

GUARDIAN

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Letters

Dr. Kovoor

I was delighted to read, in the 'Guardian' of the 15th October, Professor Carlo Fonseka's splendid tribute to Dr. Abraham Thomas Kovoor. How right Professor Fonseka is when he says that Dr. Kovoor was "such a gentle, kindly, humane and—in all except orthodox religion—thoroughly orthodox person", and that "he asked more questions than even he could satisfactorily answer".

I first met Dr. Kovoor during the war years, in the early forties, at a Freethinkers' meeting at a house in Kotte. I described that encounter in an article in the 'Messenger' under the caption 'Fisticuffs with Freethinkers'. I went to that meeting by invitation and appointment. I remember saying in the article that they probably didn't really expect that I would come. But I did arrive. A real, live Roman Catholic priest complete with cassock sitting around their table...it took them a few minutes to get over the feeling of surprise and the sense of incongruity that must have thrust itself upon them.

Had I anything to say, they asked me when the report of their previous meeting had been read, and the discussion began. Of course I had. And I had a free platform for a good half an hour. There were questions and answers and cross-questions. We talked over glasses (of fruit-juice, please!) and got along splendidly. I did not know Dr. Kovoor's name at that time, and referred to him as 'the Indian professor'. As I bowed my way out at the end of the meeting, the 'Indian professor' called out after me, "Father, we would like to have you on our side". The words, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered!" rose unbidden to my lips, but I forebore from uttering them. It wouldn't have been fair.

I can't help picturing to myself the amazing scene that could possibly have taken place on the death of dear old Dr. Kovoor.

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Trends

Disturbing Impact

Few ministerial statements have had such a disturbing impact on opinion concerning the broad sphere of higher education than Mr. Cyril Mathew's allegations about the marking of Tamil scripts by Tamil examiners.

While Tamil parents have been incensed, there is hardly a middle or upper-middle class Sinhala home in which parents and their young hopefuls do not discuss these provocative charges. Academic circles are caught in two minds. Some Sinhalese dons feel that this highly charged issue should be discreetly left alone for fear that it would add to the undercurrent of racial hostility which is now being felt in certain Sinhalese areas. Others are convinced that intellectual integrity demands that the issue should be examined impartially and that university teachers' organisations should declare their views publicly.

Two things have also introduced a note of puzzlement. Why was this statement made just when the government certainly the President—seems keen on some sort of reconciliation with the TULF. The other is why Mr. Mathew, the Minister of Industries took upon himself to make a pronouncement on matters educational. Mr. Mathew is a man who does not conceal his strong vi-

ews on these issues but he is still the Minister of Industries. In TULF circles he is known as a "Powellite", although he himself would no doubt argue that he is stating facts and it is for his critics to contradict them.

"May be the Minister of Industries was the right choice, after all" suggested an academic with a wry sense of humour. "Didn't Sir Ivor Jennings say that education and the public service were Jaffna's only industries?"

Meanwhile, students of the Sinhala Press (non-mainstream) have observed the emergence of so many new "fronts" which hint at a resurgence of Sinhala-Buddhist sentiment. Incidentally, these "nationalist" fronts are more pro-SLFP than pro-UNP, when they are not bi-partisan. Supporters of such fronts will doubtless 'standardise' Mr. Mathew's statement and give him an A-plus.

Equally, advocates of racial accord on both sides of the ethnic fence will probably give him minus marks

Another expose

Hot on the heels of the report that a top appointee of the previous regime is working on what he trusts will be a best selling expose of the 'ruling clique' comes news from London that the book is being printed chapter by chapter in Britain.

And in the wake of that sensational story-to-be (a 'Lanka Guardian' exclusive) is yet another informed tip-off that a former Sri Lankan diplomat (also an SLFP appointee) is working on a study on how a particular pressure group influenced Sri Lanka's foreign policy decisions.

The group operated, according to the author, right within the court circle.

Ranging from able intellectuals and genuine Bandaranaike loyalists to mere careerists and hangers-on, the group followed a pro-Peking / Kampuchea line. Says the author: "They were not only Saree-pota but Teng Sary-pota!"

In radical circles, it is noted, that this group (now a miniscule kalliya) is actively engaged in a smear campaign against Vietnam.

Money unlimited

Land values and rents have skyrocketed so much in the past year in Colombo that get-rich-quick syndicates have sprung up which buy large blocks at fantastic prices, parcel them out at once, and make huge profits. Recently, a vacant block in Colombo 7 went for nearly 5 million.

In Jawatte area, where residents sometimes walk about knee-deep in rain water when the monsoon is particularly heavy, a perch was sold for Rs. 35,000.

All this is taking place at a time when the latest trend in newspaper advertising highlights notices which read "Foreign couple wants house in Colombo 7, 6 or 5. Rent Immaterial!" All but the Beruwela boys are forced to beat a retreat into suburbia.

How is the government going to tackle a problem which is an obvious consequence of its broad 'open door' policy?

Prime Minister Premadasa who is also Minister of Housing is reportedly giving the matter top priority. One idea in the air is a DPL enclave outside Colombo for foreign personnel.

Letters . . .

For if, after all, there is, a life after death, poor old Kovoov would have got such a shattering shock that he would have been stunned into perpetual silence in heaven—which is where, I have no doubt, he will ultimately go, because he was so utterly sincere and a man who had, supremely, the courage of his convictions. He lived according to his lights. The thought fills me with considerable, but reverent, amusement! If I believe in an after-life, but find on my death that there isn't one, well, there'll be nothing to worry about, anyway. But if Kovoov, who didn't believe in one, now discovers there is, there will be hell (though really, I think, in his case, heaven) to pay!

God rest his—I am afraid that in his case I cannot quite say 'gentle', so let me just say—soul-

(Fr.) Justin Perera

Bouquet

During my short holiday in Sri Lanka in September, I was able to read a few copies of your journal "Lanka Guardian" and was very impressed with it. The coverage of current issues and the critical analysis of local and international politics is particularly good.

Wishing you success.

Mahe, Seychelles.

A. L. B. Lankatilleke.

Pre-planned performance

Congratulations to you on your new reviewer Ms. Shobana Sankhya. She writes with wit, intelligence and the gentlest of irony. She obviously knows her way around in the murky field of statistics. However, in order to prevent suspicious people ('those who persistently refuse to see') from suspecting that Ms. Sankhya herself has been guilty of the same brand of disingenuousness that she accuses the Secretary,

Plan Implementation of, she should I submit, fill a few lacunae in her argument.

For example, was there any special reason for her to use the 1976 figures only for yarn and cloth production while using 1974 figures for cement production? Could it be even remotely possible that there were some facts in connection with 1976 cement production which do not suit her argument? Secondly, while giving us the 'production-as-percentage-of-capacity' figures for 1978 for cement, yarn and cloth she refrains from giving us the corresponding percentages for the pre-1978 years she has chosen for comparison.

Yet, if the reader were to take the trouble to work these out for himself it could appear to him that your reviewer's amusing remarks, for example, about the chairman of the Cement Corporation are less than generous. He has achieved a small (4%) increase in KKS, a 15% increase in Puttalam and a nearly 18% increase in Galle of production-as-a-percentage-of-capacity on the 1974 figures. Whether this is a miracle or not depends on what the production conditions for cement were in 1976 and 1977 which your reviewer does not tell us about.

Again, the reason for the 'Corporation Bosses' in 1978 setting low targets may possibly, be due to the fact that they were guided by the actual prevailing production figures e. g. the 1974 production figures for cement were: KKS 186,000 tons and Puttalam 230,000 tons. So targets of 220,000 tons for KKS and 243,000 tons for Puttalam were perhaps not a case of 'aiming for the bush' at all but only a realistic assessment of what was possible. (I cannot believe that the very down-to-earth sounding Ms. Sankhya herself takes much stock in her poetical line about 'aiming for the noonday sun' as a possible step for serious-minded managers.) At the same time, the 1974 production for Galle was 49,000 tons while the 1978 target

(Continued on page 22)

Dons on Varsity Bill

The Teachers' Association of the Peradeniya University has been in the forefront of the struggle since 1966 against the increasing infringement on the basic academic freedom and autonomy of the universities and the bureaucritization of the system of higher education, says a statement signed by the President of the UTA, Dr. P. V. J. Jayasekara and the Secretary Dr. B. Gajameragedara.

We consider it our duty and responsibility, the statement says, to raise the following specific observations and earnestly believe that the authorities will give their fullest consideration to these views.

The Grants Commission

The objectives and powers of this Commission far exceed the normal functions of University Grants Commissions elsewhere. The normal functions of the Grants Commission should be the disbursement of funds and the coordination of the higher education policy so as to keep in line with the legitimate demands of national policy. The Bill, however provides for a Commission empowered with not only these functions but even the control over all aspects of university life such as determination of courses, maintenance of academic standards, regulation of the administration, admission of students and formulation of schemes of recruitment and procedure for the appointment of staff.

Powers of the Minister

Under a properly constituted system of higher education, based on the fundamental principles mentioned above, the minister should not exercise direct control over the university administration except through directing the U.G.C. on matters of government policy. The Bill empowers the minister to intervene directly and through the U.G.C. in all academic and administrative matters and even to close down any institution of higher education at his will.

University structure

i. One of the major causes of dislocation and chaos of university education since the 1972 Act came into operation has been the centralization of the administration of the campuses under the single university structure. The academic communities of campuses persistently objected to this centralization. The new Bill, while purporting to establish autonomous universities, in fact, continues and further strengthens direct control over all higher education institutions through the U. G. C.

ii. The constitution of the decision making bodies as proposed by the Bill disregards the elective principle and thereby violates the fundamental democratic rights and academic freedom of the university community. The members of the council, the main authority of each university, will invariably and ultimately be the nominees of the officials under the control of the government.

The University Services Appeals Board

In order to ensure impartial redress of grievances of the University employees this body should be composed of persons with judicial experience.

The new post of a Chancellor of each university is included in the Bill, but the qualifications for such a vital post have not been defined.

Student associations and assemblies

The provision for the suspension and dissolution of student organizations by the executive officer of the university clearly violates the freedom of assembly and expression. It presupposes a breakdown of communication between the university authorities and the students in a situation of student discontent and is fraught with grave consequences. It is particularly reprehensible that despite a Supreme Court ruling that Clause 118 is an

infringement of the constitution, the government has thought it fit to adopt the bill with this obnoxious clause.

Special provisions

Clause 131 which empowers the governing authorities of the higher education institutions to prohibit the presence of persons whom they consider undesirable creates an anti-democratic and repressive atmosphere within these institutions.

De-nationalising transport?

Experts who have close links with both the SLFP and ULF are now making a study of what they regard as a deliberate policy of dismantling and down-grading nationalised ventures and establishing a parallel private sector.

The argument for such a policy would be economic self-sufficiency through competition. It is taking place in the trade too. The 'Sun' reported recently that the right of importing sugar, a government monopoly hitherto, was being extended to the Pettah once more.

In the case of some state ventures, like textiles, the exercise is conducted by bringing these organisations under "management" drawn from the private sector.

The Opposition parties feel that the test case is the CTB, the first major nationalised venture of the 1956 MEP government.

The questions now being asked and examined by the experts are:

(a) How many buses, if any, have been sold from the CTB's nearly 5,000 fleet?

(b) If buses are going to be sold in the future is the justification the repayment of a loan from an international agency such as the IBRD?

(c) Into whose hands will these buses go? The families of the old bus mudalalis?

(b) Are new routes being drawn up and will private passenger transport become once again a common sight on our roads?

Why Iranians riot

by Kendall Dudley

The current riots in Tehran have been reported in the Western press as being the results of religious—and, to a lesser extent, Marxist—extremists. I recently spent 2½ weeks in Iran talking with dozens of people representing many different occupations, religions, and ideologies. In their view, it is not the Islamic-Marxists (a term the government uses to discredit both groups at once) that are the cause but the conditions of life in Iran.

In the last five years, with the coming of vast oil wealth to Iran, all the weaknesses in the society have become enormously magnified. Social and economic pressures have become intense to the degree that poor people are no longer afraid to openly criticize the government (and the Shah himself). They are saying the present system is corrupt, arbitrary, and fundamentally unjust, made especially obvious because, in a time of riches, primarily the wealthy benefit.

I found several grievances being consistently restated in one way or another:

- Overwhelming concentration of the budget on military goods at the expense of social welfare programs;

- Policies that encourage imports over selfsufficiency, especially in agriculture;

- A kind of Westernization that has resulted in alienating Iranians from their own culture and an over-reliance on foreigners to solve problems;

- Inflation that has raised meat prices to \$6 a kilogram and rents 2½ times what they were 5 years ago;

- Corruption at all levels of government;

- The power of SAVAK, the Shah's secret police (suspected by some even of setting the Abadan cinema fire which killed 377 people).

What is the significance of these problems in the context of the riots? They are the underpinnings of the riots—they run stronger than religion because they are more immediate. Iranians by and large are a pragmatic people; they want a happy, prosperous home above all else. They are drawn to the religious leaders because, aside from the Marxists, there are no other leaders. In a country where political gatherings of any kind are forbidden, people have gravitated to the mosque, the only place large numbers are legally permitted to assemble. Thus their actions and motivations are, by association, attributed more to religious fanatics than to genuine social grievances.

The religious leaders have their own agendas, to be sure. They have been deprived of their economic life through land reform, but they also see how far Iran has drifted from the simple life of Islam. Many mourn that loss but, given the opportunity for real political leaders to emerge, most people would not choose theocracy, or communism, or monarchy, but a form of social democracy that respected Islam but was not dominated by it. Iran is too heterogeneous, too middle-class in its aspirations, too much accustomed to the culture of Islam (as opposed to its authority) for Islam or communism to occupy the same place that the Shah has.

As for the Marxists, they have a sense of mission that has enabled them to speak out, risking SAVAK. Much of their appeal lies in their echoing of Islamic socialist values, not in the ideology of communism itself. The more established moderate leaders have learned their own limits the hard way and have not been in a position to provide leadership.

Most important, the riots are a sign of the opening up of society, a chance for discussions to take place that have long been needed. If the opposition is focussed and articulate, the Shah will have to offer compromises. But this will require Iranians to trust one another, something they are not used to doing.

“Liberalization,” the term the Shah uses, has not precipitated the riots. What liberalization there has been, aside from the opening of the press to some degree and pulling back on SAVAK, is what people have taken for themselves. Frustration has grown beyond Iranian's fear of punishment.

Whatever happens, there have already been benefits. People have begun to see their own country more critically. They are looking beyond their own family welfare to that of their neighbors, because they see the two are intertwined. This is a major step in a family-centred culture, a step that has led people to demand more justice. They may get it.

(Mr. Dudley, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Iran, revisited it during the past month.)

China's Teng gives unexpected blow to Japan's Left

by David Tharp

Tokyo

China's feisty Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao ping has put Japanese leftists in turmoil.

Despite pleas of Japan's Socialist Party and the unions in advance of Mr. Teng's trip to Japan he nevertheless took at least three strong stands which contradict their position:

- He came out firmly in favour of Japan's security treaty with the United States.
- He called for a beefing up of Japan's self-defense.
- He went out of his way to meet and be seen with Emperor Hirohito.

Mr. Teng's moves caught the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), the largest opposition party, and its chief supporter the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Soyho) off guard. Both have suffered a massive loss of face as a result of Mr. Teng's public statements supporting the U.S. Japan security pact, and Japanese rearmament.

The apparent turnabout in China's policy toward Japan can be explained by Peking's determination to buy past differences for the sake of resisting what it regards as Soviet hegemony in Asia.

Despite decades of hostility between Japan and China, a militarily strong Japan now fits conveniently into Peking's anti-



Japan's Fukuda (right) greets Teng Hsiao-ping

Soviet strategy. But the JSP and Sohyo, both long-time champions of normalization of relations with China before it ever occurred to the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) to give up Taiwan, have always followed the line of unarmed neutrality for Japan.

They advocated the cancellation of the U.S. - Japan security treaty to assure Japan's absolute neutral position toward both the U.S.S.R. and China. And for 25 years Peking supported the JSP and Sohyo's antimilitarization policy.

But when JSP chairman Ichiro Asukata visited China this year, he was told by Chinese leaders "your thinking is 15 years behind the times" Mr. Asukata was surprised by the Chinese switch and tried to defend his party's position, but to no avail.

Sohyo, the largest union in Japan with 5 million members, had called on Mr. Teng to take a careful stand specifically on military issues when he was in Japan. The JSP and Sohyo held secret, 11th hour meetings with the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo to convince them that Mr. Teng should not make any "bombshell statements" to rock the socialist-labour front during the Chinese leader's visit.

Instead, Mr. Teng said clearly in his public appearances that it was only natural that Japan should maintain the security treaty with the United States and try to bolster the self-defense forces.

Mr. Teng even added that it was strange that people who talk of disarmament and peace should object to Japan having reasonable defensive powers, an obvious rebuttal of JSP and Sohyo views.

These statements undercut the JSP-Sohyo stand on military issues, and now both organizations feel that the LDP has been drawn deeper into Peking's anti-hegemony campaign against the Soviet Union, although the Japanese Government contends it pursues an "omnidirectional" (equal) policy to all nations.

The Japanese public was generally jolted to Mr. Teng's insistence on meeting former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, now under investigation for his alleged role in the Lockheed payoff scandal.

Mr. Teng said "one should not forget the toils of those who sank the well from which one drinks" in reference to "old friends" such as Mr. Tanaka who

played a key role in establishing relations with Peking in 1972.

But the greatest surprise for leftists, liberals, and fellow travelers was Mr. Teng's meeting with Emperor Hirohito.

The Communist Chinese once insisted that Emperor Hirohito was "one of the biggest war criminals" of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). Many Chinese, Communists and Nationalists, still cannot forget that it was Emperor Hirohito's uncle, Prince Asaka who was in command of Japanese troops who massacred the civilian population of Nanking in 1937.

Yet, Mr. Teng and his wife, Cho Lin, posed with the Emperor and the Empress at the Imperial Palace for an official photograph later printed on the front pages of Peking newspapers. Mr. Teng said magnanimously that it was time to let bygones be bygones.

A Sohyo leader, Mitsuo Tomizuka, interpreted these events differently and predicted several days before Mr. Teng's arrival in Tokyo that China may even go to "the extent of applauding the Emperor system to draw Japan into an anti-Soviet encirclement."

Mr. Teng was masterful in reading the Japanese psychology. He soothed the guilt-ridden Japanese conscience about the war and frankly admitted that China was backward and needed Japanese help. Japan responded with bigbrother concern, a role the Chinese appear to be cultivating with great finesse.

In the meantime, the LDP's opponents are trying to pick up the ragged pieces of their shattered pride as the conservative camp gets the lion's share of credit for the start of a historic new era between the two Asian giants.

Symposium

Which way for the Left?

(3) Bala Tampoe

Bala Tampoe and the Ceylon Mercantile Union broke away from the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in 1964, when that Party went into coalition with the SLFP. Since then he and the Revolutionary Marxist Party, the Sri Lanka sector of the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, have been a major rallying point in opposition to both UNP and SLFP led Governments; Bala Tampoe discusses the Left movement with the 'Lanka Guardian'.

Q: In what condition do you see the Left movement in Sri Lanka today?

A: We have no Left movement here! You cannot have a left movement without a Left party. And we have, since May Day Seventy-four, posed the problem of building a Left party. It is only the movement of the working class that can be deemed 'left'—that is the Marxist position. However, the LSSP which has bases in the working class shifted rightwards by aligning itself with the SLFP, thereby ceasing to be a 'Left' party. Even the JVP, when it supported the SLFP in 1970, was being rightist.

Q: How exactly would you characterise the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna?

A: I don't accept the JVP as a working class party; in 1971 it was a semi-proletarian group, radical and rural based. But with the release of Rohana Wijeweera and the other members of the JVP, a change has taken place in the attitude of the JVP leadership. Further, the leadership has fragmented. People like Loku Athula became supporters of the SLFP. Uyangoda also broke with Wijeweera while in prison. Then we have the Premapala group. Among the leaders only Lionel Bopage remains at Wijeweera's side.

The new JVP has moved away from the organised working class movement. Although they are



Bala Tampoe

critical of the UNP and attack the SLFP and ULF, I would not say they are moving leftwards. Rather, they confine themselves to propaganda. Whilst calling for the setting up of a genuine communist party they do nothing to lead the working class against the UNP government.

They remain critical of the Joint Trade Union Action Committee, which we advocated and support, we regard it as a major vanguard organisation of the working class. Notwithstanding the leadership of the different organisations in the JTUAC, it is opposed to the policies of the UNP, where such policies affect the working class and masses, both economically and politically with respect to democratic and trade union rights. At the moment we see this as the most fruitful means by which the working class

can be mobilised against the government.

Q: But the JVP has attacked the JTUAC as being constituted of traitors.

A: We regard the leadership of the JTUAC, such as the SLFP, as being essentially reactionary. And we don't think the leaderships of these parties have changed their political character.

But unlike the JVP, we think that to the extent they do have trade unions based in the working class, they should be brought together to face up to the UNP government. The JVP seeks to stand apart from this struggle.

Q: What is your attitude to the United Left Front?

A: That is a fake front. They sought to blame Mrs. Bandaranaike and the so-called right wing of the SLFP for all the failures and downright crimes of the UF government. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the working class placed no faith in the ULF at the elections. The leaders were using the so-called left front to protect their seats in Parliament and to pursue their so-called parliamentary road to socialism.

Q: There was a shift among the voters to the Right?

A: Yes. It was the right parties, the SLFP, the UNP and the TULF which scored heavily.

Q: In this situation what is the task of the politically conscious elements in the working class?

A: We must establish our own independent working class party. Whatever hopes there may have been in the LSSP have been shattered. The CP has never been anything more than a minority party with a base in limited sections of the Trade Unions. Most of the other so called Left groups have no following really.

Yet the consciousness of the working class remains mainly at the trade union level in its quest for struggle against the capitalists or the capitalist state. The workers are in a situation where

many of them must have voted for the UNP.

We are in a situation where a reactionary like J. R. Jayewardene pretends to be socialist.

In the absence of a working class party which is distinct from the bourgeois parties, people are in disappointment moving from the UNP to the SLFP.

Q: What steps can be taken towards creating a Working Class Party?

A: Just before the elections, in March Seventy-seven the RMP and the CMU jointly called for an anti-capitalist front. We sought to set going a process of uniting the working class as well as other oppressed sections of the masses for struggle against the capitalists. We also put forward a draft platform of 28 demands which we considered to be issues on and around which such mobilisation could take place.

Q: Does your position towards the cry for 'Eelam' differ from the other left parties?

A: The JVP's position is un-marxist and represents a Sinhala racist attitude to the Tamils. The Tamils in the north and east have a distinct history and territory and have every right to regard themselves as an oppressed nation. They hold the right not only towards self-determination but to struggle towards it in whatever form they deem appropriate.

While the TULF leadership advances the Eelam slogan for purely propagandist and opportunistic reasons, there is widespread mass sentiment among the Tamils for separation. But the isolated acts of violence do not constitute a struggle for separation. However they could lead to a struggle in time.

We do not advocate a separate state for the Tamils. We hold that the struggle of the Tamil and the Sinhalese and Muslim masses has to be against the existing state as a whole. Such a struggle can only be led by the organised working class which has to be multi-racial.

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Decolonizing information

by Mamadou Moctar Thiam

When as students in Europe we dreamed of taking over the power of information in Africa, we were worried about the outcome. Later, when as students of the French Press Institute, at the University of Paris, we sharpened the weapons of knowledge, our frustration became anguish because white Africa and its problems, always marginal and folkloristic, were only reported on the back pages of the Western papers, the information market in Africa remained limited.

Our anguish was not because, as things were going, Africa would end by being totally deprived of the collective information media of the Western world, which at worst could only be a lesser evil. It was due to the fact that, as a consequence of the aggressive conquest of the African information market by the same information media, the African consumer of these services risked being overly vulnerable to external sources.

We notice in fact that it is the Western newspapers, magazines and films (cinema or television) that achieve the largest sales, at least in the areas of West Africa under French influence, and this would partly explain the small circulation of the local newspapers and magazines. But what is even more serious is that newspapers, magazines and films, which hardly mention Africa, attract the attention of the African reader and spectator to problems that are not their own. And here we can note a curious division of activities. While public opinion of the developed countries is served the minimum concerning African events and the analysis of the problems involved, the state or semi-state information services of the developed countries (news, photographic, feature and radio-television

The Third World's battle for a 'new international information order' which was launched by the non-aligned countries in Algiers 1973, at Lima 1975 and in Colombo 1976, is now being waged in the forum of UNESCO. The fight has taken a sharp, even frenzied, form with the western governments led by West Germany, US and France, fighting a furious rear-guard action. Last week delegates to the current UNESCO conference were busy trying to find a compromise formula after the west, and the western press had denounced the draft declaration prepared by UNESCO officials. In the thick of the controversy is the UNESCO director-general himself.

agencies) have offices specialized in informing African public opinion. In other words, business for the private individual, and active politico-psychological cooperation for the governments.

This division of activities means that it is toward BBC, Radio France, the Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Radio Netherland and RAI, that we must turn for information on what is happening in the Third World, the national information media of the Third World, one must admit, not having the courage to emerge from the national ghettos.

Exaggerating the differences

This distribution of tasks, therefore, allows the collective information media of the developed countries, convinced that it is in the interest of the public, or rather of their cocitizens, to hide such problems as the sale of arms by the West to South Africa, the support of Rhodesia by the West itself, the unfair exchange rates. At the same time, the state information bodies of the developed countries, with offices dedicated exclusively to informing the public opinion of the Third World, relentlessly persist in exacerbating the divisions that are the causes of dissension, with the excuse of informing the public. And they always give an exaggerated importance to differences of opinion

rather than to unifying trends. Frustration and anguish, these subjective feelings, which are now structured as political reflections on the future of information in the Third World, will be used as references to describe it as it is today in the Third World in general and in Africa in particular; and especially to accuse the services that world information—as it is usually called through a misuse of words—pretends to render to the Third World. For us, these services result from both economic exploitation and politico-psychological action.

First, let us take economic exploitation. It basically derives from the colonial agreements. Going back to the colonial period, up to about 90 percent of the information media in Africa was run with colonial capital and, obviously, supported the political and economic plans of the mother countries. Supporting through propaganda the excellence of colonial economic values is certainly not easy to quantify. It may, therefore, seem rather daring to talk about economic exploitation when discussing information. Let us say, however, that information is also an economic activity, which mobilizes important capital and is sometimes a source of comfortable profits.

Mamadou Moctar Thiam is the head of the Co-operation and Assistance Office of OAU.

Monopoly on the sale of news

The struggle relentlessly fought by the press barons against the political powers always too ready to use censorship is not only and always for the simple sake of freedom of information; so much so that in the countries with a market economy, collective information media deliver first of all a product—news—and services—publicity—of mass consumption. It was therefore not surprising to see the colonial information media participate in the economic exploitation of the African countries within the framework of a civilizing mission. And information, carried out according to the conditions and economic necessities of a political pattern, naturally has its own hunting grounds to exploit; this is proved by the services of some agencies which, during the colonization period, had a monopoly on the sale of news in the French and British empires.

What has happened today to this colonialist exploitation of the information market in the Third World? Two objective facts: 65 percent of the information circulating in the world is produced by the United States, which does not usually offer its services free; and the big Western agencies (AFP, Reuters, UPI, AP) are practically the exclusive sources of the collective information bodies in the Third World, including the national agencies. The latter, having the monopoly of information distribution only, are actually branch offices. It is estimated that the national African agencies each have yearly contracts with international agencies for about 20 million CFA francs.

As a matter of fact, in the field of commercial exploitation of the Third World information market, the audio-visual information agencies are taking, next to the large news agencies, the lion's share. In Africa, despite the success of the Panafrican Motion Picture Federation, which breaches the monopoly held by the big American companies through their European satellites and African branch offices, for the programming, production and exploitation of the

films shown in Africa, these audio-visual and information agencies continue to appropriate for themselves more than 92 percent of the transactions carried out on the Continent. It is quite customary therefore to see African producers obliged to accept the conditions of these companies to distribute their productions. On the other hand, the scarcity of studios in the Third World forces our motion picture workers to depend on foreign studios to edit their films.

Politico-psychological action

It would be just as well on the other hand, in analysing the exploitation of the Third World information market by the Western developed countries, to demystify the cooperation in the information field with which the industrialized countries honour us and which,

It is too often structured for the defence and explanation of the values of the societies that finance it.

though considered free of charge, still burdens the budgets of the Third World information ministries. This cooperation, besides being an opportunity to "sell" the way of life of the industrialized countries, is above all the best way of pushing recording studios, processing plants, laboratories, electronic material and know-how. Televised soap operas open the Third World markets to the various colour television systems more surely than the most aggressive salesmen would be able to.

Regarding politico-psychological action, for example the way in which the world economic crisis is treated by world information is particularly significant. The Western propaganda machine is already in action to sterilize the timid Arab-African cooperation because it is claimed that the crisis is due to the Arab oil producers, and it is not desirable that Africa should institutionalize the defence policy of natural resources inaugurated by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It becomes, therefore, a question of gloating over the criticisms that certain African countries south of the Sahara levy against their Arab partners

in this cooperation. Actually, there are many ways in which the collective information bodies of the industrialized countries, and especially the Western ones, mobilize Third World public opinion for ends that have nothing to do either with information or with the interests of said Third World.

It is understandable that World information should be structured for the defence and explanation of the values of the societies that finance it, but why does it not point out the differences? All the more so that the slant of "yellow press" reporting with its parochial ideas and suburbanite curiosity imposes the well-known approach to current news, and this deprives the public of developed countries of an objective knowledge of Third World realities; because there is no bilateral cooperation in the

field of information that would allow for broadcasting to the European and American public the political, economic and cultural information prepared by the Third World over the wave-lengths of France-Inter, BBC, Deutsche Welle, CBS, NBC and ABC. Meanwhile, our own wave-lengths, our screens and our newsstands are cluttered with news from Europe and America.

Relayers of slogans

Information, on the other hand, is totally unimply in Africa. Untimely because in this Africa mobilized around the total decolonization of the last vestiges of the Berlin conference, information is still colonized. And the smart ones, including some Africans, see in the gutter press and the confidential information gleaned along the paths to power a chance to get rich. Untimely also because at the moment when the African countries, even those most wary about the political unification and economic integration of the Continent, take into account in their internal politics the principles and objectives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the African collective information media become

national and vie with one another to cultivate the parochial spirit hastily amalgamated into an improvised nationalism. Untimely finally because it is simply inaccessible to the majority of African peoples, of whom less than 30 percent speak either English or French, the two languages in which about 90 percent of the information is broadcast in Africa.

Finally, to crown it all, information is now being proclaimed as an aid to development. This can become dangerous for information, whose only duty is apparently to mobilize national public opinion in an approving consensus about everything that the political people in power say or do. Thus, collective information bodies in Africa become simply relayers of slogans. They are then committed to the personality cult, which is all the more serious inasmuch as information follows the same trends as democracy and is one of its fortunes.

Psychosociologists assert that to live in a society is to communicate. As a result, social communication—information—conditions the existence of society and its coherence. In fact, it is obvious that for fragmentary and solitary consciences, the ties of participation that is social communication are indispensable when it is a question of belonging and participating. And this gives rise to democratic temptation because information, which not only socializes the message, but also the transmitter and the receiver, is the ground on which everyone talks to everyone else, and where everyone is supposed to be able to speak.

On the other hand, information, because it relates the rhythmic points of the course of social life in the sense of participation, be it only through reading or listening, is also the temptation of coherence. The head of the state talks to his people, who should be able to question him. The anonymous voices of the rank and file should be able to make themselves heard, to express their acceptance or their denial. In any case, if a beggar bites a dog, this is front-page news. A temptation

of democratic coherence, information is also the fortune and privilege of democracy. It, therefore, seems to us a serious thing to reduce information to the level of a relayer of slogans.

In fact, information, a slogan that enjoys the favours of the rulers of the Third World, shows great ability, since it is so difficult to appear to refuse anything that means development. And so information is requested by all the "developers" of the Third World to mobilize the living forces of the nation, and the passing of a law on information, which is always delicate to formulate and to apply, is avoided. One is, therefore, content merely to put it on probation, drawing on the store of colonial texts brought up to date according to current taste.

The discussion ends here however because the decision makers, the rulers or those delegated by the rulers of the state party who produce information, are also its greatest consumers. Is it by chance? In any case, the passwords of the party, and therefore of the state, which constitute the essential part of the national news, flow out amplified by the activism of some or weighted down by the refusal or the indifference of others, without any profit for the mobilization of the masses in favour of development.

Surprising attitudes

What should we say then about the impact of the information concerning events, the one that allows the exercise of the right to free expression and which only shakes the reader or the listener in relation to his personal coefficient and the talent of the journalist? It is obvious that this information describing and commenting daily events, even national events, will be unable to come out from the ghetto of Power unless presented in a popular and authentic manner and therefore accessible to the masses.

In any case, we note that the reader of the written word and the listener and televiewer of the news broadcast by the radio and television chains of the Third World, the same who more or less participated in the event ele-

vated to the rank of information, and who can afford to obtain access to information, glances absentmindedly at the columns of the local newspaper and lends an inattentive ear to the national radio-television programmes in order to verify first of all the shorthand account of the actions that he himself has performed, then to be sure that his image has been fairly and duly enhanced before plunging with delight into the subtleties of a commentary of the world press on the results of a local election in the old motherland. In fact, the Third World of the rulers has, in the field of information consumption, some rather surprising attitudes, and considers the local information media as hardly worthy of interest, even though decisive progress has been accomplished during the last few years in the field of editing, presentation and technical accomplishment of the African newspapers.

An investigation carried out in 1969 in Dakar on the behaviour and reading habits of the daily press consumers reveals that 75 percent (up to 85 percent are high officials and therefore more or less participate in decision making, front-page news for the national papers) only dedicate from five to ten minutes to *Dakar Matin*, twenty to thirty minutes to *Le Monde*, read one to two French weeklies but read no daily or weekly African paper published outside Senegal, with the exception of course of *Jeune Afrique*. This attitude is all the less understandable since it is the governing Third World that decides the destiny of the collective information bodies in the developing countries. In fact, it is because the governing elite in the Third World is fascinated by the claimed cultural excellence of the industrialized countries that its information media is still colonized.

But in the struggle for the necessary decolonization of information, those who practise it also have special responsibilities. The journalists of the Third World will have to stop relying exclusively on the services of the big international agencies in informing their public.

Research as imperialism

by Barbara Rogers

Social-science researchers from industrialized countries come in a variety of guises, but they are mainly recognizable as research students looking for good thesis material as a means to a secure academic job, or as consultants, often attached to a research institute that makes its living from contracts in developing countries.

The disciplines involved can be sociology, anthropology, political science, geography, economics or a combination of these and others. All the researchers have one thing in common: they are experts at extracting information from Third World countries to use in their theses, publications or reports.

In itself, this need not be an exploitative operation, provided the end result is useful to the country from which the data are taken, and provided the country receives copies of the final piece of work. But to what extent is this the case? I recently visited some African countries to see, among other things, how their people viewed researchers from industrialized countries doing fieldwork there.

The director of a World Bank project in Malawi made it clear that a visit from me would not be very welcome. They had already had a research student for a year and given him free housing, transport, and the run of the project area. He sent not a word about his findings, nor even a thank-you letter after his departure.

Barbara Rogers has written extensively on African subjects, particularly the politics of southern Africa, and on development issues. She is currently doing research on the work of women as food producers at the School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, and has just returned from a field trip to five African countries.

Working in the library of the University of Zambia, I found almost no theses of Zambia, despite the fact that large numbers of foreign researchers have worked there through the Institute of African Studies. The librarian told me the promised theses had not turned up; and there was not enough staff to trace the researchers and ask for a copy.

**Enter a new multinational industry:
the proliferation of institutes offering
instant advice on Third World problems**

Tate and Lyle, the British multinational firm, was hired as consultant to the Zambian Government to advise on establishing a new sugar estate. Wanting to incorporate a social survey, they approached a local researcher for advice who asked whether they employed any Zambians on the survey. They admitted they had none — except for the driver. The researcher told them they would have to pay her if they wanted the benefit of her expertise on the area in question. Put off by her "hostility," they went back to their suite in the hotel to finish the job on their own.

Established guidelines

An Ethiopian woman, Zene Tadesse, went to ask about an information job with UNICEF in Lusaka, and was told they were trying to "indigenize" their research. The interviewer, a white American, added, "But you're not indigenous. You're just as foreign as I am." Another American came from New York for the job.

As a European proposing to conduct research on development issues in Third World countries, incidents such as these — repeated many times with slight variations — have made me acutely aware of the problems created by my

own colleagues, both for the countries where they have worked and for other researchers coming after them. In the next few years, it will become increasingly difficult for us to justify our demands on the time and resources of people in Third World countries.

Many countries have already established guidelines for foreign research students proposing to do their fieldwork there. It is a rare country these days which does not require that researchers and their topics be officially approved,

either by a government agency or by an academic institution. However, this has more effect at present in delaying fieldwork than in ensuring that such work meets the priority needs of the country, or — even more basic — that a copy of the final thesis or publication is sent to the country concerned.

So often misinterpreted

One of the problems encountered by Third World intellectuals is the inflexibility of foreign research students: they arrive with their programme for fieldwork already cut and dried according to some formula worked out thousands of kilometres from the field itself. As one of them pointed out to me, the academic debate about development is largely confined to Europe and North America. Third World countries do not have the resources to obtain even a fraction of the publications on the subject, and are outside the area of informal communication. The debate is therefore continued without reference to their immediate and pressing needs.

"These Europeans come and ask me what I think about their little research projects. When I tell them, they get so upset they go away and never come back," said Katherine Mwanamwamba, an

outspoken critic of the money wasted by outside consultants and researchers who collect generous research grants and *per diem* for coming to analyse Africa. "You can't stop them from doing their project, getting their degrees and high-paying jobs. But, they make no attempt to solve the problems they come across." As she says, researchers make little or no attempt to combine action with their investigations, and even the most expensive and elaborate projects, often involving multiple PhDs and mountains of publications, do not envisage any follow-up.

Foreign researchers have been criticized on a variety of other grounds. They tend too much toward microstudies, for example, which are not very relevant to national development planning. Some of the most popular research topics — caste in India, for example, or "tribes" in Africa — are seen as extremely biased interpretations of the culture as a whole, and sometimes divisive. They are also related only tenuously to the serious development issues. At the same time, local people are continually astounded at the visitors' refusal to consider their own position and their impact on the society they are studying — often rejecting questions about this as "political" and therefore to be avoided at all costs.

Perhaps the most damning indictment of social researchers is that they so often misinterpret what they find. Third World intellectuals are becoming increasingly angry at the sight of foreigners pontificating about their societies on the basis of the most superficial understanding. It might be a joke if it were not for the virtual monopoly of debate by foreign "authorities."

A not untypical instance of the bland insensitivity of a foreign researcher is the American anthropologist working in a Kenyan village, who had quickly grasped the fact that people would entertain him generously whenever he felt like dropping in — but not noticed that simple politeness required the visitor to reciprocate with a gift. He cheerfully lived off the villa-

gers, despite the enormous disparity in wealth between himself and them, unaware that they had named him "the bottomless stomach."

It would be naive also for foreign researchers, obviously identified with an old colonial regime or with authority in general, to assume that people would trust them. As expressed by a Tiv "informant," "When I read what the white man has written of our customs, I laugh, for it is the custom of our people to lie as a matter of course to outsiders, especially the white man. We ask, 'Why does he want to know such personal things about us?'"

In this case, as in much anthropology, it really is of purely academic interest whether the reports are accurate. However, the relationship of mistrust can have serious consequences when an inquiry is linked with specific intervention in the lives of people being surveyed. B.A. Phipps has looked at the use of Western style social surveys as applied to the Lilongwe Land Development Programme in Malawi, where — as in many such projects — distinctions are made between "progressive" and traditional farmers, which have serious implications for their access to services. He cites the case of one farmer who was labelled by researchers as "modern or progressive-minded" on the basis of his answers to the survey questions. It was only later discovered, through an African assistant, that the man had given the answers he thought the researchers wanted to hear. Phipps concluded that "this desire to please the white man has invalidated many an inquiry in Africa."

Whirlwind tours

Researchers have in fact been advised to exploit villagers' perception of them. The primary task in launching a relationship with one's subjects, according to Frank Salamone, is that of "impression management," meaning presenting oneself as somebody with whom cooperation offers more benefits than drawbacks.

The researcher, after all, "as inept as he may be, is usually regarded as possessing some power..."

Sometimes, cooperation can only be secured by offering small gifts. This approach was adopted by a team from the University of Nottingham in a labour-productivity study in Zambia. A very popular gift, it was discovered, was pills or tablets. A popular brand of multivitamins was recommended, although care was needed not to give enough to have any effect on health: this would have invalidated the findings.

The Third World is witnessing the rapid growth of a new multinational industry, the proliferation of research institutes offering instant advice on anything from the population explosion to pension schemes. One of the main features of their expertise is the facility for doing the maximum collection of data — someone else's — in the shortest possible time, taking in high-ranking government officials in their whirlwind tours. They then jet back home to write a "report," often to their own government or an international agency, and receive generous fees and expenses in return. Perhaps the greatest exponents of the art are working for the World Bank, which provides a shining example to all imitators. Great prestige and authority can be attached to these reports, often completely eclipsing the local people who have been working for years to change government policies through the provision of relevant research. A classic case is the visit to Libya of an ILO consulting team, invited by the Government to advise on the best way of employing Libyan women in order to reduce dependence on immigrant workers. The consultants had no time, it seems, to meet with the women who had been working for years, to get women equal access to all jobs. Instead, they produced a stereotyped Western formula for training women only as nurses, teachers and secretaries. This effectively undercut all progress toward an imaginative solution

that would adequately meet Libya's need for skilled personnel in all fields.

Controlling the purse strings

Even when individual researchers have unusual integrity and brilliance, their role is often determined by the less idealistic motives of those who control the purse strings. An outstanding example of this, in my experience, was the device used by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) when faced with overwhelming public interest in the Sahel drought, and the appropriation by Congress of emergency funds to construct small-scale projects, such as rural roads and grain stores. AID, however, had other plans for the Sahel, being much more interested in promoting cotton growing in a country like Upper Volta while simultaneously using it as a dumping ground for surplus American grain.

The solution was simple: before a cent of the money could be spent, there was to be a complete and highly sophisticated analysis by the University of Michigan. It so happened that Michigan had no prior interest or information on the Sahel — for that, the contract would have been given to one of the southern black colleges with an interest in Africa, such as Tuskegee. By the time Michigan had hired the various "experts" and set up the research framework, public interest in the Sahel had died down, and AID could work out at leisure how to dispose of the millions of dollars available for the area.

From the Sahel end, one of the results of the financial and other resources available to Michigan researchers and their frequent trips to the area is that there is now far more detailed information and analysis on the Sahel in the United States than in the countries concerned. The Societe africaine d'etudes et de developpement of Upper Volta (SAED) does not have copies of the American studies, nor does it even know what has been done so that it can start searching for them. In several cases where researchers

do know of a document's existence, they are liable to find that it is unavailable to them, like the resent World Bank "evaluation" of Upper Volta.

There is a real question whether foreign researchers — like myself — are really useful to developing countries. I should add, hastily perhaps, that a reasonable case can be made for saying that we can be. As outsiders, we are more nearly impartial than nationals of the country, who have a stake in a particular area or faction of society. In many cases we cost nothing to the country concerned and may provide something for nothing if our research is relevant to national concerns. We also have easier access to research funds and publication outlets — itself a sore point with many Third World researchers who find it very difficult to get published.

The most useful contribution

The best solution, I would suggest, is the development of partnerships, where the various assets offered by foreign researchers can be used to complement the local knowledge and skills of a country's own nationals. In addition, neighbouring developing countries can often supply very useful people for a team project. Locally based people should make important inputs in planning as well as executing a joint project, and should normally direct the fieldwork itself.

We might have to reconsider the assumption that foreign researchers' major contribution to development is fieldwork in a Third World country. Many of the Africans I met felt that our most useful contribution could in fact be to work "in the belly of the beast," i.e., studying the institutions based in Europe and North America that control so much of their lives; and also as agents for the research team in seeking funds and relevant published material, as well as publishing outlets for material arising out of the team project.

Individual researchers will, of course, continue working in Third World countries for many years

to come, and here it is up to the local governments, universities and institutes involved to make sure that their research is a contribution to the country itself. Instead of waiting for complete research proposals to be made, they might well draw up a list of the topics or areas that most urgently need work and encourage would-be researchers to discuss possible approaches with them before starting on the fieldwork. Perhaps a few weeks should be set aside after arrival in the country for discussion and modification of the research outline itself in consultation with local researchers, who should of course be paid by the sending institution for their services out of the fees already paid by the student.

The problem of obtaining the results of research still remains. Perhaps a Third World institution could request a substantial attachment fee from visiting research students, part of which could be refundable on receipt of the thesis or publication arising out of the fieldwork. Alternatively, a formal agreement could be made with the sending institution that, as part of the degree requirements for a thesis involving fieldwork in a developing country, an extra bound copy of the work should be provided for submission to the appropriate institution there. One could even conceive of an international convention along these lines, promoted by some international body with the necessary prestige for the job.

Similar considerations apply to the phenomenon of foreign consultants or research institutes getting lucrative contracts to report on developing countries. More effort is needed from both bilateral and multilateral development agencies to identify local research institutes or individual researchers who could be taken on at much less cost and with infinitely better local knowledge than the jetsetters. Outsiders could well be of value if used in association with local consultants, and joint ventures with foreign institutes might well provide the best of both worlds.

Or do I just want to keep a foot in the door?

Assessing SWRD

by 'Chintaka'

Class should have been the point of departure. It was Lenin who once said somewhere that people will always be the victims of deceit and hypocrisy in politics unless and until they discern the interests of this or that social class or stratum behind every political programme, party and personality. Rev. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya has either been the victim of such deceit and hypocrisy or is trying to perpetrate the same on his audience. I for one, would prefer to assume the former, and altogether more charitable explanation. "Let us now praise famous men" seems to be his motto, or rather the one he has adopted in his surprisingly superficial comment on SWRD Bandaranaike (Lanka Guardian No. 12 Oct 15th page 9). Fr. Balasuriya has made no attempt whatsoever to raise, let alone grapple with or answer, what are surely the central questions concerning "the Bandaranaike phenomenon" viz what was its social content? Which social group's interests did SWRD articulate in which given stage of the historical evolution of that social group? What was the nature of the social bloc that crystallized in 1956 and what was the hegemonic social layer within that bloc?

Fr. Balasuriya's refusal to locate Bandaranaike in such an objective socio-historical context has resulted in an appreciation which is both superficial and sadly enough slightly sychophantic. His opening paragraphs fall squarely within the Siddhartha—esque 'White House to Log Cabin' version of SWRD's political life—a version so avidly peddled by the SLFP's own puerile propagandists. Fr. Tissa next states that SWRD "had no hesitation in identifying himself with the nationalist aspirations of the people of this country". How then does he account for Bandaranaike's stand against the granting of Universal

Suffrage? Wasn't it due to a profound mistrust of these very people whom he was supposed to have been so intensely fond of? Then again Fr. Tissa says that SWRD founded the Sinhala Maha Sabha "to foster the special interests of the Sinhala people." The bourgeoisie always attempts to equate and present its own special interests as common interests of the whole people, but this is a trap that the serious analysts must not fall prey to. Therefore it would be more correct to state that the Sinhala Maha Sabha in fact represented the interests of the then embryonic national bourgeoisie (at the time a potential class) which was in a kind of coalition with the comprador bourgeoisie, which in turn was the hegemonic social layer within the Ceylon National Congress.

A major part of Fr. Balasuriya's article is taken up with SWRD's supposed "insights into the problems of race, religions, language and culture", his role in "the revival of the Sinhala language", his faith in "the cultural, religious and special values of the mass of the people" etc. Fr. Tissa portrays these as anti-western and anti-colonial impulses. He fails to see that the spin-off effect was to initiate a pogrom-punctuated process which has resulted in the Tamil people being transformed into an oppressed nation. He further fails to see that the battle cry of "Sinhala Only" raised by a thoroughly anglicized charlatan who in fact could neither read nor write Sinhala, functioned objectively as a symbol that welded together the fractions of the rural Sinhala petty-bourgeoisie in the latter's contestation with the compradors over governmental and state power. This explains why after over two decades of "Sinhala Only" the ancient regime, having coalesced with the nouveaux riche, constitutes a westernized elite which

A reply to

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya

still wields a dominant position vis-a-vis the mass of the people, while the cutting edge of the language policy has fallen on the Tamil populace. Surely, the cry for Tamil Eelam is in part a kind of echo of Bandaranaike's slogan of 'Sinhala Only'. Fr. Balasuriya commends SWRD's recognition of the place to be given to Buddhism as the religion of the majority and his acceptance in general of the recommendations of the Buddhist Commission. In practice however, this led to a Mcarthylite witch-hunt within various institutions and amounted to a policy of discriminations against all non-Sinhala Buddhist ethnic and religious minority communities in the country. A genuinely democratic solution to the problem of domination exercised by the English speaking Christian comprador elite would have been a secularization of the state severing it from church, temple, kovil and mosque alike. A truly anti-western popular nationalism would have displaced English while according co-equal status to both Sinhala and Tamil together, with genuine devolution of power. Bandaranaike and '56 accomplished none of this. Majority chauvinism took the place of popular nationalism and the Westernized elite remains essentially intact, while minorities have been marginalised. True enough, the problem of domination by the comprador elite needed to be thrashed out, but as Professor Ludowyke once remarked, "it was the Tamils that got the thrashing" in '56.

Politics, in the final analysis is the concentrated expression of economics and Fr. Balasuriya's incapacity to comprehend SWRD's politics is linked with his patent weakness in understanding the true character of Bandaranaike's economic programme and platform. "His option in favour of the common people expressed itself also in terms of a more socialist economic policy" writes Fr. Bala-

suriya. Now if one is being scientific rather than sloganistic, there really is no such thing as a "more socialistic" economic policy, just as there's no such thing as a little bit of pregnancy — if the Reverend Fr. will pardon the secular simile. The expansion of the public sector, economic planning, nationalisation of the bus services, Paddy Lands Act etc by no means deserve the socialistic label and pink camouflage that Fr. Tissa attempts to provide them with. The Paddy Lands Act merely legitimated the harshly exploitative and backward terminal form of sharecropping. If the nationalization of bus services was a socialistic measure, then the London Transport Board, specially with all those red buses, must surely be the most socialistic such enterprise in the world! Elements of planning prevail in varying degrees in many capitalist economies, ranging from the French to the Indian. Indeed, Nehru once acknowledged that the first Indian economic plan was drawn up with the advice and consent not to mention the advocacy, of the Tata's and Birla's. As far as the 'socialistic' nature of nationalization and the expansion of the public sector is concerned, I can do no better than to let Engels reply to Fr. Balasuriya:-

"But of late..... a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares all state ownership, even of the Bismarkian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the state of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of socialism. If the Belgian state, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismark, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the state the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the government, and especially to create for himself a new source

of income independent of parliamentary votes — this was, in no sense a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacturer, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the state of the brothels."

So, the economic programme and policy advocated and initiated by SWRD was nothing but a state capitalist path of development which has necessarily been traversed by so many 'national' bourgeoisies in the periphery. This domestic economic policy had its corollary in the external economic orientation pursued by the post '56 SLFP regime. The main content of this was the gradualistic shift away from Britain the old 'mother country' towards the new metropolitan centre headed by the USA. In this sense it entailed a partial diffusion of dependence. Secondly, there was a change in the modes and mechanisms of dependency i.e. a shift from the colonial and semi-colonial modes to neocolonial ones. Thirdly, as far as accepting "the support of socialist countries to begin state enterprises" is concerned, any bourgeoisie is always ready and willing to accept even socialist aid for the building up of capitalism! More concretely, Fr. Balasuriya forgets the steady retreat beaten by his hero on the question of foreign capital. In 1947, Bandaranaike advocated a wide ranging programme for nationalization of the foreign capital entrenched in the plantation and industrial sectors of the Sri Lankan economy. These views were incorporated in his campaign platform of '56 — in due deference to the militant mass movement of 1953. After the assumption of office in '56, however, Bandaranaike repeatedly side stepped this issue while simultaneously reducing the scope of the proposed nationalization to British capital in the plantation sector. By 1958 Bandaranaike announced that even this measure had been postponed indefinitely.

Indeed, the Kurunegala sessions of that same year, and the stance that he took at these sessions, clearly represented the consolidation of the hegemony of Right (within the SLFP). Running parallel to Bandaranaike's retreat on the question of nationalization, was the SLFP's growing advocacy of foreign investment, articulated mainly by the Finance Minister of the time. The fact that the 1960 Election Manifesto made no mention of nationalization, while it did on the other hand mention the need for attracting "controlled" foreign investment taken together with the fact that Felix Dias vigourously advocated this policy during his first tenure of office as Finance Minister, reveal that this trend evolved logically after Bandaranaike's death. That however is beyond the scope of this article. The main point to be stressed is that the trend towards neo-colonial dependency via foreign aid and investment was very much part and parcel of 'Bandaranaike policies'. How such dependency "helped arrest the growing westernization of the country" is a mystery that I for one will need divine inspiration to comprehend...

As for Mr. Bandaranaike's deep commitment to "the guarantee of fundamental rights of the people" and his "innate concern for the weak and the oppressed" (an almost Christlike concern, if we are to believe Fr. Balasuriya) none of these laudable liberal virtues were very much in evidence when he opposed universal suffrage or raised the demagogic chauvinistic cry of "Sinhala Only" or when he voted for and subsequently wielded the Public Security Ordinance to crush strikers. Bandaranaike's personality was certainly one that tried to "harmoniously reconcile conflicting issues" as Fr. Balasuriya puts it. Any and all attempts to conciliate the oppressor and oppressed inevitably work in favour of the former and must irreconcilably be opposed by the latter which is an universal truth that the Rev. Father would do well to bear in mind. Bandaranaike's intellectual-philosophical approach must then be recognized for what it was — an eclectic amalgam of bourgeois

liberalism and the kind of 'Bourgeois Socialism', that Marx and Engels mercilessly excoriated 130 years ago in the closing pages of the Communist Manifesto.

So, in direct contradistinction to Fr. Balasuriya's final assessment of SWRD Bandaranaike all scientific socialists will have to concur that it is not Sri Lanka that is "fortunate in having had a personality like Bandaranaike", who could provide a democratic alternative," but rather it is the bourgeoisie of this country which is fortunate in having had the benefit of his splendid services in providing a bourgeois alternative, an alternative located and operating firmly within the parameters of the capitalist system. As the

Emergency '71-'77 and indeed the present trends conclusively prove, the process initiated by Bandaranaike and '56 having passed through several intermediate stages, must in its present phase of development necessarily and logically culminate in one of "the totalitarian extremes that prevail today in the world" to use Fr. Balasuriya's felicitous phrase. This Rightist totalitarian culmination is rendered inevitable by the intrinsic dynamics of the so-called "national bourgeoisie". It is Bandaranaike therefore, who was fortunate in having being martyred without having to personally participate in the historical trajectory of the social class he helped make hegemonic. ●

Press opinion

දිනකර

The budget

We are glad about the Finance Minister's promise yesterday to reduce the price of infant milk foods to the level it was. This is the result of the furore raised by all the non-governmental newspapers including the Dinakara, in the face of the front put up by the President and other government leaders. However, the reduction effected appears to be a temporary political decision in view of the forthcoming local government elections. We shall, therefore, continue to protest against the traitorous policies made by this government. This budget confirms the fact that this government believes that the strategy to develop a less developed country like Sri Lanka is to abandon the socio-economic welfare measures and to provide the maximum concessions to the greater development of capitalism. The statements made by the UNP during the election campaign which said

that its chief aim was to provide for the needy and to secure the ownership of the means of production for the working class under a socialist economic system have now fallen by the way as a result of this reactionary budget. The immediate effect of this is to force the falling standards of living of the average person to the lowest depths.

ජනදින

Stabbing the farmer

Not only has this government not given any concessions to the farmer but through this budget has imposed additional burdens on him. This is unjust. By removing the tax concession granted to farmers hitherto on their sale of paddy to the Paddy Marketing Board the Finance Minister hopes to discourage the farmer and dishearten him. The reasons given by him for this act is the restructure of the rice ration scheme and the current harvest. To remove the tax con-

cessions on these grounds only helps the blackmarketeers. If the government expects to tax the farmer on his sale of paddy to the PMB what would happen is that he would stop his sale of paddy to the PMB and instead sell it to the blackmarketeer. Even on the last occasion the PMB did not go all out to gather the bumper harvest through lack of storage space. The result was that he fell into the clutches of the blackmarketeer. The move to tax him time on his harvest is yet another blow against the farmer.



Budget boasts

The Finance Minister Mr. Ronnie de Mel boasted that no prices were increased this time. But 24 hours later the price of Lakspray and other milk foods distributed by the Milk Board went up. If the courts decided that the Presidential Commission was illegal then he was prepared to accept that decision, the President said. But when the decision went against the government now they are planning to amend the legislation and create a new Presidential Commission. The government swears that it will do nothing against the constitution. But when some bill the government plans to introduce is found unconstitutional then it uses its two thirds majority and legalises its action. What is evident from all this is that ministerial pronouncements, government promises, the respect for parliament, the independence of the judiciary, the supremacy of the constitution are all like the Presidential Award losing in value. It is true that the foundation for these acts was laid by the Bandaranaike family-Mudalali junta. But the action of the government of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene which promised to take the country on the dharmishta path is unforgivable.

Trade Unions Today (2)

Looking towards a new leadership

by H. A. Seneviratne

The economic transformation that took place in Ceylon between 1830 and 1900 with the opening of the British owned plantations is said to be equivalent to a change that would normally require a 1000 years. Capitalism in Ceylon really developed with the establishment of these estates followed by a whole series of subsidiary and ancillary industries as well as banking and commercial enterprises connected with it.

The bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat first came here from abroad. The former were British and the latter, south Indian. Precisely because the estate workers were from South India, they were late in organising themselves as a class. There were also other reasons for this, such as the fact that they were living in these estates and dependant on them for their rations. They were also brought under the firm control of estate kangannies. In short they were more like the serfs in Czarist Russia than proletarians of any country.

Therefore, the industrial workers were the first to organise themselves and to launch struggles to ameliorate their conditions. The first ever strike in Ceylon was launched in 1893, by the printing workers of the British owned H. W. Cave and Company. These formed the first trade union in Ceylon soon afterwards.

With the formation of trade unions, there appeared a professional "class" of trade union officials who came from the petty-bourgeoisie. The printing workers union was led by the Cambridge educated liberal, Buljens (secretary) and a physician by the name of Dr. Pinto (President). However, it was A. E. Goonasinghe who was the first full-time professional

trade union leader of Ceylon. Like the two leaders of the Printing Workers union, Goonasinghe also came on the scene with the outburst of a workers' struggle, namely the first general strike in Ceylon which took place in 1923 and in which more than 20,000 workers in both the government as well as the private sector in Colombo participated.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party which was formed in December 1935, gave an impetus to the formation of trade unions. With the political and trade union activities of the L. S. S. P. it appears as though the psychological barriers militating against the estate workers from organising themselves had been broken. The LSSP was successful in forming the All Ceylon Estate Workers Union. Another estate workers union called the Ceylon Indian Congress was also formed during this period. A large number of trade unions in various other sectors like the transport sector were also formed by the LSSP. With the increase in the number of trade unions the number of professional trade union bosses and full-timers also increased. They came mostly from the petty-bourgeoisie and they had been able to acquire an English education that was essential for offically dealing with the capitalist class and state, during that period. These professional trade unionists along with their political counterparts became, or rather made themselves, bureaucratically entrenched in the union structure of this country.

The pro-imperialist political leaders who were getting ready to take over from the British, (and with their blessing) the power to rule this country, were naturally anti-working class. By 1947, the

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granting of "self-rule" to this clique was imminent. At the same time the class struggle was reaching its peak. The prospective rulers, therefore, had to suppress the working class from asserting itself as a force. It was best to do so whilst British rule still remained. It was in this context that the general strike of May-June 1947 was brutally suppressed. It was in this context too that the infamous Public Security Act was hurriedly passed.

Meanwhile, the working class was becoming politicalised. The political activities of the L. S. S. P as well as the repressive measures of the government greatly helped this politicalisation. The hartal of August 1953 was its high water mark. But the L. S. S. P. and the Communist Party leaders vacillated like the typical petty-bourgeoisie, once the hartal took off and went beyond the limits of a mere one day token protest. The hartal was so successfully utilised to the benefit of the newly formed Sri Lanka Freedom Party, by its leader, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, that the L. S. S. P. leaders themselves agreed to a no contest pact with Bandaranaike in 1955. But unfortunately for the L. S. S. P leaders, Bandaranaike swept the polls in 1956 with his Mahajana Eksath Peramuna which he had formed with Philip Gunawardena (V. L. S. S. P.) W. Dahanayake (Basha Peramuna) and several independents. Collaborating with the bourgeoisie was of course, nothing new for the C. P. It had even joined the National Congress of D. S. Senanayake in 1942, just one year after the leading members of the C. P. formed the party after being expelled from the LSSP.

From 1956 onwards it was a case of the so-called left leaders exploiting the class struggle to achieve their parliamentary "ends". The petty-bourgeoisie professional trade union bosses had almost become irremovable leaders for life. The general confusion in the politicalisation of the proletariat continued to develop since 1956. There were no leaders trained by the old petty-bourgeois

union bureaucrats, from among the enlightened workers and intellectuals. The trade union movement was heading towards disaster. And so was left politics!

"Trade Unions", said Rosa Luxemburg, one of the chief theoreticians and fighters of the German revolutionary movement, "are nothing more than the organised defence of labour power against the attacks of profits. They express the resistance offered by the working class to the oppression of capitalist economy." No doubt it is immediate economic interests that bind all workers together in a union. But the question is whether in a backward capitalist economy the working class could ever achieve their immediate economic interests to avert suffering. It is in this situation that the necessity for an integrated doctrine and a programme for their emancipation will be realised by the working class.

In the next stages of their evolving struggle for independence, it is to a new and unblemished generation of leaders that the workers will turn.

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1971 AND ALL THAT

Fallacy of transcendental inference

Hitherto I have regarded Dr. Costain de Vos as a literate, erudite, straight-thinking, fair-minded person. When, however, in the *Lanka Guardian* of October 15 he alleges that "Dr. de Silva and his LSSP while all the while knowing (as we all did) that the JVP was a party of ultraleftists, tried to deceive the country into believing that it was ultrarightist" he is making a charge which is demonstrably untrue and palpably unfair.

It is simply not true to say that we all knew all the while that the JVP was a party of ultraleftists. From its inception upto date there has certainly been no unanimity of opinion about the political character of the JVP. Dr. de Vos, for one, evidently believed, that it was a party of ultraleftists. For my part, I have looked upon the JVP as a party of dedicated young people, many of them innocent children, who were used in 1971 for a foolishly conceived and predictably disastrous experiment in revolution. But the fact is, that there are people both within and without the LSSP who do not share Dr. de Vos's opinion or mine about the political character of the JVP.

For example, Mr. G. I. D. Dharmasekara, an erstwhile enthusiastic collaborator of Mr. Wijeweera left him in 1969 alleging that he had strong grounds for believing that Mr. Wijeweera was doing the work of the CIA. In 1970 he published a remarkable pamphlet entitled: 'The Guevara gang is nothing but an American evil-spirit boosted by the capitalist press' in which he firmly predicted the impending massacre of young revolutionaries in the country.

On the other hand, in 1971,

within a few weeks of the insurgency, Mr. Leslie Goonewardene of the LSSP, in the '*Janadina*' and '*The Ceylon Observer*') described the JVP, not as CIA agents, but as a movement of misguided young rebels.

Then again, recent public events connected with the JVP have made some people wonder whether '*The Nation*' spoke prophetically on March 16 1971 when it said of the JVP: "Behind it stands the UNP ready with funds, transport and personnel". I do not myself think this probable, but scientific prudence enjoins consideration of all possible hypotheses, however improbable they may appear to be at first sight. At any rate, the point I wish to make is this: when Dr. de Vos claims that we all knew all the while that the JVP was a party of ultraleftists, he is surely guilty of the fallacy of transcendental inference, and he does not have the epistemological right to cast aspersions on other people, just because they hold opinions different from his own or because they have changed their opinions on the matter in question.

There is surely nothing reprehensible about changing one's opinion on the basis of fresh evidence or rethinking. Indeed, the spirit of scientific truthfulness demands nothing less. After all, Mr. Reggie Siriwardane himself, having "shared the illusions engendered by the 1970 General Election" went on to change his opinion about the class character of the United Front in 1971. Even the Prophet is supposed to have said that if two texts of the Koran appeared inconsistent, the latter text was to be taken as authoritative!

For all his sarcasm, I do try my best, as Dr. de Vos has implied, to approach the subject of politics both seriously and scientifically. I try to avoid moral judgements because to me there

appears to be nothing in political ethics which is not, in the ultimate analysis, subjective. In a scientific argument, the implicit assumption is that there is a standard of impersonal truth to which we can appeal, whereas in moral arguments there is no such standard. Nevertheless, in practice I do agree with Dr. de Vos that we should like our leaders to be credible and to conform to what at least our community considers to be decent standards of public conduct.

But, alas, in the end we must perforce choose from among the available political leaders. Nobody is all of a piece and comparisons become both inevitable and necessary. When the hurlyburly's done, when the battle's lost and won, I still find Dr. Colvin R. de Silva more acceptable than say Mr. J. R. Jayewardane or Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike. You pay your money and you take your choice! It would be interesting and instructive to know Dr. de Vos's own precious choice.

Carlo Fonseka

Opportunism and the Left ?

I hope my friend Dr. Carlo Fonseka will forgive me for the long delay in replying to his letter (*Lanka Guardian*, Oct. 1) because, as he knows, I am just recovering from a long illness.

I wonder whether Dr. Fonseka means by the word 'opportunism' the same thing that I did. Many people use it in the vulgar sense, of 'sacrifice of principle for personal gain or advantage,—as when somebody says 'the left leaders were opportunists—they gave up their principles for a few portfolios.' That wasn't what I meant at all.

I used 'opportunism' in its precise and strict meaning as a political term: 'the sacrifice of ultimate goals and ends for immediate or short-term political advantage.' The fact that the coalition

strategy of the left in 1970 carried with it broad mass support (a point I readily concede) does not contradict the fact that it was opportunist. On the contrary, its mass popularity at the time was one of the essential factors that made it opportunist. In entering into the coalition, the LSSP was responding to and encouraging the illusions of the masses instead of choosing to swim against the stream in the conviction that the historic current would ultimately carry them to the further shore (I paraphrase the words of Trotsky, whom the LSSP claimed to follow).

Dr. Fonseka hardly maintains in his letter the clarity of thought he insists on. For at one and the same time he holds that (1) I have no right to criticise the LSSP because I have confessed that up to April 1971 I shared the illusions of the 1970 General Election (2) the fact that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva was wrong about the character of the insurrection in 1971 does not detract from the correctness of his criticism of it today. In other words, I must forever hold my peace because I was wrong in 1970 (in passing, may I add that I claimed no 'unsullied revolutionary purity' and nothing in my review shows that I did), but Dr. de Silva is entitled, whatever his previous errors, to continue to pose as the oracle or revolution. No, Carlo, that isn't what I would call 'clear thinking'.

The real question, however, isn't merely one of correct intellectual analysis. When the coalition strategy had its outcome, in repression, torture and murder, the use of these brutal instruments by the United Front government was for me sufficient proof that, contrary to the illusions of 1970, there was no change in the character of the state. I therefore did what I could to join and support those who protested against the CJC Act, against the repressive use of Emergency powers, and against the other undemocratic laws and actions of those years. (I seem to remember that Dr. Carlo Fonseka was with us too then).

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's errors on the other hand, weren't merely those of wrong theory. In April 1971 and after, he shared full political complicity in the repression; he was one of the most thoroughgoing defenders of the CJC Act; he was (as I have demonstrated) even against showing elementary human concern for the wives and children of the detainees of 1971-72, and he continued to assert the 'progressive' character of the United Front government up to the time that he and his party were unceremoniously ejected from it. Moreover, he in common with his party, has still not recognised the illusions of 1970 for what they were, but continues to defend the coalition policies.

Whether Dr. de Silva is entitled, in the light of this record to offer himself as the fount of revolutionary wisdom may not be (as Dr. Fonseka says) a matter of social science, but it is certainly (and here I agree with Dr. Costain de Vos) a matter of political morality. For my part, I would no more listen to lectures on correct revolutionary strategy by anybody who bore a share of political responsibility for the massacres and tortures of 1971 than I would listen to a sermon on humanity preached by an executioner's or hangman's assistant.

Reggie Siriwardene

Moral right of a writer

Prof. Carlo Fonseka in his reply to Reggie Siriwardana focuses the attention of all serious social scientists on a very important question—the moral right of a writer—Dr. Colvin R. de Silva. Prof. C. F. in his futile attempt to sweeten the hands still smelling of blood, tries to moralise a politically immoral thesis (IMMORAL from the point of view of the proletariat, its class struggle and social progress) which is also a complete distortion of a historical event and its objective reality. This thesis is primarily aimed at slandering and insulting the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of this country, with a view to justify and camouflage

the reactionary role of the U. L. F. leadership (N. M., Colvin, Pieter, Sirima and Co.) which unleashed a reign of terror and a bloody repression, starting in August 1970, against the growing revolutionary movement. This was a well calculated, planned out strategy adopted by the U. L. F. leadership to destroy the revolutionary movement which they saw as a direct threat to their class rule—the rule of bourgeois deception which has brought over a period of twenty years, complete ruination of the country's economy resulting in heaping the proletariat with unbearable burdens.

In this process a very special role was played by the L. S. S. P. and C. P. leadership, which, in the name of Marxism-Leninism perpetrated the worst crimes against the working class of this country. This leadership which really represented the rising bourgeoisie deceived the urban proletariat and utilised their energies to achieve their own class aims. They completely ignored the rural proletariat in which they never had a base. The new left with its strong base among the rural proletariat was gathering momentum when the repression was initiated. It was just beginning to win over the urban proletariat, oppressed national minorities, plantation proletariat, intelligentsia and the other oppressed classes around it. The bourgeois repression posed immense obstacles to the functioning of the revolutionary movement. The 71 uprising was a reaction to this counter revolutionary repression.

The bourgeois mass media the bourgeois ideologists and the hired agents of the bourgeoisie—the L. S. S. P. and C. P. leadership—took great pains to hide from the oppressed people of this country the most heinous crimes committed by the state apparatus led by the N. M., Colvin, Pieter, Sirima clique by painting a picture of terror and violence of the most humanist revolutionaries of this country. This they did for seven long years. The things they did ranged from physical annihilation, rape, incarceration of revolution-

narities to the most malicious slanders against the revolutionary leadership.

Who came to their aid—the traitors of the revolutionary movement itself, namely the clique that has written the book that Prof. C. F. so fondly refers to. Here is another book written by a set of traitors who worked hand in glove with Felix and the bourgeois state apparatus to destroy the revolutionary movement. It is not strange that Prof. C. F. always derives his facts from the counter-revolutionary regime and the traitors of the revolutionary movement, to justify the actions of the C. P. and L. S. S. P. leadership.

Having given a very brief outline of the historic events let us come back to our original question of Morality. For Marxists there are only two types of morals—namely the Marxist morality and the Bourgeois morality. These two moralities are antagonistic to each other. Marxist morality is in the interest of the proletariat its class struggle and for social progress. The bourgeois morality is in the interest of the property owning classes to preserve, protect and maintain the exploitative social system based on bourgeois private property. What really Prof. C. F. is trying to justify is bourgeois morality. How can Prof. C. F. succeed in doing what his own bourgeois state machinery failed to do for a period of seven years? How can a hand drenched in blood and smelling of blood of the oppressed have a moral right to write a thesis in support of the cause of the oppressed? Basically what it really does is in support of the oppressor.

Yes we understand this very clearly. Yes of course, he has a Moral Right—a Bourgeois Moral Right—to protect and preserve the bourgeois social system. Therefore in the interest of this he has made brilliant theses which will in the final analysis be thrown into the bin of history by the victorious proletariat, by condemning it as absolutely immoral.

Let Prof. C. F. answer to himself the following simple questions.

1. Did any one of our great social scientists namely Marx, Engles and Lenin join hands with the ruling classes to annihilate the oppressed classes?

2. Did any one of them betray the cause of the people for personal gain?

3. Did any one of them lead double lives?

4. Did any one of them produce theses in the interest of the oppressive regimes in any unsuccessful social uprisings?

5. Did any one of them join hands with the ruling classes in sabotaging workers' strikes, deprived workers of their right to work and live, deprive workers of their pensions?

6. Did any one of them bring about sinister acts like the C. J. C. against the oppressed?

7. Did any one of them introduce sinister acts of legislation like the Public Security Act into the constitution of a country?

8. Did any one of them train armies which protected the state machinery of the property owning ruling classes?

9. Did any one of them obtain credit from the ruling classes for oppressing the proletariat?

Are all these things Moral or Immoral from the point of view of social progress? Yes the answer is again very simple even to a infantile student of Marxism. The exemplary behaviour, sincerity, dedication (up to the point of making the supreme sacrifice) of the revolutionaries of 71 uprising showed to the world and the generations to be born, the value of Marxist Morality which the agents of the Capitalist Class cannot see. Yes Prof. C. F. no amount of pseudo-marxist professorial intravenous moral infusions can resuscitate this dying patient—the old left leadership—because it has undergone irreversible brain damage resulting from the carcinogenic shock to which they were subjected to by the poor people of this country.

Dr. S. C. Fernando

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That's logic

Tweddledee stated it very clearly: 'Contrariwise if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be: but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic.'—

'The leader of a delegation from the All Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, in a press conference at the Soviet Embassy information department, came out with some equally interesting reasoning: 'There can be no cause for strikes in the Soviet Union, for, both the trade unions and the government work towards the same goals.

'According to this reasoning since a trade union demand cannot but be coincidental with the government's own programmes, it has only to be formulated to be immediately granted. Or, more precisely, it need not be formulated at all for the government has already granted it or is about to. In fact the logical next step would be to argue that trade union leaders are supererogatory and that their functions could with advantage be taken over by government agents who would be better placed to be familiar with the government's goals.

In the outrageous event of a trade union actually making a demand which cuts across its programmes the government would naturally act on the assumption that its own goals were more worthwhile than those of any single trade union which sought to oppose them, and could even argue that the union's leadership which formulated such an anti-social demand did not have the union's best interests at heart and therefore should be got rid of.

The other clear implication of the Soviet trade unionist's reasoning is that in countries outside the Soviet Union (such as Sri Lanka) trade unions are working towards goals which are opposed to those of the government. If this were actually the case then

there could be no better justification for such a government to crush trade unionism. It could be argued that this should be more (not less) so in the case of a government elected in a multi-party democratic country than in a single-party state where the popular will cannot be readily manifested.

The Soviet trade unionist's reasoning is a tailor-made propaganda weapon for any government which would like to be rid of bothersome trade unions. This kind of logic was invented early in the Stalin regime and is still on active service. One recalls the sad story of little Loewy and the five black cargo ships in Darkness at Noon. As GKC claimed, reason itself is a matter of faith.

How's That Again?

'This is not just another executive perk. Good clothes are a pre-requisite of the job. Let us remember that prerequisite is where the word perk originates anyway.'

Berry Ritchie in the *Sunday Times* (London).

And, let us not forget, remuneration is the Latin word for three farthings: 'What's the price of this inkle?' 'One penny'. 'No, I'll give you a remuneration.' (LLL)

A Wise Old Who?

I have no patience with these folk

Who praise the owl who seldom spoke

And the less he said, the more he heard

And for this they hail him a wise old bird.

If all it takes to be rated wise
Is a silent tongue and an owl-like guise

Full many a by-gone half-baked potato

Could've passed himself off as
a Solon or Plato.

A Cup of Tea

The teacher Nan-in had a visitor who came to inquire about Zen. But instead of listening the visitor kept talking of his own ideas. After a while, Nan-in served tea. He poured tea into his visitor's cup until it was full, then kept on pouring.

Finally the visitor could restrain himself no longer. 'Don't you see it is full?' he cried. 'You cannot get any more in.'

'That's true,' Nan-in replied, stopping his pouring at last. 'And, like this cup, you are full of your own ideas. How can you expect me to give you Zen unless you offer me an empty cup?'

Letters . . .

(Continued from page 2)

was set as low as 36,000 tons. This also needs explaining and perhaps the 1976-77 production conditions would provide a clue.

Coming now to the production-as-percentage-of-capacity figures for cloth and yarn we have in Veyangoda a small (2%) increase for yarn and a 12% increase for cloth; in Thulhiriya there is a 13% decrease for yarn and a 2% decrease for cloth; Pugoda has a 5% decrease for yarn and an 18% decrease for cloth over the 1976 figures. As for the targets for yarn and cloth, here too, we find that they have been fixed higher than the actual production figures for 1976 in every case except Pugoda cloth (which is 18% less). The figures are:

(Continued on page 23)

(Continued from page 22)

	1976 production	1978 target
Veyangoda:		
Yarn	1.13 mn. kg.	1.31 mn. kg.
Cloth	4.97 mn. m.	5.07 mn. m.
Thulhiriya:		
Yarn	2.60 mn. kg.	4.45 mn. kg.
Cloth	3.47 mn. m.	6.60 mn. m.
Pugoda:		
Yarn	1.11 mn. kg.	1.23 mn. kg.
Cloth	7.38 mn. kg.	6.06 mn. m.

too much, she should, I think, answer these questions.

How to turn debacles into miracles makes an amusing headline but if there is no evidence of a miracle in the vital statistics which Ms. Sankhya artfully chooses to reveal to us there is no evidence of a debacle either in the cement production figures (22% above the 1974 achievement). As for the yarn and cloth figures there has been a considerable decrease in the overall production (20% in yarn and 16% in cloth), a debacle if you like. But no one ever claimed a miracle in the textile industry.

But let Ms. Sankhya do more of this stuff—she's good, this woman.

Costain de Vos

Again, in this situation too, it is not unreasonable to suppose that targets were fixed bearing in mind actual achieved production figures. For some reason (aiming for the noonday sun?) the Thulhiriya target for cloth was almost double the 1976 production figure (achievement 49%). If they had targeted for the 1976 production figure the achievement would have come out as 93% while the Pugoda cloth target was 18% below the 1976 produc-

tion figure (achievement 90%). But these interesting facts are not commented on by your reviewer. She says: Res ipsa loquitur, but for the facts to speak for themselves an essential requirement is that all the facts must be available. So in order to ensure that those nasty people who persistently refuse to see do not claim that Ms. Sankhya too has worked on the well-established principle that in the artful display of vital statistics one should not reveal

Cryptic Crossword No. 11

by Stripex

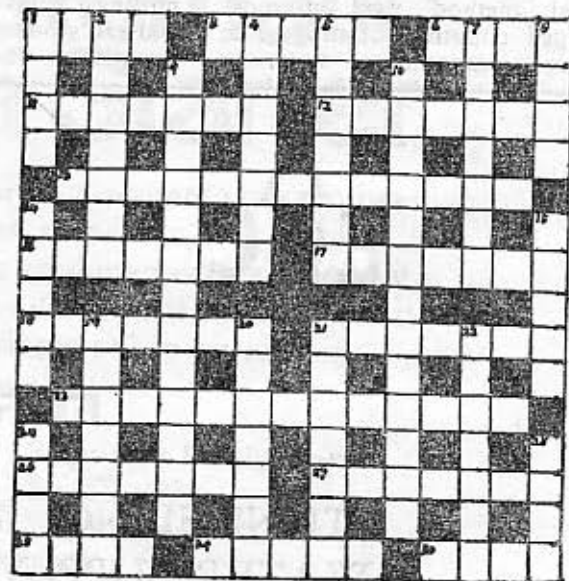
Across

CLUES

- Throw players (4)
- Watches the Le Carre characters (5)
- To disturb the prison (4)
- ... study how to cause a blackout mix-up (7)
- Wrongly made strawhat, no point (7)
- Fib society is prepared to go along with but not the kind writers produce these days (6,7)
- Increased three-fold, Bert returning led (7)
- men in East obstruction to water perhaps (7)
- Inert artist become a teacher (7)
- ... changed bus than get a tan (7)
- Be truthful if you wish to (5, 3, 5)
- Stronghold foreign one comes to for wealth (7)
- Medusa gets two fifties for a shilling: that's the pith of it (7)
- Look back to the dance (4)
- Den could be dusty (5)
- What concerns the narcotics squad, President and parliamentarian (4)

Down

- Erect bird (4)
- Possibly spy, once? Ne'er! (7)
- Profess to aspire (7)
- Test Big Daddy in the river (7)
- A bloomer in the accounts of the estate arose due to ... (7)
- ... mad Reti in ceremonial get-up (4)
- Mean-spirited puss, ill, no miau (13)
- ... then ends with a confused indication of his meaning (4, 2, 7)
- The condition of the body politic? (5)
- Some chanel perhaps or is it chypre? It's teasing (5)
- But cinders do not grow on it (3, 4)
- Signal refuge (7)
- Stalked and checked (7)
- Hollows make Alex ail (7)
- How travellers journey is safari without beginning orend (4)
- Find something wrong with the fish (4)



Solution to Cryptic Crossword No. 10

ACROSS — 6. Somebody else's 8. Favour 9. Extra dry 10. Zenana 11. Specific 12. Severed 13. Avestan 17. Bit of fun 20. Speech 21. Diadochi 22. Avenue 23. Not in the least.

DOWN — 1. Immolate 2. Aberrate 3. Adverse 4. Settle 5. Askari 6. State religion 7. Sordid account 14. Visually 15. Skeletal 16. Insight 18. Oddity 19. Facing.

When is waste, waste?

It is claimed that in 1966, 90 percent of all night soil in China (some 300 million tons), was processed with simple methods and used as fertilizer. This represented about one third of all fertilizers applied in the country. Without it, China would not have been able to expand its agricultural production as rapidly, and famine would have struck in lean years.

In many tropical countries, night soil is dangerous waste, responsible for the spread of disease, notably schistosomiasis, which affects more than half of some rural populations. The main concern is to get rid of it in a harmless way. In other words, the same by-product of human life can be positive or negative.

The modern (or, rather, Victorian) approach—waste is dirty—has led to the hugely uneconomical method used in most developed countries; diluting waste in large amounts of water to

transport it somewhere where it is believed to do the least harm. This is, by and large, the approach of modern sanitation technology. Cultural patterns or the lack of motivation often preclude other approaches, despite the fact that night soil has a high nitrogen content (0.6 percent), the same as cow manure, more than pig manure, and twice as much as plant residue, that it is effective in returning nutrients to soil and plants, and that there are many ways of rendering it harmless.

This is not to say that the labour-intensive Chinese methods are applicable everywhere else; but they should not be rejected a priori because they are not generally acceptable and are reputed to be dangerous.

The existence of disease transmitting "bugs" was not known and it took many years, and countless "barefoot educators,"

scouring the countryside with microscopes and demonstration slides, to promote awareness in the rural population. (It should not be forgotten that the concept of bacterial diseases is barely a century old, and that even in England, its acceptance was debated in parliament.) Now we know simple methods to cope with the problem of disease transmission. During aerobic fermentation, high temperature destroys many pathogenic organisms; ammonia is toxic to schistosome eggs, so that storage of faeces mixed with urine can destroy them in a few days; anaerobic digestion of night soil and manure destroys hookworm and schistosome eggs in a few weeks.

None of this demands highly sophisticated or expensive modern technology.

On-the-spot research is also required.

Alexander Dorozynski

— (Ceres)



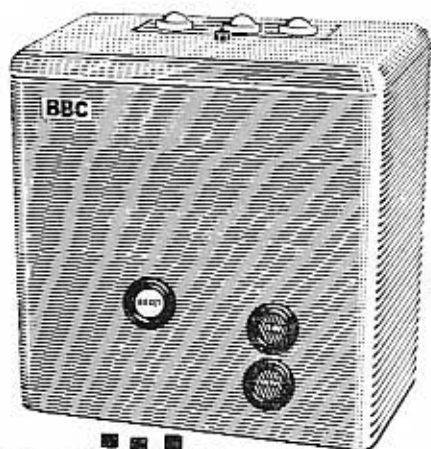
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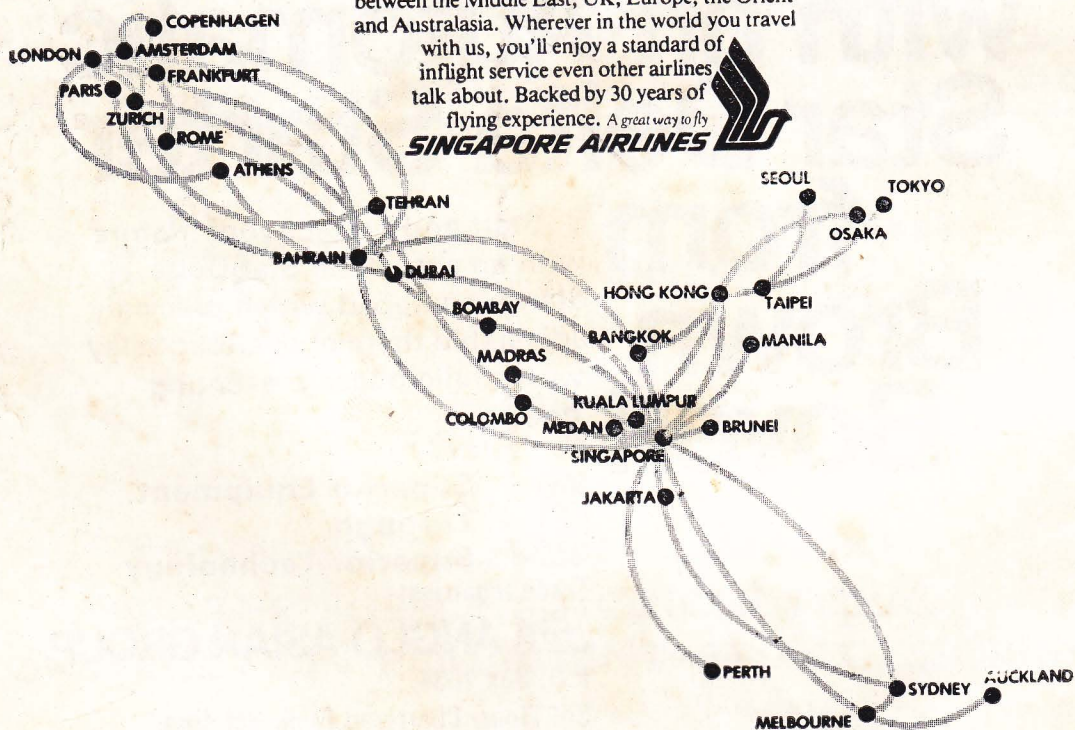
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