

**LANKA**

Vol. I No. 13

November 1, 1978

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# **GUARDIAN**



**Which way for the Left?**

**A symposium**

**I. Vasudeva Nanayakkara**

**Troubled trade unions**

**H. A. Seneviratne**

**J.R's Indian visit**

**Mervyn de Silva**

**Indira's comeback**

**Idea of a University**

**E. H. de Alwis**

**The coming Depression**

**Arthika**

**'Invisible violence'**

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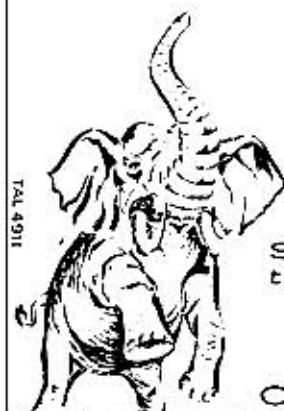
**Gamini Fonseka  
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## Letters

### Radio news

SLBC has a good nose for news, at times. It was the first to report, in fair detail, of the recent floods in India and of the cargo ship that was sunk in Galle harbour. But its nose for news takes a different turn when it reports on strikes.

For example the S.L.B.C. news bulletin that came over the air on the night of 17.10.78 reported of the settlement of a strike in the private sector which was not known to exist for its listeners. A strike that is settled cannot be of more news value than one that is on. If the SLBC chooses to drop this sort of news altogether from its news bulletins, the listeners would respect them more.

Panadura **V. K. Wijeratna**

### "1971 and all that"

I must apologise for daring to write on this subject. I must also confess I know nothing of the writings and works of Marx and Lenin, the thoughts of Mao or the theories of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, but I have certainly read with awe the views expressed by persons well versed in these matters pertaining to the above subject. The letter of Dr. (?) Carlo Fonseka appearing in your journal of 1.10.78 is one such.

I write not to dispute anything written on these subjects—I am not competent to do so—but rather to unburden myself of a doubt created in my mind by this particular letter.

Dr. Fonseka in the course of his letter states that Mr. Siriwardena informed us that until April 1971 he "shared the illusion engendered by the 1970 General Elections." He then goes on to state—That victory was engineered precisely by what Mr. Siriwardena characterized as "the opportunism of the LSSP (and CP) in and after 1964." So, by implication the opportunism of the LSSP and CP must have had Mr. Siriwardena's approval at some stage because by his own submission he "shared the illusion engendered by the 1970 General Elections".

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## Trends

### Unions, Universities

From Managua to Tunis, from Teheran to Bangkok and beyond, trade unions and students are two familiar sources of dissent, agitation and opposition. From the perspective of those who hold strong, if narrow, notions of 'stability', these groups represent a potential challenge to 'order'.

In the coming weeks, two bills will come before the NSA that reveal the government's conscious effort to contain these "forces of disturbance" at a time when other organised oppositional forces, such as the political parties, are either visibly inactive or paralysed by mutual hostilities or their own internal troubles.

It has been argued before the Constitutional Court that some sections of the Universities Bill are inconsistent with the Constitution, particularly with the chapter on Fundamental Rights.

The trade unions, as the 'Lanka Guardian' reported in its last issue, have already told the I. L. O. that the proposed measures and some of the steps taken last month to combat the one-day general strike violated U. N. conventions.

It is not only the coincidence of the parliamentary debates which prompts a consideration of these proposals as part of a pattern. They have a common aim—the de-politicisation of the unions and universities.

### TULF dilemma

One or two Tamil politicians still seem to be in a quandary over the offer of District Ministries. To accept or not? The TULF as such will probably say 'no' but at least one Eelam Barkis may be willing. Youth pressure against any cooperation with the government (they consider it collaboration) is strong although a small section of the youth recommends the tactic of acceptance and then quitting the posts on the question of colonisation.

The young militants have their own line, spelt out boldly in slogans on the wall of the Jaffna nurses' quarters. Nearby is the home of a TULF representative. One slogan reads: "The government is more than one (year old) but is the country two?"

Another warning: "If you do not know the path, the gun will show the way". Alongside is a crude drawing of a rifle.

There appears to be something (ir) rational in this argument.

One may perhaps be forced to accept a situation (which later may turn out to be only an illusion) created by other persons and/or forces. One may go further and notwithstanding one's personal views and convictions express the hope and/or belief that some good evolve out of that situation (before it turns out to be an illusion). Does that necessarily connote by implication or otherwise approval of the emerging state of affairs and any subsequent effects thereof. Surely not!

This reminds me of the traditional efforts to prove God's blindness by the use of the qualities of love.

Rationalists, too, could be irrational at times, couldn't they?

Ratmalana Carol A. Perera

### Educational changes

I read with interest the October copy of your journal 'Guardian' and was impressed by the coverage as well as the independent approach. I was particularly impressed by the article of Mr. Sunil Bastian on "Implications of educational changes". I am interested in verifying a specific matter in this article, i.e. the author's source as to the statistics given on the numbers dropped out of school prior to completion of studies. (In page 21 column 2 top). He mentions that over 45% drops out prior to sixth grade and that only 7% reach levels. Could you please

let me have the source for this statistic or in the alternative quote or give me the source so as to find the actual numbers dropping out of school prior to NCE or GCE 'O' standard. I am also interested in knowing statistics as to poverty in Sri Lanka, stated in (a) Those with an income below Rs. 300 or so (b) Those without an inch of land (c) Total number suffering from malnutrition etc. (any quantifiable way).

I would be grateful if you could let me have details either through your journal or direct. Wishing your journal successful growth.

Dulan de Silva.

No. 6/1 Government Flats  
Colombo 4

## Cryptic Crossword No. 9

by Stripex

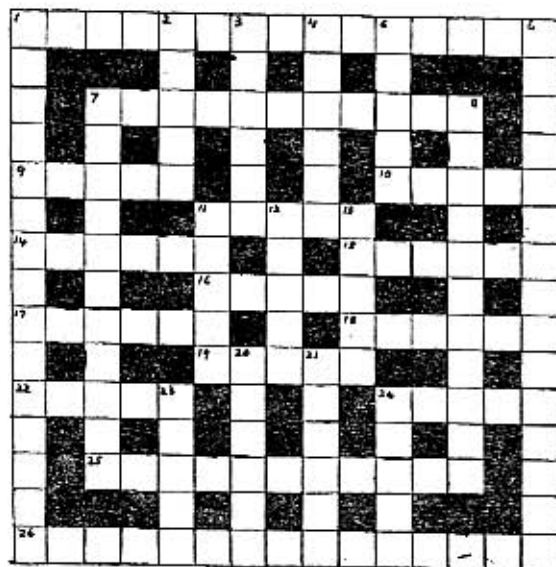
### Across

### CLUES

1. Capital ecstasy for CTB's foreign kin (6,9)
7. Not a storekeeper; he's got money invested (11)
9. This writer is almost one of the people he addresses himself to (5)
10. Is borne, not necessarily clad in 25 (5)
11. It's a bloomer to be pointlessly astern (5)
14. Boring eccentrics peer back in the Civil Service (6)
15. Formerly shrewd, metropolitan ... (6)
16. ... boy in charge of sound ... (5)
17. ... way of communication, without love, is gloomy (6)
18. World body's joke is a yarn still to be told (6)
19. Clean out of San Francisco, urban area (5)
22. player to do or ... (5)
24. ... player who's as good as a mile (5)
25. Sit brooding over the Wellingtons (6,5)
26. One who 6 no doubt wishes to (6,3,6)

### Down

1. Irritable assemblies of freemen in beginning of 1 across? (6,9)
2. Zero area for the fresh air (5)
3. Symbolism of the Bartok ensemble (6)
4. Awoke without Burmese title to stir up ... (6)
5. ... supporter who is 10 all over (5)
6. Takes salver to knights and tries to 26 (5,6,4)
7. Stringer paid per column-inch is sci-fi author (5,6)
8. Discourteous answers are fibs after harsher record (4,7)
11. Estimate the pointless fools (5)
12. There's nothing to taste in 4-4 time (5)
13. Happen at intervals about the mongrel (5)
20. Document authorising temporary importation of its beginning (6)
21. The tuna, bleeding, is internally weak (5)
23. Lady R. comes up to town (5)
24. Peculiar charm of a rambler, we hear (5)



### Solution to Cryptic Crossword No. 8

ACROSS—1. Make the most of it 8. Habeas Corpus Act  
9. Royal ace 10. Statue 12. Mental case 15. Watch night  
18. Turban 19. Old attic 20. Historic present  
21. Shouldering arms.

DOWN—2. Kabaya 3. Trails 4. Each credit 5. True tale  
6. Feast day 7. To tease the cat 8. Horrid witches  
11. At Philippi 13. Starts to 14. Cheap oil 16. Bad egg  
17. Its ear.



# JR's first foray

by Mervyn de Silva

**M**r. J. R. Jayewardene who attended the Commonwealth leaders' meeting in Australia as Sri Lanka's Prime Minister is now on his first state visit. While the addition of Nepal to his itinerary suggests that the journey could be both as President and pilgrim, the choice of India for his official trip is not without political significance. J. R. rarely does anything before careful study and preparation.

Never an over-enthusiastic globe-trotter, J. R. has not displayed much passion, as intellectual or professional politician, for foreign affairs. In this, he shares the UNP's traditional indifference to foreign policy which springs largely from an ill-concealed conviction that active diplomacy is an extravagance for small nations. A complementary attitude supports the view that a government's job is concentrate its efforts on "the people's real problems", meaning domestic affairs, notably economic issues.

The UNP was out of office when in the 1970's, particularly after the Algiers conference, small nations learnt that if economics is never very far from politics, the axiom holds true of the international order too. To the obvious discomfiture of the affluent and the powerful, the smaller countries made their economic demands on political platforms and in fact in every international forum. Non-alignment thus became the political platform of the poor, the new international economic order their major trade union demand, and UNCTAD their bargaining table.

J. R. had an early and close view of this evolutionary idea which has now become an important factor in the international system. He led Sri Lanka's dele-

gation to the "Group of 77" meeting in Algiers where, in a sense, it all began.

Otherwise his personal essays in foreign affairs and diplomacy were written very early in his long career — the San Francisco conference where he championed Japan's cause, and the Colombo Plan which he co-authored.

J. R.'s "Selected speeches" (in some ways, carefully selected speeches) do not give much time for statements on foreign policy. In the 50's he spoke with a strong Dullesian accent.

But if you consider "JR Thought" as a whole, it is easy to see that he has remained stubbornly loyal to a few strongly held views. His admirers would argue that this accounts for his consistency whereas his critics would claim that he has not much interest in new ideas or in other people's opinions. At least in this regard, he has a Gaullist make-up.

One of those ideas is the crucial importance for Sri Lanka of Indian friendship. An associated idea is regional economic cooperation. The Indian visit should be seen in this perspective.

It was widely believed that JR's first state visit would be to Japan, a country where he is held in warm regard by an older generation that remembers his San Francisco address. In fact, Japan did honour him a few years ago. Today, Japan is Sri Lanka's No. 2 creditor, next to U. S. Japan's economic sphere (a refurbished co-prosperity concept) does embrace the Far East and South East Asia, but, not quite South Asia. Japanese investors have vaulted over this region and gone as far as Latin America.

However there have been a marked spurt in Japanese and South Korean interest in Sri Lanka after the UNP took office.

In the middle of the Indian Ocean, Japanese interests directly encounter the interests of Indian industry and big business which has now reached a level of maturity that it must expand beyond its own boundaries and gain access to countries like Sri Lanka, the oil-rich states etc.

In the first months of the UNP government membership in ASEAN appeared to be a matter of time. A powerful lobby and an orchestrated press campaign in the mainstream media pointed the way to ASEAN.

It is worth noting that Mr. Jayewardene who makes every important decision refused to be hustled. My own feeling is that it was not so much a question of the right credentials (Sri Lanka is in South not South East Asia) but a studied evaluation of Indian reactions and a conviction that more positive advantages will accrue to Sri Lanka if she was a member of a larger economic association that certainly included India.

Delhi-Colombo feelings were somewhat ruffled during the August race riots and the fate of (Indian) plantation workers, not to mention the misfortunes of an Indian High Commission official and his wife. But subsequent misgivings, if any, were soon cleared once the obvious kinship between the Desai-Jayewardene governments that had replaced in India and Sri Lanka the closely linked Gandhi-Bandaranaike regimes made its natural claims on Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

## Hardly chicken feed

The Government's economic policy of currency devaluation, combined with vastly liberalized imports has had the effect of a one-two punch on small and medium scale producers in both industrial and agrarian sectors. Now this deleterious effect has been felt in the animal husbandry sector too. On the one hand, currency devaluation has resulted in rapidly raising the costs of both poultry feed and veterinary drugs.

For instance a standard size bag of poultry feed has risen from about Rs. 35/- prior to the budget to about Rs. 56/- today. Meanwhile the recent imports of dressed chicken by the C.W.E. has caused a drop in the price of locally raised poultry. This latter feature is beneficial to the consumer in the short term, but is bound to have a negative effect on the domestic poultry industry in the long term. If the present trends in importation should continue, local producers fear that it will culminate in the import of eggs from India and Australia as was done in the 'good old days'.

"During the previous regime poultry feed was relatively low priced, but owing to Felix's foul play with fowl food we were faced with severe shortages and we thought the new Government would remedy all that. Now it seems that this Government's economic policy will drive us completely out of business" protested one poultry breeder.

## Whipping Again

The Civil Rights Movement in a statement issued last week stated that the new Criminal Procedure Bill, insofar as it re-introduces lashing with the cat o'nine tails, is not consistent with the fundamental rights enshrined in the new Constitution of the democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Protection against torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment is guaranteed by Article 11 of the Constitution, which provision

(Continued on page 9)

## International news

### The path to power

Indira Gandhi goes south on November 5 before she goes west on the 10th. According to her own confident predictions the journey will mark a return to the paths of glory and power she traversed for so long before the Congress debacle and her own crushing defeat at Rae Bareilly last year.

Mrs. Gandhi has decided to contest the by-election in Chikmagalur in the southern state of Karnataka. Humbled in the north and the Indian heartland, the Congress did comparatively well in the south at the polls in March 77.

On November 10th Mrs. Gandhi leaves for London on what she herself described frankly was a "political trip". If she carries Chikmagalur Indira Gandhi, defeated and denigrated apparently beyond all hope of personal redemption and political recovery, will make her first visit abroad with the self-assurance of a tenacious fighter who knows she is back on the centre stage of Indian politics.

The 10-day London visit is in connection with the Jawaharlal Nehru anniversary celebrations sponsored by the large Indian community in Britain. The decision to contest a by-election, and the choice of both the constituency and the occasion for an overseas trip have been made with utmost consideration for all political implications.

Mrs. Gandhi has been playing the game far too long from outside parliament. Although those who were prepared to write her off have been completely confounded by her extraordinary staying power and her success in retaining control of a substantial section of the Congress, it is time to move to the centre, the Lok Sabha.

Divided and discredited the Janata government offers a daily demonstration of its inherent



Indira Gandhi

weaknesses and its ineffective performance on major issues. Personal squabbles in public, high-level family scandals, natural disasters and the tribulations of a huge community like the Harijans multiply its misfortunes. Mrs. Gandhi has decided that the time is opportune to challenge her opponents face to face.

Chikmagalur is regarded as a comfortable Congress seat.

At the last elections, the Congress party (undivided) carried the seat by an impressive 64,000 majority. At the Karnataka state elections, the Indira Congress did remarkably well with Mr. Devaraj Urs, now the chief minister, romping home. Mr. Urs is one of Mrs. Gandhi's firmest loyalists.

In the face of Mrs. Gandhi's move, the Janata party's discomfiture was all too plain in picking a strong candidate. Strongly tipped was Industries Minister George Fernandes' brother Lawrence who was jailed and tortured during the emergency. There were even reports that the Janata would back a Communist (M-L) and save itself the humiliation of an open defeat. The Janata finally opted for Mr. Veerendra Patil, a former chief minister.

Mrs. Gandhi had to get permission from a Delhi court to leave the country even for so

(Continued on page 6)

Camp David

## Three shortcomings

— Vajpayee

India has not welcomed the Camp David Accords. Any impression of Indian support is mistaken said External Affairs Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

In a telephone conversation with President Carter, the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Moraji Desai had categorically stated that all parties to the West Asian conflict should be 'partners in agreement'.

Explaining the Indian position, Mr. Vajpayee said that the Camp David Accords suffered from three shortcomings:

(a) The question of Palestine is the core of the West Asia problem and unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people were restored including the right to return and set-up their national state, there could be no (no) first and lasting peace in the region. The second shortcoming was, Mr. Vajpayee said, the Camp David agreement was silent on the status of Jerusalem. Thirdly the Palestinian Liberation Organization has not been accepted as a representative body of Palestinian people. PLO had been fighting for their liberation and has made immense sacrifices.

When he met the U. S. Secretary of State Mr. Cyrus Vance in New York, Mr. Vajpayee said he had sought clarifications from him on these points. Mr. Vance replied that once the process was set in motion these problems will be tackled at the appropriate time. Mr. Vajpayee said that he also had talks on the subject with the representatives of Syria, Jordan, Libya, and Egypt on the West Asia problem.



"Jimmy, don't make a big production out of it!"

Pakistan

## Reaction to 'Jaguar' deal

Pakistan has reacted promptly to the agreement signed last week in Delhi for the purchase of 200 Jaguar deep penetration strike aircraft by the Indian Air Force. The whole deal will cost India over ten billion Indian rupees. British negotiators of this Anglo-French sale have agreed to the outright purchase of 40 Jaguars and the rest to be made in India, under licence with imported technology. The new aircraft has a range of 700 miles, has a 10,000 lbs bomb load and flies one and half times faster than sound. The Jaguars will replace the obsolescent Canberra bombers and Hunter fighters in the Indian air force fleet.

Though the actual delivery and manufacture is so phased out as to affect the regional military balance only in the 1980's, Washington has reacted negatively while Pakistan has read the news as a new 'security threat'. There have been no comments from Peking and Moscow.

Addressing a passing-out parade near Peshawar, Pakistan's Air Force chief Air Marshal Anwar Shamin said that the purchase added a "new dimension to the threat facing Pakistan". He added: "It does not require deep study of the area's geography to realise that these aircraft can only be operated against us..."

Criticising Pakistan's hostile reaction and Washington's concern, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram whose name was dragged into a scandal over likely "commissions" made by local agents, said that India had to be alive to the fact that China was currently negotiating large-scale arms deals with the West and technology from US and European manufacturers. While domestic criticism was centred on the financial outlay, the real reasons for the purchase became clear in the one year old debate among India's defence planners.

The reasons are: (a) A plan to modernise the Indian Air Force. (b) An attempt to diversify sources of supply because India's military capabilities, though highly improved since the India-China war, are very much dependent on the USSR. (c) America's reconciliation with China, and the comprehensive modernisation program now on in China, which includes the armed forces. (d) Iran's growing challenge as a regional power and Iran's highly sophisticated military hardware. (e) Indian suspicion that countries like Iran and oil-rich Saudi Arabia, probably with US prodding, will equip Pakistan and an Indo-Pak arms race of the 1950's and 1960's kind will be replayed in the 1980's. (f) Big power rivalry in the Indian Ocean.



# Bolivia: A free and just society?

**W**hy Bolivia? Foreign Minister Hameed's choice of country for a Latin American visit seems strange indeed, and the communique that ensued, (not to mention the publicity it received) surely ranks with U. N. Ambassador B. J. Fernando's visit to South Korea as a major diplomatic gaffe. Sri Lanka's foreign policy and image within the non-aligned community would doubtless have been much better served if her Foreign Minister had chosen a democratic country for his visit to the Latin American continent. Venezuela, with its high prestige within the Third World and also its economic importance would have been an obvious choice. Columbia or Costa Rica were other possible options. If Minister Hameed really yearned to visit a country under military rule why not a fairly benevolent one like Panama or Peru which play an assertive roll in the Third World?

Bolivia on the other hand is ruled by a fascist Junta, and is hardly the best Latin American

advertisement for a free and just society. Amnesty International has repeatedly denounced the Bolivian regime for its gross and brutal violation of basic human rights (source: A I year book '77). The *Washington Post* recently commented on "the seven years of authoritarian military rule that produced political stability and economic growth at the expense of union freedom and the give and take of democracy."

Meanwhile, the eminently conservative London *Economist* in its issue of July 29 comments on Bolivia's brief, Carter-induced flirtation with democracy earlier this year. "Bolivia's army has rammed General Peveda into power" states the *Economist*, which goes on to say:

....."The crater of a spent volcano 12,000 feet up in the Andes is an improbable place for the flame of Latin American democracy to flicker even briefly into life. But flicker it did, in Bolivia's sky-high capital of La Paz, during the campaign to elect a new president which ended with the light being peremptorily doused last week.

"In November, Bolivia's soldier-president, General Hugo Banzer, had announced the first election since he seized power in a coup in 1971. The army thought it could get the candidate of its choice elected. But the country's civilian politicians, bravely campaigning in the teeth of army intimidation did so well that the soldiers had to rig the results. They over-rigged: about 50,000 more votes were counted than there were voters, allowing the army's candidate General Juan Peveda, to scrape past the 50% mark. The country's independent electoral board declared the result invalid on July 19th. But two days

later General Peveda was installed in power by the army will-willy.

"The flame went out in Bolivia....."

Local observers wonder whether Mr. Hameed's visit like Mr. B. J. Fernando's is the latest manifestation of a new orientation in Sri Lanka's foreign policy which dates back to Mr. Bandaranaike's trip to West Germany in 1975.

## CORRECTION

A correction needs to be made in the article captioned 'The JVP's Conversion to Trotskyism' which appeared on page 11 of the last issue of the Lanka Guardian (L. G. Vol. 1, No. 12, Oct 15th '78). The second paragraph in column 1 of page 11 should read as follows, from line 17 onwards:-

"The Moscow Declaration of 1957 and 1960, taken together with the 'Open Polemics', show that neo-colonialism was wrongly perceived as a mere disguise, a mere shift in tactics of old colonialism. There was a failure to discern the qualitative developments which neo-colonialism entailed (i. e. capitalist development in the periphery, enabling it to become the dominant mode of production; the national bourgeoisie becoming the ruling class, becoming subject to the process of compradoreification and entering into symbiotic dependence with imperialism; rapid class differentiation in the peripheral societies; the phenomenon of neo-fascism in these countries etc)."

## The path...

(Continued from page 4)

brief a visit. But the London trip has been carefully planned. At the Nehru celebrations, Mrs. Gandhi will doubtless re-assert her own political legacies while returning to the international limelight.

With 29 candidates in the field some additional colour has been added to the confusion by the appearance of film star M.G.R. on Mrs. Gandhi's side. Earlier, a local Sivaji Ganeshan resisted the government's blandishments to fight the former premier.

The constituency has over 600,000 voters. Opinion pollsters say that Mrs. Gandhi's fate (majority?) will depend on 125,000 'untouchables', 120,000 Vokkaligas (a so-called depressed caste), 85,000 plantation workers and 65,000 Muslims. ●



## Song for a Palestinian Passover

### I

*If they had taken our land and not gloated in busloads  
It would have sufficed  
If they had taken our land and not said it was for God's will  
It would have sufficed.  
If they had divided our homes among them and not said that  
we did not exist*

*It would have sufficed.  
If they had dropped napalm and not repeated shalom  
It would have sufficed.  
But they did all these things.  
How many the cruelties they have bestowed upon us.*

### II

*Who knows One?  
I know One: one lost homeland.  
Who knows Two?  
I know Two: two hands to hold a rifle.  
Who knows Three?  
I know Three: three tanks against one stone.  
Who knows Four?  
I know Four: four cities lost to us.*

*Four lost cities.  
Three tanks coming.  
Two hands only.  
One lost homeland.*

### III

*Then came the planes  
That came from America  
That dropped napalm  
That burned our children  
That once had lived  
In our land Palestine.*

*Then came the young men  
That once were boys  
Then came the young women  
That once were girls  
Then came the young people  
That once were children  
That now are fighters  
That fight for their land of Palestine.*

## A Jordanian-Palestinian Woman in England

*—Terrible weather we're having.  
Our sky is always foggy.*

*Where do you come from? Spain?  
No, I come from Jordan.*

*—Beg your pardon, Jordan? I don't understand.  
—I'm from the hills of Jerusalem.*

*My country is full of splendour and sunshine.  
—Yes, yes, Now I know, you're Jewish—*

*A stab in the heart,  
Fatal and cruel.*

*You ask about a cloud,  
That came across my brow,  
Filled my eyes with great distress,  
Good neighbour.*

*You've scraped  
The scab off my virulent wounds*

*And do remind me  
That I come from the shattered land.*

*From the people  
Torn and dispersed,*

*Carried by the wind—here and there.  
Belonging to nowhere.*

*We deceive ourselves  
To think otherwise.*

*I'm like the others—  
A woman without a land.*

*How did you come to know,  
despite the smoke and fog,*

*That blurs all things  
In your country,*

*And makes people see  
Only the things they wish to see.*

**Oxford-England**

*(From the 'New Arab')*

# Cemetery of words

**T**he system that programmes the computer that alarms the banker who alerts the ambassador who dines with the general who summons the president who informs the minister who threatens the managing director who humiliates the manager who shouts at the boss who harasses the white collar worker who despises the manual worker who ill-treats his wife who hits the child who kicks the dog.

In Uruguay, the inquisitors have updated themselves. Strange mixture of the Middle Ages and the capitalist concept of business. The military don't burn books any more: they sell them to the paper manufacturers. The paper companies shred them, pulp them and put them back into the market for consumption. It's not true that Marx, Freud or Piaget are unavailable to the public. In the form of books they're not. But they are in the form of serviettes.

Argentina has been turned into a slaughterhouse. Technique for disappearances: there are no prisoners whose release anyone can demand nor martyrs to keep watch over. The death penalty was incorporated into the Penal Code in mid-1976, but people are killed every day without trial or sentence. In the majority of instances, there is no corpse. The dictatorships of Chile and Uruguay have not been slow to imitate this highly successful procedure. A single death by firing-squad can provoke a worldwide scandal: with the thousands of disappeared people there is always the convenience of uncertainty. Family and friends go through the dangerous and futile search from prison to prison and barracks to barracks, while the bodies rot in woods and rubbish tips. Men are swallowed by the earth, the government washes its hands: there are no crimes to

**The 'invisible violence' in Uruguay, Argentina and Chile — an imaginative condemnation of conditions in these countries by an exiled Uruguayan writer.**

report or explanations to be given. Each dead person dies several times. In the end, all that's left is a fog of horror and uncertainty in one's soul.

The machine teaches that whoever is against it is an enemy of the country. To denounce injustice is a crime against fatherland.

I am the country, says the machine. This concentration camp is the country: this heap of rotting waste, this great wasteland empty of men.

Anyone who believes his country is a home for everyone is thrown out of the home.

The only thing that's free are prices. In our part of the world, Adam Smith needs Mussolini. Freedom of investment, freedom of prices, freedom of exchange: the greater the freedom for business, the more people are imprisoned. Who has heard of wealth being innocent? When there's a crisis, don't liberals become conservatives, conservatives fascists? Who do the murderers of people and countries work for?

A Minister of Finance said in Uruguay: 'Inequality in the distribution of earnings is what creates savings.' But he also admitted that the fact of torture horrified him. How can inequality be preserved except by the weapon of the electrode? The Right likes generalisations. Generalisations absolve it.

The torturer is a functionary. The director is a functionary. They are armed bureaucrats and they lose their job if they don't do it efficiently. There is no more to it than that. They are

not extra-ordinary monsters. We are not going to give them that distinction.

The machine harasses the youth; it jails, it tortures, it kills. They are the living proof of its importance. It throws them out: it sells them as human flesh, cheap labour for foreign countries.

The sterile machine hates everything that grows and moves. It's able only to multiply prisons and cemeteries. It can only produce prisoners and corpses, spies and policemen, beggars and exiles.

Being young is a crime. Reality commits it every day at dawn; so does history, re-born every morning.

That is why reality and history are prohibited.

In Uruguay a new prison opens every month. That's what the economists call the Development Plan.

But what about the invisible cages? In what official report or opposition document do the prisoners of fear figure? Fear of losing one's job, fear of not finding one; fear of speaking, fear of hearing, fear of reading. In the country of silence, a brightness in the eyes can send one to a concentration camp. A functionary doesn't have to be sacked: it's sufficient to let him know that he can be removed without notice and that he'll never get another job. Censorship triumphs when every citizen becomes the implacable censor of his own words and actions.

Dictatorship makes its prisons from barracks, police stations, abandoned carriages, disused ships. And what it does with everyone's house, isn't that the same thing?

Of every hundred children born alive in Chile, eight die. Accident or murder? The criminals have the keys of the prisons.

Food is more expensive in Chile than in the USA. The minimum wage is ten times lower. Taxi-drivers in Santiago don't buy dollars from tourists any more: they offer girls who'll make love in exchange for a meal.

The consumption of shoes in Uruguay has gone down five times in the last twenty years. In the last seven years, the consumption of milk in Montevideo has gone down by half.

How many are the prisoners of need? Is a man who's condemned to spend his life searching for work and food free? How many have their destiny branded on their faces from the day they enter the world and cry for the first time? How many are denied salt and sun?

The list of torturings, murders and disappearances does not exhaust the crimes of a dictatorship. The machine trains you to egoism and lies. Solidarity is a crime. Victory for the machine: people are afraid of speaking, of looking at each other. No-one is to meet anyone else. When someone meets your eyes and doesn't look away, you think:

'He's going to get me.' The manager says to the employee who was his friend: 'I had to report you. They asked for lists. I had to give a name. Forgive me, if you can.'

Why doesn't murder of the soul by poisoning figure in the chronicle of violence?

Half a million Uruguayans out of the country. A million Paraguayans, half a million Chileans. The ships sail full of young people escaping from prison, death or hunger. To be alive is dangerous: to think, a sin; to eat, a miracle.

But how many exiles are there inside the frontiers of their own countries? Where are the statistics that take count of those who are condemned to resignation and

silence? Does not hope commit worse crimes than people do?

Dictatorship is infamy become habit, a machine that makes you deaf and dumb, incapable of listening, unable to speak, and blind to what is forbidden to be seen

The first death as a result of torture, unleashed — in Brazil in 1946 — a national scandal. The tenth death by torture was barely reported in the press. The fiftieth was accepted as 'normal'.

The machine teaches people to accept horror in the same way that one gets used to the cold in winter.

I search for the enemy voice that gave me orders to be miserable.

Sometimes I have the feeling that joy is a crime of high treason, and that I am guilty of the privilege of still being alive and free.

That's when it does me good to remember what was said by the local political leader Huilca: 'They came here. They smashed up even the stones. They wanted to wipe us out. But they haven't managed it, because we're still alive and that's what matters.'

And I think that Huilca was right. To be alive: a small victory. To be alive, which means capable of joy, despite the crimes and the separations, so that exile can testify to the possibility of a different kind of country.

The task in front of us is to create a real fatherland, and we won't build that with bricks made of shit. Would we be of any use when we return if we came back broken?

Joy needs more courage than suffering. Suffering is after all something we have got used to.

Extermination plan: strip the land of grass, root up the last living plant, cover the earth with salt. After that, erase the memory of grass. To colonise consciousness, suppress it; to suppress it,

empty it of past. Wipe out any sign that there was anything in this land other than silence, prisons and graves.

Remembering is prohibited.

There are customs regulations for words, cemeteries for words.

Squads of prisoners are sent out at night to cover with white paint the words of protest which in other times covered the walls of the city.

The rain's persistent washing begins to dissolve the white paint. And there appear, gradually, the stubborn words.

(Translated by William Rowe.)

## Whipping again

(Continued from page 4)

is considered so fundamental that it can be altered only by a two thirds majority plus a referendum. According to CRM the "escape clause" in the Constitution preserving existing laws and punishments cannot affect the question as the "cat", having been abolished by the Administration of Justice Law of 1973, is not a "form of punishment recognized by any existing written law".

The CRM statement further criticises corporal punishment as barbaric and degrading to both the victim and the perpetrator; as unacceptable to any enlightened society; as incompatible with modern theories of treatment of offenders; as contrary to numerous Declarations and Resolutions of the United Nations; as in derogation of Sri Lanka's international obligations, as forbidden by the Geneva Conventions; and as having been held illegal by the courts of the U. S. A. and most recently by the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg.



# Towards a new Depression ?

**D**isjuncture and disequilibria inhere in the very structures of a market economy. The contest between the increasingly social (or collective) nature of the productive progress and the private nature of appropriation of the fruits of this very process, is a basic dichotomy which characterizes these structures. The consequent gap between productive capacity and purchasing power; increasing concentration of wealth resulting in sharp social polarization are further antinomies contained within market economies.

The very existence of these dichotomies generate structural disequilibria. Crisis is thus intrinsic to the capitalist system. Crises of "over-production" are the most frequent. Thus overproduction does not imply that the needs of the people have been wholly satisfied and there now exists a glut of goods over and above those needs. Rather it means that the system produces goods that the mass of consumers simply cannot afford to purchase. Production then becomes unprofitable and there exists a surplus of unsold goods. At this point entrepreneurs reduce output and sometimes even destroy goods. They also depress wage levels. However this in turn further impoverishes the people and renders them even more unable to buy the goods they need, thus shrinking the market available for the absorption of goods produced. Quite clearly, it is a vicious circle.

The history of global capitalism reveals the following approximate periods of grave crisis: 1840 - 1850, 1870 - 1890, 1914-1948 and 1967 onwards. In this century it is the three and a half decades from 1914 to 1949 that witnessed grave instability within the capitalist system. Two world wars; revolutions in both the world's largest as well as the world's most populous countries, leading to the emergence of a socialist camp; the breakup of the colonial system — all this

added up to major and irrevocable losses for world capitalism. These phenomena of wars and revolutions were both consequence and cause of the profound crisis gripping the economic substructures of the western world during this period. The 1950's and first half on the '60's saw an upswing in fortunes of world capitalism. This was a time of the 'Affluent Society' (Galbraith) and the 'End of Ideology' (Daniel Bell). These and other such myths began to crumble with the end of the long boom. The downswing set in by the mid-sixties, slipped into a severe recession around 1973 and still shows no signs of "bottoming up". In fact, everything points to a new Depression — but more of that later.

How and why did the long boom come to an end? The fundamental contradictions inherent in market economies are greatly magnified in the era of monopoly capital, that is, the age of imperialism compounding this fundamental feature were certain trends in postwar world capitalism which contributed to the onset, in the mid-sixties, of the current recession. While World War II ended with the emergence of a socialist bloc, the post-war period saw the Vietnamese, Chinese and Cuban peoples moving decisively out of the imperialist orbit. This sharp shrinkage of global capitalism accentuated the endogenous contradictions of the system while simultaneously lessening its capacity to dissipate, absorb, or transfer the structural tensions stemming from these contradictions.

Furthermore, the very strategy embarked upon by the U. S. A. to "contain Communism" carried the seeds of the subsequent recession. The rapid regeneration of Western European (especially West Germany) and Japanese capitalism under U. S. auspices proved temporarily successful in the context

of the cold-war. But when the trade, tariff, and currency 'wars' broke out in the late '60's and early '70's it became clear that the U. S. had created, or at last resurrected, two Frankenstein monsters who have now proceeded to undermine American hegemony within the global capitalist hierarchy, thereby unleashing centrifugal tendencies throughout the entire western world economy.

The U. S. attempt to play global policeman and impose a 'Pax Americana' throughout the entire 'Third World' resulted in expenditure of truly gargantuan proportions. Large scale 'aid' programs and massive military assistance to instal and prop up a welter of unpopular rightist despots throughout the 'Third World' proved a huge financial drain on the U. S. While the maintenance of a permanent 'arms economy' had helped, in Keynesian fashion, to temporarily stabilize the U. S. economy, its profound disbenefits asserted themselves in the long run. The Vietnam war which like the Korean, helped buoy the American economy in its initial stages, finally proved to be a tremendous drain on the U. S. Thus what had acted as a temporary brake on the inevitable downswing of world capitalism subsequently proved to be a factor which accelerated and intensified the downward spiralling process.

While inflation is present in some degree in any economy that uses money, it is a permanent and endogenous feature of capitalism in general and monopoly capitalism in particular. This apart, we have seen how U. S. involvement in Indo-China, the Middle-East and other parts of the 'Third World' fuelled inflation. The Keynesian formula of artificially stimulating demand through state intervention in the productive process lost its usefulness and became dysfunctional. In the context Key-

nesianism took the form of state contracts to the military and aero-space sectors which then expanded with the utmost rapidity and assumed enormous proportion within the American economy. Soon a strong demand emerged from the very sector, which was not matched by the availability of consumer goods. This therefore was yet another source of the high inflation which hit the U. S., signalling the end of the upswing. The uneven development of capitalism which manifested itself in the regeneration of the Japanese and Western economies and their re-emergence as competitors of the U. S. also interpolated a new factor into the internecine conflict within the world capitalist economy. This latest manifestation of the law of uneven and spasmodic development was none other than the emergence in 1973 of the powerful OPEC grouping engaged in economic contention and collusion with the metropolitan centres. While the oil price hikers piled up the profits of the transnational oil companies, (mostly U. S. based), it simultaneously speeded up inflation and introduced further instability into the system as a whole. The recession buried the faithful Keynes, who had served world capitalism so well for so long. Though it was really the entry into World War II that pulled the U. S. out of the great Depression, the Keynesian model of state intervention was used to 'trade-off' unemployment for inflation (and vice versa) and keep the system going. The '70's however saw a combination of high unemployed and inflation coupled with falling levels of production. It is this phenomena of slow growth or virtual stagnation, together with high inflation which was dubbed 'stagnation' by western economists.

So far, the Western world's strategy for recovering from this most serious of economic crises since the Depression, has proved a failure. The U. S. economy has been unable to play its assigned role as the 'engine' of recovery. Furthermore, though the TRILATERAL COMMISSION has achieved a degree of co-ordination among the USA, Western Europe and Japan on many political, economic and strategic issues and succeeded in articulating a fairly unified strategy combining both co-option and confrontation vis-a-vis the Third World, it has not appreciably reduced the trade and monetary competition among these three metropolitan centres. This competition is further weakening the U. S. economy and, complains the US, the Western economic system as a whole.

Far from showing signs of recovery, all the key economic indices exhibit trends which have led prominent Western economists to pose the question: Is the capitalist world economy heading for a new Depression? In a rare display of accord, scholars and commentators across the ideological spectrum are beginning to agree that the answer is 'yes'.

(Next: Unemployment)

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## Which way for the Left?

Vasudeva Nanayakkara was a member of Parliament and President of the Samasamaja Youth Leagues when he was taken into custody and held for one year during the 1971 insurrection. Expelled from the LSSP in 1977 he has become the rallying point of the radical Samasamajists who formed the second Lanka Sama Samaja Party last December. In an interview with the *Lanka Guardian*, Vasudeva Nanayakkara discussed the issues facing the Left movement.

*Q. Would you say that the left movement has been dealt a mortal blow at the last elections?*

**A.** In outward appearance the Left in Sri Lanka is a defeated force without a single seat in parliament and splintered into several factions. Ordinary political commentators contend that a substantial recovery-time is needed before it can become a viable national force and a credible political alternative again. Yet this outward appearance is superficial, misleading and incorrect.

Because, in the real balance of power between the social classes and in relation to the unresolved confrontation still smouldering in the substratum of the social body, the political power of the working class and the other radicalised sections of the population is far from defeated. The left, in this sense, has suffered no decisive defeat; the organised power of the working class is still intact and it is this very question that occupies the centre of the political stage.

*Q. To what do you attribute the electoral defeat?*

**A.** Undoubtedly, one and a half decades of coalition politics caused the set-back and collapse of the established leadership.

*Q. How do you view the post election scene?*

**A.** It is a society torn assunder by deep capitalist crisis where the bourgeoisie is losing its relative independence and becoming a slave of international finance capital.

*Q. You do not have much faith in the policies of the present Government...*

**A.** There is no escape as JR's UNP government is finding to its bitter chagrin. Maynard Keynes has already ceased to be a hope, while Milton Friedman has been transformed from saviour to fiend. The fate of Chile, Indonesia and Brazil so clearly tell the story. In truth JR, Premadasa and the other bourgeois leaders are bankrupt in the face of the questions of national development.

*Q. What then do you see as the urgent reforms that Sri Lanka needs today?*

**A.** The process of national generation can be achieved only by carrying through certain essential national-democratic tasks. First, we must break the stanglehold of imperialism and grasp the ability to industrialise and trade freely. Second, we must carry out the agrarian revolution, thus making possible the intensive use of land and labour. Third, the discrimination and repression of racial, religious and caste minorities, particularly that of the Tamil-speaking people, must be ended and the true basis of national unification laid. Fourth real peoples-democratic participation achieved by a revolutionary transformation of the state, the constitution and the educational structure. This is what the revolution means when it is spelt out, and only a revolutionary government led by the working class can measure up to these tasks.

*Q. To what do you attribute the present timidity of the Left movement?*

In opposition to the UNP government and distinct from the SLFP and the United Left, Front, a new Left movement has sprung up. It consists primarily of Anti-Soviet groups, Yapa's *Peradiga Salu Sulang*, Castro Dharmasekera's Maoist group, Sanmugathasan's Albanian group, Nanda Ellawala's PDP etc. Vasudeva Nanayakkara's LSSP whilst being part of the New Left, advances a different, internationalist position.

At a public lecture held in Colombo last month Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, the General Secretary outlined their position. It dissociates them from the Anti-Sovietism of both the Maoist groups and the old LSSP and advances the slogan: unconditionally defend the workers' states. The Yama LSSP supports anti-imperialist regimes such as Burma, Syria and Algeria and is prepared to work in a united front with Peking and Moscow wing parties.

*They thus become the only group advocating a broad Left front. As followers of Leon Trotsky they however campaign for a political revolution in the Soviet Union and China, in order to overthrow the bureaucracy in power.*

**A.** The working class is undefeated but admittedly it is momentarily confused, demoralised and leaderless.

*Q. How do you view the two major contenders for leadership of the Left, the United Left Front and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna?*

**A.** Of the available alternatives the old leadership, the so-called ULF, has sunk to the position of polite opposition cum loyal prop to JR's conventional Social Democracy. Witness the Eppawala comedy in mid-air. The other alternative is the petty-bourgeois radicalism of the JVP, an admixture of ultra-leftism, a lack of faith in the working class and organisational Blanquism which in the end is the same thing, and an isolation from the concrete and living transitional struggles of the present conjuncture.

*Q. What is the alternative offered by your party?*



A. The revolutionary trend represented by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party with its new leadership is the only real alternative. The government's policies are creating widespread discontent and explosive confrontations with the masses are on their way. The government will be pushed towards naked Bonapartist dictatorship and the undermining of democracy. The new constitution is a step in this direction. The semi-official use of thuggery on university students and Bank strikers indicates the development of a fascist trend inside the UNP as well. Under these circumstances it is vitally important to bring together all the forces of the Left and the working class and move forward on a programme of concrete action to overpower the UNP's dictatorial intentions and harsh economic policies.

Such a United Front tactic can capture the leadership of the mass movement and move towards a mighty hartal combining a general strike with struggles of all the other oppressed sections of society. A mass movement to throw out the UNP is developing rapidly and spontaneously among the people but it has to be led and co-ordinated towards a genuine workers and peasants government. It is in this light that the building of the LSSP as a revolutionary party assumes its clearest purpose.

*Q. What is your attitude to the demand advanced by the TULF for a separate state called Eelam?*

A. We stand for the right of self-determination for minority nationalities. We shall always stand by this right and fight to defend it.

While recognising the TULF as a national democratic movement, we characterise its leadership as being reactionary.

Now. Whether we accept the demand for a separate state as our slogan depends on the concrete situation — that is the Marxist-Leninist position. It depends on whether it helps the struggle of the working class in the north and south to move forward to capture state power. We do not think that at this juncture in history

## Press opinion



### The acting President

**T**he President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, leaves tomorrow for India and Nepal. A question now being asked in political circles is whether the constitutional provision stipulating the appointment of an acting President will be observed. The constitution provides for the appointment as well as the non-appointment of an acting President. The constitution also clearly provides for the appointment of the Prime Minister to act in the President's absence. Yet the fact that this is not being followed tends to cause certain doubts and lower the estimation of the Prime Minister in the eyes of his colleagues and that of the people. We are opposed to Mr. Premadasa on purely political grounds and not on his qualifications or his ability. The slight that he has been subject to we regard as something undeserved.



### Who is ruining the economy?

**I**t has been announced that the government has decided to ban strikes in the public sector which owns two thirds of the country's economy. The President, as well as responsible Cabinet Ministers,

a separate state will benefit the working class struggle. Because we think it is detrimental to the class right now, we do not agree with the slogan nor do we advocate it in our programme. In the final analysis however the decision of secession should be left to the Tamil people themselves. ●

have said that the youth of the country has not voted the UNP into power to allow strikes to be called by either the LSSP or the CP. If as is being said the state owns two thirds of the country's economy the workers have a right to ask what steps have been taken to protect this sector. Far from protecting the public sector the steps that have been taken so far have been towards fattening the private sector and slow strangulation of the public sector. It is clear that the two-thirds ownership spoken of belongs to a handful of mudalalis.



### Vidyalaankara fun

**T**he President of the Vidyalaankara Campus has introduced a strange regulation on inviting political leaders to address students. A closer inspection reveals how low the status of universities has fallen under the UNP. The biggest joke is that the directive issued by the Campus President lays down that the Campus President will decide what questions the students should or should not ask from visiting lecturer politicians. This restricts the raising of certain types of questions. No doubt, there are difficult questions. For instance, why was a butcher chosen to hand to the leader the silver plough used at the Wap Magul ceremony? Or, how much was the commission on the Trincomalee flour mill? And why was the Presidential award given to Manikka Aratchie? It is difficult, no doubt, to answer these questions. But students should have the right to ask?

## JVP after 'self - criticism'

The first signs of Wijeweera's conversion to Trotskyism were not long in coming. In his 1973 speech to the CJC, Wijeweera espoused the theory of Permanent Revolution, and also said that his hitherto held view of Trotskyism as an objectively counter-revolutionary ideology was wrong. 1974 saw a message of felicitation and thanks signed by the JVP leader and two others, reach the Unified Secretariat of the 4th International in Paris. Far more substantive and conclusive indicators were the two lengthy articles written by Wijeweera on the world communist movement, entitled "Whither China?" and "Proletarian Internationalism or Opportunism?", both of which went far beyond a necessary and entirely justifiable criticism of China's foreign policy, to an impeccably Trotskyite analysis of Chinese society, the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist party. Though these articles were circulated internally (within the jails), by 1976 revolutionary circles throughout the country were well aware of Rohana Wijeweera's conversion to, or adoption by, Trotskyism.

All this was fully confirmed when the JVP was legalized and began functioning openly once more early last year. Regis Debray, when he was still a revolutionary Marxist, once said somewhere that two minutes conversation with anyone would suffice to reveal the Trotskyite in him. The same rule of thumb applies to the JVP's public speeches and multifarious publications, ranging from its self-criticism (which, is more 'self' than 'criticism') to the issues of its party organ 'Niyamuva' (Helmsman), and other booklets. The drearily familiar litany delivered in the customary shrill monotony is omnipresent:—

The very historical validity of the concepts of the two stage revolution and its colonial application

the New Democratic or People's National Democratic Revolution, once accepted by the JVP itself, is denied, and the concepts are characterised as 'Menshevik-Maoist' or "petty bourgeois." The existence anywhere at any time at all of a progressive section of the national bourgeoisie in the colonies is also denied and 'the possibility of an alliance with that section within a multiclass bloc is denounced as 'Menshevik class collaborationism'. Any idea whatever of an anti-imperialist United or anti Fascist Popular Front is rejected as 'bankrupt Menshevism emanating from the 7th Comintern Congress in 1935'. Needless to add, the possibility of building socialism in one country is most emphatically negated. Stalinism is defined as 'post Lenin Menshevism, while Maoism is mercilessly excoriated as being a 'bourgeois (sic) ... Menshevik... Counter revolutionary trend within the world proletarian movement. Most regimes are characterised as 'Bonapartist' thus abandoning Engels exception in favour of Trotsky's rule and misinterpreting the phenomenon of neofascism in the periphery. The 5th Comintern Congress of 1924 and the 6th Congress of 1928 are seen as 'betrayals of proletarian internationalism in favour of national socialism', the 'substitution of Menshevism in place of Leninism,' and the very fount of modern revisionism. On the other hand, the 20th and 21st Congress of the CPSU under Khrushchev are seen as having 'positive features'. All of these statements are derived from the party organ 'Niyamuva' and the 'Self Criticism'. The booklet the JVP issued in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia as well as other publications including Mr. Wijeweera's 'Proletarian Internationalism or Opportunism' which recently made its public appearance, characterised the USSR, China and other socialist countries

including Albania, as 'degenerated workers states ruled by a bureaucratic strata' and are said to be in dire need of a 'political revolution'. The acknowledgement that Cuba is a socialist state (as opposed to a 'degenerated workers state') is the sole, if welcome concession to reality and is entirely due to the impact and tremendous prestige of this communist party.

The error of omission is an glaringly evident as that of commission. There is no criticism of Trotskyism, in sharp contradistinction to the uninterrupted broadside against Stalinism and Maoism. A vituperative 3 part attack on the Lanka Sama Samaja Party published in 'Niyamuva' makes absolutely no mention at all of its Trotskyite past! There is however a vaguely formulated but vigorously proclaimed assertion that the JVP is 'Leninist' and 'non-Trotskyite'. When pressed, upper echelon JVP-ers state in private that they differ from Trotsky on the questions of (a) the structure of the revolutionary party (b) the method of armed struggle, and (c) the peasantry, but remain silent when reminded that (a) Trotsky himself later accepted the Leninist conception of the party (b) it is theoretically impossible for once to implicitly accept the thesis of permanent revolution and reject the twin concepts of 2 state revolution-socialism in one country, while simultaneously rejecting the Trotskyite view of the peasantry's role and potential in the democratic revolution. In any event these 'criticisms' and deviations are well within the orbit of the Earnest Mandel Wing's fashionable neo-Trotskyism. The key Trotskyist theses on the Permanent Revolution, Socialism in one country etc are accepted and proportioned by the JVP — without due acknowledgement to Trotsky however.

Until recently the adjective 'Trotskyite' had been used to describe the JVP by the Stalinist and Maoist groups in the revolutionary Left. But of late,

impeccably Trotskyite voices themselves have joined the chorus. T. Andradi, a bright young theoretician and polemicist of Mr. Edmund Samarakkody's group which is affiliated to the Spartacist League faction of the world Trotskyite movement, has openly called upon the JVP to take a public stand on Trotskyism and the Fourth International. In a widely read polemical pamphlet entitled 'Some questions for the JVP to answer', Mr. Andradi challenged the JVP leadership to prove that the main planks of their new theoretical platform are not directly appropriated from that of the late Comrade Leon Trotsky. Mr. Wijeweera will be hard put to pick up that particular gauntlet...

Another important fact remains to be mentioned. The JVP which exists today, is in actuality, merely the Wijeweera faction of the original party. While a considerable section of the old cadres have simply quit politics, and yet another segment has joined openly bourgeois UNP/SLFP or the reformist-revisionist parties, the vast majority of ex JVP-ers still within the revolutionary fold are anti-Wijeweera while only 3 of the 41 who appeared before the first Criminal Justice Commission trial remain with the official JVP today. Most of the old Politburo members, District organizers and the militants who saw armed action in 1971 (including those who were on the run for years, with munificent bounties on their head) have irrevocably broken with their former 'jefe maximo' and quite a few of them are presently grouped in a loose organisation known as the 'Janatha Sangamaya' (Peoples League). The original rupture occurred owing to Wijeweera's conduct at the trial where they alleged that he attempted to 'pass the buck' to his lieutenants. The gap thus created, widened over the Wijeweera faction's refusal to engage in a genuine self-criticism of the movement's past policies and practice including the 1971 insurrection. Instead of any such self-criticism, the pro-Wijeweera group, then in a majority within the prison camps, are said to have indulged in physical intimidation against their critics.

By 1976 however the debate reached the plane of ideology with the anti-Wijeweera faction, combatting their erstwhile leader's neo-Trotskyite line. The historical validity of basic Marxist-Leninist concepts such as the Two-Stage Revolution and 'Socialism in one country' were the hub of the debate, and a positive spin-off effect of this debate was that both factions were motivated to read and translate basic texts of Marxism-Leninism, the latter being a task criminally neglected by the Anglicized leadership of the old Left in their 40 years of existence. As an ex-JVPer who took an active part in the 1971 uprising, spent a year on the run in the jungle, languished 3 years in jail after capture (and was also tortured 3 times during that period) said: "After several years of parroting vulgar quasi-Marxist clichés as a fulltime cadre, it was only in jail that I first read 'The Communist Manifesto' and understood the meaning of the term 'proletariat'. It was then that I realized that the JVP was far from being a proletarian movement, and recognised this as the very fount of all our errors." There is no evidence however, that any really independent, creative in-depth analysis of local and global phenomena, took place within the jails—which is a great pity indeed.

Though most ex JVPer's such as this comrade are basically oriented towards the newly formed Peoples League, it does not, in the final analysis, provide a genuine alternative since they too operate within a false problem i.e. that of Maoism. The polarisation of the JVP into the 'pro' and 'anti' Wijeweera wings thus roughly corresponds to its polarisation along the lines of Trotskyism-Maoism. The sterile metaphysics of the former and the (rabidly

anti-Soviet and Sino-centric) outdated simplifications of the latter, leave a gigantic void to be filled in the ranks of Sri Lanka's revolutionary Left. Many young militants seem to think that this void can be filled only by a political line which carries forward the positive aspect of the pre-1971 JVP, (i.e. its embryonic understanding concerning the present phase of the Sri Lankan revolution and the changed role of the national bourgeoisie in the contemporary neocolonial context), structures itself very firmly on the working class and poor peasantry (rather than the petty bourgeoisie youth) while adopting a mature, realistic, yet independent position vis-a-vis the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement. Only a conceptual approach which takes as its point of departure the orthodox and rigorous theoretical tradition of the Comintern and Cominform, while also critically assimilating the insights provided by the development of 'neo-Marxists' analysis in the past 25 years (especially in the field of Political Economy) will enable Sri Lankan revolutionaries to avoid all right and 'left' petit bourgeois deviations and formulate such a correct political line which can grapple with the real problematic of anti-imperialist, anti fascist and anti-capitalist revolution in the context of an underdeveloped dependent capitalist reality which dominates a peripheral socio-economic formation.

(Reproduced from the 'Economic and Political Weekly of India'. The first part of this article appeared in the Lanka Guardian of October 15).



# Trade unions today

by H. A. Seneviratne

(Attorney-at-law. Till recently  
Assistant Secretary, CMU)

**T**he inability of the existing leadership of the organised working class to lead the rank and file into action in the current situation was revealed by the "postponement" of the proposed token general strike of September 28, 1978. It was indeed a pathetic display of desperation, miscalculation and helplessness on the part of the present leadership of the working class. It has resulted in the government taking the upper hand against the rights of the working class itself.

The government did betray sign of fear of the working class trying to assert itself despite its decadent leadership. That is why the government declared that every worker who did not report for work on September 28 will be deemed to have vacated his post. The lack of interest among the working class in the strike was quite obvious from the time the strike decision was announced by the Joint Council of Trade Unions Action Committee. But still the government was afraid. It announced that the proposed action was a political strike and that political strikes will not be tolerated. It said that politicians should not dabble in trade union work. But at the same time it was trying hard to strengthen its own trade union—the Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya!

The psychological warfare conducted by the government—as the commentator of this journal said in its October 1st issue—will in itself be a training for the working class for its future struggles. Marx himself (together with Engels) said that "The bourgeoisie itself ..... supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie."

(Manifesto of the Communist Party)

But as things stand in Sri Lanka today, it is almost certain that there will be a pretty long lull before any real working class struggle takes place. September 28, 1978 marks the end of a declining era of militant trade union activity in this country. It also marks the complete recession of one wave of trade union struggles before the next wave begins.

As to how long it will take for the next wave to emerge will depend on the capacity of the Ceylonese working class to assimilate the old experience and learn to face the new and dangerous situation with a new and genuinely committed leadership. In short, the struggle between the old and the new, a struggle that is emerging in all spheres—economic, political, social and cultural—is going to take place in the field of trade unionism as well. Since trade unionism is connected with politics, and since it is going to be particularly so in the future (due to the fact that the working class will have to fight the political decisions of the government to place more and more burdens on them and the rest of the down-trodden masses), this struggle will be a political struggle too.

It is obvious that this struggle has to take place in a period of defeat for and betrayal of the working class, thanks to its leaders. The onslaught of the government on the rights and living standards of the working class in particular, and the masses in general, will be all the more severe precisely because of this fact. The old trade union and political leaders of the so-called left can never face up to this situation and muster the forces of the working class for an all-out struggle against these attacks. Therefore, the struggle for the birth of a new leadership will be a life and death struggle for the working class.

Our working class never had a leadership that understood them. It had a few "elitist" leaders who used them for their own ends and, of course, some henchmen who blindly followed these leaders. Now the working class has complete distrust in these leaders and henchmen. Dialectically speaking, this distrust is a mutual one! The "elitist" leaders who came from the English educated middle or upper-middle class without any proper roots in this country, or in any country for that matter, could never have understood our working class. This fact becomes obvious when one considers the complete bureaucratic control these leaders exercised over their members and the venomous distrust with which they looked upon even an incipient formation of a new leadership. They tried and succeeded for many years, through their bureaucratic apparatus, to become "indispensable" to the working class.

Precisely because these decadent leaders had not helped to build an intelligent and tested working class leadership, the working class cannot just push them aside in a hurry, however much they have become a brake on the working class movement. But the working class cannot keep them for long either, without jeopardising its own position. These leaders will, however, try to hang on to the bitter end, for they know that they cannot otherwise enjoy their privileged positions or try to enhance their privileged positions by sell-outs and betrayals.

Sri Lanka has a rather disgraceful history of the working class being betrayed by its leaders. The late A. E. Goonasinghe, one of the earlier leaders of the labour movement, joined the UNP government in 1947. The late Philip Gunawardena, a professed Marxist, unlike Goonasinghe, joined the M. E. P. government led by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1965. Then he joined the U.N.P. government led by Dudley Senanayake in 1964, the professed Marxist leaders of the L. S. S. P.—the N. M. Pereras—joined the S. L. F. P. government led by Siri-

mavo Bandaranaike (having broken the United Left Front of the L. S. S. P, the M. E. P. of Philip Gunawardena, and the C. P.) In 1970 the L. S. S. P leaders along with the C. P leaders like Pieter Keuneman, joined the United Front government led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike and became notorious for their heinous role in the mass murder of youths in the 1971 insurrection and the breaking of strikes such as the Bank Strike. There were one or two lesser leaders who did not follow the class collaborationist line of the L.S.S.P. and the C. P. But these were even worse than the others in respect of their bureaucratic methods and internecine warfare.

By collaborating with bourgeois governments, political leaders who were also in control of the major sections of the organised working class of this country, paved the way for workers themselves not only to collaborate but also to become members of trade unions set up by the two bourgeois parties that come to power from time to time. This was particularly so in state corporations and government departments where direct pressure of governments was most felt. Thus when the S. L. F. P was in power the membership of the SLFP-controlled unions swelled and it was so when the U. N. P was in power. There is also a large number of employees who are not members of any union. The fact that the number of such employees is considerable and is increasing does not mean that they have no problems as workers. It means that they have no faith in trade unions as they function today.

In this situation, the government's direct attacks on the living standards of the masses and the attack, both subtle and direct, on democratic rights will continue

with greater intensity. This will pose a challenge to the existing political and trade union leaders. They have realised that if nothing is done in time they are doomed. But the fact is that they cannot do anything. This is due mainly to their own treachery.

In August 1953, when the U.N.P. government increased the price of the measure of rice and cut several other subsidies, the working class reacted sharply with the famous hartal, which went beyond the limits laid down by these leaders. Under worse conditions the working class appears to be dormant today. In 1953 the treacherous intent and the incapacity of the leaders was yet unexposed. The token general strike of February 20, 1976 and the railway and government service strike of December 1977 took place on limited demands and towards the end of the last government's term of office. These strikes took place in spite of the leaders. In fact they were symptoms that the leaders had become a brake and not a lever of working class struggles. The working class is not prepared any longer to move decisively until this dead weight is removed. In any case, even if the working class is pushed, towards a show down in the future, due to fast declining living standards, their decadent leaders will be thrown overboard and a process of trial and error will commence with the simultaneous development of a new left political propellant of the working class.

The "postponed" token general strike of September 28, 1978 appears to be the beginning of this process.

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# The idea of a University

**B**eginning with Cardinal Newman's classic, a whole host of books have been written on what constitutes a University. But for all the awareness of their existence that our educationists and would be reformers of University education manifest, they might have been written in the Linear B. form of the Minoan script. These volumes not only record the change that the concept of university had undergone through out the centuries, but also reveal the remarkable fact that the ideals that universities strive to achieve have survived the clerical and monarchical interference in the medieval ages and the far greater threat posed by the technological explosion and economic pressures of modern times which seek to make the satisfaction of manpower needs of a technological society, the primary, if not the sole-aim of a university.

At this stage of the temper of our country, when the state is pre-occupied, almost to the point of obsession, with economic development through "re-allocation of all resources," heedless of social consequences, nothing could be more futile than to attempt to spell out what the ideals which guide a university are in such abstract terms, like "academic freedom, disinterested scholarship, pursuit of knowledge for its own sake or the unending quest by the spirit and mind of man". What I propose to do therefore, is to examine in some detail, how the traditional concept of a university has not only been preserved in the most technologically-oriented cultures like those of the United Kingdom and the United States, despite the attack on it on several fronts, but has led to an expansion of universities with a greater emphasis on these self same ideals.

It is well known that the universities of Great Britain contri-

buted in no small measure, towards the successful completion of the 2nd World War. A natural consequence of this was that both Industries and Business came to look to universities for the supply of highly trained, technically equipped intelligent young men. The country needed an army of such men, if it was to cope with the technological explosion and survive as an industrialized nation in a rapidly changing world. Captains of Industry and Businessmen were ready to invest in universities, provided they dealt with practical problems of a technological society; - the country it was asserted, could not afford the luxury of 'disinterested scholarship.'

On the other hand, this changed attitude of universities brought about by the pressure of events, has been held to be the underlying reason for the student malaise of the sixties, particularly in the States. Report of "the study commission on University Governance" (1968) issued from Berkeley has pinpointed this fact and has some trenchant remarks on the degeneration of universities during the period when the republic was bogged down in the quagmire of Vietnam. "Faced with this crisis, many students express intense dissatisfaction with the university since it provides much of the knowledge and most of trained personnel required by the technological and scientific society... Such discontent with the university's atmosphere reproduces the characteristics of the society... The acquisition of specialized skills has often been substituted for the education of persons, instead of supplementing it. Some of the most marvellous expressions of human dignity—activities of learning, inquiring and sharing which are brought together in education—are being dehumanized. "Instruction tends to usurp the place of

inquiry; specialized training gradually commences at even earlier stages of education... the result is that instead of the warmth and cordiality, which are natural accompaniments of learning, relationships tend to be remote, fugitive and vaguely sullen"

While Technological training is essential for the development of a country, higher education implies a great deal more than such training and a university more than a collection of professional schools. Educationists in England sought to resolve the dilemmas in a way that is characteristically English. While they created a network of Poly-technics and higher Technological institutes with powers to grant degrees a group of a new liberal arts and sciences universities came into being in the sixties, after a decade of planning and building. They were set in a rural environment away from Industrial towns.

The assumption underlying the concept of these new universities is that if you are going to produce educated men they must have been initiated into the whole complex of cultural traditions, learning sub-consciously a whole hierarchy of value-judgements. The problem that exercises the minds of vice-chancellors and presidents is how to present to the young student a panoramic view of mankind's vast intellectual heritage so that he may find his bearings in the exciting world of learning and participate, as far as his abilities permit, in the adventure of ideas. Disciplines, where the process of learning itself brings its own reward and mental satisfaction, form the foundation of such education. The foundation course of Keele university will perhaps give the reader some idea of what educationists, who can resist pressures, political or economic consider as the essential basis on which a



university education must be reared. It consists of (a) the main thread in which the general development of the earth and of human progress is traced from the emergence of life through the ancient civilization to the present day. (b) A discursive treatment with specific lectures on particular problems and developments bearing on the rights and duties of man (c) periodic lectures on recurrent topics — philosophical questions, idea of nature, the creative arts, social changes (d) Discussion groups on the main lecture course — humanities, social sciences and natural science.

This same humanistic approach in curriculum and method is the dominant feature of practically all the new campuses opened by the existing universities in the U.S.A. Although some of the older universities came to be overshadowed by its professional schools, most of them are guided by the traditional ideals and values. The prestigious Princeton University, for instance, "has no professional schools for utilitarian ends except for its school of Engineering and possibly the school of Architecture. It has been clearly laid down that it should uphold pure learning and in devoting itself to liberal aspects of those studies which underlie and broaden professional and technical education"

These concrete instances should give body and substance to the abstract notions which, earlier I was reluctant to spell out — pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, disinterested scholarship etc. It is these that mark out a university as a unique institution distinct from a congeries of professional schools. We need doctors to man our hospitals and engineers to build bridges and dams but a democracy needs another type of men as its administrators, teachers, journalists, poets and writers so that they may raise the cultural and educational levels of a nation as a whole. Such men are the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump.

The curriculum alone of a university, however well conceived is of little avail, for it is only one aspect of higher education that is intended to be liberalizing in its effect. Such education must be imparted in a physical environment that is not only congenial but also relieves the mind of the stress and worries of every day living. A student may be gifted but if his mind is weighed down by the consciousness of the sacrifice that his parents are called upon to make in order to maintain him in the university, he cannot hope to meet adequately the intellectual challenge that a university offers.

It must not however, be thought that the sole purpose of residence in a university is to provide subsidized board and lodging to needy students. Residence is an integral part of university. The community of interest it generates, the communal life it fosters, the opportunities it provides for the eradication of age-long tribal prejudices, contribute in no small degree to the education of students from among whom society will choose its future leaders in diverse fields. A detailed sociological inquiry into residence in higher education was undertaken in 1971 by Joan Brothers and Stephen Hatch. Their report is extensively quoted with approval by writers on higher education. I have but space here for one relevant paragraph only.

"In other words, residence is a tool of higher education. It is particularly useful for humanizing the system; for making large institutions feel small enough for the individual to feel identified with them and capable of participating and for widening the scope of higher education. It may indeed be the case that it is the most useful instrument for the purposes".

But residential universities can and do mirror the mood of the society as a whole, particularly in times of social and economic upheaval. The violence that erupted in the universities of the U.S.A. has already been alluded to. When

(Continued on page 20)

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## Sorry, please

That is what Mr. Fowzie, the former Mayor of Colombo, is reported to have scrawled on a memorandum from the Municipal Commissioner recommending some course of action which the Mayor did not favour. The two words 'sorry' and 'please', if amusing used in this context, are remarkable as being virtually unused by the Great Bureaucracy in dealing with members of the public. In fact, being a bureaucrat is never having to say you're sorry. Consider the following 'Notice to the Public' put out by the Distribution Manager of the State Distilleries Corporation:

'Due to the unsatisfactory supply of bottles this Corporation is short of bottles and it has been decided to call for replacements with immediate effect for higher priced varieties of arrack such as Old Seeduwa, Very Special Old Arrack (VSOA), Doubled Distilled Arrack and any other varieties which have been sold hitherto without calling for replacements. Renters and Foreign Liquor licencees will also be requested to surrender empties when they purchase the above varieties.'

The SDC has an unexpected shortage of bottles; it is not the fault of its customers but rather of the management of the Corporation itself. But is the Corporation apologetic about it? Not at all. The Distribution Manager merely decrees that customers will, in future, surrender empties take it or leave it. Just consider what a private sector business having similar bad news for its customers would have done. Its notice to its customers would: 1. Clearly explain how the trouble arose and say how long it is likely to last; 2. give an assurance that every effort would be made to remedy the situation as soon as possible; and 3. apologise to its customers for the inconvenience caused. A private sector distribution manager

who addressed his firm's customers in the language used by the SDC would not keep his job long.

The public is so conditioned to boorishness by bureaucrats that most people do not even see anything objectionable in this kind of 'notice to the public' from a State Corporation whereas they jolly well would resent it from a private sector business. Where is that Ombudsman? And will rudeness to the public be one of his subjects?

### TIME like an ever-rolling stream of gunk

The obsessive preoccupation of *TIME* with British royals and aristos has often struck me as being near-cretinous but its recent gush of vomit about the engagement of a young British couple surpasses anything even *TIME* itself has perpetrated in this line before: 'Handsome, dashing, splendidly rich, Earl Gerald Cavendish Grosvenor, 26, will marry beautiful, high-born Natalie Phillips, 19, in the culmination of a story-book romance. Her mother is chummy with the Queen, and members of the royal family may well be among the 1000 guests at the wedding reception.' *TIME* has one full page devoted to this 'fairy-tale' romance and contrives to maintain this toe-curling ghastliness throughout. No self-respecting women's journal would dream of publishing such stuff.

### How's that again?

'...with pragmatism in policies success is reassured.'

(Harvey V. Weitzman in the 'Ceylon Daily News')

'Beknighted in 1968 Busby retired as the manager the following year.'

(John Roberts in the —'Guardian.'—)

'Once made, the point is not belaboured.'

(S. Schoenbaum in the 'Times Literary Supplement')

### Stop this now

A recent newspaper report said that the CID had arrested 3 'government servants' for remaining seated at a cinema while the national anthem was being played. I think it is deplorable that people should not stand to attention when the national anthem is played. If the anthem means nothing to them they should at least consider the feelings of the others among them. I also think it scandalous that every cinema should be allowed (required?) to play the national anthem at the beginning of every show sandwiched between the 'No smoking in the auditorium' notice and an advertisement for someone's toffee or the trailer of some bums-and-boobies girlie film. Flag-and-anthem fervour is a 'mood' thing and cannot be produced to order in unpropitious circumstances. But I consider it outrageous that the CID should arrest people for conduct which, however reprehensible it may be, it nevertheless not illegal. This could get out of hand. It is the legislature, not the cops, that should decide what does and what does not constitute an offence. What is offensive is not necessarily an offence.

### The idea...

(Continued from page 19)

a country is passing through an acute economic stress resulting in high unemployment, (particularly of the educated youth) and in social unrest and racial tensions, it would be preposterous to imagine that universities would not reflect the mood of the country—that the most intelligent youth of a generation who faces a bleak future will behave like a flock of well-fed sheep in a sheep fold. A state that condemns universities on that score stands self-condemned.

This brief essay on the idea of a university will serve as a preamble to and provide us with criteria for, a proper evaluation of "the university reforms" that are now being implemented. That task I propose to undertake in due course.

## Pre - planned performance

*"Performance, January - June 1978"*  
— published by the Ministry of  
Plan Implementation, August 1978.

The Ministry of Plan Implementation deserves to be congratulated on the promptness with which it has completed, printed and made available to the public the Report on performance in the Public Sector during the 1st and 2nd quarters of 1978. As rightly stressed by the Ministry, the timeliness of the publication is vital for achieving the laudable objectives of securing increased public awareness and enhancing the effectiveness of the delivery system designed for achievement of the development goals.

The publication abounds in examples which provide a veritable feast for those with an eye for figures. It is heartening to note that our battered economy is at last receiving a much needed face-lift.

The data relates to a wide range of activities and it will not be

possible to cover all areas in the course of a brief review of this nature. Since the most impressive figures are in respect of Public Sector Industry—and this has been a sector which has been under constant attack from every quarter in the past,—it is proposed to focus on the more notable examples in this section of the Report. The reasons for selecting the particular examples we highlight will be made explicit as we go along.

Pride of place has naturally to be given to the Cement Corporation whose Chairman has been receiving bouquets all the way and all the time for his heroic achievement of wiping out a perpetual deficit and producing a surplus including a margin for export, thus resuscitating an industry which, we have been told, was about to be closed down. We have also read glowing editorial tributes about the "Cement miracle" (we all know how Editors are never generous with praise although they are known

## How to turn debacles into miracles

for their ability to recognise a good figure when they see it!), and the Corporation has been held out as a shining example worthy of emulation by sister Corporations. The data in this report appear to support this conclusion. Let us cut the narrative short and let the facts speak for themselves (*res ipse loquitur*)

(See Table A)

The other example taken up for consideration is the performance ratings of the National Textile Corporation. Besides its general importance in terms of the essentiality of its products, this is a Corporation which has taken the lead in the attempt at what one might call a marriage of managerial talent in the public and private sectors by entrusting the management of its mills to Private Sector management agencies (with proven records of high performance ratings in the Plantation Industry!) Since the present report covers performance during a three-month period

TABLE A

Product	Mill	Unit	Capacity	Budget 1978	1st Quarter Production	2nd Quarter Production	Production as a % of target Jan - June
Cement	K. K. S.	Tons	275,000	220,000	48,437	52,590	82
"	Puttalam	"	440,000	243,000	94,287	55,386	129
"	Galle	"	100,000	36,000	12,046	17,962	167

TABLE B

Mill	Unit	Capacity	Budget 1978	1st Quarter Production	2nd Quarter Production	Production as a % of target Jan - June
Veyangoda:						
(i) Yarn	Mln. kg.	1.4	1.32	0.27	0.31	88
(ii) Cloth Woven	Mln. M	12.0	5.07	1.65	1.60	114
Thulhiriya:						
(i) Yarn	Mln. kg.	7.4	4.45	0.55	0.27	37
(ii) Cloth Woven	Mln. M	12.8	6.60	0.88	0.74	49
Pugoda:						
(i) Yarn	Mln. kg.	1.4	1.23	0.25	0.27	85
(ii) Cloth Woven	Mln. M	11.0	6.06	1.61	0.20	90
Mattegama:						
(i) Yarn	Mln. kg.	2.0	1.69	0.20	0.21	90



under the new matrimonial contract (the entirety of the honeymoon really!) no further justification is necessary for the inclusion of this example. Here then are the ratings we have been waiting for!).

(See Table B)

The performance ratings so far cited would suffice to convince anyone—except of course those who persistently refuse to see—that there is progress plain to see. Public Sector industry has at long last entered a trajectory of growth and should soon be linking up with other engines of growth which together will provide the required thrust for the take-off in final fulfilment of the hopes kindled by Rostow et al almost thirty years ago. The Central Bank which has always been critical of the performance of State Corporations will now have to eat their own words (serve them right) and pay tribute to the remarkable recovery under the new management and new package of policies including reliance on managerial exercise and experience from the Private Sector..... etc.

Notable as the results are by any standards, it is imperative

TABLE 1  
CEMENT PRODUCTION — CEYLON CEMENT CORPORATION  
(In tons)

Year	Plant	Capacity	Budget	Production	Production as percentage of target
1974	K.K.S.	270,000	252,000	186,326	73.9
	Puttalam	440,000	345,000	229,885	66.6
	Galle	100,000	75,000	48,947	66.6

TEXTILE & YARN PRODUCTION — NATIONAL TEXTILE CORPORATION

Year	Mill	Capacity	Budget	Production	Production as percentage of target
1976	Veyangoda:				
	(i) Yarn (M. kg.)	1.4	1.4	1.13	81
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs)				
	Woven	12.0	9.54	4.97	52
	Thulhiriya:				
	(i) Yarn (M. kg.)	7.4	4.78	2.60	54
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs)				
	Woven	12.8	9.01	3.47	39
	Pugoda:				
	(i) Yarn (M. kg.)	1.4	1.2	1.11	92
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs)				
	Woven	11.0	9.01	7.38	82

(Sources: Performance Reports of the Ministry of Plan Implementation and Annual Reports of the Cement Corporation)

TABLE 1  
CEMENT PRODUCTION — CEYLON CEMENT CORPORATION  
(In Tons)

Year	Mill	Capacity	Budget 1978	Production Jan - June '78	Production as % of target Jan - June '78	Budget '78 as % of capacity	Production as % of capacity Jan - June '78
1978	K. K. S.	270,000	220,000	101,027	92	80	73
	Puttalam	440,000	243,000	149,673	123	55	70
	Galle	100,000	36,000	30,008	167	36	60

TEXTILE & YARN PRODUCTION — NATIONAL TEXTILE CORPORATION

1978	Veyangoda:						
	(i) Yarn (M. kg)	1.4	1.32	0.58	88	94	83
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs) Woven	12.0	5.07	3.52	114	42	54
	Thulhiriya:						
	(i) Yarn (M. kg)	7.4	4.45	0.82	37	60	22
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs) Woven	12.8	6.60	1.62	49	51.5	25
	Pugoda:						
	(i) Yarn (M. kg)	1.4	1.23	0.52	85	88	74
	(ii) Cloth (M. mtrs) Woven	11.0	6.06	2.72	90	55	49

that we attempt to identify the main elements of the strategy underlying these unprecedented achievements. After examining several approaches it was found that the most appropriate methodology was to compare and contrast performance evaluation data relating to the phase immediately preceding the current phase of phenomenal growth. The data obtained from published sources are tabulated here in a comparable format:

( See Table I )

A close scrutiny of the data—taking figure for figure—clearly reveals the difference in the strategies adopted. It will be seen that the previous set of Co-operation bosses working apparently on the principle that “he who aims at the noonday sun shoots higher than he who aims at the bush” had set for themselves targets which were clearly beyond their reach. In sharp contrast the present bosses being down to earth and pragmatic had set realistic and less ambitious targets. The latter strategy had paid rich dividends in that it has enabled them not merely to reach the bushes but even vault over. The tentative conclusion to be drawn then is that the strategy appropriate to the present stage of our development is to accept the limitations of the delivery system, aim at the bush and end up in the heady atmosphere of heights never before reached!

In the same spirit of humility and the desire for constant refinement of the analytical tools required for performance evaluation displayed by the Ministry Secretary who has welcomed constructive criticisms, we would like to offer the following comments and suggestions: First and foremost it is necessary to check any tendency to get dazzled by figures attractive as they are and lapse into a state of ecstatic euphoria and complacency.

Secondly there is the greater danger that those who cannot resist the temptation to take a second look and those who may turn blue or red with envy, may attempt to use (or abuse) the same

data and work out two more vulgar fractions and interpolate the resultant percentages to produce a “deflationary effect”.

( See Table II )

Recognising, therefore, a need for eternal vigilance—at this stage of socialist re-construction within the frame-work of a mixed-up economy—against such mischief by remnants of the old order and other anti-social elements, bearing in mind the well established principle that in the artful display of vital statistics one should not reveal too much, and paying due

heed to the need to conform to the highest standards of statistification, we suggest that particulars regarding capacity be omitted in future to improve presentation.

The publication is priced at a new low of Rs. 15/- per copy which is a mere fraction of what it could fetch in the world market. Darell Huff would undoubtedly be willing to pay any price as this would be a ready source for all the specimens needed for the next revision of his masterpiece “How to Lie with Statistics”.

Ms. Shobana Sankhya

## Cinema

### Brown superman

*RAMPAGE - Starring Gamini Fonseka, Mary Tamm, James Drake and Chris Greet. Written by Richard A. C. Boyle. Produced and directed by Manik Sandrasagara for Cine-Asia Ltd.*

**W**hy is it, that in order to be superior to the White Man, the Black man has to be portrayed as some kind of superman? In ‘Rampage’ Gamini Fonseka, playing George Sersinghe, seems like Batman Minus Robin—he is larger than life, bigger than Bond. He is sportsman, lover and philosopher *par excellence* all rolled into one.

The title ‘Rampage’ conjures up visions of hordes of elephants charging like mad. But the elephants in ‘Rampage’ are few and far between.

The plot in ‘Rampage’ is that of a Moby-Dick type elephant bent on vengeance. An elephant that is credited with intelligence and emotions that far outstrip its British (Colonial) pursuers. Chris

Greet gives us a very convincing performance of the degenerate British planter. While Gamini Fonseka is impressive as the philosopher-hunter.

At the outset the film moves slowly. But one is treated to excellent shots of our hill country. There is a repulsive portrayal of the Planter Raj. The farce that is their social life is painted with a vengeance, one’s nausea being arrested only by the beautiful scenery that goes to make our central massif.

A Ceylonese audience cannot but help being attracted to this movie, since it is shot here in entirety. The cast is heavily local, so is the music. Our first attempt at an English film, it is worth viewing for curiosity’s sake, if nothing else. As a pioneering effort Manik Sandrasagara must be commended for putting together a film that can hold its own against much of the abominable thrash that we are being dished out as English cinema-fare.

— SPARINE



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