

# GUARDIAN

- ★ Master plan
- ★ Preliminary study
- ★ Reconnaissance report
- ★ 30, 20 or 5 years



## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MAHAWELI

— Gamini Iriyagolle



Hitler

Swastika over Germany

Jayantha Somasunderam

The Tamil issue

Reggie Siriwardena

Iran : Myth of rapid progress

Mervyn de Silva

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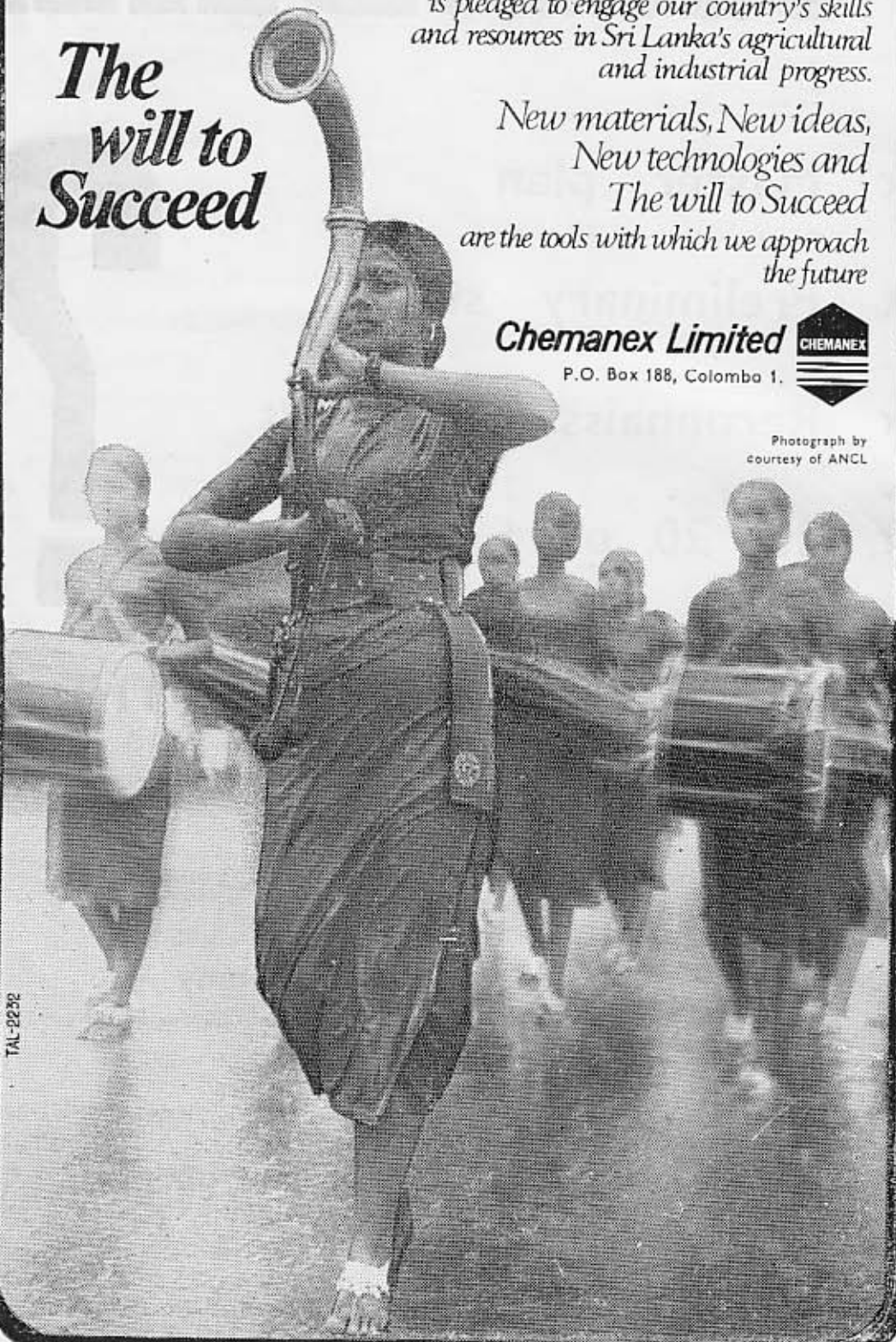
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New technologies and  
The will to Succeed  
are the tools with which we approach  
the future*

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# LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. I No. 20 February 15, 1979

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

Telephone: 29028.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva

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

Telephone: 35975

## Trends

### Notable absentees

On the day after Mr. Desai's arrival, the 'Sunday Observer' took the unusual step of translating in full a vituperative attack on the Indian Prime Minister and the Janata government published in the 'Dinakara'. Although the 'Dinakara' is published by a private company, it is accepted as the SLFP's official organ. The editorial also described Mrs Gandhi as a 'national heroine' while branding Mr. Desai a first-rate reactionary.

Whether it was this embarrassment or not, the SLFP's top trio (Mrs. B. Maitripala, and T. B. I.) were conspicuously absent at the India House reception on Monday. Nor did the large gathering which included LSSP and CP bosses spot any members of the Bandaranaike family—if Felix, now out in the cold, could be excluded from the clan. The only SLFP'er was Mr. C. Kumarasuriar.

Both the leader and her deputy were present however in parliament next day to hear Mr. Premadasa lash out at the ousted regimes in India and Sri Lanka. Mr. Desai maintained his dignified detachment from internal politics. He also kept his cool when a reporter (from an SLFP paper) inquired about the medicinal properties of human urine.

### R and R

The UNP which dropped Shirley Amerasinghe and Neville Kanakarathne

our ablest diplomats only to find the UN giving honour where honour was due seems to have made some poor choices for top diplomatic posts. From Carter country comes the news that one of our men had actually referred to 'that fellow Carter' in a public speech.

Our man in Djakarta was enterprising enough to organise a successful Sri Lanka week in Indonesia. But didn't his enthusiasm go too far when he suggested that Sri Lanka may be a money-spinning pleasure ground for foreign executives operating in Indonesia?

Senator Fullbright called Saigon 'an American brothel.' But the marines were already having their 'R and R' (rest and recreation) in Bangkok's massage parlours. (The G. I's were honest enough to give the letters R. and R. an earthier twist.)

An ambassador may have to lie abroad for the good of his country but he does not need to organise the necessary facilities for pleasure-seeking "tourists" to lie down for less nobler reasons. He runs the risk of being accused of public pimping. Ambassador T. D. S. A. (Jungle) Dissanayake, Ceylon's putt-shot champ whose ambition to be an ASP was thwarted by the SLFP government (his father was an accused in the 1962 coup) may have dropped the putt this time on his flat feet.

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## Letters

### Cyclone and exploitation

Mr. Costain de Vos suggests I should use a different style. A bit more tentative. (Or timorous?) Thanks. Mr. de Vos likes to raise questions. I like to state some answers. To each his own.

No, Mr. de Vos, I do not pretend to know all the answers. What I think is my self-confidence and he thinks is my cocksureness comes from the mode of analysis I employ, the finest available. Correctly used, the Marxist methodology allows one to identify the inter-relationships—events, individual and social behaviour, phenomena, institutions, interests, political movements, ideas etc. As the science of the development of society, Marxist theory is the science of social formations.

Nearly 800 years ago Saint Bernard of Clairvaux wrote: "We are dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants. We can see better and further .....not because our sight is keen or our height great but because they are carrying us, raising us to their own gigantic level..."

Now to specific matters. 'Surplus generated by the masses'. Over the past hundred years, quixotic intellectuals and academics have tilted their tiny lances at this central tenet of Marx's Political Economy. Some like Prof. J. K. Galbraith, the brilliant apostle of the affluent society, have abandoned this vain quest, cast aside their broken lances and gracefully bowed before the master. (See Galbraith's Raith lectures). Some like Milton Friedman and like-minded maniacs have been cruelly exposed by events (the Chilean economy). Now Prof. Steadman in a recent issue of the 'New Statesman' has joined the lists. Mr. de Vos is welcome to join him.

The 'Lanka Guardian' is surely not the forum for a lesson in basic Political Economy. If the Editor permits and Mr. de Vos so wishes I can however accommodate him. But before one embarks on what may be a futile

## Letters . . .

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exercise, Mr. de Vos must make some concrete criticisms of the concept in question. (By the way 'surplus' is not coterminous with 'profits'. Get to the back of the class and work it out for yourself, Costain).

De Vos is an entertaining chap but should not be let loose in certain areas. He tends to be an intellectual vagrant. At the end of his letter where he challenges me on nature of exploitation and exploitative societies we find him hanging around 'Gulags', Tien an Men Square and Kampuchea.

Capitalist society is by its very nature exploitative; as a system, socialism is not. Let him answer just a few questions.

What is his understanding of the word "exploitation". Is capitalism,

as a system, inherently exploitative or not? Is socialism less so, or more so, or non-exploitative? I don't know all the answers. Let's see whether he knows any.

Could I return to the real topic of my article — the cyclone? I was heartened to note that the newly resurrected "Peoples Movement", covering a wide spectrum of liberal opinion, has released a statement signed by 80 distinguished Sri Lankans which reaches conclusions very close to those I stated in my brief contribution.

Chintaka

## Doctor, heal thyself

H. W. Fowler was one of the great lexicographers of the English Language. The local illiterate who dared use his revered name as a nom de plume has insulted the hallowed name of Fowler. He hasn't obviously understood

the subtle sarcasm of Haan's article, and therefore calls it pedantic and boring. He says Haan is like a child who has learnt a few new high sounding words, who likes to show off to his elders his new discoveries. Having known Elmer for over forty years and being well acquainted with his writings, I was a trifle surprised by the accusation of pendency being attributed to his writing. I therefore re-read his article "The House that Jack Built" (L. G. Jan 15th) There were two Latin phrases, which perhaps, broke the back of our local "Fowler", but besides this there were no "long," learned "words or" polysyllables", as the local "Fowler" claimed.

The boot was really on the other foot. He has himself used a polysyllabic and uncommon word viz "hobbledehoyhood".

I should like to say, Doctor heal thyself!

It is true that this article was resurrected by the Lanka Guardian and all honour to it, because no other newspaper dared to publish it. It was anti-establishment not only during the colonial era, but was too provocative even during post-independence years and was therefore to gather dust like the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were discovered centuries later. This essay has stood the test of time for its sarcasm and caustic wit. It is not the stereotype cringing letter which the local Fowler would have appreciated, but an impudent one, which the white bosses who trod on their colonial slaves, richly deserved. Few dared baiting or defying the British Raj in their heyday — least of all the Burghers. All honour to Elmer de Hean who in his own way contributed to the anti-imperialist movement unlike the surviving lickspittles of the genre of "Fowler".

Amaradasa Fernando

## 1971 and all that

I agree with Mr. A. Jayaweera that this debate has gone on long enough, particularly since it

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## Trends . . .

(Continued from page 1)

The ABC or 3 R's of diplomacy have little to do with the GI's R and R or dolce vita.

## Cigarettes

The longest queues in Colombo during the last few days have been for cigarettes and petrol. The strike at Tobacco Co. made cigarettes a very dear commodity in which there was a thriving black market. When cigarettes had almost vanished off the shelves, the government decided that locally sold cigarettes should carry a health warning on their packets.

Cigarette advertising is banned in 12 countries, including Norway, Finland, Singapore, Afganistan and Italy. Twenty-eight countries including Britain and New Zealand prohibit advertising on radio and TV. With the US and UK, eight other countries require a health warning with each cigarette pack and their advertising.

## Tom-foolery

The President has come down sharply on globe-trotting secretaries and high officials, whose journeys are not really necessary. Fine. Here's a trip that raised eyebrows among media men.

Baghdad recently hosted a meeting of representatives from Journalist organisations of the non-aligned countries. Sri Lanka's delegate was Mr. Tom Pathmanathan who joined the CCS in 1953 and held several key posts, including that of Food Commissioner. Then he was suddenly transferred to what bureaucrats call the National Ice Corporation or the Public Administration Pool, meaning cold storage. Recently he was rescued by a kindly benefactor and found himself in the Ministry of State as Assistant Secretary.

The riddle is: To what organisation of Journalists does this civil servant belong?

## Down under

By the grace of the IMF, the Sri Lankan upper class has truly arrived. The 'Observer' had one of its young ladies cover a wine-tasting party. The wine must have proved so heady that the prose was almost breathless. What the reporter missed was the only newsworthy item. A member of a top diplomat's family suddenly sank to the ground; not quite under the table but down under, nevertheless. "Bloody beer-drinking barbarians" snorted a Brooke Bond's type from the 'mother' country.

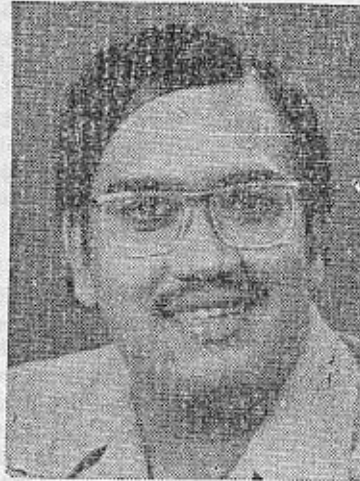
## Counting the chickens in Elephant House

**S**tanley Tillekeratne, the former Speaker, was in fine form. The SLFP meeting was in Kotte, his home ground. Beside him was party leader Sirima Bandaranaike looking extremely cheerful as she studied the very large crowd. A witty speaker, Stanley was on the subject of the poor man's hardships and the rich man's extravagance, the result he said of the UNP's economic and foreign policies, both subservient to the IMF, and other global agencies and alliances. "That is why" the punch line came smartly "American chicken and Chinese broilers are nestling nicely in the cold rooms of Elephant House"!

Some said he was carried away by his own weakness for the wisecrack. But others interpreted it as an attempt to please the pro-Soviet CP'ers in Kotte, Stanley himself beginning his career in the CP. Anyway, he is in trouble with the pro-Peking think-tank in the party. And Stanley was doing well. As the LG reported some time ago, he is a prominent contender in the future leadership stakes. In the upper-middle level group, he has outpaced Lakshman Jayakody, Ratne Deshapriya etc and patched up old quarrels with the bosses.

Stanley, it was observed, did not refer to Maitripala Senanayake as "deputy leader". To project an image of tight unity at the top, SLFP'ers use this title quite often these days. At the back of their minds is the question of leadership, formal or effective. At the same meeting, a defiant Mrs. B said that a loss of a seat or civic rights is not going to make her quit politics.

Anura who has a habit of annoying party stalwarts by disbursing portfolios and SLFP nominations for 1983, predicted that Stanley would have an important ministry. "No" said a bashful Stanley in a stage whisper, "I'll remain Speaker".



Anura Bandaranaike

When the report duly reached 'Sri Kotha', a UNP Corporation chieftain has burst into laughter: "Kentucky Fried Chicken, Chinese broilers or Chicken a la Kiev, these SLFP fellows know to count their chickens before they are hatched".

## Drug MNCs and the 'Third World'

**T**ransnational drug companies are using different standards in marketing their medicines to 'Third World' countries. This is alleged in a book authored by Charles Medawar and published in London by *Social Audit*. The book is based on a study funded by the International Organisation of Consumers Unions. Entitled 'Insult or Injury' this book charges that

- \* Some British pharmaceutical companies do not always provide the same information to 'Third World' countries as to developed Western countries.
- \* Sometimes higher dosages are recommended in 'Third World' countries than in Britain
- \* The MNCs do not always give the information on side effects of the drugs that they would in the UK.

Anura meanwhile is in the thick of it. Last week he had a furious slanging match with his favourite and formidable antagonist, the Prime Minister, and wives, mothers and paramours were tossed about by the wordy gusts of debate. "This is only Round 4" remarked a lobbyist, "Premadasa will take Anura the full fifteen rounds...".

An SLFP delegation from Balapitiya exchanged sharp words with Anura at a seminar in Galle. In Kotte, some bearded youth heckled him and threw questions about Miss Manamperi, the Kataragama beauty who died in 1971, and Mr. Weerasooriya, the university student shot dead in 1976. But how did those 'bearded ones' get in? Did anybody send them?

Now Anura has been ticked off by party secretary, Ratnasiri. Anura wants to appoint some youth organisers. Sorry, says the secretary, all party bodies have been disbanded.

- \* The information provided is inconsistent about which illnesses can be treated by various drugs and which groups of patients should be treated.
- \* The drug MNCs promote their products by giving free drug samples to doctors, which is a practice open to abuse because some doctors profit by selling them to patients or to wholesalers.

On the whole, this book has rendered a valuable service by demonstrating once again that multinational drug companies follow marketing practices in our countries that would not be acceptable in their 'house bases' such as Britain and the developed West in general. The UNP government which has gone a long way in reversing the pharmaceutical policies of the late Dr. Senaka Bibile, should take cognisance of these facts.

# Varsity quotas or witch's brew?

**R**ecent allegations about over-marking of Tamil scripts have brought prompt and strong rejoinders from many university teachers. They all agree on one point — hold an impartial inquiry.

University admissions on district quotas or ill-disguised racial quotas have also been roundly condemned. Prof. P. V. J. Jayasekara and Dr. Gajamaragedera issued a statement on these issues on behalf of the Peradeniya Teachers' Association. Now 37 dons, including 6 professors, from several of our universities have issued a statement from which we take these comments:

"It was alleged at the press conference that a rescrutiny of advanced level scripts showed that about 4000 Tamil scripts had been

awarded more marks than the answers deserved and a general impression was created that on the whole Tamil examiners had been dishonest. This obviously is a very serious charge. The allegation and the conclusions drawn from them deserve therefore very close scrutiny. The facts can be established only after a proper inquiry has been held.

"A Sinhalese, a Tamil, or a Muslim candidate sits for an examination not as a representative of his race but as an individual, he has a right to be treated as an individual. The remedy for over-marking by an examiner is to get the scripts in question re-marked by a more competent examiner, or, where it is the examiners honesty that is in question, by an honest examiner. Standardisation can be

considered a solution to overmarking or under-marking only if it is held that it is not possible in a given medium to get a sufficient number of honest and competent examiners.

"Admission to institutions which claim to be national must of necessity be based on merit. If it is felt—and we can envisage many reasons why one should so feel—that merit cannot be judged by examination marks alone and that some adjustment must be made for lack of facilities then the only valid procedure is to identify on an objective basis before the examination those schools in which facilities are below standard. At the same time the nature of the adjustment to be made also should be decided. The present practice of deciding each year, after the examination on the mixture of devices to be adopted is obnoxious. A large number of students are thus left dreading what potion their's would be from the witch's brew each year brings.



## Sinhaputhra

## Sinhaputhra strikes again

**S**inhaputra was the pseudonym used by the author of several articles on the SLFP published in the 'Daily News'. Giving many clues to his identity, the L. G. analysed his current tactics as part of a great war-game that is now going on unknown to UNP, SLFP or ULF voters or even the rank-and-file.

Sinhaputra fights like a lone partisan behind the SLFP's lines. Now he has shifted to propaganda and psy-war aimed at the SLFP leadership, Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family. A third leaflet has just come out. Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike titled his memoirs 'Remembered Yesterdays'. The new leaflet recalls the yesterdays of each member of the Bandara-

nayake-Ratwatta clan and each individual's 'today'. Much of it is derogatory and some of it slanderous. It is the old laundry racket, washing dirty linen in public.

Public figures, SLFP supporters and pressmen are receiving a visiting card — it only says 'Sinhaputra' and it has a crest with a lion (Sinha). Advertisements appear in the 'Daily News' and 'Sun'. Sinhaputra — dream today, tomorrow's reality:

Sinhaputra is also the name of a finance company located in Kandy. A top political personality, the custodian of a sacred relic, has links with this organisation. He has intimate links with Sinhaputra, the pamphleteer. ●

- (1) Authorities concerned with the conduct of examinations should be ever vigilant to detect irregularities and be ready with methods of combating them. They should refrain from making without proper inquiry, directly or indirectly, suggestions which are misleading.
- (2) There is a need for an impartial and representative committee to inquire into all allegations of examination malpractices against individual examiners and to investigate whether there has been a significant discrepancy in marking standards in the various media.
- (3) A Standing Committee of Parliament should be formed with powers to verify whether admissions to Universities and other national institutions have been in accordance with the procedures laid down.
- (4) Admissions based on district and racial quotas favour the

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# When the ascetics came to Kandy

From a correspondent

## Kandy

An unwary visitor to Kandy who crossed the Peradeniya bridge on February 3 would have had the uncomfortable feeling that he was being singled out for some special treatment. The dust and grime which usually receive him when he crosses the bridge were missing, the trucks carrying away mounds of soil from the former golf course, betraying all signs of a busy nation at work were absent. Silence reigned on a once noisy thoroughfare. At the entrance to the Peradeniya Gardens was a whole heap of Yamaha bikes, sleeping, waiting presumably to be woken up or rather revved up by some Prince Charming.

To confirm this were cops, standing in a kind of studied disarray, keeping an anxious eye on the surrounding trees and bushes and giving the impression that they were the only sign of human life. Where had all the humanity gone? Right now they were tucked away at a bend on the Peradeniya road, behind a barbed wire, giving them only a tele-photo view of whatever ritual the cops were planning for that afternoon.

As the unwary visitor sped by, he got the impression that he was very much like the film hero Harold Lloyd stumbling into a situation where he was not at all welcome. There were school children lined up intermittently all the way to Kandy, each carrying a little paper flag to be waved appropriately, not for him, but for some great dignitary they had been told to line up for.

All this preparation, it was soon apparent, was for Mr. Desai, a simple, ascetic man who keeps a sprightly 81 by drinking a daily glass of his own urine. One of his behests, soon after he was overwhelmingly voted into office as Prime Minister of India, was that the previous Indian custom of lining up school children to receive government plenipotentiaries should be discontinued.

Possibly it has been done away with in India. Or has it? Here, soon after the UNP was voted into office, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne, the Minister of Education, similarly discontinued the previous bad habit of using schoolchildren to swell the crowds. But what can great men do when their followers do not adhere to their precepts?

Kandy town itself had lapsed for the moment into a surprising stillness. Humanity itself stood still along the pavements, very much as it does often when the elephants take off from the Maligawa. The hawkers were unceremoniously bundled out from their time worn stands. Besides, no idlers and loiterers were allowed on either side of the four mile stretch to Kandy giving this road a remarkable look of being spick and span.

The precepts were not being adhered to elsewhere too. The press had given the impression that ceremonies connected with the celebration of independence would be within Rs. 250. You could certainly count more than 250 rupees worth of celebrations wherever you went. Besides, there were many government vehicles loaned for the occasion from services which needed them badly.

At the Bogambara green there were renewed efforts to heed the calls for simplicity made by the President. A stage which was being put rather solidly for an independence pageant was turned halfway into an impermanent structure to conform to the call for less spending. The precept was observed, but at what cost.

There was an all round shabbiness in the manner in which the public and the press were treated, presumably, in trying to follow precepts. Pressmen were not allowed to get too close or to move too freely. Were the great men aware that the fourth estate, whose servants they claim they are, was being cribbed and confined.

Elsewhere the cops were telling the people to fall back and keep a clear road for the motorcade. They kept on falling back until a crowded train from Matale, travelling at about 7 m. p. h. with its doors all open struck the crowd falling back until four of them fell under the wheels of the coaches.

## Cyclone and social justice

Should we wait to shed tears for those thousands of brothers and sisters who have been reduced to beg from us and foreigners as a result of the recent natural disaster? Over 50,000 families who lost their homes, their cultivated fields and relatives have now been threatened with famine and epidemic ..... Mere welfarist measures will not provide solutions to the basic problems of the people. Not only natural disasters but social inequalities and injustices can also be overcome only by the people organising themselves, says a statement issued by the People's Movement dedicated to the release of political prisoners, abolition of repressive laws and safeguarding democratic and human rights in Sri Lanka.

The statement entitled "Let us intervene in the cyclone disaster" says that in the present social system even the subsidies and donations are not distributed equitably among the victims. And to overcome and prevent these injustices, corruption and partisan considerations that determine the distribution of these among the people of the affected areas it is imperative that genuine People's Movements are formed in those areas. This will also arrest the trend of weakening the public interest generated by sympathy and will regularise the distribution of donations etc. The statement finally makes an appeal for the

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# Lanka's unpleasing prospects

by Christopher Hitchens

(A well-known British Journalist)

*What though the spicey breezes  
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle:  
Though every prospect pleases  
And only man is vile:  
In vain with lavish kindness  
The gifts of God are strown;  
The heathen in his blindness  
Bows down to wood and stone.*

Bishop Reginald Heber was of course, an old fool of the old school, and knew no more about Ceylon than he did about 'Greenland's icy mountains'. Like most missionary perceptions of the East, his was almost exactly wrong. The people of Ceylon are far from vile but their country is surrounded by a rich vista of prospects, all of them successively unpleasing. The island is in many ways a convenient miniature of the Third World and its problems, displaying all or most of the features which dog that group of countries cynically known to the rich nations as 'developing'.

These could be summarised as: a one crop economy (in this case, tea) which is at the mercy of the world market and which determines the division of labour inside the country. Then, immense rural and urban unemployment (nearly 20 percent) which has doubled since 1970. Next, an extremely low average age (half the population of Ceylon is under 25) coupled with acute overproduction of graduates and trained people who are faced with a choice between joblessness and emigration (Ceylon has the highest literacy rate in Asia after Japan, and an immense brain drain to the Middle East.)

Continuing the saga, one encounters the 'debt trap' which places the country in hock for

years ahead and eventually saddles it with debts which absorb almost the entire GNP on servicing and repayment alone. Ceylon is a dramatic example of this dependency, having become over the years one of the outstanding basket cases of the IMF and the World Bank in 1977 it borrowed \$243.31 million from the West, and \$265.51 million from Comecon. Previous years involved similar staggering totals, which will saddle future generations for as long as it is feasible to foresee. Military expenditure increases this dependence, since all the gear has to come from advanced nations. Ceylon required a large transfusion of this kind in order to put down the youth insurrection which took place in 1971. The political prisoners from this period are only just being released, with their tales of torture, and starvation beginning to make a cautious appearance in sections of the government-dominated press.

Ceylon also has the other common post-colonial features—a largely pre-colonial economic elite (with Brooke Bond and Liptons still dominating large sections of business) and a severe ethnic problem inherited from the days of divide and rule. When the British withdrew they simply handed power to the ascendant Sinhala elite, who ever since have treated the large Tamil minority and its language as second class. In one aspect they even treat them as serfs, having removed the franchise from the plantation Tamils brought by the British from India to work the arduous tea growing hillsides. The name 'Sri Lanka' incidentally, simply means 'Holy Ceylon' in Sinhala and as such reflect the Buddhist and chauvinist character of the uppercrust. Nobody calls it anything but Ceylon.

The culminating symbol of Third World despair found here on a very developed form, is the habit of calling this form of exploitation and bankruptcy socialist. The term is almost obligatory in the developing world from Mugabe to Mintoff and from Somalia to Singapore. Be your country never so cockroach capitalist, it is still necessary to proclaim a 'progressive' character. The 'Democratic' Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is a pace-setter in this respect switching from autarchy to free trade and back with gay abandon. Wood and stone still have their part to play as Bishop Heber would probably not have predicted.

Last month faced with a catastrophic cyclone in the Eastern province of the island, the government allowed a special showing of the 'tooth relic' in the holy city of Kandy and caused special trains to run between the capital and the shrine. The whole affair was reminiscent of those Christian Democratic miracles which occur in Italy at election times liquefying blood or animating images for the greater consolation of the ticket. The queues which stretched into the distance guarded by uniformed policemen and monks with saffron robes and rolled umbrellas (rolled umbrellas?) were pretty solidly Sinhala.

This was ironic because the victims of the cyclone were pretty solidly Tamil, and nobody had laid on any special festivities for them. Last year and in some previous years, fanatical racial and religious pogroms were visited on the Tamil Community, which before British rule had its own areas and kingdoms. In the 1977 election almost every Tamil seat was won by a party which proclaims the desire for a separate state (socialist of course).



Tamils suffer discrimination at every level, from employment and language through to the elementary question of physical safety, and the concessions announced by the present government have come too late to make any real difference to their mood. Just to make matters worse, official corruption and incompetence have obstructed the cyclone relief operation and eroded much of the remaining trust placed by Tamils in the central government. (It hasn't done much for the confidence of the foreign embassies in Ceylon either. Too many of them have seen the consignments of blankets, clothes and lanterns turning up in the World Market bazaar by Colombo central railway station.)

In recent months, guerilla warfare has started to intensify in the Tamil dominated North of the island with bombs and bank robberies becoming a commonplace. The Tamil MPs in the capital talk gloomily in their imitation-Westminster surroundings about the difficulty of restraining the militants if they are not given autonomy. (Does that remind you of anything? It seems to remind the government only of the necessity of firm action and increased military presence.) One gets the depressing impression of Third World intercommunal hatred building up with partition or continued discrimination as the two most likely outcomes.

Meanwhile the government presses busily on with a policy of mortgaging the country to the international terms of trade and the Asian division of labour. The latest phase of this process is known as the 'Free Trade Zone' (FTZ) which operate very much as it sounds (except that the government regards industries outside it as under 'socialist self-

management', which as usual means free enterprise for the poor.)

The concept of the FTZ involves letting foreign capital write its own ticket in the hope that employment will be provided and exports generated. Tax holidays are limitless and every effort is made (by legislation in this case) to ensure that trade unions cannot bargain from strength. The new draft law in Ceylon allows the President to decide on whether or not a strike is illegal and allows employers to dismiss workers with impunity. But this is not the main disadvantage of an FTZ, as a report by Professor Dndley Seers on Ceylon made clear some five years ago. The problem is that it distorts the labour market, leads to irresponsible repatriations of profit and frequently ends with the firms concerned moving on at the end of the holiday leaving workers jobless and the environment spoiled. Moreover as has been found in Singapore and Taiwan the 'new jobs' are often provided by expanding the labour force and recruiting cheap female workers so that the net effect on unemployment is actually reduced.

The growth of FTZs in the Third World and the abject admission by many governments that the multinationals are the only organisers of world production has led to some startling propaganda. In Malaysia, for instance, the government has issued a leaflet saying 'Labour rates in Malaysia are amongst the lowest in the region and female factory workers can be hired for approximately \$1.50 a day'. This is the sort of competition, marketing unemployment like a commodity, that Ceylon has got a beat. A wave of cost-cutting is spreading over southern Asia at the moment and the Democratic Socialist Republic is in

there with the best of them. Perhaps this is why the President recently made a speech in which he said that developing countries need not always observe the "letter" of the UN Declaration on Human Rights.

This whole configuration has a very bad effect on the Left, which has declined terribly in Ceylon over the last decade. Though not a typical Third World socialist movement (its senior figure, Dr. N. M. Perera calls himself a Trotskyist and chairs the Cricket Board of Control) it does have the familiar problems. On the occasions when the Left parties have sat in government, they have administered austerity and orthodoxy with absolute confidence as if hypnotised by the power of the multinationals and the IMF. They also have a very bad record of truckling to anti-Tamil racialism among their Sinhala constituents and of dropping demands for self-determination when they became electorally expensive. The last government which included both the communist party and the ex-Trotskyist Party unquestioningly supported the imprisonment and torture of thousands of young rebels after the 1971 insurrections and its leaders still resent any call for an inquiry into that period. As a result, activity on the Left has devolved more on to younger and untried revolutionaries whose programme is an unsorted box of ideas from Mao, from Guevara and elsewhere. They pursue an unsteady course between armed struggle and parliamentary reformism and cannot make up their minds about Tamil self-determination either.

If Ceylon is a case study for the Third World—and in many ways it is more fortunate than the rest of Asia—then the prognosis is not good. As the neglect and the exploitation grows so does the demagogy and the despotism and so does the tendency for each province or race or local enterprise to fragment or go its own way. If Bishop Heber returned to the matter he would doubtless blame the people of Ceylon for gradually taking their place among the wretched of the earth.

# Mahaweli masquerade

*"Now that the people are sovereign they must enjoy the bliss of ignorance."*

*"The Planners do not appear to be in touch with the government, neither appears to be in touch with the implementers and nobody seems to be in touch with reality."*

— Gamini Iriyagolle

The UNP Government seems to have put most of its eggs into the Mahaweli basket. The media confirms the political investment in this project. Yet the viability of the Mahaweli Scheme and the ability to attain the claimed targets, continue to be questioned by informed critics. Gamini Iriyagolle in his "The truth about the Mahaweli," draws attention to the absence of a feasible plan to implement this gigantic scheme. He also shows what a watered down version is being attempted under the accelerated programme.

The UNDP/FAO Master Plan which is the basis on which the Government is acting, is only an outline in which, only Phase I is dealt with in some detail. The acreages to be developed are mere arithmetical figures allocated to each vast irrigation area. According to the UNDP/FAO study itself, the work on Phase II and III was only of a "reconnaissance character" and was only a "preliminary study".

The feasibility of Phase I which was detailed in the UNDP/FAO Plan was exposed by a subsequent IBRD examination. The IBRD there

upon insisted on further feasibility studies being done by foreign consultants before financial assistance would be forthcoming.

Last November a report of foreign consultants said that "the UNDP/FAO Plan was not intended to be more than an outline for a Master Plan." Yet the Government proposes to go ahead with this multi-million rupee project whose feasibility is far from established.

The UNDP/FAO Plan proposes the development under irrigation of 900 000 acres of land of which 654,000 acres is still undeveloped. The project territory covers an area of 9,000 square miles—forty percent of the island's land area.

Foreign Governments and International institutions have been pledging finances to carry out the feasibility studies which the UNDP/FAO team did not come up with.

Soon after the Jayewardena Government assumed office it stated that the UNDP/FAO Mahaweli Master Plan would be completed by 1984. A year later the government

beat a quiet retreat. "Taking into consideration the financial constraints of availability of personnel and construction capacities, it was decided to confine the immediate programme of accelerated developments to the following reservoirs" wrote Minister Gamini Dissanaike in July last year, "Victoria, Randenigala, Kotmale, Moragahakande, Maduru Oya, and Rotalawala." This would bring only 340,000 acres of new land under the accelerated programme.

In December there was a further retreat. "Confine development to the construction of five major reservoirs and the development of 320,000 acres of new land," reported Minister Dissanaike.

The table illustrates the fact that 349,000 acres of land in sections E, F, I, J, K, L and M, the development of which are most difficult and expensive and which involve two of the biggest items of the Master Plan ie: the Northern Canal of 104 miles and the Minipe Canal of 90 miles, have been quietly shelved by the Government.

— J. S.

	Existing land	New land	Total (Acres)
Master Plan Proposal	246,000	654,000	900,000
Already Completed	132,000	14,000	146,000
Programme for 1979-84	35,000	370,000	405,000
Shortfall	79,000	270,000	349,000

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Lanka Guardian Publishers Ltd.  
Third Floor, YMBA building,  
126, 3/28, Main Street, Colombo 1.

IRAN (4)

# Rapid development, but whose?

by Mervyn de Silva

**W**ithin a year of the oil boom Iran, the world's second biggest oil exporter, saw her oil revenues more than quadrupled—from 4.6 billion dollars to more than 20 billion.

The Shah regarded this new wealth as his great opportunity. Iran would be the world's fifth industrial power by the turn of the century; it would be the West Germany of the Middle East, the Japan of West Asia. These were the heady slogans of yester year. The reader may recall the many occasions on which *TIME*, *NEWSWEEK* and other international magazines paid due homage to such vainglorious prophecies by inviting the Shah to adorn their cover pages. The cover story was illustrated by glossy photographs of the Iranian Navy in Indian Ocean exercises or the most sophisticated supersonic aircraft in action, of submarines and missiles. The Emperor with his new toys. He will also recall the glittering spectacle of the 2500th anniversary celebrations of the Iranian monarchy, truly a saturnalia that would have made a Roman Emperor blush. This sublime self-advertisement was of course a monumental hoax because the Shah is no more a member of an illustrious dynasty than corporal Mobutu is Sese Seko or whatever.

Comforted by Sadat, hosted by Hassan (hardly the heroes of the Islamic world) the Shah today must suffer the unkindest cut of all—Carter's cold shoulder. Praying that his winter holiday is not the prelude to permanent exile (it happened before and he did return in triumph escorted by the new-style Seventh Cavalry) the Shah recently shared his moments of disenchantment and despair with

## NEW REGIME OR COUP?

Within hours of the Ayatollah's historic return to Iran, the confrontation was complete. Two prime ministers, the Shah's appointee Mr. Bakhtiar, and the Ayatollah's nominee, Mr. Barzagan, personified two centres of power. But no country can have dual control indefinitely. Was a compromise possible? Would one surrender to the other? Or was there still another option left—an army take-over?

There were some snags in a scenario which was widely discussed in recent weeks: an Indonesian type blood-bath leading to straight army rule backed by the west.

In Indonesia, the target was the Soekarno regime which spoke of a Peking-Hanoi-Pnom Penh-Ponyang Djakarta axis and followed an adventurously 'radical' line in foreign affairs. At home, Soekarno's NASAKOM was a precarious balancing act between army, the powerful PKI (communists) and the Moslem nationalists. The economy

was run down and disaffection was spreading. The army unleashed the Moslem nationalists and right-wing youth organisations on the PKI which itself was organisationally much weaker than its numbers suggested.

In Iran, the target is not pseudo-socialism but unabashed capitalism and oppressive monarchy whose fortune and fortunes were integrally linked to the US and the west. The Moslem nationalists are the active radical force leading the opposition. Iran has a long border with the USSR.

For the moment, the Ayatollah has won. If and when the new regime settles down to business what shape will it take, and what will be the actual content of its domestic and foreign policies? Will it be something between Pakistan and Libya or between Egypt and Algeria?

Can the last option (a coup) be completely ruled out?

a foreign correspondent: "I wish I had never been born".

How did it happen to the King of Kings, the Light of the Aryans? How have the mighty fallen. How did the Light go out?

### Development

Many commentators, particularly western analysts, locate the Shah's fatal error as that of "accelerated" or "over-rapid development". As a corollary, we are asked to note that Iran was ill-prepared to assimilate such "development" because the country did not possess, in the favoured idiom, the necessary infrastructure and skilled manpower.

In a sense, the criticism is valid. High-pressure development did sharpen old conflicts, create new ones, bring subsurface ten-

sions to the open and thus 'accelerate' the crisis.

These critical observations, nonetheless, neglect to pose a basic question.

The *pace* of development (rapid or over-rapid) is not the main issue but what *kind* of development and for *whose* benefit. Understandably some observers shrink from such questions because they challenge the whole concept of development, the model itself.

The Iranian upheaval has many lessons for other 'developing' nations. In fact, the lessons are plainer because Iran's wealth, paradoxically, multiplied the mistakes and magnified its immediate consequences.

Wealth itself does not bring prosperity to the nation. Money, capital, investment are certainly

prerequisites for economic growth but once monstrously misused, money only aggravates problems which may have been manageable. Who enjoys the fruits of growth? How are they shared? Even when this growth results in increased incomes what is the effect on the living standards of the masses? In the end, does it narrow the gap between the rich and the poor or in fact widen it?

Certain types of 'development' have a relentless logic and momentum of their own. Adverse consequences may be perceived, the mistakes identified but the critical choices cannot be suddenly changed or suitably amended without running the risk of awesome dislocations.

While it is obvious that all economic development leads to social change, positive or negative, the pattern of development in Iran caused social havoc in an amazingly short time (acceleration). These ravages, collectively and cumulatively soon earn the moral revulsion of the people. *All great revolts have a moral quality. Though well-informed and expertly documented, many an analysis of the Iranian uprising pays insufficient attention to this moral dimension.*

#### Moral dimension

In the consciousness of the people, specially the heightened consciousness of a people in fevered motion, there is perhaps no great divide between the moral and the religious. This throws light on (a) why the Ayatollah became the symbol and focus of the anti-Shah movement and the mullahs assumed a leading and active role and (b) how a weirdly assorted collection of social groups, with diverse political inclinations, were able to achieve a remarkable degree of 'unity in action'.

The wealth of Iran, says the Ayatollah, belongs to the people of Iran. This is no political manifesto or economic credo. It is a simple but devastating moral criticism of the Shah's role, of the system he installed, of the social and personal conduct of the ruling clique and its predatory foreign patrons.

Admittedly, the protest movement is a motley coalition. This point is repeatedly made not only by dispassionate observers but by those who grieving (and secretly) over the downfall of the Shah take vicarious pleasure from predictions about the chaos ahead.

A moral revulsion and a profound anger, a deeply destructive one, was the cementing factor in this loose alliance. All of them may not know what is — 'an Islamic republic'. All of them may not even know what they want. But they all know what they are against. They may not see the future or see how it will work. They have seen the past, and they hate it.

#### Islamic protest

Gifted scholars like Maxime Rodinson have not only given us a broad understanding of Islam as a phenomenon and a force in contemporary politics but drawn our attention to its progressive social content and how such an ideology could therefore turn into powerful motivating factor in popular movements aimed, however hazily or fitfully, at social transformation.

Despite the geographic compactness of the Arab/Islamic world (one of the three 'circles' identified in Nasser's *Philosophy of the Revolution*) it is an act of romantic naivete to speak, at least in this period of history, of Pan-Islamism. The over-lapping Arab and Moslem worlds of West Asia contain too many conflicts engendered by sharply unequal levels of socio-economic development between nation-states, by the ideologies of the ruling groups, by the antagonistic interests of the rulers and the ruled, and by the interdependent relations between these dominant native groups and foreign interests, to permit such an ingenuous and self-gratifying assumptions. Mr. Sadat's readiness to betray the Palestinian people is a recent reminder that the vested interests of the dominant group, disguised as 'national interest', run counter to Pan-Arabism or Pan-Islamism.

Even more telling is Saudi Arabia's blunt response to the Iranian

situation. While millions were yelling "down with the Shah" and the Ayatollah was calling for an Islamic republic, Prince Fahd, the real ruler of Saudi Arabia, custodian of Mecca, the holy of holies, was lamenting over the tribulations of the Shah, whom he described as a noble leader and a bastion of regional security and western interests.

The Prophet and the people clearly came second to petrodollars and US patronage.

It is nevertheless important to remember, as Professor Fouad Ajam has observed, that "during the age of colonialism, Islam provided the road to revolt". To the eyes of the Iranian masses, its more enlightened sections of the middle class and the intelligentsia and all those Iranians even vaguely moved by a liberating sense of patriotism, the Shah and his cohorts had converted Iran into a colony in every sense but the formal.

As Anthony McDermott wrote in a recent article, Shiism, itself a radical departure from mainstream Sunnism, produced in modern times a tendency "which was capable of entertaining and adapting to new concepts". While the repression made the mosque the only forum and the mullah preached the sacred doctrine, the 'mujtahed' a preacher of a higher rank by virtue of his certificate 'ijtihad' (interpretation) played the part of interpreter of day-to-day affairs. In short, a social commentator and critic.

The Ayatollahs (the highest rank) and the mullahs are contemptuously dismissed as fanatics and obscurantists by the Shah and his western supporters for whom Christianity and western values represent the finest flowers of human civilisation.

*Religious-nationalist ideologies and movements do wear two faces: forward-looking, and retrogressive. What is important is the dominant characteristic of the nationalist response in a particular period of history or to a given crisis or*

(Continued on page 15)

# NAZISM : witch - hunt in W. Germany

by Jayantha Somasunderam

*LAW, ORDER AND POLITICS IN WEST GERMANY* by Sebastian Cobler, a Penguin Special 223pp.

Sebastian Cobler was still in his twenties when he wrote this book in 1976. But then the issues that arise out of the Federal Republic's counter-terrorism campaign are those that affect young people. Those who are being held in German prisons, those who have taken their lives in prison, are the young, members of the post-war generation.

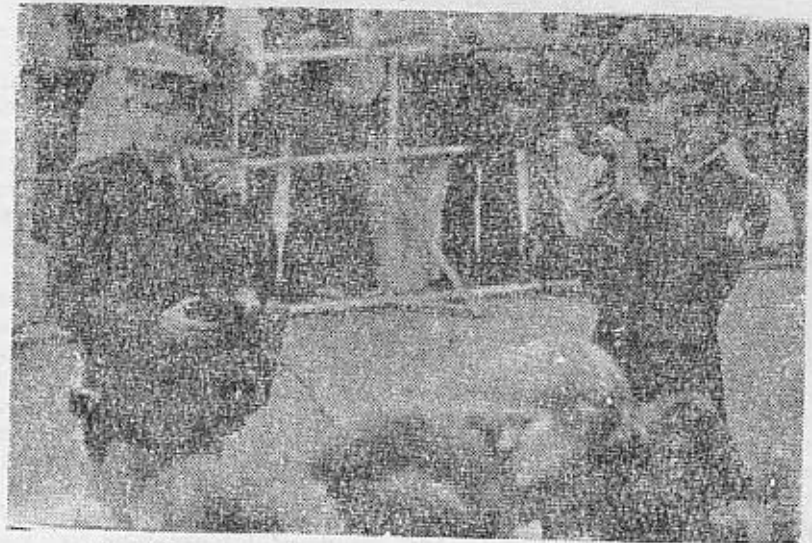
Cobler has studied the legislation of the West German State Security System as part of his doctoral research.

He discerns the authoritarian trend in the fifties itself when the KPD was banned and stringent security measures began to appear. This coincided with economic difficulties, inflation and unemployment rose, the image of growth disappeared. "With no picture, the frame too begins to crack."

It was the young who felt the economic vice threatening them—they were the victims of unemployment and job insecurity. They were the ones who turned to terrorism. This was the crisis of the modern West German State.

Cobler's book is a brilliantly documented indictment of the West German legal system, which he exposes as an adjunct of the ruling class in their attempts to stifle criticism and opposition. He draws attention to the hysterical clamour for more and more repression, for witch hunts against dissidents, as part of the establishment's counterterrorism.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt when commemorating the 1938 attack on Jewish shops, reminded Germans that many of them remained silent when this repression was being unleashed. "Most people kept quiet out of fear, the churches also fearfully remained silent even though synagogues and churches serve the same God," he



West German security men taking pictures of demonstrators in a Left-wing procession.

said. Is history repeating itself, one wonders. Can the nightmare recur?

The "denazification" begun by the Western occupation powers in the late 1940s was halted abruptly as cold-war confrontation with the Soviet Union made the West regard many former Nazis as anti-communist allies.

Old supporters of the Hitler regime came back to positions as teachers, judges, industrialists, and politicians in West Germany. Prosecutions for Nazi crimes dwindled.

It was only in the 1960s that her intellectuals demanded that Germany come to terms with her past. Dramatist Rolf Hochhuth accused the Churches, including the Pope, of abetting the liquidation of 6 million Jews when they looked the other way. Novelist Gunter Grass was also brutally frank about the Hitler era.

In a sense it was Israel that forced mass awareness and questioning of German responsibility when they kidnapped and tried the killer Adolf Eichmann. Only then did the Federal Republic begin prosecuting Nazis in earnest. How-

ever the statute of limitations on prosecutions against Nazis expires at years end. The strength of the anti-fascist movement could be gauged by its success in getting the limitation extended.

The threat to the liberals had been often identified with the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*—the Federal Intelligence Service. Its efficiency as an intelligence agency is acknowledged, since it accurately predicted the Israeli attack in 1967, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the oil embargo in 1973.

However it must not be forgotten that this service was headed and staffed by Nazi officers, led by Gen. Gehlen. "The foreign intelligence service was used more and more for spying at home," claims Theo Sommer editor of *Die Zeit*.

Sebastian Cobler claims that there is a deliberate campaign through the media to create a feeling of insecurity in order to justify state oppression. Cobler accuses the Federal Republic of using psychological terror in the infamous Stammheim Prison where leftists are held *incommunicado*.

(Continued on page 23)



*In friendlier times, we see prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the company of General Zia, the man who now holds the ex-premier's life in his hands. In one of these bitter ironies which touch the fate of individuals and nations. It was Bhutto himself who cleared Gen. Zia's path to power.*

## Inflation increases in US, France

French Prime Minister Raymond Barre's policy of freeing industrial prices and allowing public sector prices to be raised to more 'realistic' levels has caused a sudden jump in the rate of inflation, reports *Financial Times* correspondent Robert Mauthner writing from Paris. The French rate of inflation increased to 9.7% in the 12 months from December 1977 to December 1978 and is expected to be around 10% in the current year. Meanwhile unemployment is running at over 1.3 million and the big companies are laying off their workers. For instance, Chrysler France, the formerly US owned group which came under control of the PSA Peugeot - Citroen group recently is cutting back production with layoffs at several factories.

In the U. S. A. inflation in 1978 was 9% which was the worst inflation rate experienced by that country since 1946-47 with the exception of 1974 when consumer prices soared by over 12%. Food, housing and medical care were

*(Continued on page 24)*

## Varsity quotas . . .

*(Continued from page 4)*

more privileged in the favoured group.

- (5) At least two schools training students to Advanced Level should be established in each of the less developed districts. Increased and more generous scholarships should be granted to the brighter students to pursue studies in the better schools in the districts.

Signatories: S. V. Kasynathan, Dr. S. G. Canagaratna, A. Sivaramah, S. Murugavel, Kumar Rupasinghe, Desmond Mallikaratchi, Prof. Lakshman Jayatilleke, Dr. S. Selvavinayaganithy, Dr. R. S. Mahalinga Iyer, Dr. N. B. Rambukwella, Mrs. N. P. Somasundaram, P. A. Sisira Kumara, Dr. M. L. A. Cader, Prof. M. Selavaratnam, M. Sinnathmby, N. P. M Saifdeen, Dr. V. Kanapathypillai, Dr. H. L. P. Fernando, T. Arulchelvam, B. A. Hussainmiya, Prof. Ashley Halpe, Prof. C. R. de Silva, Dr. V. Ramakrishna, Dr. S. Sivasegaram, Dr. D. Ramadas, Prof. A. Velupillai, Dr. Kumari Jayawardene, Dr. Shanta de Alwis, Dr. I. V. Edirjinha, Dr. Osmund Jayaratne, Dr. Senaka Bandaranayaka, Dr. W. R. Breckenridge, Dr. C. Yogachandran, Prof. Leslie Gunawardana, Dr. Gerald Peiris, Dr. T. Kandiah, S. R. Sivachandran.

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# The politics of the Indo — China conflict

by Amara Senanayake

The politico-philosophical struggle within the Kampuchean revolutionary movement would have had a much greater chance of success if there had been a correct theoretical intervention and guidance on the part of the world communist movement. However, the generalised crisis of world communism following the death of Stalin, the predominance of nationalism and petty-bourgeois revisionist deviations over proletarian internationalism since 1956 effectively precluded the possibility of any such positive ideological guidance on the part of the socialist camp. Indeed, this external context only served to re-inforce the erroneous trends within the Kampuchean revolutionary movement. This then was the second factor.

The third factor is closely allied to the second. It is a well-known fact that almost all the Asian Communist Parties and militant communists throughout the world "leaned to one side" that is, towards Peking, in the struggle against Krushchevite revisionism during the early '60's. This included the Vietnamese Party, which disagreed with Krushchev's treatment of Stalin, his interpretation of peaceful co-existence and his thesis of 'the peaceful path to socialism'. The Vietnamese communists however parted company with the Chinese C. P. and India's CP (M). The Vietnamese had grave misgivings over the Maoist policy of enlisting non-proletarian youth to "bombard the headquarters" of the CCP. They thought correctly that this quasi-Trotskyist line would irreparably damage and weaken the fraternal Chinese party. They also disagreed with the international and domestic policy lines (concerning the Soviet Union and internal socialist construction respectively) adopted by the CCP in the Cultural Revolution

phase. Of course the Vietnamese acted characteristically, voicing their criticism in a low key and within the 'family' fold. The point to note here is that the Kampuchean revolutionary leadership adopted a completely different stand-point concerning the Cultural Revolution. Making frequent trips to Peking during this period, the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary - Khieu Samphan group warmly endorsed and identified themselves with the self-same theoretical positions of the Chinese party that the Vietnamese rejected correctly as ultra-leftist, unscientific and thus un-Marxist. As those leaders familiar with the ideology of the cultural revolution will readily recognise, there was a marked confluence between these ideological positions and the ones held by the Kampuchean leaders themselves — as described earlier on in this essay. Thus the influence of some aspects of so-called 'Mao Tse-tung thought' particularly as enunciated during the Cultural Revolution was the third factor which reinforced the dominance of non-proletarian peasant petty-bourgeois and therefore nationalistic ideology within the Kampuchean revolutionary movement.

## Sihanouk

The fourth factor came into play following the ouster of the neutralist Sihanouk, the installation of the puppet Lon Nol and the massive barbaric intervention into Kampuchea by the U. S. Contrary to the assertions of various Trotskyist sects the world over, the formation of the broadest possible anti-imperialist and anti-Lon Nol United Front, incorporating the Sihanoukist supporters was an imperative which the Kampuchean revolutionaries correctly recognized and acted upon. But in the course of doing so they forgot to implement in practice the guidelines concerning such fronts firmly laid down half a

century before by the Communist International. The Comintern constantly stressed the need for the strictest independence of the Communist Party from the other non-communist forces within the United Front in terms of organisation, politics and ideology. Though the Kampuchean revolutionaries wielded political hegemony and succeeded in relegating Sihanouk to a peripheral position following the victory of 1975, this concealed the fact however that there was a process of ideological osmosis between the Sihanoukists and the revolutionary forces within the United Front. This further buttressed the dominant force of nationalism.

A degree of clarification is necessary here. Marxism-Leninism, unlike Trotskyism, does not consider nationalism of every sort as ineluctably opposed to Internationalism. To the contrary, one of the distinguishing characteristics of some of the most outstanding Marxist leaders has been their ability to raise simultaneously the twin banners of national independence and socialism, the capacity to creatively synthesize 'tradition and revolution' (as Dr. Nguyen Khao Vien, the Editor of Vietnamese Studies, puts it) has been one of the outstanding achievements of Ho Chi Minh and Le Duan. Castro, Guevara and the Cuban revolutionary leadership also achieved a masterful synthesis of the twin elements of patriotism (*Patria O Muerte!*) and militant proletarian internationalism ("Crear dos tres muchos Vietnams!") Stalin's strategic slogans and mass political line during the period of capitalist encirclement and in particular the Great Patriotic war provides perhaps the finest example of this necessary synthesis.

The nationalism of the Pol Pot-Khieu Samphan-Ieng Sary led group was however of a

completely different class character. Instead of a proletarian patriotism based on a truly Leninist anti-imperialism, theirs was a nationalism deeply sourced in the agrarian petty bourgeoisie, whose class standpoint they had come to adopt. It would be no exaggeration to characterize their outlook as being one of narrow chauvinism verging heavily on xenophobia.

#### In true colours

The errors of their nationalistic political line remained submerged during the period of armed struggle and (as in the case of Yugoslavia) came into full view only after the capture of state and governmental power. The Kampuchean regime took great pains during its first 1½ years in office to present itself in its true colours - i, e, as anti imperialist revolutionary nationalists rather than Marxist-Leninists. The domestic policy statements and foreign policy pronouncements of the Kampuchean government revealed no trace as to whether Marxism in fact provided the analytical methodology and framework of reference for the new Kampuchean leaders. Khieu Samphan's speech at the 5th Non-aligned Summit Conference held in Colombo in 1976 is a good example. It was reportedly at China's insistence that Pol Pot made a lengthy speech in 1977 asserting the Marxist-Leninist character of his party. In this speech which was republished in the Peking Review (and the Chinese media) and disseminated by Maoist groups the world over, Pol Pot acknowledged that their party had been guided by Mao Tse-tung thought. It must be recalled that the contents of the messages of condolences on the death of Chairman Mao sent by the Kampuchean leaders to the CCP, as well as the message of felicitations sent by them to Hua Kua Feng on his assumption of the post of Chairman also revealed the Kampuchean leaderships acceptance of "Mao Tse-tung's development of Marxism-Leninism". Needless to add this contrasted with the stance adopted by Vietnam in the messages it sent on both these occasions.

The disastrous consequences of the Pol Pot group's un-Marxist line manifested itself very quickly in the domestic sphere. The scale and ferocity of the devastation inflicted on the Kampuchean people by the U. S. was unprecedented in modern history. The air-war against Kampuchea totally disrupted normal life in the countryside, uprooted the old social relations but did not create anything in its stead. Thus the impact of the U. S. aggression on Kampuchean society was different from the destructive/constructive effect that Karl Marx attributed to British colonial rule in India. The strategic bombing campaign conducted by the U. S. amounted to nothing less than unleashing a holocaust on everything that moved, lived or breathed in the Kampuchean countryside, be it child, waterbuffalo or lotus flower.

Napalm, white phosphorus, anti-personal cluster-bomb units and chemical defoliants rained incessantly on Indo-China for years but fell with a special intensity on Kampuchea. Imperialism therefore destroyed, but built nothing in this beautiful Asian land. Their social life shattered, their homes flattened, their water-buffalos, poisoned and their paddy fields scorched by explosives and chemicals, the uprooted peasantry flocked to the cities and towns, causing them to swell grotesquely like the belly of a malnourished child.

No one will deny therefore, the magnitude of the socio-economic problems that confronted the Kampuchean revolutionary leadership following their victory of 1975. There are however, correct and incorrect ways, scientific and unscientific ways, in a word, Marxist and un-Marxist ways, of grappling with the most intractable problem. It must also be borne in mind that the Vietnamese Communists also had to face fundamentally similar problems in their efforts at post-war national reconstruction. No contrast could have been sharper than that between the two paths traversed by these leaderships in their respective attempts to grapple with and solve basically similar socio-economic problems. Conditioned by their

ideological positions, the Kampuchean leaders embarked upon a course of action characterized by its extreme voluntarism and complete disregard for the objective economic laws, which (as Stalin pointed out) exist in the construction of socialism. "If you try to override the objective laws, of development (of any phenomena) .... these objective laws will finally override you", said General Giap, in a different context. This in fact is what happened to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan group, and an understanding of this holds the key to an assessment of the recent events in Kampuchea. The domestic policy of the now deposed leadership could be best defined as a peasant based radical equalitarianism, which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary to dwell at some length on the qualitative difference between the two ideological standpoints, since conventional analysis (both Western and local) continually portrays the present struggles in Kampuchea as taking place between 'Marxist Policies' or 'neighbouring Communist states.'

#### Not Marxist

In point of fact the ideology of the Pol Pot group, was quite simply, not Marxist. Already in the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels had scourged this kind of primitive utopian socialism and characterized it as reactionary, because it preached "universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form." In his polemic against Herr Eugen Duhring, Engels spent an entire chapter on a withering critique of the "radical equalitarian socialism" presented by Duhring in opposition to Marxian socialism. "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality", said Engels, "is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity." Lenin confirmed this vigorously: "Engels was a thousand times right when he wrote that to conceive equality as meaning anything beyond the abolition of classes is a very stupid and absurd prejudice. Bourgeois professors have tried to make use of the concept of equality to accuse



us of wanting to make all men equal to one another .....But (this) claim.....is an empty phrase and a stupid invention of intellectuals."

(Lenin's speech "Oo Deceiving the People with slogans about Liberty and Equality")

Possibly the best known and certainly the most trenchant critique of the view such as those held and put into practice by the erstwhile Kampuchean leaders, was voiced in 1934 by Joseph Stalin. Referring to the glorification of the agricultural communes, he said: "...Every Leninist knows, if he is a real Leninist, that equalization in the sphere of requirements and personal everyday life, is a reactionary petty-bourgeois absurdity worthy of some primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a socialist society organised on Marxist lines, for we cannot expect all people to have the same tastes and requirements and all people to mould their personal everyday life on the same model.....(Some) people evidently think that socialism calls for equalitation, for levelling the requirements and personal everyday life of members of society. Needless to say, such an assumption has nothing in common with Marxism, with Leninism.....To draw the conclusion... that according to the Marxist plan all should wear the same clothes and eat the same dishes in the same quantity, is utter absurdities and to slander Marxism ....Bourgeois writers are fond of depicting Marxist socialism in the shape of the old Tsarist barracks, where everything is subordinated to the 'principles' of equalization. But Marxists cannot be held responsible for this ignorance and stupidity."

Stalin went on to describe this "flirtation with the equalitarian tendencies of agricultural communes" as "infantile petty-bourgeois exercises of 'Leftist' blockheads." (Report to the 17th Congress)

#### Grotesque travesty

It is precisely such an unscientific and vulgar petty-bourgeois equalitarianism that the Sorbonne-educated intellectuals who were at the helm of the Kampuchean state, attempted to implement at breakneck speed. The result was a grotesque travesty, a caricature

of socialism, the human cost of which is too well known to need recapitulation. This did not and indeed could not go unchallenged. Lenin once said that it is necessary for Marxists to fight not only against imperialism and reaction but also against those who present a caricature of socialism. And there were such Marxist militants among the Kampuchean revolutionaries. Mao was correct when he said that the laws of dialectics assert themselves within a revolutionary party too, and within any party there is a two-line struggle viz a struggle between the correct, proletarian line and the incorrect, non-proletarian one. The recent events in Kampuchea culminating in the uprising against the Pol Pot regime was the zenith reached by this struggle of the two lines, of the two ideologies, namely proletarian and peasant pettybourgeois. Heng Samrin, So Phim and the other leaders of the newly proclaimed Peoples Republic of Kampuchea represent those Marxists who fought valiantly for the correct ideological line. Some local commentators have described the new Kampuchean government as "a Vietnamese backed junta", omitting to mention, or perhaps failing to realize that 'junta' is a term best used to describe the Fascist regimes of Latin America (such as that of Pinochet), which are propped up by West Germany and the USA, after having been bloodily installed by the Central Intelligence Agency. **NEXT: Vietnam's role.**

#### Rapid development . . .

(Continued from page 10)

issue. And often a total judgment on the nature of this response must be founded as much on what the movement stands against, as on what it stands for. What it opposes may be clearly conceived and forcefully expressed while what it seeks positively may lack the same clarity of definition and effective articulation. Samir Amin, the brilliant Egyptian economist, has quoted a little known remark of Stalin: "objectively speaking, the Emir of Afghanistan and the merchants of Egypt are more progressive than the leaders of the British Labour party".

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## Remembered (and forgotten) yesterdays

by Reggie Siriwardena

*THE WAY OUT FOR THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE* by V. Karalasingham (International Publishers, Rs. 15).

Mr. Karalasingham has rendered a great service by reprinting in this book his 1963 booklet on the Tamil question, together with a postscript added in 1977, as well as several articles on related themes written over the intervening years. Taken together, these writings constitute an illuminating document for a study of the role played by the Old Left in helping to bring us to the present dangerous and tragic impasse on the national question in Sri Lanka. The fact that Mr. Karalasingham does his best to minimise the responsibility of the Old Left, and of the LSSP in particular, for this situation does not diminish the historical value of his book but rather enhances it.

When the original of *The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking People* appeared, the LSSP had entered the 'United Left Front' of that day, which included the MEP and CP. This political context explains a peculiar contradiction which is evident in Mr. Karalasingham's 1963 text. The greater part of the original booklet is an able and cogent exposition of what had been till then the LSSP's traditional position on the Tamil question, a convincing demonstration of the sterility of the Federal Party's policies and programmes as an answer to the problems of the Tamil people, and a persuasive analysis of the social basis of both Sinhala and Tamil racialism.

However, at the point of time at which Mr. Karalasingham was writing, the LSSP had already compromised its earlier inflexibility on the Tamil question in the interests of an alliance with the MEP by accepting a joint programme on language and citizenship which,

as Mr. Karalasingham admitted in his 1963 booklet, did not 'represent the traditional Marxist position.' Hence the contradiction I mentioned - that Mr. Karalasingham's theoretical consistency didn't prevent him from subscribing, though not without some uneasiness, to a practical course of action that can now be seen as the beginning of the LSSP's surrender to racialism.

At that point of time, Mr. Karalasingham foresaw two possibilities of development. The first was that in the process of evolution of the ULF, the MEP itself would move towards a more thoroughgoing socialist position on the controversial questions. The second, and more unfavourable possibility, was that the non-proletarian and backward elements within the bloc would pressurise it in the direction of increasing compromises.

'This denouement (wrote Mr. Karalasingham in 1963) can be avoided only if the forces of the working class and the minorities, and of the latter, in particular the Tamil speaking people, throw their weight behind the Marxist parties. It is only to the extent that they rally behind the LSSP that they would be able to neutralize the reactionary opposing pressures and compel the LSSP-CP-MEP Parliamentary bloc to carry out the promised reforms and to get the bloc to go beyond its self imposed limits. If they remain aloof from the new regroupment, and specifically this means the LSSP, what they would in effect ensure is that the LSSP itself is but a prisoner in the bloc as far as their demands are concerned.'

These words, read in 1979, are charged with a historical irony of which Mr. Karalasingham seems entirely oblivious. In his 1977 postscript he actually quotes this passage to demonstrate his own

prophetic insight! True, he concedes, the ULF broke up, and the LSSP together with the CP entered a new front led by the SLFP, but an SLFP which had 'jettisoned its then Right wing led by C.P. de Silva' and was therefore 'refurbished'. 'In all fundamentals, therefore,' continues Mr. Karalasingham, 'the United Front of the SLFP-LSSP-CP which bid for electoral support at the general elections of May 1970 represented in the main the same class forces as the front of the LSSP, CP, MEP.' But what followed? The Tamil people didn't heed Mr. Karalasingham's advice to them, they 'stayed aloof from the Front, indeed rejected it in no uncertain terms, and the worst fears expressed in the above quoted passage were realised.' (1977 postscript)

Mr. Karalasingham's simple equation between the ULF of 1963 and the coalition of 1964 and after is disingenuous. Dominated though the MEP was by petit-bourgeois elements, it can scarcely be characterised (even 'in all fundamentals' or 'in the main') in the same terms as the SLFP, which was in every sense a bourgeois party, with a bourgeois leadership, serving bourgeois interests. (One thought that the LSSP had discovered this fact belatedly after the rude shock they had in 1975, but apparently not.) Moreover, the weight of the working class, as well as of the LSSP, in the ULF of that time, was much greater than their corresponding position in the later coalition, where indeed the LSSP and its working-class following were 'prisoners', though willing and self-manacled. (It is no accident that Mr. Karalasingham speaks of the 'LSSP-CP-MEP bloc' but of the 'SLFP-LSSP-CP' front: note the order.)

It will also be noted that in equating the 1963 ULF with the

SLFP-led coalition, Mr. Karalasingham refers in the latter case to the front 'which bid for electoral support at the general elections of May 1970'. Why doesn't Mr. Karalasingham refer to the general elections of 1965? The 'jettisoning' and 'refurbishing' that Mr. Karalasingham talks about had already taken place within the SLFP before the 1965 elections, which the same front fought as a coalition in power. (I must add, however, that it is curious to find Mr. Karalasingham saying that the SLFP jettisoned the C. P. de Silva wing, when what happened was just the reverse.)

But it is all too apparent why Mr. Karalasingham passes over 1965 in silence. The fact is that in 1965 he wasn't there in the coalition with the 'refurbished' SLFP. Though in 1963 he had been willing to remain in a LSSP bloc with the MEP, even at the cost of compromises on the Tamil question, he had quit the party in 1964 when the LSSP joined the SLFP-led coalition, thus rejecting the equation between the two fronts which he asserts today!

Indeed, when Mr. Karalasingham now reproaches the Tamil people with failure to support the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition and attempts to shuffle off on them the responsibility for the LSSP's total surrender to racialism after 1964, the Tamil people are entitled to retort that, after all, they took a lesson from Mr. Karalasingham's own actions in 1964 when he rejected the coalition! And they remained consistent when they opposed the coalition in 1970, though Mr. Karalasingham had by then changed his mind and returned to the fold. Who was wiser—the prodigal son who departed in 1964 or the repentant prodigal who came back before 1970? The 'refurbished' SLFP which had 'jettisoned its then right wing' proved quite capable of engendering another right wing and more C. P. de Silvas from its own womb—as the LSSP learnt to its cost in 1975.

'The Tamil people stayed aloof from the Front, indeed rejected it in no uncertain terms. What did Mr. Karalasingham expect? Is he unaware of the disillusionment and

bitterness with which even radical and non-racialist Tamils received the capitulation of the LSSP and CP (whom they had regarded as one of the few surviving bastions against racialism in the South) to 'Sinhala only'? Does he really maintain that they should have rallied with cries of joy round a front which he himself had rejected?

What of the actual record of the Old Left, in opposition and in office, between 1964 and 1977 on the Tamil question? The nearest that Mr. Karalasingham gets to facing this unpleasant reality is in one sentence in his 1977 postscript: 'The worst that could be said ... was that on some question or other they may have yielded to the pressure of Sinhala communalism, and this only for the reason that the countervailing pressure of the Tamil masses was singularly absent in the anti-imperialist camp'. *On some question or other! They MAY have yielded!* What these evasive and mealy-mouthed phrases conceal is the ugliness of the racialist depths to which the LSSP and CP descended on May Day 1965 and in the January 1966 campaign against the language regulations of the Dudley Senanayake government, their failure to secure guarantees for the rights of the Tamil people in the 1972 constitution, and their connivance in the armed repression of the North during the period of the United Front government. And for all this Mr. Karalasingham blames the Tamils! 'You didn't support us, so we had to become prisoners of the racialists.' What Marxist logic!

However, to do Mr. Karalasingham justice, he has himself unwittingly provided the most cogent argument against himself. It appears on his title-page in the form of a quotation from Ferdinand Lasalle:

*Show not the goal*

*But show also the path. So closely interwoven*

*Are path and goal that each with other*

*Ever changes, and other paths forthwith*

*Another goal set up.'*

*(Continued on page 24)*

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# Bloomsbury man as a political animal

by Alan Hodge

**Leonard Woolf: A Political Biography.** By Duncan Wilson, GCMG, Hogarth Press, £9.95, 282 pages.

Leonard Woolf entered Trinity College, Cambridge, from St. Paul's in 1899 at the age of 19 and lived for another 70 years. His father was a successful barrister who died when Woolf was aged 11, leaving the family comparatively poor. But this did not deter them.

His biographer remarks of Leonard Woolf that he received the "mandarin education" of the time in Greek and Latin, but went on at Cambridge to join the circle of the "Apostles" and to benefit from the ethical philosophy of G. E. Moore which seemed to him to reveal the nature of "truth and reality" and of the human being's "immediate duties." Perhaps there was something mandarin about Moore, though his *Principia Ethica* still had their attractions to later students in the 1920s and 30s.

Woolf detached himself from the original Jewish faith of his family and in religious matters became a commonsense sceptic on what he considered to be Athenian principles. This divergence did not affect his political thought, with which Sri Duncan Wilson is mainly concerned in this volume. Woolf became an adept of co-partnership, self-determination, international cooperation, disarmament, and radical but gradual world advance.

This was after he had spent seven years as an industrious administrator in Ceylon where he became highly conscious of the defects of imperialism. He returned to England in 1911; resigned from the Colonial Service and married Virginia Stephen, whose family he had met at Cambridge. He had already written two novels, but gave up fiction after his wife devoted herself to it.

Virginia Woolf figures very seldom in the pages of Sri Dun-

can Wilson's book, nor does the history of the Hogarth Press, founded by both the Woolf's; he has devoted himself to Woolf's writings on international politics.

As a journalist on the *New Statesman* and, later an editor of *The Political Quarterly*, Woolf attracted the attention of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. He himself had Fabian sympathies, but was never a fanatical devotee, though Virginia Woolf wrote about him in 1915 that the Webbs "had their claws fixed into his entrails." Actually, he never succumbed as the Webbs did to a worship of Bolshevism, though he approved what seemed its virtues. Likewise, he had been attracted by Woodrow Wilson's idealism, but was sceptical of its results as seen in the Treaty of Versailles.

Because of his laudable desire to devise some system of international relations that would prevent another outbreak of war on the scale of 1914-18 Woolf became an adherent of the League of Nations and the League of Nations' Union, though he never went to Geneva. Because of his first-hand experience in Ceylon, he became convinced that the end

of empires, as they then existed, was a supreme cause for men of goodwill.

During the years between the two World Wars, and afterwards, he wrote much about the need to liberate Africa from its European rulers. The portrait of him on the cover of this volume by T. Ritchie shows a man of increasing anxiety. Apart from his personal troubles, perhaps he was aware that the effects of colonial liberation, even when he died nine years ago, have not always been so enlightening as he had hoped.

Before he became Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Sir Duncan Wilson served in the Diplomatic service in Berlin, Belgrade, Peking and Moscow. Naturally his book is concerned with the importance of meetings, discussions, official papers and the phrasing of agreements and divergences in international affairs. Certainly this was a principal concern of Woolf himself during much of his life. But the five rather wavering volumes of his autobiography suggest a more congenial man than the moralising theorist who emerges from these pages.

## '77 — A Christian view

(AFTER '77?) ('77 ට පසු?)  
Published by Christian Workers' Fellowship — Price: Rs. 1/-

This booklet published in Sinhala by the *Christian Workers' Fellowship* contains two documents released by that association soon after the general election of July 1977. The first document, dated 20th August 1977, entitled, 'What happened in 1977?' and the second dated 11th November 1977, entitled, 'Future Perspective and Tasks' can therefore be assessed not only on their theoretical merits but also on their capacity to withstand the test of time.

Although one year is a short space of time in the annals of a

country's history, it can at times prove or disprove a major premise of a theoretical formulation, particularly when events move fast. The fundamental premise in these documents appear to be that the responsibility for total defeat of the Left in the last general election as well as its future victory would depend on the 'old' Left. The authors of these documents have tried to make this contradiction invisible by 'explaining' that the 'old' left is responsible merely for not being able to utilise their united front tactic for the benefit of the working class and the broad masses. But the massacre of 1971, the breaking of

(Continued on page 24)

## 'Ahasin Polovata' : Life at the top

by U. Karunatilake

(Chemist by profession, Mr. Karunatilake is a short story writer and poet)

Initiative in a revolution shifts between two foci of power. The power of the oppressed erupting in a bid to eliminate social exploitation as against the power of an ambitious substratum of society seeking merely to enter the preserves of the privileged.

If Sinhala cinema has ever had a social message it is of the latter type. Thus 'Ahasin polovata' panders to the ambition of the professional class to 'arrive' via the drawing rooms (and the beds) of the land owning gentry. In doing so, it also panders to the candidacy of other strata to enter the professional class. This is the 'social revolution' that the Sinhala cinema serves up in various mixes again and again.

The story opens with the doctor, Sarath, suffering from non-assimilation into the class from which he married. The boorishness of the Ceylonese professional class has destroyed a sensitive young woman nurtured in the best colonial tradition of playing the piano in the drawing room and day dreaming amongst the flowers in her garden. (The tending of the garden is done by shirtless ones who drift around as though from another world). The doctor, insensitive to all romance fails to remember the tune played on the day of their first meeting, their first dance, or the white roses gathered in the colonial garden.

With such unforgivable lapses he keeps qualifying for his final expulsion from the world which his young wife Vineetha has dreamt up for herself. The expulsion is complete though not openly expressed, after his clumsy handling of the subject of Vineetha's girlhood affair with a cousin now dead. There are such numerous flashbacks in the film that past and present get physically kneaded into a

sugary continuum where human beings wallow around in shallow transports of sentiment, self pity and decidedly unkandyan living, unredeemed by Lester's classical shots of the luxuriant Kandyan landscape. I think the author of the original story has tried to play down obvious sentimentality by a certain terseness and understatement in the dialogue but unfortunately the doctor, Sarath, utters everything in such a uniformly flat tone that the dramatic impact of any understatement is lost. He tries to compensate for this by going through the film with a monotonous scowl of self pity on his face.

The doctor is so completely rejected by his young wife that she makes no attempt to return to life following a mishap in childbirth. Sarath realises this. In his own words "Most people suffering from serious illness struggle to survive. They come back to life because of medical skill. In Vineetha's case she made absolutely no endeavour to live. She had made up her mind."

This was Sarath's most bitter glimpse of the truth, more bitter than the realisation that he had killed her with his own insensitiveness. Her withdrawal into herself, her silence and her death precipitate the trauma of Sarath's psychic expulsion from the social class into which he had married.

The tale, shorn of its flashbacks, is the story of Sarath's return to the class from which he had expelled himself. For some years under psychological compulsion of his exile he relapses amongst the new rich middle class vulgarity of his own stratum. This class is ably characterised by his aunt (Rukmani Devi) and two of his patients. One of the major flaws in the film is that the language and mannerisms of this class effortlessly portrayed by these

three actresses appears to have infected all the other characters in the film as well. With perhaps the exception of Vineetha, they all articulate in a language which jars painfully in the Udarata setting.

So after the doctor's relapse into his own class, during which period he assists in delivering an illegitimate baby (women in labour, childbirths, weddings and funerals flash across the Sinhala screen in true Samsaric sequence) he drifts back towards 'binna' in the same family, into the possibly more earthy arms of a lively younger sister.

From the ahasa of Vineetha to the polova of the younger sister the unimaginative doctor vacillates slowly and surely back to roost among the status symbols, of his new rung in the social ladder, much perhaps to the delight of our cinema audience and the box office men.

There is a different polova that has almost been completely left out in this film—the polova of Emanis, the shirtless one, who flaps around like an animated article of furniture from a mud hut. He wanders through the grim vulgarity of the doctor's home like a being from a different world.

But this world comes suddenly alive in Lester's last sequence where the enduring classical lines of a Kandyan devale emerge like the startling little village temple in Puran-Appu. Confronted by this glimpse of a world that our peasants fought for and laid down their lives we ask ourselves: is it not a great tragedy that their revolts, including that of 1971, have only helped to consolidate the social classes that strut around in 'Ahasin Polovata'?

## Wriggin's dilemma

Dr. Howard Wriggins, Columbia Professor-turned-ambassador is, working on a new book on Sri Lanka. Academic circles are still not certain whether Dr. Wriggins will up-date his authoritative study *'Ceylon-Dilemma for a new Nation'*, or embark on an entirely new work covering the post-1960 years. Recently Wriggins co-authored *"Reducing global inequalities"*, a book which received kindly attention and generous space from *'Ceylon Daily News'* and a "special correspondent"—*Lake House* journalists say it was a very special correspondent.

### Baptising Satan

Sri Lanka politics has always had an abundance of those who flit from party to party. But politicians who hop from church to church are a rarity. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, whom left leader Dr. N. M. Perera christened as Satan, has been doing just that since the last election. Finally however, he has got himself baptised at the Bethany Prayer Centre, the church of former supreme court justice Malcolm Perera. Malcolm Perera was appointed to the supreme court by the Bandaranaike government of which Felix Dias was Minister of Justice.

### Pope's misgivings

In spite of the fact he comes from Poland, or perhaps because of that, the new Pope, John Paul II has expressed misgivings about a 'theology of liberation' that places a premium on political and social emancipation. The Pope just concluded a very successful visit to Latin America.

Meanwhile, Amnesty International has appealed to the Third General Conference of Latin American Catholic Bishops, taking place in Mexico to intervene in cases of political imprisonment, torture, disappearances and killings throughout the continent.



Felix: a rarity

### People who disappear

Amnesty International said that at least 17,000 political prisoners were being held in Latin American prisons and detention centres and that a minimum of 30,000 people had disappeared or had been assassinated for political reasons throughout the continent during the last decade.

"The systematic practice of arbitrary detention, abduction and torture has exacted an appalling toll: thousands have been disfigured and disabled as a result of arbitrary and cruel treatment. Innumerable families have been split up or left destitute," said AI.

### John Paul on Human Rights

In this context, AI said it welcomed the commitment to human rights expressed in the statement of His Holiness Pope John Paul II on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Pope has spoken out against "the use of physical and psychological torture perpetrated against prisoners or political dissenters" and has said that the "sequestration" of persons for political reasons and acts of kidnapping for material gain "dramatically attack family life and the social fabric."

In a document which it has circulated to all bishops who will be attending the conference, AI said that "in some cases, local priests, ecclesiastical authorities and lay organizations have become the only voice left to speak on behalf of those who are unjustly imprisoned, the victims of torture and the families of those who have disappeared or died."

### Church remains silent

"This work of the Church, which has been jeopardized in many instances by reprisals and by political slander, has succeeded in saving lives and in exposing grave violations of human rights which otherwise would not have come to light," said AI. "However, in some countries, the Church hierarchy has sadly remained inexplicably silent."

"In Latin America," AI said, "the abuse of emergency legislation, the proliferation of paramilitary organizations for whose actions governments refuse to acknowledge responsibility and even, in some cases, the justification of violence in the name of the values of Christian civilization, mock the very principles which governments recognize and, in theory, are pledged to protect."

### Occupational hazards

The International Press Institute in its press freedom review notes that journalism is fast becoming one of the world's riskiest professions. Over a period of twelve months journalists were kidnapped in six countries, bombed in six others, murdered in another six, tortured and assaulted in eight nations and detained in more than twenty-five.

The IPI has called for "an urgent international initiative to win immunity for journalists from assault and extra-judicial detention. Immunity for journalists is not a political matter. It is an urgent matter of human and civil rights."

(Continued on page 21)

## A home - run on the cyclone

by Dr Caustic da Soda

**A** propos of Chintaka's well-deserved strictures in your issue of 1st January on the depressing performance of the Dharmishta bureaucracy of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (both uniformed and plain-clothed) in coping with the social and economic crises in the aftermath of the cyclone (to offset which a 20% surcharge on income tax has now been announced), perhaps he will concede that a silver lining in the cloud has appeared with the news item in the 'Ceylon Daily News' of January 29 of the experiments the Coconut Research Institute has been conducting on the social benefits of the vast acres of fallen and decapitated coconut trunks. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and the back-room boys in the CRI have become the toast of the nation, with the reported discovery that "high quality police batons and baseball bats can be turned out with matured coconut timber from the cyclone affected areas" Appropriate technology has received a welcome boost to its withering arm, and Professor Chandra Wickremesinghe will have to think again about the long-term fruits of fundamental research.

The possibilities of a home-grown industry serving the interests of a sport, hitherto unknown in the island, boggle the imagination of this ruminant at least. An US AID mission could be requested to set up the infrastructure of this new game (with or without tied or untied aid from the IMF or a related agency) and to supply a team of experts to promote its island-wide popularity. A new Ministry could arise at the drop of a baseball bat, and another malingering or frustrated backbencher soothed with the blessings of office. The Voice of America would reach out with the persistency of liquid gravel to the remotest hamlet in the Wannu,

and the Bandarawela Red Sox, the Habaraduwa Yankees (not forgetting the Chenkaladi Dodgers) would be a sensation on future T. V. screens, not only in Sri Lanka. More brains will drain out of local baseball bats, and excited customers will choke on their gums as 'Hank' Vannitamby sets the Brooklyn Stadium alight with a sizzling home run!

All this would inevitably lead a moribund Board of Control for Cricket in Sri Lanka (under Trotskyite sponsorship or not) into a renewed splurge of activity at its long-tenanted crease, stormed by irate hordes of 'flannelled fools', and the International Cricket Conference, albeit reluctantly, would accept that long-suffering application for membership of its exalted turf. The resulting competition between the wielders of the patrician willow and the plebeian coconut will lead to the SLBC opening yet another wavelength to appease sports fans from Point Pedro to Dondra Head, and Upali (licenced or unlicenced) will become an ubiquitous by-word in every transistorised household. That unknown CRI scientist will, no doubt, make the cover of *Time* as "Man of the Year" before this century is out, as, even if the above scenario does not quite make it to the boundary in actual play, the American baseball circuit will be lapping up every bat we can fashion, and a new non-traditional export will come into its own (in the FTZ or outside) now that gems are losing their lustre—baseball bats being difficult to conceal or to smuggle in appreciable quantities. We can all be converted to the superior advantages of vitaminised soya bean milk, and the Oriental Tree of Life be cultivated to close the yawning trade deficits of an indigent Third World country. The benefits to East-West cultural

*This was a letter sent to the L G by a reader in Kandy. In view of its length and Style we have made it into a light column.*

exchange and mutual understanding are staggering to contemplate, while the Agrarian Research and Training Institute will need to concentrate on 'diamonds' and not 'triangles' in their pursuit of the coconut.

As for those police batons, crowd control will be a push-over, angry commuters can be laid to rest, industrial unrest curbed in a flurry of matured coconut wood, and the slightest symptoms of agitation and protest brought to heel by a swift, well-orchestrated, and controlled display of Batticaloa timber in the correct hands. The impact on firm and efficient government will be nothing short of cyclonic. Last, but not least, since a police truncheon resembles a baseball bat, or can be made to do so better through a further application of native genius at the CRI, the problems of short supply or replacements in either sport are rendered minimal.

People . . .

*(Continued from page 20)*

### History's V. I. Ps

Michael Hart has come up with a book that is different. It lists the 100 most influential men in history. First place is held by the Prophet Mohammed. Christian influence is divided between Christ ranked number 3 and St. Paul ranked 6th. Isaac Newton the scientist has second place and Johann Gntenberg, the inventor of printing (in the West), eighth place, Gautama Buddha and Confucius are ranked four and five. Columbus and Einstein nine and ten. And Karl Marx number eleven.

# Test Tube : The third parent

by Harin Watson

Questions of selective breeding, genetic engineering and surrogate parents have come up again in the wake of the second successful test-tube-baby, this time in India. As more and more parents around the world clamour to have fertilisation through *in vitro* fertilisation, the controversy thickens.

Man with his obsessive desire to discover, innovate and create, stands today on the edge of a new world. A world in which he will unwittingly be forced to take his place alongside the very products of his own making—the results of his endeavours in science and technology. No longer will life be confined to the mysteries of conception followed by embryonic growth within the human body, resulting in the birth of a new being. He could well become a man-produced-item off a production line—Man the machine, not Man the immortal.

Why do we say this?

(1) With the cracking of the genetic code by Dr. Francis Crick and Dr. James D. Watson in 1962, man has gained new inroads into the understanding of the substance within man, that determines his physical make-up, his characteristics etc.

(2) With the birth of the test tube baby, a 5 lb 12 oz baby girl to Mrs. Lesley Brown of Oldham, England, it is now possible for conception (the beginning of a new life) to take place in a laboratory. And soon not only conception but the growth of this fertilised egg to the point when it becomes a human life too, could very well take place outside the human body.

When we put the two together, we see that in the future, not only can man—as you and I know him—be produced in a laboratory, it could also be possible to tamper with the embryo so as to produce a specific type of human, according to our needs; to pre-

determine his physical and mental make up so that his attitudes and behaviour could be what we decide. In fact this seems to be the thinking of many leading scientists and biologists of our time.

Dr. Francis Crick himself, in a lecture titled *Why I Study Biology* given in St. Louis in 1971, states that genetic engineering ought to be used to produce the type of people we would like to have and also to restrict the population of the world with certain groups of people being permitted to have more children while other are restricted.

All of this is a result of the basic belief that man is not a unique and definite creation, with awesome powers of mind and soul, but rather a complex biochemical machine whose make-up, combined with his environment, results in his attitudes, behaviour and actions. If this were so, in the interests of the survival and betterment of future generations, it would not seem improper for an elite or select group like some world authority, to determine man's make-up as well as to control the total population.

But wherein lies the truth? Could this astonishing being with his amazing powers of intellect and emotion be nothing more than a chemical mass functioning as a machine? Is this the man

*Why should the female reproductive tract be sacrosanct?*

— Dr. Donna Daentl.

Professor of Pediatrics, University of California.

*There's a real human value that the Church sees is at stake here, we are not obliged to solve problems by sacrificing human-values.*

— Rev Francis Felice

Professor of Biology, University of San Francisco.

*Science will become more and more the 'third parent' in conception. Do we want to bring a third and perhaps domineering parent into procreation.*

— Ms. Deborah Streeter

Bioethicist, Berkeley University.

whom you and I know, laughing crying, playing, working, talking, thinking, loving, hating, pleasing, hurting, dreaming, discovering...?

The answer lies in an ancient document of history called the Bible, dating back many thousands of years. In Genesis Chapter 1:27 it says: So God created man in His own image, in the image of God He created him: male and female He created them.

Made in the image of the Creator of all things, we naturally reflect some of His awesome powers, yet by shutting Him out of our lives we devote ourselves to a meaningless existence, reducing ourselves to more machines.



# The politics of higher education

by Sunil Bastian

Perhaps the best description of an ideal University in the liberal bourgeois democratic tradition can be found in Herman Hesse's Nobel Prize winning novel, 'The Glass Bead game'. In his *Castalia*, Hesse brings out an ideal in the European tradition; of a place where all facilities are provided for those capable to carry out research and study in any branch of knowledge, however irrelevant or narrow may be the problem to the situation in the society at large or however conflicting it may be to the officially existing ideologies. May be the 19th century German Universities came closest to these ideals in real history.

The bourgeois democracy always puts forward as one of its inherent properties the concept of 'Academic freedom' and the institution called the 'Autonomous University'. These ideas imply that in a democratic society we ought to have independent organisations pursuing the goal of acquiring knowledge and understanding world. Also that everything should be done to make these activities as free as possible from all constraints and controls. Bourgeois democracy in this way tries to cover the link between the higher educational institutes and the socio-economic system of the society. But history is unravelling to us these connections more and more and therefore laying bare the true nature of higher education. To my mind this type of an approach will give us a guide to understand what is happening in our higher education today and also the significance of legislations like the new Higher Educational Bill. My task in this article is to demonstrate the political aspect

of higher education, which bourgeois ideology tries to cover up in order to come to the specificities of Sri Lanka at a later attempt.

Unveiling of the true nature of higher education had come about due to two factors coming into play in the twentieth century history. One was the integration of the empiricist practices with abstract mathematics, which was a prime mover behind the industrial, scientific and technological revolution whose impact none of us are free of. The transformation of the social composition of the student population with the spread of higher education was the second factor. The first factor converted knowledge itself to a productive force, and therefore an element which the rulers no longer could ignore. The second brought into the campuses the problems of the society at large demanding from the university either to face them or to be objectively in the reactionary camp. These changes marked the point from which the justification of the idea of the University itself became linked with politics.

## Knowledge as a productive force

No state today keen on developing their societies can ignore the productive force in science and technology. When coupled with the need for maintaining power, science and technology become the life blood of any state. Therefore the need to increase expenditure on research and development and the need to control and guide research institutes and higher educational institutes is felt in any modern society. Those in power achieve these aims in various ways, may

be by direct control as in the case of Sri Lanka or by indirect financial control. Higher educational institutes are expected to produce the skills necessary to run the industries and to work the fields. If they could train the skilled man-power in such a way so that they'll carry on their tasks as scientists, engineers, economists or administrators without questioning the social framework in which they work or the social implications of their activities the training system can be satisfied that they have done a good job. In fact the entire higher educational program can be planned with these objectives in view, thus revealing to us the direct political implications of higher education. Students will be kept busy and their programmes narrowed so as to produce the 'specialized idiot' who can be used to run the system. Secondly the subject matter itself can be geared for the same purpose. The syllabus content, the topics chosen for research will reflect these trends. Today in actual fact some of the social sciences had turned out to be mere management sciences helping the capitalist system to face the crises or providing the techniques to keep the workers under control either through 'persuasion' or coercion. The natural sciences are given in such way to produce the blind specialist. Therefore we see politics in the very core of higher education.

NEXT: Social composition

## Cyclone and . . .

(Continued from page 5)

formation of such People's Movements while inviting all kinds of donations for relief work.

The statement has over 80 signatories of whom about 50 belong to various organisations. Among them are: Ven Ahangama Dhamarama, Bishop Leo Nanayakkara, Dr S. Sinnatambay, Dr Nalin Silva, Nanda Ellawela, Dinesh Gunawardene, Gamini Yapa, Mahinda Wijesekara, Vasudeva Nanayakkara, L. Ariyawansa, N. Shamugathanan, Nimalika Fernando and HalimDeen.

## Letters . . .

(Continued from page 2)

has strayed very far from the issue posed by my review of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's pamphlet which began the whole thing—i. e. its author's political morality in writing it. Before leaving the new contenders to fight it out, I should like to deal with a few points raised by Dr. Carlo Fonseka's last contribution.

Dr. Fonseka's apologia for the horrors of 1971 by reference to the deaths of policemen reminds me of those who used to say, in answer to protests against American atrocities in Vietnam, 'But the Vietcong also committed atrocities!' One doesn't (at least, not if one has any pretensions to being considered a socialist) equate the violence of the oppressors with the violence of the oppressed (even when the latter is ill-conceived, ill-timed or ill-directed). However, those who attacked police stations at least knew they were courting death. What possible excuse can Dr. Fonseka find for the killing, rape and torture of unknown numbers of young men and women for no crime other than that of attending a few classes of the JVP—or, in many cases, for no association with it at all? Or for the actions of his present friends, the leaders of the Old Left, in helping to create the atmosphere which made these abominations possible by crying 'No mercy!' on the radio, and (as I know from personal experience) justifying the carnage and the brutality while they were on.

Dr. Fonseka attributes to me a share of responsibility for the murderous outcome of coalition politics in so far as I sympathised with those politics between May 1970 and April 1971. I am ready to accept that degree of responsibility—which I share with many lakhs of voters I don't condone my error in putting my faith in the coalition before April 1971, though I have expiated my guilt by joining in protests against the repression there after and by doing what was within my power to help its victims, both collectively and individually. What Dr.

Fonseka has to explain is how, having joined himself in criticism of the repression, he can bring himself today to embrace some of the very men who were behind it, and who smeared those who were opposed to the repression (including him and me) as CIA agents. 'After such knowledge, what forgiveness?' Dr. Fonseka has been gracious enough to compliment me on my sensitivity. I am sorry that, in the circumstances, I can't return the compliment.

Reggie Siriwardena

## Remembered . . .

(Continued from page 17)

Means and ends are interdependent, and you cannot get to socialism by making a detour through racialism.

Those who fail to learn from the past are doomed to repeat it. Neither Mr. Karalasingham nor his party has sifted, honestly and critically, their policies and actions between 1963 and 1977—on the national question as on other questions. There is, therefore, no guarantee that, given the appropriate set of political conjunctures, they will not repeat the worst features of their past. Indeed, Mr. Karalasingham has already provided in advance the justification for this, since the Tamil people have as little confidence (and with justice) in the ULF of today as in the ULF of 1963 or the United Front of 1964-1977.

## '77 — A Christian . . .

(Continued from page 18)

strikes and the suppression of basic democratic rights under a prolonged state of emergency, amongst other things, go to prove that the old left in Sri Lanka betrayed the mass movement when it entered into a united front with a section of the bourgeoisie.

The analysis given in this booklet presupposes a major role for the old left in the future class struggles outside parliament. It does not naturally follow that simply because the old left was wiped out of the parliamentary scene in 1977, it could now play a leading role

in the struggles outside parliament. The "postponed" token general strike of 28th September 1978 proved beyond doubt that even if the old left wishes to utilise the class struggle for their future parliamentary ends they cannot possibly do so. To call for a unity of the left minded masses under the tattered banner of the old left, (as is done in the second resolution published in this booklet) will only mislead the working class and the masses.

The authors of this booklet deserve credit, however, for their judgement of the U.N.P. and for publicly stating as Christians, that the UNP cannot solve the grave and explosive economic and social problems of this country.

H. A. Seneviratne

## Inflation . . .

(Continued from page 12)

the areas which suffered most from inflation in the USA.

Meanwhile, the leading city stock brokers James Capel, predict that a sharp recession in the British economy is possible in the second half of 1979. This would be caused by accelerating inflation, monetary restraint, and fiscal measures to reduce consumer demand.

## Nazism . . .

(Continued from page 11)

The witch-hunt for leftists has been building up momentum, particularly in the public service and the teaching profession. Paul Martin of Newsweek recently reported a case from Bonn.

By giving publicity to cases such as these, liberal opinion has gained ground. "Public opinion is hardening against the radical ban," writes Elizabeth Pond, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "on the grounds that it eroded the country's constitutional guarantee of freedom of thought."

The B. B. C's prestigious *Panorama* program also recently presented the frightening case—histories of innocent German teachers, officials, and even Christian pastors who have been victims of this neo-Nazi witch-hunt in West Germany.

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