

LANKA

ABU NIDHAL : World's top terrorist

Interviewed by Mervyn de Silva

**JAFFNA
SPECIAL
REPORT**

GUARDIAN

Vol. I No. 9

September 1, 1978

Price Rs. 2/50



Puran Appu and People's War

Kasi Anandan speaks

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LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. I No. 9 September 1, 1978

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Cover Picture:

A shot from the film 'Veera Puran Appu'
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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.

Trends

TU's activated

The 25th Hartal anniversary saw the ward 'hartal' back in trade union circles. But what is being actively canvassed however is a general strike launched by a united trade union movement. The more "left-inclined" unions outside the LSSP-CP fold want to inject a greater militancy into a restive but largely dormant movement. Taking a leading role in that move is the United Federation of Labour, the trade union wing of Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara's 'new' LSSP.

But the others want to keep the struggle to strict economic demands: the restoration of the rice and sugar rations, a minimum wage of 300/- for unskilled workers and 355/- for a clerk, with a non-recurring cost of living gratuity, and a 40 hour 5-day week. The reinstatement of victimised workers is also a major demand. The White Paper and the new Constitution are the more political issues.

A significant development in this connection was the participation of the SLFP (Mrs. Bandaranaike personally present) in the Hartal Day meeting in the company of several 'new' Left parties.

Wages, C. O. L.

Will the government succeed in pre-empting the trade union plans? The next budget may bring sub-

stantial wage increases in the public sector which of course will force the private sector to keep in step.

But all the government's efforts to hold down rising consumer prices seem to be floundering. Another highpowered committee of secretaries is trying hard to grapple with the problem. But can a think tank produce instant solutions to a problem which is the logical outcome of the new economic policy, itself an application of the IMF's standard advice?

DPL changes

Earlier this year cock-a-hoop career officers in the F. O. were ticking off more than a half a dozen Ambassadorial posts for their clan. "At last", they were won't to say "professionalism was being recognised."

But the counter-attack from the politicians has been so effective that sagging spirits are more in evidence than jaunty strides in the corridors of the local Qual d'Orsay. Another politician, a former deputy minister, is expected to move to the key New Delhi job with former Director-General Arthur Basnayake taking over the low-key Rangoon post. Besides, the once 'suppressed' Deputy High Commissioner's post in London will go to a banker, a member of the defunct CCS, the Overseas Service's rival club.

Letters

Maduru Oya tender

Is there some 'jiggery pokkery' going on in respect of the Maduru Oya Tender? It is understood that the Evaluation Committee, comprising very experienced engineers have made their recommendations which have now been upset by an influential gentleman. And we wonder why our engineers are leaving Sri Lanka! We understand that one of the engineers of the River Valleys Development Board, who was on the Evaluation Committee has already tendered his resignation and accepted a job in Nigeria. It is high time the politicians allowed the technocrats to carry out their job. After all, on the Maduru Oya Project, it is they who will have to work with the machines and not the politicians.

We understand that the Chairman, River Valleys Development Board, who is also engineer, along with the Tender Board have made positive recommendations in regard to what machinery should be purchased.

At the inspection tenderers were made to understand that the equipment was urgently required, as early deliveries would be a criterion for selection. It is now almost three months since the closure of tenders, but the final award keeps on being postponed.

We hope this will be read by the President, who we are confident is a fair and just person.

Panadura.

L. P. Perera

How fares local industry?

The article on the above topic (15th July) brings out quite clearly the damage done to local industry and consequently to workers by the "freer imports" policy.

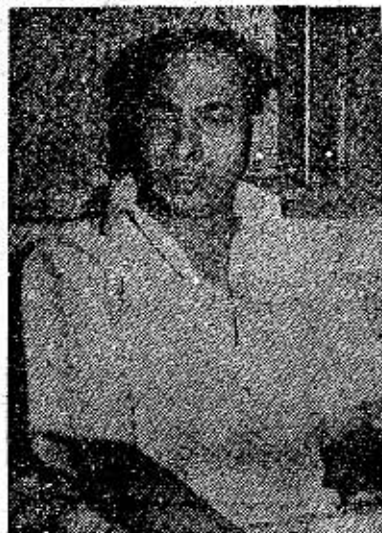
Yet there are other dangers in this "easier imports" policy which must be eliminated.

The opening of Letters of Credit can be done by any individual who can quote an Income Tax File No. It matters not, whether he has paid tax for the last two years or not, it matters not whether

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The mood in Jaffna

Jaffna was the tinderbox that sparked the communal riots of August seventy-seven. One year later however, the Peninsula seems calm and peaceful but nevertheless determined. The deepseated resentment that the Peninsula citizen feels is no longer shouted about in public meetings and displayed in street corner graffiti but it is there lurking in the political consciousness of the Jaffna Tamil.



YOGESWARAN: Co-existence is not possible.

"Tamils outside the peninsula learned, through the riots, that co-existence is not possible" said Mr. V. Yogeswaran, the MP for Jaffna. "They realised for the first time that they were virtual hostages in the South. Many of them have yet to be gainfully employed in the North and their basic material needs have yet to be met.

"The TULF is the moderate alternative as far as the Tamils are concerned. Those who leave us will gravitate to the extreme movements. The Tamil Self Rule Party will not benefit from defections from the TULF".

Yet the atmosphere in the north is devoid of tension beca-

use the Police are on the whole conducting themselves well. Credit for this is given to Douglas Ranmuthugalla who has been the Superintendent of Police during the recent past. However there are constant reminders of the police-military presence. Trains and stations in the north are patrolled by armed policemen and soldiers. Road-blocks are maintained at strategic points and vehicles searched after dark.

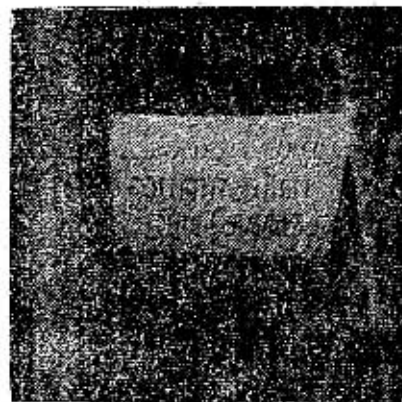
The average Jaffna Tamil looks back on the post-independent history of the north as one of neglect. "When has the government in the South invested in education or industry or agriculture in the North?" asked an educationalist.

"If at all, patronage was channelled through anybody except the elected representatives." They point to the fact that in order to provide for a campaign in the north, the government merely commandeered an existing school, Jaffna College, and its undergraduate section. It was arbitrary, with books, equipment and furniture being taken over without understanding being arrived at with the school authorities.

The alienation of the young people is the most visible evidence of this alleged neglect. Middle class youth look to education as an opening for employment overseas. They have completely abandoned any thought of working constructively within the national economy. They do not believe that they can make any contribution to the Tamil community by staying on, nor do they feel the slightest obligation to serve the land of their birth.

Young men who do not aspire to the ranks of the professions, are also turning their sights overseas. The Middle East provides lucrative employment for this

group. And today one can see the fruits of their overseas excursions — the latest model cars, electronic equipment and modern houses. Colombo no longer is the focal point of their lives. Thus there is growing a psychological independence from Colombo, which is a greater threat to national integrity than all the TULF slogans and rhetoric.



Internationalism or parochialism? "Workers of the world unite..."

While the TULF talks about the inevitability of a separate state, the advent of the UNP Government has had a sobering effect on the Tamils — particularly the middle class element. This is a group that has had a love-hate relationship with the UNP. They are able to identify with the economic objectives of the UNP, they can relate more to the cosmopolitan approach of the UNP.

Even Mr. Yogeswaran accepts that the situation is different since the UNP came to power. Before that the TULF representatives were completely ignored as far as recommendation for jobs were concerned. He concedes that the new constitution is an advance as far as the Tamil people's language rights are concerned. But it is nowhere near meeting their aspirations. It is also detrimental to Tamil interests in giving more seats on an area basis and thus reducing Tamil representation in parliament.

On the other hand, where the District Ministerships are concer-

ned, Mr. Yogeswaran said that they knew very little about the powers and functions of such District Ministers.

When the UNP has periodically succumbed to communal extremists in the south, the Tamils have felt betrayed. This was the kind of attitude that led the FP to abandon the UNP Government in 1968.

But many Tamils feel that reconciliation and restitution are still a possibility. And they believe that J. R. Jayewardene is both a statesman with the inclination to make concessions to the Tamils and one who has the political power to do so.

People in Jaffna intelligently question the viability of the Ealam demand as it stands. For example some ask, is it not absurd to expect the Colombo Government to voluntarily split the country. In other words, they see the peaceful and gradual road to separation as an illusion. Pointing to examples from history they say that only a showdown and a fight could possibly achieve a separate state, and this the TULF does not seem to be in favour of.

Other Tamils question the motives and calibre of the advocates of separatism. They point to the fact that patriotism is often the last refuge of the scoundrel. They pose the question; are the best kind of people really in the forefront of this struggle? If not, the kind of leadership that Ealam will be saddled with, will hardly be the kind to look forward to.

The minorities among the Tamil speaking people, that is the Christians, Muslims, and the depressed castes, are also anxious about the kind of treatment they will receive in a Tamil state. The Christians particularly are conscious of their schools and churches which have links with the south as well as overseas; an obscurantist regime, built on racial slogans, could undermine security of the minority groups.

The poor and politically active elements within the working class, are also anxious about

(Continued on page 4)



"We must be prepared to make sacrifices."

We shall convince the Sinhala people

- Kasi Anandan

Thirty-nine year old Kasi Anandan, the TULF firebrand, has spent several spells in custody. The last time being a few months ago when he was confined at the Naval Base, Welisara. The leader of the TULF youth movement, he unsuccessfully contested the Batticaloa seat at the last General Election. Last week Kasi Anandan granted an exclusive interview to the *Lanka Guardian*.

Q. What makes the TULF so determined about a separate state?

A. We can have unity with the Sinhala people only if we have our own territory and the security of our power. This is why we struggle to restore our lost freedom, but it is a struggle that will lead to more unity and understanding between the Sinhalese and Tamils.

Q. Will not the Sinhalese people be alarmed by the demand for Ealam?

A. We do not hate the Sinhalese people nor are we aiming at harming them or their interests. We have never fought the Sinhalese. We seek instead to win over Sinhala public opinion, so that they will see the legitimacy of our demand, that they will understand our struggle and

grant us justice. For this we must be prepared to make sacrifices. And through our dedication and sacrifice we will convince the Sinhala people.

We will convince them that we are not a minority. We are a separate people

Q. Do you feel that people and Governments outside Sri Lanka can influence the setting up of a separate state?

A. We have taken every opportunity to explain our case to international public opinion. I have little faith in the ability of foreign governments to influence the situation, but certainly foreign public opinion does count. We have a lot of sympathy in some foreign countries where our demands have been canvassed. As to whether they give financial support as well, I don't really know.

Q. Do you think that with the removal of discrimination in university admission, the frustration of the Tamil people, particularly the youth, will subside?

A. In spite of the Government's claim to remove standardisation, we find that the racial composition of the new entrants, follows the old proportions. We can't quite fathom what is

being done. But discrimination is far from eliminated.

Q. What is your opinion of the so-called Tiger Movement?

A. I am afraid I don't know anything about it. All I can say is that a Government that released JVP members who were convicted of so much violence has reacted sternly against those whose offense seems much less severe. That's what I call partiality. Under the provisions of this Tiger Act, wanted posters for thirty-eight of us were put up, and I was held at the SLN Base at Welisara for one month—I was not given facilities that people who are normally in custody enjoy—like books, and visitors.

Q. How do you view the amendments to the Constitution? What about the taking up of District Ministerships by the TULF?

A. Things have gone too far for constitutional amendments to help us. Nor do I see much prospects in the District Ministers Scheme. I don't think the TULF will accept these District Ministerships.

The mood in . . .

(Continued from page 3)

their future, if it comes to a separate state. Just outside the Jaffna Residency we saw a poster which read: Workers of the World Unite! The slogan was international—not parochial.

But the TULF insists that Ealam will be both secular and socialist. They point to the election of a minority caste member at the last election on the TULF ticket as an example of the TULF's attempt to break through traditional forms of exploitation.

The liberalism of the TULF seems to be tempered by the role that they are called upon to play in the south, as the leading opposition party in parliament by their international image as a depressed but progressive minority.

The TULF has very active branches in New York and Lon-

Q. How serious is the agitation of the TULF youth movement?

A. It is the young people who have made the sacrifices for the liberation of the Tamil nation. And today they have become a controlling force within the TULF. They are becoming restless because they see no end to the maltreatment of the Tamils.

Q. What would be the kind of policy that a separate state of Ealam would adopt?

A. We envisage Ealam as a socialist and secular state. One in which equal opportunity will be made available to each and everyone. We will abolish, if necessary by resort to legislation, the so-called caste system.

Q. In the meantime do you see the TULF as being able to do anything constructive in the day to day affairs of the country?

A. Yes. We will strive to protect the interests of the common man and oppose any government that jeopardises the rights and interests of the average citizen.

don. And public opinion from these cities will act as a check on TULF policies.

In the south the TULF is increasingly called upon to take stands on national issues. Yet it will not formally align itself with any Sinhala-dominated party or group in the south.

"We will not get ourselves involved with their power struggles", summed up Mr. Yogeswaran.

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An LSSP bastion falls

The battle between the old leadership of the LSSP and the rebellious young turks of the Party has consisted of a series of struggles to wrest control of the powerful trade unions that the Party controls.

In 1974 the first contest took place in the All Ceylon Motor Workers' Union—which yielded considerable power in the CTB. The old leaders succeeded in driving out the rebels who thereupon formed the Vama (Left) Faction of the LSSP. Later came the struggle in the United Corporation and Mercantile Union where the clash between Percy Wickremasekera and Vasudeva Nanayakkara led to the latter's expulsion from the LSSP.

The next major confrontation will occur later this year at the conference of the Dumriya Sevaka Sangamaya, the key Railway union.

The Vama group made major inroads into the Government Clerical Service Union last year. At last month's election they gained complete control of the Union leadership. The GCSU Secretary, Gunasena Mahanama, has complained that the post-election GCSU statement published in the daily newspapers, was restricted to GCSU attacks on the reformist LSSP. But the following sentence had been deleted:

"The G. C. S. U., victory is a major step on the road to building up this leadership of the working class and preparing for direct struggles against this fascist-minded government. Hence, the forces that have really suffered a defeat are the reactionary capitalist interests that stand behind J. R. and the U. N. P, and their imperialist overlords."

Abu Nidhal on The Other Enemy

by Mervyn de Silva

His name is Abu Nidhal, a *nom de guerre*. His real name is Sabry Al-Banna. When Said Mammani, the PLO representative in Britain and a very popular figure in Arab circles in London was murdered in January this year, the name Abu Nidhal sprang into the headlines. In the *'Times'*, London, a front page article described him, with Dr. Wadi Haddad, as the world's "foremost exponent of pure, unbridled terrorism." Already in January, Dr. Haddad, operational chief of Dr. George Habash's leftwing Palestinian Popular Front, was dying of cancer to leave the field open to Abu Nidhal.

Last month, the *'Sunday Times'* (London) offered him the same accolade, slightly re-phrased when it wrote in an article headlined "Why Palestinian feuding brings terror to London and Paris." He was called the world's "prime exponent of pure, unrestrained terrorism." Press and TV, the news agencies and news magazines gave him top billing as the 'terror' spread from London and Paris and across the seas to Islamabad. 'War among the terrorists' was *'Newsweek's'* headline while *Reuter* un-typically titillating paraded 'war among the spooks.'

Who is Abu Nidhal and what does he stand for? In April 1975, Abu Nidhal, then a man very much in the shadows, gave me what was probably the first interview granted to a non-Arab journalist. This article is based on notes made during that discussion and on another specially written for and distributed by *'Gemini Features'*, an affiliate of the *'Guardian'*, London.

"The trouble my friend is this The desire to throttle

the the Palestinian revolution is not only the greatest desire of the Zionist state which hates us so much but the secret longing of the reactionary forces in the Arab world who also fear the fires of revolution.....We were massacred in Jordan, and they will try to do it again in Lebanon but we will go on fighting. They will have no peace as long as we have no justice....."

The speaker was Abu Nidhal, leader of the Baghdad-based Arab Liberation Front, now popularly known as 'Black June.' Abu Nidhal, was talking to me in his office in a Baghdad suburb. It is his living quarters too.

Though the conversation took place three years ago current developments in the area give an even keener edge to Mr. Nidhal's remarkably frank comments on the tactics of the Palestinian Left. It also throws, I think, a clearer light on the interesting and, I believe, increasingly important role of Iraq, the country which chose to grant him sanctuary. As the Syrian army, camouflaged as an 'Arab League presence', seeks to impose its will on both the Lebanese and Palestinian Left, the radical activists of the Palestinian resistance have begun a hazardous trek from Beirut to Baghdad, perhaps their last refuge. And this road does not go through Geneva.

It was Mr. Nidhal, in fact, who introduced me to the word 'Genevarist.' I heard it as 'Guevarist.' Observing my puzzlement Mr. Nidhal hastened to explain. Unsure of his English, which I found more than adequate, he had to enlist the help of the two men who accompanied me Abu Hassan, a Pales-



tinian journalist who had been wounded in action in the Black September massacre in Jordan, and Peter Yusuf, a contributing editor of *'Al Thawra'*, (Revolution), the ruling Baath party's official organ.

'Genevarist' is an in-jibe aimed at those Palestinians who think that Geneva can give them that "state" which thirty years of suffering in exile and struggle did not. Interrupting a somewhat long winded explanation from one of my companions, Abu Nidhal said that the world in their vocabulary stood for a "compromiser." And today's compromiser, he adds with a flash of anger, is tomorrow's traitor.

Did he include Yasser Arafat in this treacherous company? Abu Nidhal has no reason to love the PLO leader.

A group commander of Fatah, Abu Nidhal had broken

away from the PLO's main fighting arm after a violent dispute with Arafat over tactics and strategy. Arafat had tried him in absentia and sentenced him to death in 1974. The sentence still stands.

The principal point of disagreement, he told me, was about Palestinian relations with "reactionary Arab states." Abu Nidhal refused to accept the notion of "Arab unity" in the context of the Arab world's present "level of development and political consciousness." To him, Arab unity is a myth. He argued therefore for a two-front struggle—against Israel and at the same time, against "the other enemy." The other enemy is a blanket phrase for those feudal, backward and reactionary elements in the Arab world whose fundamental interests lie with the US and the West, and whose concern for the Palestinian cause is hypocritical, rhetorical or, at best, marginal.

Abu Nidhal shot into prominence as leader of an "independent guerilla group with his spectacular raid on Nahariya, the hotel district on the Tel Aviv coastline. It was the first sea-borne commando attack on Israeli territory. The Israelis, who hate to see somebody else imitate their own speciality, were so incensed that they burnt the bodies of the guerillas and threw them in the street from a hotel balcony.

Though surprised that Mr. Nidhal should admit responsibility for this raid to a foreign journalist, Mr. Abu Al-Adil, the PLO representative here in Colombo, confirmed Abu Nidhal's claim. Ambassador Al-Adil, who knows Abu Nidhal extremely well, ("I have known him as my brother for many years") now considers Abu Nidhal's recent activities as divisive and dangerous.

And these "activities", of course, have been focussed on "the other enemy." With Syria and Jordan as the main targets, the Black June group launched attacks on Arab embassies abroad, on top tourist hotels in

Amman and Damascus, and most dramatic of all, the attempt to ambush the Syrian Foreign Minister Mr. Khaddam, President Assad's No. 1 negotiator and the key figure in the Syrian 'solution' to the Lebanese crisis.

When I drove to Mr. Abu Nidhal's modest office in a Baghdad suburb, there were no melodramatics. A solitary guard carrying an A-K 47 stood outside on the steps leading from a street where some children were playing. Escorted into a basement and then, after a few minutes, up some winding stairways, I entered a sparsely furnished room which looked more an improvised undergraduate's digs than a guerilla's operational centre. But for two things: the picture of Palestinian martyrs on the wall and, by the bedside, a pistol in its holster.

"I regard Geneva as a tool, not a goal. Certainly not for us Palestinians," he said. Whose tool? "Geneva" he answered "is a diplomatic instrument, the instrument of the U. S., the big powers, some Arab states and even of some Palestinian leaders. You asked me about Yasser Arafat. Well, it looks as if he is a tool, too."

What was his objection to negotiations in principle. After all, even the N. L. F. talked to the Americans in Paris and didn't the Palestinian radicals cherish the idea of being the Vietnamese of the Middle East?

Abu Nidhal took care to phrase his reply. "No outside force ejected the Vietnamese from their homeland. Yes, the country was physically divided; yes, there were two governments, a government of the Vietnamese people and a puppet regime, and there was foreign intervention, imperialist aggression. But nobody created a "state" for some outside force on Vietnamese soil. When a Palestinian sits at the same table as his enemy, the Zionist usurper, Israel gains what it has sought vainly for nearly thirty years. Recognition. He wins recognition not only from Arab states but from the

Palestinians, the Palestinian on whose land he has created his state. So you see that Vietnam is not a good example in this matter. The laws of conflict and liberation struggle follow a certain pattern, it is true, but the objective conditions, as we understand them, are different here"

Abu Nidhal's views on a Palestinian state carved out of the West Bank or West Bank and Gaza are equally uncompromising. He said: "Look at the U. N. partition plan and see how much land they offered us then and that was more than a quarter century ago. That too was a state. The Palestinians rejected it. The Arab people rejected it. What will they offer us now? A state with much less than half that land, and after thirty years, after all that has happened to our people, a whole generation, you expect us to say 'yes' now?"

Those Palestinians who favour the idea of a 'state', however circumscribed its territorial limits, justify it as a first step, as a 'liberated zone' which can be extended later. Abu Nidhal scoffs at this view. Far from being a liberated zone, he told me, it will be a puppet regime which lives under Israeli and Jordanian guns.

Since he mentioned 'the big powers', I asked him about the Soviet role. Would not the presence of the USSR, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva conference, prevent a total sell-out of the Palestinians? An ironic smile played on his lips. "My friend" he said, "I won't lecture you on Soviet middle-east policy but I'll tell you something that is no secret. Among us Palestinian revolutionaries, the prestige of the Soviet Union is sometimes as high as my reputation in Tel Aviv.

If what seems more and more a well-orchestrated move for a Geneva conference is activated, men like Abu Nidhal and George Hebah of the PELP will play the part of de-stabilisers. But their capacity for such de-stabilisation will be relative to the logistical support they receive from an Arab state. Iraq has all the

qualifications. It is in Baghdad that Sadat is on "trial" as a traitor to the Arab people.

After Lebanon, Palestinian hatred, once directed at Jordan, whose Premier was murdered in Cairo, made Syria its main target. Iraq's qualification to play the role of patron to the increasingly homeless and hounded Palestinian Left has a securer foundation than the long and bitter Baathist feud with the rival faction in Syria. It has never recognised Israel, it has never agreed to cease-fires or signed agreements and it did not even vote for the UN Resolution 242 still the most widely acceptable basis for Arab-Israel negotiations.

Iraq fully endorses Abu Nidhal's view that the proposed Palestinian state will be a "puppet state". Iraq's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Mohammed El-Amin told this correspondent that "any Palestinian state carved out of territory conceded by Israel at the negotiating table will come into legal existence with the consent of Israel, and the United States. It will live by the grace of its creators, and the blessings also of some Arab states. It can never have an independent existence."

Conceding that the Iraqi position is a minority view, Mr. El-Amin observed: "But it is nevertheless a view which reflects the true aspirations of the Palestinians and the Arab masses. Those who want to march to Geneva, whoever they may be, do not represent the authentic sentiments of the Arab nation."

"Palestinian sentiment" explains Abu Hassan who is a member of the Palestinian National Council (a sort of Parliament in-exile) has an amazing mobility

and moves from leader to leader, group to group, with each event and issue. So let's see what happens when the question of Geneva and possible betrayal is placed before the Palestinian people."

The PELP adopts the most doctrinal approach to the whole issue. An official spokesman analysed the present situation in Marxist terms:

"While Geneva is a product of a new balance of forces in this area, the fundamental objective of the US is to help convert the Arab national and petit bourgeoisie into a pro-imperialist comprador class which will thwart the Arab revolution and come to terms with Israel".

"The focus of the global struggle is here, not Indo-China as the Americans wrongly believed nor Africa or Latin America", says the Director of the newly established Centre for Palestine Studies. "Oil, Israel, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean will make that struggle sharper and more complex in the next few years. And Palestine is at the heart of it all."

What if the PLO officially approves the idea of a Geneva meeting once its modalities are settled and Palestinian participation guaranteed?

Abu Nidhal's answer was certainly worth recording. "What happened to the Farouks, the Nuri es-Saids, and Sheshaklis...? The people know how to deal with traitors."

Pakistan

Playing the CENTO card

More than a year after he engineered a bloodless coup in Pakistan on the solemn pledge of a rapid restoration of parliamentary democracy and "clean elections", General Zia is still busy trying to give his martial law administration a civilian facade. Last week he appointed several politicians of the P.M.A., the main opposition to Mr. Bhutto's PPP, into a government that is actually run by soldiers and civil servants. But the P.N.A. is as badly divided as the country itself and the introduction of a few known rightwingers into a government that is controlled by a general, a Sandhurst prototype and a self-confessed 'rightist', will only help dramatise the emerging coalition of the armed forces, the top bureaucracy and the civilian conservatives. Given the strong roots of 'Bhuttoism', (with or without Bhutto) in the Punjab and Sind, the regionalist pulls of the other provinces, notably Baluchistan, the opposition of radical opinion grouped in the Democratic Alliance and the worsening economic conditions, this *ad hoc* alliance will remain both unrepresentative and unpopular.

A few weeks ago, a 11-nation Aid Pakistan consortium rejected Pakistan's request for 2 million tonnes of wheat and called for a more convincing account of its agricultural failures. The government's own memorandum stated: "it would not be possible for Pakistan to import 2.3 million tonnes out of its own cash foreign exchange resources without subjecting its already precarious balance of payments position to severe stresses and strains and without disrupting its development efforts".

The economic difficulties, popular discontent and political tensions kept under control only by stern martial law decrees and military tribunals have made General Zia's dilemma a desperate one.

He can only turn to Pakistan's traditional aid-givers to bale him out. But liberal opinion in the West has been scandalized by public hangings, whipping and 'khaki' justice. Some Islamic donors like Libya are equally incensed over what is clearly the army's intention to destroy Mr. Bhutto.

Pakistan-watchers in Delhi attach special significance therefore to Islamabad's moves in external affairs. The Indian Lok Sabha has discussed attempts at planned infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir. They have also noted Pakistani propaganda against the new regime in Kabul. Is there an attempt to de-stabilise the new government of Afghanistan? Western, Iranian, Saudi Arabian and Pakistani concern over the change in Kabul is well known.

Pakistan which joined Iran and Saudi Arabia in giving military assistance to a Somalia that invaded Ethiopia's Ogaden province would dearly love to receive enhanced financial and arms aid from the West and Iran.

"So Pakistan is now playing the CENTO card" says one Delhi-based Asian ambassador. He was referring to 'signals' from Islamabad that it would be in Pakistan's interest to leave CENTO, the US-sponsored military alliance. The rhetorical gesture was timed for Pakistan's diplomatic effort to enter the non-aligned movement. At Belgrade, it was accorded the lowest-level status of 'guest', not observer. Senior non-aligned diplomats who met in Belgrade agreed that the 'CENTO card' was in fact played for the benefit of US, Iran and Saudi Arabia, and the expected reward was more money and arms.

Are there political prisoners in US?

"Shit, shit, shit that dumb son of a bitch has done it again..."

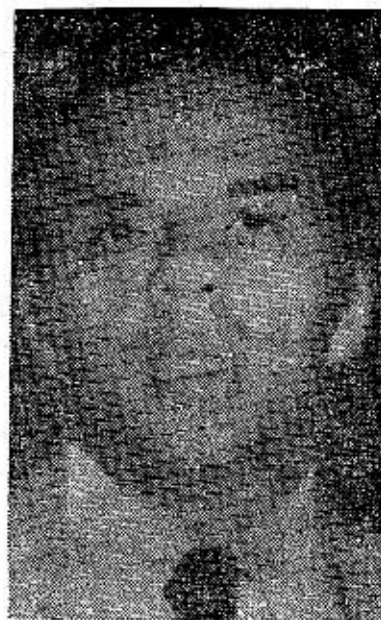
This unguarded outburst came from a Cyrus Vance aide when maverick Ambassador Andy Young's candid interview with the Paris newspaper *"Le Matin"* touched on 'thousands of political prisoners, in the U. S.' The dust has now settled on that brouhaha but not before the Soviet media, engaged in furious tit-for-tat with the western press over the recent Soviet trials, had pounced on Mr. Young's give-away propaganda gift with understandable glee, and Mr. Young's own critics, an ever-increasing tribe, had called for his blood.

Mr. Young survived his latest caper. As Congressman John Conyers (Republican) explained: "If Carter wants to throw away his fast-diminishing chances of re-election, all he has to do is to fire Andy". Besides, Ambassador Young has done a remarkable job for the US and the West by winning over some African radicals, like Angola, and paving the way for the Namibia settlement negotiated by the Western Big 5 in the Security Council.

French Connection

While the remark on political prisoners proved abrasive to domestic opinion, much less publicised were Mr. Young's comments on the French exercise in "paratroop imperialism" in Zaire. It ripped off the mask of sanctimony which the French cleverly used in presenting the operation as an attempt to save the lives of innocent Europeans who were being callously butchered by the Katangan rebels.

He said that the French intervention was not motivated by humanitarian concerns but a desire to protect their own economic interests. France, he added, has very fruitful neo-colonial relationships in Africa which help France overcome her balance of payments problems.



Andrew Young

Meanwhile the more serious-minded American press has taken Ambassador Young's provocative remark as an observation that merits investigation. Angela Davis once said that in the final analysis all black prisoners are political prisoners and Mr. Young himself was jailed for organising a civil rights demonstration.

The *Christian Science Monitor* published its findings:

But Ambassador Young, elaborating later on his remark, offered a broader definition of political prisoners" as "people who are in prison much more because they are poor than because they are bad."

If such persons can be construed as "political prisoners", - and they would not be under the usual definition of that term - then correctional statistics suggest that here Mr. Young may be on sounder ground.

Recent studies, including some by the federal government, indicate that substantial numbers—perhaps even a majority—of the inmates of American local jails end up there because of lack of money for bail, for fines, or for an adequate defense.

Many held awaiting trial

A national jail census by the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) several years ago found 52 percent of prisoners were pretrial detainees being held for trial because they had failed to post bail.

That adds up to more than 83,000 prisoners, a figure on the generous side of Ambassador Young's estimate of "hundreds, even perhaps thousands," if these are the kinds of prisoners to whom he was referring.

Other reasons for persons being confined in jail, as shown by surveys, also have economic roots.

These include:

Nonpayment of court-imposed fines (under which estimated thousands of persons, mostly indigents, are jailed each year).

Criminal nonsupport of one's family (alimony and child support offenders have constituted as much as nearly 7 percent of the inmates in at least one state's jail system).

Civil contempt sentences for non-payment of debts.

Letters...

(Continued from page 1)

he is a tax defaulter. In fact the number quoted is never checked with the Inland Revenue Department, nor is documentary proof required that tax has been paid.

There have been instances where importers with bad records with the Bank (even convictions for cheating) have very easily opened Letters of Credit for several lakhs of rupees—on minimal margins at that!

This liberalization of imports must be carefully examined. All importers *must* be required to produce documentary evidence of payment of tax *before* they are allowed to open Letters of Credit. If this is not done genuine importers will have to compete with

Lack of a lawyer at a bond hearing (studies show that most defendants go unrepresented, although having a lawyer doubles the chances for release).

Half of those jailed are poor

Nearly one-half of Americans who land in jail are poor. Another recent study by the LEAA found that 45 percent of inmates did not earn a poverty-level income in the year before their arrests.

"American jails operate primarily as catch-all asylums for poor people," claims Ronald Goldfarb, a Washington lawyer, former Justice Department lawyer, and author of a recent book on jails. "The vast majority of persons in jail are there because they cannot afford to buy their way out of their predicament."

The federal prisons, too, appear to lock up a disproportionate share of low-economic-status "street criminals."

A recent study by the U. S. attorney's office in New York City indicated that while persons convicted of "white collar" crimes stood only a 36 percent chance of going to prison, the figure rose to 53 percent for non-violent "street" crimes and 80 percent for violent "street" crimes. ●

crooks and cheats and also the good name of the trade in Sri Lanka will be spoiled.

Nugegoda. **F. D. Schoorman**

The role of mass media

The C. D. N. writing on rice and flour on 21-8-1978 had sprung two surprises on its readers. In its own words they are as follows:

"It is surprising how universal its use has become and how commonplace it is to find the whiteman's staple diet in the remotest village boutique in this country. It is even more surprising to see how ready we are to consume bread often made from flour of poor quality, stale from long months of shipment across thousands of miles, of lying in the

harbour, or in various stores around the country."

This kind of writing besides being a downright insult to the intelligence of the readers of this country, serves little or no purpose in trying to make the people change their food habits. People understand the predicament of a government that has to find scarce foreign exchange for the import of wheat flour among other things and at the same time undertake massive development projects like the accelerated Mahaveli scheme.

Mass media in this country must take the people into their confidence and speak the truth quite frankly. Then only could it be said that the mass media has understood its role.

Panadura. **V. K. Wijeratne**

Import stampede

They way importers have rushed in to import goods which can be made in Sri Lanka and are already being made only depicts the colossal stupidity of some Sri Lankans. No imported battery ever came up to the standard of some batteries made here in regard to length of service and efficiency. So is it regarding reliability of most goods like refrigerators, radios etc. In Sri Lanka, which is still a developing country more poor than rich—the people are more utility conscious than fastidious.

The main drawback of industrial development in Sri Lanka was lack of sufficient industry, one in each province at least, and greater competition of it. The District Development Council type of industry can work and will be a success if it comes off its own bat, collecting its own revenue and spending and developing on it.

Colombo 7: **A. E. Gunawardena**

Kapilavastu relics – some questions for scholars

by a Special Correspondent

The relics discovered in 1897 by a British engineer named William Claxton Peppe in the ruins of a *stupa* at a place called Piprahwa in the Basti District of Uttar Pradesh in India were contained in two steatite vases. One carrying an inscription stating that the relics contained therein were the relics of the Blessed One, the Buddha, deposited there by some Sakyans. Though scholars have questioned the accuracy of this interpretation of the inscription, it has been generally accepted that the relics are genuine relics of the Buddha. These well-attested relics of the Buddha, however, were offered to the King of Siam by the Government of India for distribution in 1898, but whether these relics in fact were sent to Siam as proposed cannot be ascertained.

The relics exhibited in Sri Lanka were discovered at the same *stupa* at Piprahwa, but at a lower level and in 1972, to be exact on the 20th of March of that year by K. M. Srivastava, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Excavations Branch, Nagpur 1. In 1971 Mr. Srivastava started his excavation of the site at Piprahwa already excavated by Peppe, and a detailed investigation of the site was undertaken in 1972. This is how Srivastava describes his own investigation: "During the course of this operation an earlier ring of burnt bricks came to light below the square base, and the earlier ring appeared to be the brick-edged outline of an earlier *stupa*."

"The discovery of the said earlier ring was a further step in the direction of finding earlier and original relics. A small trench was therefore sunk in the north eastern quadrant of the *stupa* which revealed interesting features. An outline of the shaft bored by Peppe could be easily observed now... Intrigued by the earlier ring the present

writer directed the small trench to be taken further below the point where Peppe had stopped. As a result two burnt-brick chambers were discovered at a depth of six meters from the extant top of the *stupa*.

"That the specific purpose of the brick chambers was to keep sacred objects became apparent from the nature of their construction. A soap stone casket and a red-ware dish placed close to each other were observed in the northern chamber after the top three courses of brick were removed. The dish was covered by another dish of the same type which had broken into three pieces. Both the soap stone casket and the dish were carefully packed with the help of bricks and brickbats. The maximum diameter of the casket is 7 cms. And that of the dish 26 cms. It contained fragments of charred bone. The contents of the dish could not be distinguished because it was badly smashed and was filled with earth. There were, however, no bone fragments in it.

"The position of the casket and the dishes were (sic) different in the southern brick chamber. Two dishes of the same type and size as in the northern chamber, were placed just below the topmost course of brick. Both dishes were reduced to fragments. When two more courses of brick were removed another soap stone casket, bigger in size, came to light. The lid of the casket had been broken. The maximum diameter of the casket is 9 cms and the height 16cms. On the removal of the earth which filled the casket, charred bones were found inside".

The above passages have been quoted from an article entitled 'Buddha's Lost Town of Kapilavastu Identified' by K. M. Srivastava, the officer who discovered these relics and accompanied them to Sri Lanka

a few weeks ago. The article may be regarded as the definitive statement on the discoveries at Piprahwa, appeared in the Vishveshvara and Indological Journal, Panjab University, Vol. XV, Pt. 1, in March, 1977. It is these 'charred bones' Mr. Srivastava has brought to Sri Lanka claiming them to be relics of the Buddha without adducing even a semblance of proof of their identity and thereby misleading thousands of unquestioning Buddhists of Sri Lanka to pay homage to them in the sincere belief that they are authentic relics of the Buddha. In the article from which I have quoted some passages above there is not even a faint suggestion that the relics Mr. Srivastava discovered at Piprahwa may possibly be those of the Buddha. It will be noted that between the discovery of these relics in March 1972—there is no doubt that they are the relics of some Buddhist saint—and the publication of Mr. Srivastava's article in March 1977 there was a period of five long years in which he could have given careful thought to the full implications of his discovery at Piprahwa and if he was convinced that there was sufficient evidence to consider the 'charred bones' he brought to light at Piprahwa to be genuine relics of the Buddha he could have easily incorporated his evidence in the article referred to above.

In fact as far as the present writer is aware the first time that Mr. Srivastava claimed the charred bones he found at Piprahwa to be relics of the Buddha was at Madras on his way to Colombo with the relics, (Madras "Hindu" of 22 April 1978). Then when a week had elapsed after the relics had been received in Colombo with unprecedented religious fervour by thousands and thousands of Buddhists of Sri Lanka, Mr. Srivastava gave full vent to his belated joy in discovering the relics at Piprahwa

five years earlier. "The Sunday Observer" of the 30 April, 1978 reported as follows: "Indian archaeologist Krishna Srivastava, to whom we owe the discovery of the Kapilavastu relics now being venerated by millions of Buddhists in the country, said his 'joy knew no bounds' when he finally released the bone fragments of Gautama Buddha from the tightly packed burnt brick encasements in which the Sakyas had placed them after the cremation at Kushinagar (Kusinara).... Mr. Srivastava, a Hindu by birth, is convinced, so he said with a smile that hid more than the camera eye could catch, that something more than dead accuracy guided him to the relic chamber." Apparently divine intervention was aiding scientific archaeology.

There is no conclusive proof whatever to demonstrate that the relics discovered by Srivastava at Piprahwa are relics of Buddha Gautama or of any other Buddha. The mere fact that well-authenticated relics of the Buddha had been discovered at Piprahwa in the same stupa some eighty years earlier cannot be regarded as conclusive proof that the relics unearthed by Srivastava are also relics of the Buddha. In the absence of any conclusive proof such as an inscription as in the case of the relics discovered by Peppe in 1897, to describe the relics discovered by Srivastava as relics of the Buddha would be only a simple presumption, and presumption is no substitute for proof. Whoever the authority that was responsible for the physical despatch of the Piprahwa relics to Sri Lanka did not himself believe that the relics that were being despatched to Sri Lanka were those of the Buddha, for the plaque affixed to the glass case containing the relic caskets reads: **HOLY RELICS FROM THE STUPA AT PIPRAHWA.** There is no mention of Buddha relics nor of Kapilavastu! (for a picture of the glass case see "Sunday Observer" of 25 April 1978.)

Now we come to the question of the identification of Kapilavastu. This is a matter that should engage the attention of the government of Sri Lanka, which, according to

press reports, proposes to erect a shrine at Piprahwa to house the relics discovered there by Mr. Srivastava, apparently in the full belief that the latter's identification of Piprahwa as the ancient Kapilavastu, the home town of Lord Buddha, is supported by conclusive evidence.

Even as early as the discovery of relics at Piprahwa by Peppe, the suggestion had been made by scholars that the site represented the ancient city of Kapilavastu, where the Buddha's corporeal relics had been enshrined as reported in Pali texts. According to another tradition some later-day Sakyans, the clan to which the Buddha belonged, had also been inhumated at Kapilavastu. However no conclusive evidence has been adduced to identify Piprahwa with the ancient Kapilavastu.

Mr. Srivastava's identification rests on the discovery of some sealings and the inscribed lid of a pot in a building to the east of the stupa at Piprahwa. The sealings which number about forty carry impressions in Brahmi characters of about the first or the second century of the Christian era, either the words 'Om Devaputra-vihare Kapilavastu-Bhikshu-sanghah!'—the Kapilavastu Bhikshu community of the Devaputra-vihara—or the words, 'Maha-Kapilavast Bhikshu-sanghah', the Bhikshu community of Maha-Kapilavastu. Some sealings carry the names of individual monks. This evidence is, however, not adequate to identify Piprahwa with the ancient Kapilavastu. If it is accepted without question that the sealings and the engraving of the inscription on the pot were done at Piprahwa, then certainly it would follow that Piprahwa is identical with the ancient Kapilavastu. But it is more likely, as has been pointed out by J. Ph. Vogel, a Dutch scholar of international repute, in a parallel case, that these articles were made elsewhere, the sealings being made to secure packets and parcels to be despatched to other places. The inscribed pot may indeed have been one of the articles so sealed and sent to Piprahwa from a place known as Kapilavastu.

The parallel case I refer to is the attempted identification of present-day Kasia in Uttar Pradesh in India with the ancient city of Kusinara where the Buddha passed away and where his remains were cremated by the Malla princes. General Alexander Cunningham, one of the best known pioneers of Indian Archaeology, was the first to moot this idea, and he was later supported by distinguished scholars such as Vincent A. Smith, the distinguished historian. Later on the idea gained further support by the discovery in the ruins of two monasteries excavated at Kasia of over 500 clay sealings, most of them in fragments. On some of these sealings appear Sanskrit words equivalent to the phrase, "of the community of Bhikshus of the Mahaparinirvana-caitya". It is on the basis of these sealings that scholars, among them the distinguished historian Vincent A. Smith, sought to identify Kasia with the ancient city of Kusinara. However it was left to Vogel to point out the defects in their arguments. Let me quote Vogel's own words: "As long as the use of these documents has not been ascertained, it is impossible to decide whether their evidence tends to disprove Cunningham's theory. If they belong to the spot where they were found—and the variety of their dates and uniformity of their legends seem to point to that conclusion—they would vindicate Cunningham's identification. If on the other hand, they were attached to letters and parcels—and this seems to be the most likely use they were put to—they would place beyond doubt that the convent of the Great Decease is to be sought elsewhere. At present the only fact which can be deduced from them with certainty is that there flourished a monastic establishment on the spot of the Buddha's Nirvana between c 400 and c 900 A. D., and that there existed another convent at the place of his cremation from c 400 to 600 A.D. at least". The second part of the last sentence in the passage quoted above refers to a few sealings which contain the name Sri Makutabandha, where the

(Continued on page 23)

Puran Appu: Who is the real hero?

There has to be a catch,' I thought to myself during the intermission, after the effective and distinctly seditious first half of 'Veera Puran Appu'. Consider: An imperialist power acting through its local puppets imposes severe economic burdens on the masses. The masses attempt a peaceful protest and are brutally beaten down. Then they sink regional and caste differences and rise up against the oppressors in an armed struggle for national liberation.....

Strong stuff — especially in these days of the GCBC, Dennis Hopper and Johannes Witteveen, not to mention sections 158 and 157. So there simply had to be a catch somewhere, though it wasn't in the first half of the film, which was very well paced and presented from the powerful opening sequences onwards. The ambush sprung by the wandering minstrel troupe; the court sequences which reveals imperialist legality's travesty of justice; the gradual transformation of the bandit into a revolutionary leader sinking his roots among the people of the area to whom he is initially a stranger; the utterly futile attempt at peaceful protest against an armed oppressor leading the people to the inescapable conclusions that armed struggle is the only way out—these processes are vividly and swiftly sketched upto midway of the film. Tissa Abeysekera's portrayal of Kudapola Unnanse (part Machiavelli, part Richelieu) is little short of brilliant.

The catch was there alright. The pre-intermission phase of the movie paralleled the pre-insurrectionary phase and the film's ending in a rifle crack which is less a bang than a whimper. The rebel army marches off to battle to the tune



Presenting the petition. A scene from the film 'Veera Puran Appu.'

of some petty chauvinistic jingles, like the Land Development Corps or whatever marching off to phase I of the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme. Except in the storming of a (rather small) fortress, the rebel troops are made out to be non-heroes. To give but a single example, they surround a Kachcheri and continue to hop agitatedly outside its fence until Puran charges in. There is a particularly disgusting scene where the peasant soldiers indulge in a drunken bailsa session. After a few unconvincing skirmishes, the rebels are routed and the surviving handful desert Our Hero. The only redeeming feature in the second portion of the film are the graphic scenes of repression conducted by the imperialists and their local puppet troops.

Lester James Peiris thus negates achievements of the opening passages of his movie. To

quote an old Cuban proverb, he destroys with his feet what he created with his hands. Not only does he reveal a weak grasp of historical reality, but also a contempt for the masses. The rebellion of 1848 initially succeeded to such an extent that the British were on the verge of evacuating the country. The rebel forces however had to defend and hold the sizeable territories they had liberated, thus turning from the offensive to the defensive and as Engels said the defensive is the death of the revolution. The balance of forces on a world scale was so favourable to Imperialism that defeat was inevitable. Massive reinforcements were brought in from India, savage repression unleashed and the rebellion was crushed with the help of feudal collaborations.

The film ignores this, seeks the reasons for the uprising's

initial success in *Puran Appu's* personal heroism while locating the failure of the rebellion in the vacillation and capitulationism of his followers. The film does not focus on the collective nature of the struggle, the daily personal lives and efforts in battle of the other combatants. Here we can negatively contrast this movie with another film with a strongly similar historical setting—'Queimada' (BURN). This movie which ran at the Savoy around 2—3 years ago starred Marlon Brando and was directed by Gillo Pontecorvo with screenplay by Franco Solinas, incidentally the same pair that made the 'Battle of Algiers'. Dealing with a slave revolt in the West Indies and its crushing by the British in almost the same historical period as the 1848 rebellion in Ceylon, it avoids all the pitfalls that Lester has succumbed to and succeeds brilliantly in portraying the mass nature of the struggle as well as the individual contribution of personalities and the objective circumstances that lead to the defeat.

But Lester James Peiris is no Gillo Pontecorvo and the script writer is Franco Solinas. The difference is by no means one of technical ability, but a more profound one of Weltanschauung (world outlook). "Veera Puran Appu" fails to reveal that what took place in 1848 was a Peoples War. History is not made by the efforts of great men. As a heroic leader of a titanic and successful national liberation struggle, Mao Tse-tung, once said: "the masses are the real heroes." The makers of this film obviously disagree.

We are informed at the movie's conclusion that the struggle of 1848 culminated victoriously on February 4th 1948—a facile comment which cannot hide the fundamental difference between the popular armed struggle 130 years ago and the polite beseeching of 'flag independence' by the venal compradore oligarchy. In sum, it cannot conceal the fact that (to use the phrase of the African liberation fighters), "a luta continua"—the struggle goes on.

Tolstoy as artist

by Reggie Sirlwardena

Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy was born 150 years ago last week, the date is recorded as 28th August 1828, but that was by the old-style Russian calendar, which in the 19th century was twelve days behind the International calendar.

In 1935 James Joyce, while sending his daughter Lucia some volumes of Tolstoy's stories, said in a letter: 'In my opinion *How much Land Does a Man need?* is the greatest story that the literature of the world knows.' One wonders whether Joyce realised fully what he was acknowledging. For Tolstoy's story has a bare simplicity in its telling, almost like that of a fable; yet it is the highest kind of art. Just as the boundless steppes, untouched by man, mock the greed of his land-grabber in Tolstoy's story, so does the elemental naturalness of his art dwarf the elaborate artifices and contrivances of Joycean fiction.

The supremacy of Tolstoy among the world's novelists in the range and fullness of his experience has often been recognised, but full justice has not yet been done—at least in the English-speaking world—to his mastery as artist and craftsman. Of course, Tolstoy is one of those writers in whom the division between form and content is very difficult to draw. In Flaubert, Turgenev, James, Proust, Joyce, one is always conscious of the skilful labour with which the work of art has been shaped and perfected: one sees the marks of the chisel. Of both Flaubert and Joyce very nearly the same story is told of the writer spending a whole day refining the rhythms of two sentences. One can scarcely imagine Tolstoy doing that: he was too great a novelist and too great a man to be obsessed by the word as an end in itself.

On the other hand, Tolstoy was not like Dickens, Dostoevsky or Hardy—novelists in whom the

largeness and profundity of the creative imagination are accompanied, even at their best, by lapses for a page or chapter—by faults of style, construction or taste. The immensity and diversity of the Tolstoyan imagination are supported, in his masterpieces, by a rare discipline and fineness of touch in the details of his execution.

Reading Tolstoy, one is not at first conscious of his mastery of craftsmanship. One is only aware of an art as natural as breathing (as Isaak Babel said, 'You feel that the world is writing, the world in all its variety'). There is an impression even among some critics who place him highest among novelists that he managed without style: Dwight Macdonald once said that Tolstoy wrote 'like an Olympian recording angel'. This impression does not survive a reading of him in his own language.

Tolstoy is probably the greatest writer of creative prose. He achieved in his own medium what Pushkin had done in poetry—to bring to perfection the natural genius of the Russian language for the bare purity, laconic power and wiry energy of spare and concentrated expression—something very different from the Shakespearean or Dickensian prodigality and rich exuberance of phrase.

At the end of *The Death of Ivan Ilyich* a man dying in an agony of pain has a sudden moral illumination:

'He searched for his former habitual fear of death but he didn't find it. Where was it? What fear? There was no fear, because there was no death either.'

'Instead of death there was light.'

The probing repetitive rhythms of the first paragraph are succeeded by the sudden discovery in the last sentence, whose brevity, stronger in the original because Russian takes only four words (*Vmesto smerti byl svet*) to say it, comes like a lightning-flash. And the key-words (*smert* and *svet*) by their likeness of sound create the unexpected transformation of death into light.

Tolstoy is as great a master of the form of prose fiction as he is of prose style. The structure of the 19th-century English novel was held together by the novelist's central interests—what an English critic has called 'manners, morals and money'—and was designed usually to lead up to a marriage. This pattern reflected the outlook of a stable bourgeois society, where individual happiness through love and marriage seemed ideally a realisable and desirable goal. None of the great 19th-Century Russian works of fiction shows a similar form, because Russia was a society moving towards revolution.

Tolstoy's predecessors in Russian fiction—Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol—had already begun exploring freer, more open ended forms of fiction, whose characteristic mark was the broken plot-structure and the inconclusive ending. In 1868, in a comment on *War and Peace*, Tolstoy wrote: 'The history of Russian literature from Pushkin's time not only furnishes many examples of such a departure from European form, but does not even give one example of the opposite.' Tolstoy's art was the consummation of this development. The unfamiliarity of his forms to English readers at the time led Arnold to call *Anna Karenina* 'a piece of life' rather than a work of art, and Henry James to describe Tolstoy's novels as 'fluid pudding'.

But Tolstoy's form is the appropriate medium of his experience an experience of quest, illumination (tragic as with Anna or redeeming as with Levin), and the continuing flow of life which transcends the fortunes of the individual

character. In this form is reflected a society in crisis at its moral roots. Though Anna dies and Levin lives on, what they have in common is that neither of them can live in the old way, within the established social relationships and values. Tolstoy was justly proud of the 'architectonics' of *Anna Karenina*. As he says 'The structural links do not rest on the plot or on the relationship: (the acquaintance) of the characters, but on internal linking.'

What is true of the large-scale form of *Anna Karenina* is also true of the smaller (but not minor) masterpieces—*The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, *How Much Land Does a Man Need?*, *After the Ball* and *Hadji Murad*. They are all directed towards a transforming moral revelation, and the plot is only its instrument.

After the Ball, for instance (I consider it one of his very greatest works), concentrates into less than ten pages the moral anatomy of a whole society. The narrator,

Ivan Vasilyevich, goes out into the fields one morning, deliriously happy after dancing a whole night with the girl with whom he is in love. By chance he sees a company of soldiers flogging a Tartar, whose back is a bleeding mass of flesh; and watching them impassively is the colonel, in whom the narrator recognises the girl's father. This experience changes his whole life: he can never bring himself to enter the army, as he had hoped; and it is the end also of his love, because when he meets his girl-friend and she smiles her enchanting smile, he thinks of the expression with which her father had watched the flogging.

The irony of the story is that Ivan Vasilyevich tells it in order to prove that not environment but chance determines men's lives. And yet to the reader it is apparent that Ivan's discovery had nothing to do with chance—that it was the revelation of the social environment, of inhuman and arbitrary power.

Coomaraswamy the social worker

by C. Rajasingham

(A reply to Reggie Siriwardena)

It would be incorrect to look upon Ananda Coomaraswamy's preoccupation with Art in the manner conceived of by Reggie Siriwardena as lacking the outlook of the modern social thinker. (I refer to his article in the *Lanka Guardian* of July 15) That would be to place him as a second-rate critic of modern times who has no "complete view of the doctrine about art that the greater part of mankind has accepted from prehistoric times until yesterday." That quote from Coomaraswamy sufficiently explains why there can only be one and therefore universal judgement of a work of art relevant and applicable to the few existing forms of Indian Art—in architecture, music and dance. He conceived of the whole of life as

based on Art and this calls for 'raising our levels of reference from the empirical to the ideal, from observation to vision, from any auditory sensation to sensation'.

The modern world of art is based on a science of likes and dislikes having time only for the outer world of sense perception. Reggie Siriwardena can be forgiven his pre-occupation with material and historical roots whose beginnings are to be found roughly in India with Alexander's conquests and in Europe from about the 6th century B.C. This modern outlook on history excludes a much more remote antiquity and confines itself exclusively to quantitative, mechanistic or materialistic conceptions. Our own

experiments in many fields including education, for example, has led us into a blind alley—the futility of our present uniform types. What Coomaraswamy regretted most was the loss of India's spiritual integrity. In his own words "A single generation of English education suffices to break threads of tradition and to create a nondescript and superficial being deprived of all roots". We in our own time are beginning to feel the danger of the degradation of Asia which has already taken place under industrialism and the counter revolutionary impact of this post-industrial Europe already showing signs of revolt even in the new world of America.

Coomaraswamy did not end "in the cloudy realms of metaphysics". That would be a most unkind reference to one of our greatest social thinkers who knew the eternal value of *Adyatma Vidya* or Science of the Self in its application to social life. A social life, if its intent is to eliminate self-interest or the profit motive, should be based on *dharma* and in the Tamil equivalent "*Aram*" it means the only way to liberation or "*Veedu*". Coomaraswamy was the ablest exponent of this sociological basis of life which gave meaning and fulness to entire civilisations until the advent of commerce and industry along with their hand-maid *laissez-faire*. We are victims of the hallucination that complete equality can be achieved through social theories lacking the ultimate religious and metaphysical basis expounded by Coomaraswamy. Such equality has led to universal irresponsibility. T. S. Eliot was in a way right when he said, "democracy in which everybody had an equal responsibility in everything would be oppressive for the conscientious and licentious for the rest". We see today the symptoms of disorder in the irresponsibility of the Sudra who has vanquished

the Brahmin—the cause being that Brahmanical discipline is self-imposed whereas the Sudra has freedom to act irresponsibly. It was a warning by Coomaraswamy which we could well take note of: "If, either in ignorance or in contempt of Asia constructive European thought omits to seek the co-operation of Eastern philosophers, there will come a time when Europe will not be able to fight Industrialism, because this enemy will be entrenched in Asia".

Those material and historical roots which pre-occupy Mr. Siriwardena have certainly a duration in time today when we are all busy assessing industry on human labour and at the same time assuming that we are pushing back the boundaries of the known world. That would certainly mean to isolate ourselves from every other order of reality, mechanising the world around us and mechanising ourselves in the process. The end was foreseen by Rene Guenon and we are already witness to the phenomenon. "Never have either the world or man been so shrunken, to the point of their being reduced to mere corporeal entities, deprived, by hypothesis, of the smallest possibility of communication with any other order of reality".

In the whole compass of Coomaraswamy's writing it is a progress away from modern thinking on art, religion and life so that William Morris was a poor influence, if ever, on him. Coomaraswamy's was a mind tutored in the Oriental way to fusion in principal unity as against the confusion of things in modern uniformity. He had long ago grown out of thoughts and expressions which seek equality by levelling down ignoring the qualitative and essential aspect of the Man in every man. What Reggie Siriwardena should find fault with is not the Truth that Coomaraswamy pointed the world's attention to but the so-called modern "free thought" where, as the latter himself says, being "the natural expression of a humanistic philosophy, we are at mercy of our thoughts and corresponding desires".

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A marxist approach to caste

Comrade B T Ranadive's *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society*, is both a recognition of the importance of the subject for the development of a revolutionary mass movement in India, and an attempt to carry forward a Marxist understanding of the role of caste and anti-caste movements in Indian society.

While Comrade BTR accepts the main points of the substantive, historical chapters of the book, he levels a heavy critical fire against its main theoretical framework. According to him, my outlook was "dominated by anti-Marxist concepts like plural society and elite competition" and by a "revisionist" understanding of imperialism. This criticism I would accept as largely valid. At the time I wrote the dissertation, which was only minimally revised for publication, I tended to accept the position that colonial relations of production were essentially "capitalist", that merchants and landlords were essentially a "commercial bourgeoisie" and that poor peasants as well as workers could be described as a "semi-proletariat." (However this does not fall into a "colonial mode of production" model so much as the "world capitalist system" approach of theorists like A G Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein).

Now, I would fully agree with Ranadive that this view is mistaken, that imperialism essentially maintained feudalism—though in a subjugated and modified form—as the dominant mode of production in agriculture during the colonial period. Thus a revolt against caste is never simply a "cultural revolt", can never be an attack purely at the cultural level, and requires the transformation of the relations of production. Thus the Satyashodhak movement and similar movements were essentially democratic anti-feudal movements, in their radical form crucially linked to peasant

agrarian revolution and requiring a full destruction of imperialist domination.

Though I grasped this point at some level during the research and writing of the book, I had no really sound grasp of Marxist concepts to give it a basis. My theoretical approach remained an eclectic one, borrowing from Marx and Weber, Furnivall and Lenin in a way that most non-Marxist but "progressive" scholars might do. Though I wanted to develop a class-based analysis of the transformation of caste in colonial India, what emerged instead was only a kind of combination of categories, an attempt to aggregate "economic", "political" and "cultural" levels and to define concrete events, individuals and structures in terms of the mixing of "class" and "caste." Such an approach ends up by opposing the two categories as if they existed separately and eternally; it explicitly or implicitly sees "class" in very crude (and non-Marxist) "economic" terms and "caste" as a "cultural" feature; and it results in such statements as: "caste is more important than class", "class is more crucial", "caste is giving way to class", and so on. This is an essentially bourgeois-liberal approach that remains dominant today only in the absence of a real Marxist alternative, and fails to grasp the essence of *either* class (understood in terms of the relations of production) or caste.

Source of the theoretical weakness

This theoretical weakness was perhaps inevitable. My dissertation was written in 1972-73 for the University of California, Berkeley—a university that has produced both some of the most militant and radicalized student movements in the US and intellectuals involved in such lovely affairs as the CIA-backed 1965 massacre in Indonesia.

At the time, there were thousands, tens of thousands of us coming out of the student movement, the anti-war movement, the Black movement and the women's movement who were moving in a Marxist direction. But there was no live Marxist tradition in scholarship; the American working class movement had its traditions of militancy and violence but no living socialist ideology (so much so that May day is unknown to the vast majority of American workers and I had to first learn about its origins from celebrations in India); the purging of communists from unions and universities in the 1950s had still not been overcome; and the process by which activists in the democratic movements of the 1960s were turning to real study of Marxist classics had just begun.

During the period of writing my dissertation and after, I was in the process of moving away from bourgeois sociological conceptualizations and developing my theoretical understanding. But this takes some time. For these reasons I feel the major contribution of *Cultural Revolt* lies in its long substantive chapters, in the project of attempting to theorize the complex reality of Indian society, and in the further research and development of analysis it may stimulate from others—not in the sometimes eclectic theoretical formulations I came up with at that time.

Need for a concrete analysis

Having said all this, I still feel that the development of a concrete analysis of the functioning of caste in the Indian social formation remains to be carried out. The fact is that Marxist and radical scholars have reacted against the overemphasis on caste and its idealistic interpretation by bourgeois scholars by tending to deny, in practice, its reality. Caste is seen simply as an element of the super-

structure and so neglected; as an "appearance" that can be discarded to get at the underlying class or national "reality"; as a secondary (cultural) category that can be superimposed on an analysis after "class" has been discussed; as a conspiratorial (hence ideological, political, that is, superstructural) weapon of capitalists, landlords and kulaks used to divide the working class. This is inadequate, and in fact erroneous.

Most Marxists today probably agree in seeing caste as an aspect of Indian feudalism, so that a struggle against caste is a crucial part of the democratic movement, a struggle that requires wiping out the material base of feudalism (particularly in agrarian relations) as well as cultural "survivals." This, I feel, is valid but not adequate. In fact, the *specificity* of the feudal mode of production in India was largely related to "caste"; to the role of the *jajmani* *balutedari* system, to the relations between high caste landlords and low caste serfs and tenants.

Caste, in other words, existed not simply at the level of the cultural superstructure—not only in terms of "ideas" of purity and pollution or "rules" about inter-marriage and interdining—but as part of the relations of production themselves. And when feudalism was maintained in a transformed form under colonial rule, Caste also was maintained at the level of "economic" relations as well. But we need to know exactly *how* this was true, what the *specific* characteristics of Indian feudalism were, how *precisely* these were transformed in the process of being subjugated to and maintained under colonial rule and more recently under post-colonial imperialism.

"Caste" continually and inexorably inserts itself as a problem in organizing class struggle. For example, the experience of organizing agricultural labourers seems to show that it is not only difficult to build unity between landless agricultural labourers and those with some land or those who are mainly poor peasants; it is also difficult to build such unity

between agricultural labourers and poor peasants of different castes. The militant CPI (M)-led agricultural labour organization in Thanjavur district, for example, seems to have had difficulty in spreading beyond Harijan labourers to labourers of other castes or to other sections of the rural poor. More recently, the CPI (ML)-led struggle in Bhojpur district of Bihar has won a solid base among the rural poor and Harijans, but it appears from recent *Frontier* reports that gaining the support of better-off Harijans has been easier for the movement than winning over sharecroppers and poor peasants of other castes.

In such cases it seems an over-reaction to say that the reality is only a "class war"—unless we deepen our understanding of class itself. For example, it would be inaccurate to say that between a family of Marathas and a family of Buddhists (Mahars) each owning an acre of land and working mainly as wage labourers that their "class" status is the same while they differ only in terms of "caste." The Maratha family is likely to be more recently dispossessed of its land thus with a greater historical claim to the land; it is more likely to have kinship ties with rich and middle peasant landowners and therefore get preference in being hired as labourers; it is more likely to have cultivating skills from its recent landownership that gain it higher wages as labourers; it is likely to have access to the main village well which means a better water supply and less work for the women of the family, and so forth. These factors are not simply "cultural" but part of this family's relation to the means of production: that is its class position; and they provide the main objective material base for the ability of rich peasants and landlords to disrupt the unity of Maratha and Dalit agricultural labourers.

Or take the urban situation. In the Bombay textile mills workers in the weaving department, where there is no automation, have to hold the yarn between their teeth when it breaks and because it is

considered polluting if "untouchables" do this, by tacit agreement Dalits have not been employed in this department until very recently. And yet Bombay textile workers have a 50 year history of militant struggle under communist leadership which has made the removal of such discrimination one of their demands.

On communist leadership

Then there is the issue of communist leadership. It is here that Comrade BTR criticizes me most severely for carrying caste categories "to farcical extremes" in attempting to understand the difference between communist success in rural organizing in Andhra and Kerala and their failure in Maharashtra in the 1930s and 1940s in terms of the degree to which peasant-based non-Brahmins were part of the early Communist leadership. Here again I will admit the inadequacies of my then analysis which treated the "economic" differences between the states only in terms of the simplistic categories of *Zagoria* and failed to analyze the objective differences in land relations. The peasant movement in Maharashtra, in the context of a ryotwari settlement and the rather different position of moneylenders and (often new) landlords as contrasted with zamindars and janmandars, took very different forms, with its anti-*"shetji-bhatji"* stress and its link with the non-Brahmin movement. Nevertheless, the question of how the early Communist leaders understood and involved with the peasant and anticaste movements remains. As Ranadive puts it,

The Communists everywhere rose out of the anti-imperialist struggle and where they were able to attract or combine with other democratic currents—left democrats from the Congress, the state people's movement and anti-caste agitations and peasant movements—they were able to broaden their base. The process of absorption of these currents was a process of mutual approach, a correct approach on the part of the Communists and a radical anti-imperialist approach on part of the anti-caste movement. In Kerala especially this took place on a big scale and the movement went ahead. In Andhra, the Communists took up these questions. In Maharashtra, as we have seen, it was only Javalkar who was developing on a radical

basis and his activities would have led to a proper amalgamation of the two currents.

But doesn't this raise a major question?—Why, in the state that was the centre of the earliest and strongest Communist organization of the working class, by leaders often from the same districts and speaking the same language as the surrounding peasantry, why was it that the peasant movement lagged and only one man—developing independently and in part in antagonism to this Communist leadership—was moving towards a correct approach? This is the kind of question I was trying to answer.

The "petty bourgeois" character of Communist leaders is often mentioned as the class basis of various errors in line and practice (that is failure to adopt a "correct approach"). Again, "petty bourgeois" is too abstract a category in the Indian context. As in almost all colonial societies, members of the urban petty bourgeoisie, including its educated intelligentsia sections, have had some kind of connection with land. But there is a difference between those who have kinship and social relations with peasant cultivators (including rich peasants) and those who have relations with people who are predominantly non-cultivating and—lords, professionals, teachers, lower bureaucrats and the like. If the latter go to villages or communicate with people in the villages, their channels of communication and contact "naturally" tend to be through their kin and social relations. And these were, in Maharashtra in particular, the groups threatened by a rising, often crude challenge from the peasant (including rich peasants with the support of their educated kind!) cultivators. It was relatively easy for their urban petty bourgeois kinfolk to absorb the view of these more "feudal" classes, relatively difficult (difficult: not impossible) to throw off years of socialization, family connections, training, style of speech and ways of thinking to communicate with an aggressive peasantry.

To put it another way, it was easy and "natural" to see Tilak, with all his social faults, as a

great anti-imperialist; it was more difficult to see Phule, with his antagonism to the National Congress, as a revolutionary democrat—much less Ambedkar.

Race and caste

One final point. Coming from an American society shaken by growing Black, Chicano, Native American and Asian—American movements, I have had the impression that "caste" is as crucial a feature of social reality in India as "race" is in the United States. It appears to be as prevalent a topic of discussion and as such occurs (perhaps in simply a joking form) among Marxists as well as non-Marxists. It was not I who invented such terms as "Brahmin communists"; rather they are used by many radicalized members of low caste groups that is, those who are not simply "anticommunist") who are genuinely troubled about the issue. The same difficulties, if not worse, go on with White-Black relations in the US. The difference is that it has become both respectable and necessary for American Marxist intellectuals and Communist groups to deal openly with the issue of race and to admit its centrality, whereas this does not seem to have happened in the case of India. (For example, whereas the CPI (M) would consider it appropriate and honest to collect and publish information on the class backgrounds of congress delegates but not on their caste position, in the US Marxist-Leninist organizations would publicize their racial composition as well—particularly if they have a good record in that regard—and rival organizations would consider it an appropriate point of criticism if they don't). But only such an open dealing—the development of theoretical analysis and consistent practice by a revolutionary movement—can lead to the solution of problems.

(Social Scientist)

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The twenty five rupees system

Voters of this country have always tried to consolidate their social service gains at election time. The rice subsidy, health and free education are some of these gains. The United National Party which has always promised to safeguard these gains at election times has on every occasion it has come to power tried to withdraw the facilities given. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's present government, too, is merely toeing the same line. When Dr. N. M. Perera who was the Finance Minister in the United Front Government introduced the system of a 25 cents stamp it was derided by the UNP as a severe blow against the poor. For whose benefit, it should be asked now, did the UNP abolish the 25 cents stamp and introduce the payment of Rs 25. If no change is made in this unjust payment soon, even the government hospitals will be open only for the rich.

දිනකර

A dangerous game with people's lives

The reasons given by the governments for the increase in prices are unacceptable. The world market is not a thing that was born with the UNP coming into power. It was there during the time of the last government just as it was there even before that. Everybody knows that prices went up in the world market. The UNP

may forget the past but not the public. The public remember how when there was a fall in wheat production the then government had to up the price a little and how the UNP cursed it for that. The UNP was even rascally enough to go so far as to say that there was no such thing as a world market. But the UNP has raised the price of flour twice not because of a sudden increase in world market prices. There are many reasons for this. One is the government decision to devalue the rupee. A party that is stuck in the economic morass and is spending recklessly is trying to get out of it by increasing prices.



Devil's logic

Let us for the moment accept the argument that the Government increased the price of flour to get money for development purposes. Why then does it spend its money on unproductive things. Yesterday the government's own paper, the "Observer," published a picture with caption exposing its own propaganda and the government's lopsided attitude to things. That picture showed a pavement display of imported mechanical toys. The caption to that picture said that there wasn't a toy that was less than Rs 35. For whose comfort is this? Isn't the money spent on this the foreign exchange that belongs to the whole nation? Not only toys, the gadgetry that is imported and advertised so widely in the press shows how the country's exchange is being frittered away. Surely there isn't a more heinous crime than the comforting of a self-indulgent greedy minority in the name of development with the money belonging to the whole nation by robbing the poor man's bread.

Educational changes

by E. H. de Alwis

Mr. Vittachi's calculated misapprehension of plain statements and the twists he gives them appear to be his main strategy in controversy. I do not believe that any of my readers would have got the impression from what I wrote that I faulted the Ministers for not appointing a commission or committee to advise on whether the educational returns are commensurate with educational outlay. "I left no one in doubt as to the difference between, on the one hand, a minister who raises the very pertinent question of cost in relation to the quality of education and then sets out to seek remedial measures not to cut down costs but to ensure that the money spent on education is well-spent and, on the other hand, the present minister who raised the question and then proceeded to curtail drastically, the existing facilities—the gradual closing down of training colleges, the reduction of the training period from 2 years to 6 months, the abolition of hostels for teacher-trainees and the residential halls in universities, the dissipation of university resources. This devastation in the area of higher education was the burden of my indictment.

It is in order to indicate the significance of these actions and how they fit into the pattern of government's economic thinking ("The re-allocation of resources") that reference was made to 'welfarism' subsidies etc. Isolated from the main charges, these secondary issues can only lead to discussion of an academic nature. In any case, I have yet to unravel the tangle of sentences to discover what precisely is the "contradiction" in my views on "welfarism". In the meantime we

(Continued on page 23)

NM's opening for the Left

The news that Dr. N. M. Perera (76 and going strong), leader of the oldest political movement in the country and probably the largest Marxist (?) - Trotskyist (?) party in the world has been elected ("Jayawewa...!") President (the first elected executive Marxist President) of the Board.....of Maharajahs? (Bangawewa!)..... of Levers? ("Never!") of Control of Cricket ("well played, sir.....") has raised a storm in bourgeois sporting circles ("if we don't stem the rot, it'll be Wijeweera, next..."), a few suspicious eyebrows among life members of the M. C. C. ("another bloody red under the matted, what?") a small stir in Whitehall ("don't we have a file on that fellow from the '30's, Money-penny. ?"), an uproar in the C.I.A. ("does Jack Anderson really know ?"), the K.G.B. ("hummm... just after Keng Piao's visit, tovarish..."), the French contre-espionage ("Cricket, isn't that a cigarette lighter, non ami ?") and at least one one-word comment from the last British planter at the Radella Club ("Balls..."!).

For a Marxist interpretation we consulted Comrade Rathu Viplavadasa who recently returned from an international symposium held in Pongyang on the highly controversial question of "The resplendent contributions of Chairman Kim Il Sung to the historical development of Marxist-Leninist Thought".

Comrade Viplavadasa, it should be noted by students who are not too well acquainted with all esoteric local schools, follows the tactical line of Gerry Nulang, the Irish lunatic, when he is not following the county cricket results in England and the 'tips' generously circulated by the Adana Sports News apropos Messrs Piggott, Mercer and Cook. Button-holed in a Hospital Street bistro, he

gave us this exclusive, if brief, interview:

"What with China cutting off aid from Albania and Comrade Karawita leading the majority wing of the Sri Lanka Communist (Marxist-Leninist) party after defeating the minority deviationist group by a narrow majority of 4 votes or 5 less than the quorum. Dr. Perera's election is another deadly blow by modern revisionism, petit-bourgeois opportunism and hegemonism. But history does not move with either the speed or the bounce of a Thomson or Lillie. Rather it moves with the deceptive flight of a Ramadhin or Bedi. The revolution will not be won on the playing fields of the SSC and revolution is on the agenda..".

Having shared this confidence with us and engineered a temporary accommodation of 10 chips he predicted that the revolution was round the corner but not before Lester Piggott took the bend that afternoon at Sandown Park.

"I see Doric and Hector coming out.." said Norton de Zoysa, the well known cricket commentator in what could be loosely called a bald-by-bald commentary.. "Over here at the LSSP headquarters where a Central Committee match has just started, Colvin has won the toss and put N. M.'s Hardliners XI to bat. How do you see the game going, Bertie...?".

"N. M.'s strategy, I think, will be to go in and dig in...nothing adventurist...just a solid united front of his middle-of-the-road batting...as you know his middle batting has been strengthened by the addition of Anil who has been

given three days leave from Maharajahs..."

"Yes, that was a grand gesture appreciated by all cricket fans, seeing that Maharajahs have their own Sara Trophy game this weekend.."

"As for Colvin's line of attack, Norton, my own feeling is that it will be basically Leninist... I am thinking of Lenin's "Two Tactics" of course which Jardine used so cleverly in the controversial Larwood body-line series, nearly causing a spread of splittism in the British Commonwealth, weakening the anti-fascist forces which were then mobilising themselves after the first great capitalist crisis..."

"Ah, Bertie I see N. M. is not too happy about being put to bat... Doric was inspecting the wicket very carefully earlier in the morning... perhaps the pitch is not suitable for...?"

"Yes, I don't think the objective conditions are the best for N.M.'s type of brighter cricket but if the crowd response and the mass mood generally is conducive to a lightning insurrectionary attack I believe N. M. will..."

"You were talking about Colvin's two tactics..."

"What I meant was that he'll probably rely on his dialectical pacemen for an early breakthrough, keeping the pressure on the openers and N. M.'s recognised batsmen and then bring on Leslie with his Euro-communist cutters and Bernard with his Chinaman..."

"And if it succeeds...?"

"It'll be an excellent opening for the series, if not for the Left..."

"Yes, it's really going to be an exciting game today what with all these topflight Marxists concentrating at least for the next three days on the permanent revolution of a red leather ball..."

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China stands alone

by Chintaka

The anti-Soviet chorus reached its crescendo around 1971 and remain at that shrill pitch until today. The crucial difference between the first phase of the Sino-Soviet split ('56—'64) and the second ('64—'69) was the shift in China's identification of the USSR as capitulating to and collaborating with U. S. imperialism to the position that the USSR was *itself* an imperialist power. During the second phase, which roughly coincided with the Cultural Revolution, China pursued a 'dual adversary strategy, regarding both the US and the USSR as enemies, albeit with the latter coming a very close second. In this period, Peking tried to counter Soviet influence from a left, or more accurately an ultraleft position, by sponsoring a host of pro-Chinese communist parties which sported the suffix M-L in parenthesis. The third phase coincided with the fall from power of Lin-Piao and the military, simultaneously coupled with the rise in influence of Chou En-lai and his group which Western commentators prefer to characterize as 'pragmatic and technocratic' in orientation.

The dual adversary strategy was then abandoned in favour of a strategy of defusing one front. Thus it was decided to use the classic Maoist tactic of identifying and isolating the main enemy, uniting all the forces that can be united, and neutralizing the vacillating middle elements. The main enemy was identified as... "Soviet Social imperialism", which was seen as more dangerous than the declining U. S. imperialism. (The Vietnamese and Koreans, not to mention the Cubans, having many years of bitter experience combating less hypothetical imperialists, totally reject this Chinese thesis.) This identification of the Soviet Union not merely as imperialist or even as a co-equal enemy together with the U. S. but rather

as the *main* enemy, is the crux of this third phase in China's post-revolutionary foreign policy a phase which still continued. In this phase, China has abandoned the leftist posture of '56—'64 and the ultra-left position of the Cultural Revolutionary period in favour of an essentially rightist strategy which seeks to prevent possible Soviet gains by helping the United States to maintain the global status quo. Thus, the same CCP which castigated Krushchev's peaceful co-existence with the U. S. now pursues a separate detente with the self-same U. S.; aimed at the Soviet Union.

In this lengthy evolution one can discern a direct negation of China's own stance as articulated during the years of the anti-Krushchev polemics. When years before, China castigated the CPSU for insufficient commitment to national liberation movements in the Third World, it now terms such commitment on the part of the USSR as colonial expansion and joins the U. S. in denouncing the activities of Cuban "mercenaries" in Africa. While China once criticized the CPSU for propagating the thesis of a peaceful road to socialism in place of a hard line, when such a line is followed by a pro-Soviet CP as in Portugal in '75, China calls that party 'social fascist' and points to Mario Soares' parliamentary majority—in sharp contrast to Vietnam's stand on that question. China's policy after the Chilean coup of '73 went one better than the USSR's policy following the Indonesian coup of '64. The PRC's stance on the events in Bangladesh, Sudan and Sri Lanka in the year 1971 could be said to mark the beginning of what we have termed the third (and present) phase.

The residues of China's militant posture in world affairs

can be seen today only in relation to the armed struggles being waged by the CP's of Burma and Thailand. This too, is largely attributed by observers to the PRC's fear of being outflanked in this area by Socialist Vietnam, which would supplant China as the main external source of support for these CP's, in the event of the PRC abandoning its espousal of their causes.

In fairness it must also be added that even after its rightward shift on most issues, China remained highly critical of Indira Gandhi's autocratic rule at a time when the U. S. S. R. was praising the harshly repressive Indian Emergency as 'progressive'. China has also remained hostile to the dictatorship in Indonesia and severely condemned that country's annexation of East Timor. However these last flickering embers of China's militancy are but isolated exceptions to the general rule, and the general rule is the PRC's attempt to build an all-inclusive united front on a global scale aimed at the Soviet Union. This front is conceptualized by the PRC's ideologists as being along the lines of the broad anti-Fascist Alliance entered into during the 2nd World War.

With the adoption of this strategy, China became a "quasi-ally" of the U. S. A. and Western Europe—in the words of former U. S. Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger. It also lost its last friend within the socialist camp—Albania—which had been its oldest and closest ally since 1956. In the course of several authoritative articles the Albanian Labour Party (Communist Party) has polemicized against China's "Theory of the Three Worlds", in a tone ironically reminiscent of China's own polemics against Krushchevism. China utilized this theory to ideologically justify her policy of seeking unity, on the sole basis of anti-Sovietism, with the USA; NATO; ASEAN and the most rightwing 3rd World leaders ranging from the Shah of Iran to Zaire's Mobutu and President Marcos of the Philippines. Albania totally rejects this theory and, while continuing to cate-

gorize the USSR as social imperialist, argues in effect for a return to the 'dual-adversary' foreign policy of the Cultural Revolution years, which would outflank the USSR from the left, simultaneously strike at U. S. interests, and upset the global status quo—all by means of actively promoting revolutions in the 3rd world. Albania now seeks to repeat, the world over, the tactic which China adopted against the CPSU in the 1960's by encouraging splits within the pro-China CP's and sponsoring splinter groups which lean towards Tirana.

All China-watchers in the West as well as the Soviet block anxiously awaited any signs of a possible lessening in China's hostility towards the U. S. S. R. following the death of Mao Tse-tung.

But, what of the long term? Whatever the extent and depth of the Sino-Soviet cleavage, it is limited to subject factors i. e.—mutual misperceptions due to theoretical errors, misinformation, plain ignorance and prejudice. The objective fact however, is that both countries possess economic systems and social structures which are essentially the same, albeit at different levels and pattern of development. They also share a common ideology. This apart, tremendous political and economic benefits would accrue to both parties as a result of a rapprochement. Some Western commentators like Victor Zorza (who was one of the first to predict the Sino-Soviet schism), argue that these factors virtually guarantee the inevitability of an eventual reconciliation. Of course no one seeks to predict the time schedule or transitional steps involved, though most agree that composing of state-to-state differences on the basis of 'peaceful coexistence' will most probably precede a reunification at the higher party-to-this 'Last Testament' in 1969, would be realized and "fraternal parties... (would terminate)... a conflict which is in accord neither with reason nor sentiment and reunite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." Until then within the world communist movement and the socialist bloc, China stands alone.

Educational . . .

(Continued from page 19)

had better agree to disagree on this question.

I am also prepared to concede that the discovery of the knuckle-duster is really the 'climax' of the raid-episode rather than its anti-climax, now that I have been enlightened on its real nature. Undoubtedly the posse of 300 policemen ran a grave risk in entering the premises of the university, where the students were in possession of so lethal a weapon as the dreaded knuckle-duster!

The ills that the university suffer from, I called economic ones and added that they were curable with economic remedies. Now it appears that this is the point that Mr. Vittachi has been making all along! He seems to have forgotten that he has, all along been applauding from the side-lines, the emasculation of the university and the disruption of its communal life, thus reducing it to the level of a day-school for higher studies.

Incidentally, can Mr. Vittachi tell us how many students have been convicted of homicide, grievous hurt, sexual violence etc etc? "Audi alteram partem" is a well-known principle of natural justice (although limitations have been placed, in recent months on its application) but why deny it to students before they are accused of all the crimes in the penal code? I am aware of a sensation-mongering report, where wholesale condemnation of students in general has been made, without any specific charges against any of them. This is the report that was trotted out recently, and given wide publicity in the press, in order to prepare the mind of the public for the drastic action that was being contemplated against the universities.

Kapilavastu . . .

(Continued from page 11)

Buddha's mortal remains are said to have been cremated.

Vogel's cogent remarks apply with equal relevance to the sealings and the inscribed pot found at Piprahwa, and his doubts about the identity of Kasia were confirmed by the discovery at Kasia a little later of a baked clay seal die (not a sealing) in the older of the two monasteries excavated at Kasia. It contains the Sanskrit legend "Sri-Visnudvipa-vihare bhiksu-sanghasya" "of the community of monks at 'Sri-Visnudvipa-vihara'". This seal is conclusive proof that the monastic establishment at Kasia was known as Sri-Visnudvipa-vihara. Furthermore this discovery completely negates any possibility of using the evidence of the earlier mentioned clay sealings to identify Kasia as Kusinara.

Thus it is equally futile to attempt to identify the present-day Piprahwa with the ancient city of Kapilavastu on the tenuous evidence of the sealings and the inscribed pot found at Piprahwa.

Solution to Cryptic Crossword No 4

Across—1. Rhyming couplets 9 Poul-tices 10 Tulsa 11. Eager 12. Art fossil 13. Earliest 14. Agouti 17 Thrown 19. Out and in 22.. Tiger cubs 24. Racer 25. Ostia 26. Hungarian 27. start to collapse.

Down—1. Representations 2. Younger 3. Interview 4. Go classy 5. Onsets 6. Patio 7. Eglisau 8. Small difference 15. Go airmail 16. Puts into 18. Regatta 20. Decrimp 21. Pushto 23. Roast.

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The Circulation Manager,
Lanka Guardian Publishers Ltd.
South Asian Media Centre
3rd Floor, YMBA building,
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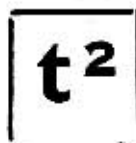
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