**BRISTOL
SPORTS
NEWS**
every evening at 7.30
over SLBC channel 2



Greatest race in history...!

"England's No. 1 jockey Lester Piggott astride the horse **KANDOS** won the Merchant Adventurers Stakes at York earning for its Sri Lankan owner, Mr. Upali Wijewardene, 2,500 pounds (75,000/-) The other two horses, "General Atty" and "Tardot" also ridden by Piggott for Mr. Wijewardene failed to win any prize money. "General Atty" had to be satisfied with second place ..." — (News item WEEKEND)

"Thank you for accepting my invitation, Outsider, at such damn short notice..." said Monty Kotipathy, the batik tie-coon, pillar of the Private Sector and Colossus of the Chamber, as he guided me gently through the heavy lunch traffic at the Cat's Eye, towards his favourite corner table, overlooking the Indian Ocean and one of the borders of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission. (On a clear day you can actually spot a South Korean or Taiwanese trawler poaching on our coastal fishing preserves. It appeals to the patriot in both of us.)

"Shall we order now...?" inquired Monty slipping smoothly into his usual rhetoric... "something light, I hope you don't mind, it's in keeping with my new resolution... I was speaking to Rotary about it, the other day... It's simply no good asking the downtrodden masses to tighten belts if you don't set an example yourself... if you are going to make a para out of that, remember I spell my name with one 't' and not two 't's... what with all this talk about tigers I can't afford to have you chaps calling me kottipathy can I? You do understand, don't you... so please just one 't' as in 'date' or 'fate' or 'late'..."

"Or whatever... "I snapped determined to get in a word.

"Capital" snapped back Monty smartly...

"Or one 't' as in lump sum depreciation...?" I replied, keen

on taking at least the first round in the verbal duel he had started.

A hearty bellow broke out.

"Ha, ha, ha... Outsider what delightful company you make... its such a joy to find a common-or-garden columnist so knowledgeable about the finer points of finance, tax evasion and big business..."

"Anyway let's celebrate with a prawn cocktail, shall we...for a starter, I mean...and

"Chicken a la Kiev, afterwards, or will you prefer the Australian lamb...?"

"In the absence of Kobe beef, why not...?"

"With a Moroccan wine to wash it down...a little funny, but..."

"But not exactly hilarious..." I cut him short, trying to be one-up on winemanship...

He studied me quizzically, not sure whether I was really *au courant* on the Maghreb.

"The point is its a cheap wine... you can't, preach austerity and development to the masses unless you are willing to share the sacrifices yourself...some of you chaps may think I am just a bloated capitalist but I have read my Marx, too good heavens, man, I can honestly claim that I personally know N. M., Colvin, J. R. and other leading revolutionaries...for myself, I have cut my foreign trips by 50%. I know you won't believe that, but there it is, a simple, bald, unvarnished statis-

tic...in case, you want to take that down..."

"I thought you just got back from Copenhagen, Zurich, London Paris, New York, Rome, Athens, and Teheran...?"

"With a stop-over in Ankara... yes..."

"And only the other week you were in Osaka, Seoul, Taipei, Hong Kong and Singapore...?"

"Yes, but it was one trip... you see I was in transit at Bandaranaike...oops, sorry, Katunayake airport...so strictly speaking, it was one journey. one has to be strict about these things..Anyway, to be quite frank, that's not the reason... I invited you... I want to discuss the state of the economy... just your own candid opinion... yes, do order another drink, please.. just let me have it straight...you see Outsider, I have always admired you for your fine grasp of the situation, your understanding of economic trends... take the average journalist, and I bet you he doesn't know the difference between the floating rupee and the crawling peg....."

"A few pegs of the Old Stuff and they are all crawling....." said I, gargling my throat with Monty's Chivas.

"Quite...quite... but seriously, what's on in the Trade Zone, what's the latest on the aid front, and how's the Mahaweli moving...? Dammit man, we were all waiting for the presidential system, executive government, the cabinet re-shuffle, all the president's men and all that...but JR seems to be bearing the whole burden..even the little jobs look at the press photos...one day, he is on a merry-go-round, the next in a baby train in the park or with some Tower Hall old fogeys, at some art exhibition or surrounded by

The PEOPLE'S BANK

Sri Lanka's Banker to the World

The PEOPLE'S BANK, at the heart of things in Sri Lanka, is also around the world serving nations through a network of correspondents.

We are forever forging new ties and strengthening existing associations with the international community.

- Up to date Market Intelligence
- Foreign Exchange Transactions
- Non-resident Foreign Currency Accounts for Sri Lankans abroad
- Finance of International Trade
- Sterling and Currency Loans, deposits
- Documentary Credits and Collections
- Banking Correspondent Arrangements
- Acceptance Credits

We also contribute with our expertise and arrange financing facilities linked to specific projects.

Our monthly publication "The Economic Review" is one of our community service projects.

Here at home, we are the tested, trusted

Our correspondents provide a vital point of contact for industrialists who are seeking to develop their business in our Free Trade Zone and other areas.

We offer a wide range of services in the field of international finance for major industrial investments.

Bank, serving the nation through over 550 Rural Banks and 210 Branches. These figures never stand still because we keep growing all the time.

Deposits in our Bank are second to no other commercial bank in Sri Lanka.

PEOPLE'S BANK : SRI LANKA'S DYNAMIC BANKER

Head Office: 75, Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha.

P. O. Box 728, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. Telephone: 27841 — 9

Foreign Branch: M. I. C. H. Building, Bristol Street, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka.

CABLES: VIDESA BANK Telex: 1143

கொழும்பு நகரில் சங்கம்

Montessori kids...Is this streamlined super-efficient government?"

"Yes, poor Junius is poorly served by his juniors..."

"It's the economic front that really troubles me...remember that story in the *Sunday Observer* about six months ago...? About the American tycoon who said he thought Sri Lanka was some god-dan lil commie country in some godforsaken hole in Africa and when he came here and realised it was good ole Ceylon with all those happy, smiling friendly natives, he had decided to tell his pals back in Alabama to send all their dollars to help these fine pee-pul? Outsider, that was the climate of investment then. And now? Last night I was with a British businessman, a would-be investor... He wanted a telex machine and three operators, and he was told that all the experienced punchers were in Abu Dhabi and the recently recruited guys spelt 'tender' with two 'a' s..."

"But Wattala with two 't's, I trust..."

"Nicely put" observed Monty beaming... "And then he inquired about water for the factory he had in mind, and you know he was told... they could always dig a well...!"

"Well, well," I said equably "all's well that ends with a well... if you, Monty, don't mind me running against Hameed in the Wit-and-Humour Handicap Hurdles, Novices Only..."

"Heavens, Outsider, you took the metaphor off my mouth... what with all this talk of Upali, our economic whizz-kid, and King of the Trade Zone, playing the sport of kings in Britain do you know, he's got a horse called *Kandos*, and now another called *General Atty*?"

"Why not? Caligula named his horse a pro-consul of one of his zones, so why can't the Emperor of our Zone turn a four-star general into a horse...?"

"Seriously Outsider, I am thinking about investments if you had the money, how would you bet? Would you put your money on

the accelerated Mahaweli, for instance?"

"That's strictly for six-year olds...it'll be money down the river..."

"In that case, what do we do?"

"We negotiate with Trainer Armstrong, and get a letter of Intent from L. Piggott and send Raju for top-level talks with William Hill...that's a more reputed group of bookmakers than Witteveen or McNamara... we get 7 to 1 on *General Atty* for the Grand National next year... then we take our second IMF tranche, the whole Aid Consortium boodle, a loan or two from the Saudi Development Fund, a few hundred millions from the Japs, West Germans, Swedes, South Koreans and Taiwanese (that has to be done hush-hush) and then we give

General Atty a good shot of you know what (local raw materials, and intermediate technology, really) and then win the race, and clear our entire foreign debt, revalue the rupee and become the strongest currency in the world..."

"My god, Outsider, its a stroke of genius...what will the masses say?"

"Look, Monty, there isn't a single decent Sinhala proletarian who doesn't put his two bucks on some horse at Sandown Park or Doncaster and tell his wife he was pickpocketed in the No. 171 bus... man, they'll love it... imagine them sitting in their drawing rooms with the whole family sharing their half a loaf of bread with a tin of canned South Korean fish, and cheering wildly as they watch *General Atty* on Japanese colour T. V. take the bend..."

"And your forecast as the country's leading political tipster?"

"An economic miracle... and an early referendum..."

"The result...?"

"A 99.3 percent vote for the Grand Old Party, at least a furlong ahead of Marcos, and pipping Sadat on the post, with Lee Kuan Yew worried whether we'll enter *General Atty*, in a bracket with *Kandos* in the Rubber Barons Stakes... can't you see, Monty, we

the Sinhala people, the Lion race...no damn barbarous man-eating tigers, for you...we'll go down in the annals of the Jockey Club..."

"For...?"

"For the greatest race in history..."

45 CFR 205.10

(Contd. from Page 20)

Ah, well, nobody's perfect

The Greater Colombo Economic Commission had a full-page ad in the recent Financial Times Sri Lanka Supplement. In one place the ad tells would-be investors that "a reserve of..... young persons are (sic) available for employment." In another place a necessary definite article is unaccountably omitted. Two blunders in an expensive ad but perhaps few will notice.

Two-faced neutrino

My piece about the neutrino (one of the particles of the atom whose existence has been recently proved according to particle physicists) was ruined by the dropping of a crucial sentence: 'Any object if rotated 360° will, as we know, present the same aspect as before but a neutrino, we are told, needs two rotations through 360° to do this—as though it has a double view of the universe, one for each rotation.'

As the Duke of Wellington said to the man who addressed him as Mr. Smith, if you can believe that you'll believe anything!

LANKA GUARDIAN

Subscription rates
(for six months)

Local	Rs. 30/-
Asia	Rs. 75/-
or US \$ 5.00 or £ 2.50	
Europe & Africa	Rs. 100/-
or US \$ 7.50 or £ 3.50	

Cheques and money orders to be made out in favour of
Mervyn de Silva

The Circulation Manager,
Lanka Guardian Publishers Ltd.
South Asia Media Centre
3rd Floor, YMBA building,
126 3/28, Main Street, Colombo 1.

Peerless Beauty to Flatter You

in fabrics that will DAZZLE YOU!

Yes, fabulously beautiful fabrics in a gorgeous array of truly breathtaking textures and hues.....

They were created to encompass YOU in dazzling opulence.....

Be the cynosure of all eyes in PARAGON (TEXTILE) INDUSTRIES radiantly lovely materials!

PARAGON (TEXTILE) INDUSTRIES Ltd.,

47, 49, Old Airport Road, Ratmalana.

Tel: Mt. 7153, 7721, 7921.

Show Rooms:

CROWNS DEPARTMENT STORE

118, Main Street, Colombo II.

*Tel: 22170, 26849.

CEYLON BULBS & ELECTRICALS LTD.,

Manufacturers of

SUPERGLOW, JAYANTI

AND

DAYLIGHT ELECTRIC BULBS

Address:

60, Rodney Street,
Colombo 8.

Telephone: 95567, 96751

Cables: 'Lamplight'

LLOYD SERENDIB LTD.

Agents for: Nippon Yusen Kaisha Line, Tokyo
and

Compagnie Generale Maritime, France

LLOYD SERENDIB GROUP OF COMPANIES

35 1/1, W. A. D. Ramanayake Mawatha,
Colombo 2.

Telephone: 29085, 28273, 25070

Telegrams: SERENYK, Colombo.

Telex : 1229 LOSEREN.

HOME SWEET HOME

for all your requirements in Furnishings

- Printed & Plain Creton
- Heavy - Jackard - Furnishing
- Ticking
- Mosquito Netting
- Towels
- Bed Spreads
- Bed Sheets Etc;

Visit

H. A. NAGINDAS & CO LTD.,

137, Main Street, Colombo 11.

Phone: 22232,

22233.

To express your Love so Warm and Tender...

Choose from the many magnificent genuine 22 ct. SOVEREIGN GOLD

ENGAGEMENT & WEDDING RINGS

On display at the

ONLY AIR-CONDITIONED JEWELLERY SALON IN SEA STREET

Lalitha **JEWELLERY MART**

99-105, SEA STREET, COLOMBO II.

PHONE: 23691.

With Compliments From

FREUDENBERG SHIPPING AGENCIES LTD.

Agents: **HAPAG LLOYD AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT
HAMBURG**

LLOYD'S BUILDING

SIR BARON JAYATILLEKE MAWATHA,
COLOMBO I.

Telex: 116 'FRUKO'

Telephone: 27221/20334

Cables: 'HAPAGLLOYD'



HOTEL
CEYLON
INTER-CONTINENTAL
SRI LANKA

THE ACTION'S ON AT THE INTERCON

MONDAY	THE MASQUERADE
TUESDAY	THE MASQUERADE
WEDNESDAY	MIGNONNE'S NITE
THURSDAY	THE JETLINERS WITH KATHY
FRIDAY	MIGNONNE & THE JETLINERS
SATURDAY	Oriental Buffet WITH THE MASQUERADE
SUNDAY	THE MASQUERADE

CATSEYE
supper club

TELEPHONE: 21221