

LANKA

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After the boycott
T.U.L.F. DILEMMA

GUARDIAN



Bookies and big money

Sri Lankan sociology

Laksiri Jayasuriya

Sinhala films and oppressed groups

Ananda Jayaweera

Iran : Where the money went

Mervyn de Silva

The Battle of the Blues

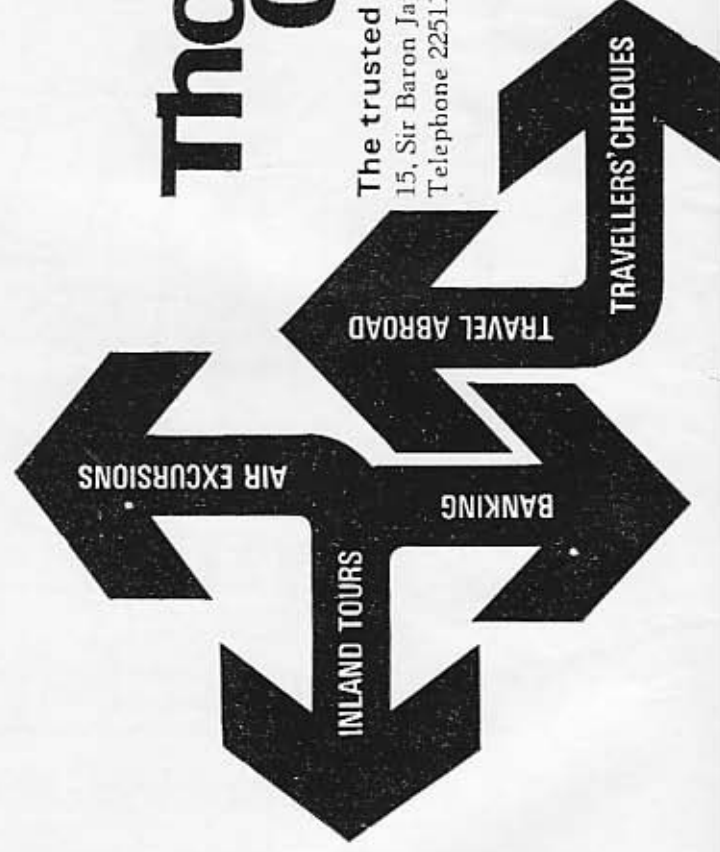
Elmer de Haan

Mahaweli

• Asian Theology

• Which way for the Left?

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GARADS

Trends

A 'professional' at the top

The 'm' in Rasaputram is misleading said a senior introducing the 'new boy' to the Common room. He is not from the Peninsula, he added without a trace of racial prejudice... only from Nugegoda.

Those were the days when Thurstan Road, both University and neighbouring Royal College, was largely free of Sinhala-Tamil tensions and the North-South dialogue was conducted with intellectual intensity but no rancour.

Dr. W. Rasaputram, now appointed Governor of the Central Bank, was one of those Nugegoda bus/train lads who made it to the top—like Stanley Tillekeratne who became Speaker, Arthur Basnayake who became Ambassador, and Godfrey Gunatilleke, who became Dr. Gamani Corea's deputy.

An old Anandian, he joined the Bank in the early 50's after getting his PhD at Wisconsin.

He is the first "professional" to make it to the top floor. His predecessors were either outsiders or came in at the floor below as Deputy Governor.

Vol. I No. 21 March 1, 1979

CONTENTS

- 2 Letters
- 3 - 4 News background
- 5 - 6 Mahaweli project
- 7 People
- 8 - 9 Bookies
- 10 Iran
- 11 - 12 Asian Theology
- 13 - 14 Sri Lankan sociology
- 15 - 16 Symposium on Left
- 17 Education
- 18 - 19 Cinema
- 21 - 22 Battle of the Blues

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Race and class

Royal College which will be much in the news this fortnight as the centenary 'Battle of the Blues' draws near figured in parliament when the contents of the Tamil Literary Association magazine became the subject of strong censure by a government backbencher. Now several Tamil teachers have been punished and the parents of many students and some students themselves grilled by the police.

Royal, the nursery of Colombo's highly anglicised and fairly homogeneous elite, appeared untroubled and untouched by racialism or racial politics. Are we seeing the first fissures in the upper crust? Is race insidiously moving into crevices once covered by class?

An upper class Tamil parent moaned: "This kind of treatment may make even our children politically minded like the kids in the North."

Singapore Connection

While Air Ceylon, the sick child of international aviation, keeps

'crashing' into the front pages, the infant Air Lanka's activities have prompted an interesting reaction from Australia. The following comment appeared in the **National Times**, Sydney.

"Sri Lanka's recently re-established airline, Air Lanka, has chosen Singapore Airlines as its managing agent to help set up administration and determine policy."

"This development puts paid to ideas Qantas and the Department of Transport have been exploring of using Colombo instead of Singapore as a refuelling stop on the Kangaroo route, if Singapore denies Qantas landing rights in retaliation for Australia's new air fares policy detrimentally affecting Singapore and its airline."

"There is no way now that Air Lanka or its Government would allow their airport to be used for retaliation against Singapore."

Wall posters

Sri Lanka has no Chinese wall or anything like the 'democracy wall'

(Continued on page 20)

China's aggression

What is the non-alignment movement going to do when a major power which claims to be a great supporter of non-alignment invades a non-aligned country?

This is the issue facing all members of the movement. What is the essence of non-alignment? The answer will be clear and cannot be challenged. It is genuine national independence. If there is any people in the world that has proved their absolute commitment to this ideal it is surely the Vietnamese nation that has sacrificed so much in fighting the Japanese, the French and the Americans. The modern history of the world has no stronger and more shining example. That is why all nations, specially small nations, stood up and saluted the Vietnamese for their courage and patriotism and self-sacrifice.

Now a nuclear power had invaded a small neighbour. The same power that talks so loudly about big power hegemonism and expansionism and preaches sermons to the non-aligned countries. Why have the leaders of China who once preached pancha-sila taken such action? It is to teach a lesson to Vietnam that it cannot follow its own foreign policy, its own independent policies in relation to others. Vietnam must get into the Chinese orbit. Vietnam must follow the dictates of China. Vietnam must obey. Otherwise it will be punished.

Now we know how much respect China really has for the non-alignment movement. Let those who thought that China was a true friend of non-alignment note the conduct of China. Actions, as a Chinese saying goes, speak better than words. has no place whatsoever in the non-alignment movement as friend or supporter.

The non-alignment nations must not remain passive. They must act. The first responsibility is on the Coordinating Bureau. Otherwise a dangerous precedent will

be created. Also, great damage will be done to the unity and strength of the movement and also threaten the security of individual members of the movement.

Secondly, we should note that Vietnam was so ravaged by 30 years of war that its economy is in ruins. Genuine friends, including Sri Lanka, were offering help to this country. This economic and financial assistance will come to nothing if we do not rise up in Vietnam's defence and condemn in one voice the bullying arrogance of the Chinese leaders.

Colombo - 6 **H. Premadasa**

The Tamil minority problem

It is indeed heartening news that at long last the TULF is just now interested in finding an amicable solution to this vexed problem, which has plagued the development of our country, ever since we achieved independence in 1947.

This minority question began with the 50-50 cry of G. G. Ponnambalam, followed by the demand for federation headed by Chelvanayakam ending up with the fight for division. It is good to ponder as to why there has been such an inordinate delay in finding an amicable solution to this problem, which was really not there when we were under the British.

At this juncture it is irrelevant to argue that the British created this problem for us. Any reference to the pre-independence days will serve no useful purpose. What we must all realise is that the problem is there and that we must tackle it and find a lasting solution. Suffice it to say that in the nation's fight for Independence in the early stages there was a high degree of harmony between the Sinhala and Tamil speaking communities.

I do not therefore think that it is far from wrong to say the problem as it stands today is the creation of our own politicians. During the last thirty years it has assumed such formidable and dangerous proportions, because the political leaders of all parties abused this apparent cleavage to feather their own nests. This is not the time to talk of past sins. If we are to make an honest effort to usher in a free and just society, it is imperative that we embark on this difficult venture as a united nation.

There are, of course, more sides than one to this question and it is therefore not so easy to come to any settlement acceptable to one and all, unless we view it in the correct perspective. Language, religion and culture are not matters that should cloud the issue. It is, to my mind a purely economic problem, which has been aggravated by other considerations not really relevant to the crux of the question.

The time is therefore opportune for all our political, religious and social leaders to discuss the matter fully at a Round Table Conference in a very friendly atmosphere. There is no person other than our present President himself who should take the initiative in the matter. A foreign mediator will not be necessary if we all decide to view the problem impartially. There is no reason to doubt that we are incapable of finding a lasting solution to the problem among ourselves. Pride and prejudice are the two things we should avoid in a free and frank discussion of this nature.

Kandy

A. G. G. Perera

Movie maker vs critics

The article by Gamini Dissanayake entitled "Movie maker vs the critics" in the issue of 1.2.79, is a scathing attack on Lester James Peiris, internationally

(Continued on page 24)

After the boycotts

Youth, Rajadurai and TULF dilemma

Mr. Amirthalingam, the TULF leader, it was reported, saw the President late last week to discuss (a) university admissions and the new quota system which the TULF has described as discriminatory and (b) the hardy perennial of Tamil politics, colonisation in the north.

On the same day, the TULF issued a statement in which it welcomed Mr. Desai's recent offer to "mediate" on the grievances of the Tamil people, if invited. The TULF said it would 'not stand in the way' if the government took the initiative. However tactfully worded, the statement did refer to "an amicable solution" although it criticised the UNP for not honouring its own election pledge and policy declaration about 'an all-party conference'.

Two other decisions of the TULF highlight the growing dilemmas of the leadership. (a) It took disciplinary action against Mr. C. Rajadurai, a senior Eastern province MP for appearing on the same platform as the Prime Minister and (b) decided to 're-organise' its youth wing.

The TULF's boycott of the debate on the latest amendment to the constitution (an MP who is expelled from a party will not automatically lose his seat) put the spotlight on Mr. Rajadurai's political future and the TULF's own discomfiture. It had to take notice of Mr. Rajadurai's action and the a decision which would not have been palatable to all members. But it also had to take note of its own rebellious youth wing which has become increasingly independent of the parent body, if not downright defiant.

The TULF organisation or its more activist hard-tore has tea-

med up with other organisations far more radical and militant. It is an 'alliance for action'.

"Let our leaders talk or drag their feet while we act....". The mood of these youth groups was summed up in this fashion after the recent six-day boycott of schools in the north and east. When it ended on February 6th two things were clear: (a) it was a failure in the east but highly successful in the north (b) it was organised without the backing of the TULF, and perhaps even without the courtesy of a 'by-your-leave'.

The boycott was supported, according to the 'Sun' by about 150,000 students. The Education Minister has now pardoned them. But about 150 to 200 teachers could lose their jobs.

The 'protest', mainly against the new university admissions scheme and alleged delays in repairing schools damaged by the

cyclone, was organised by several groups, ranging from Kumar Ponnambalam's ACTC to V. Ponnambalam's Red Tamil movement. But they played a peripheral role according to observers in Jaffna. The 'thrust' came from the TULF's rebel youth wing and some new Tamil youth organisations.

While the university quota system remained the principal issue, it is interesting to note that there were other demands, economic and political. One was the rising cost of living, and the other a demand to scrap the F.T.Z.

Informed observers of the Jaffna scene note that political activity is not only moving out of the parliamentary arena but the motivating ideas are becoming more radical.

A new generation of Tamil youth seem to be contradicting the conventional notion of the docile or 'tame' Tamil! ●

Unrest in a new Campus

In its issue of January 1, 1979, the *Lanka Guardian* (No. 17) featured an article captioned 'Students in sorrow or anger?' which focussed primarily on the deplorable conditions prevailing at the Dumbara Campus and predicted that "trouble (was) brewing in them thar hills". Hardly a month had passed after our comment when this prediction was borne out in no unmistakable terms. A student was taken ill, but there were no medical facilities available on campus and the authorities instructed that he be taken to the Katugastota hospital. At the hospital however, they were told to seek treatment at the Health Centre on Peradeniya campus. But

the medical facilities like the library facilities at Peradeniya have been made unavailable to the Dumbara Campus students by administrative fiat. This was the last straw. A spontaneous strike and sit-in was staged with the students finally threatening to fast to death if their demands were not met.

The authorities both at Dumbara and Colombo were deprived of the opportunity of blaming "outside agitators" and leftist Students Unions for the simple reason that (as we pointed out in our earlier comment) the only student union permitted to function is that which is affiliated to the UNP, while the only outsiders (including

Peradeniya students) permitted entry are also UNPers. Thus, no professorial panjandrum could say that a "Miniscule Militant Minority" was behind the unrest.

The situation at Polgolla is doubly ironic since the campus there was created precisely with a view to "quarantine" Arts students and isolate them from Peradeniya's "politics". Further-more the authorities could not resort to their customary strike-breaking tactic of closing the campus and sending the students home because Dumbura is non-residential to start with, and students are lodged at private homes. Readers will note here that the idea of non-residential campuses was meant to be yet another depoliticising device which would prevent the students from grouping together and discussing "foreign ideologies" after lectures!

According to the mainstream media, the strike was settled with the prompt intervention of the Peradeniya Vice Chancellor, Dr. B. L. Panditharatne who granted a cash advance to the students. The SLBC also informed us that a top level committee had been appointed to oversee the transformation of Polgolla into a fully-fledged university campus.

The press made no mention of the ugly incidents in which students were set upon and beaten up by outside youths. The 'outsiders' were very probably villagers akin to those who attacked students at Vidyalankara (Kelaniya), Colombo Campus (Reid Avenue) and Heywood Institute of Fine Arts (Horton Place) last year. These villagers also pasted threatening and obscene posters in the environs of the campus. None of the perpetrators of these deeds of physical violence and intimidation have been apprehended by the local constabulary. In characteristic fashion however, 26 students have been suspended by the authorities! The enforced calm that now prevails at 'Dhuk-bara' campus conceals the anger that smoulders beneath.

At Peradeniya the highly respected librarian of the campus is said to be once again under pressure.

Punishing Vietnam

There's almost total agreement among US analysts that Mr. Deng Xiaoping's recent visit is Mr. Carter's finest foreign policy triumph. During the visit, China's Deputy Premier who is in effect the country's No. 1, impressed on his hosts on the need "to teach the Cubans some necessary lessons". When he addressed the US press, Mr. Deng called the Vietnamese "the Cubans of the Orient".

Publicly at least the Americans kept mum. Washington hardly needs tuition or a refresher course on that particular subject. Trade embargos, economic boycotts, diplomatic isolation, invasion (Bay of Pigs) and assassination plots have been part of America's Cuba policy.

And on Vietnam, Chinese intentions were no secret. As the 'NY Times' reported US intelligence had already noted that China had moved 10 to 12 divisions to the Vietnamese border in preparation for a massive assault.

Mr. Henry Jackson, one of the Senate's toughest 'hawks' (he recently advocated a military pact between Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia to shore up US influence after the Iranian upheaval) was frank enough to tell a 'Washington Post' correspondent "There is no doubt in my mind after talking with Deng that the Chinese are out to bloody the Vietnamese nose...."

On his way back, Mr. Deng told the Japanese Premier that Vietnam had to be 'punished'.

Nayan Chanda, who has now established an international reputation as one of the best area specialists, wrote in the FEER: 'With 160,000 troops, 700 aircraft and enormous amounts of armour and artillery assembled along the border with Vietnam, there was ample evidence that Peking might well be preparing to translate its threat of teaching Vietnam a lesson into action'.

While it may be too early to know what lessons Vietnam, or China's other neighbours will or

will not learn, India, China's most populous neighbour has reacted to the Chinese attack with 'profound shock', if not open alarm. In what was widely regarded as an important break-through in Sino-Indian relations, Foreign Minister Vajpayee was continuing his talks with Chinese leaders when the attack began. He promptly cut short his visit.

Mr. Desai has repeatedly said that Sino-Indian friendship can be restored only after "occupied Indian territories" are returned. Both President Reddy, in his address to the Indian Parliament, and Prime Minister Desai have called on China to pull back its forces from Vietnam, while the US has called on China to do the same, with Vietnam withdrawing forces from Kampuchea.

Local reactions

Ever since Sri Lanka became Chairman of the Non-aligned Conference, Colombo has been considered an interesting listening-post by the major chancelleries of the world. Sri Lankan reactions to critical events are also studied closely by the diplomatic community.

Last week diplomats in Colombo were taken by surprise when Mrs. Bandaranaike responded with a virtual "no comment" on the Sino-Vietnamese border war. She told the 'Daily News' that the matter will be discussed at the next meeting of the SLFP politburo.

The SLFP has always been proud (and rightly so) of its "dynamic foreign policy", and Mrs. Bandaranaike herself has never been known for her reticence in stating her views on world events. In 1962, she took the initiative in holding the 6-nation Colombo conference on the Sino-Indian border conflict.

"Many of us" said an Asian ambassador "expected the SLFP to embarrass the government by playing the ball into the UNP court". Another envoy observed

(Continued on page 6)

Mahaweli (2)

'There is going to be a national disaster!'

— Gamini Iriyagolle

Gamini Iriyagolle, son of the late I.M.R.A. Iriyagolle, Education Minister in the Dudley Senanayake Government of 1965-70, joined the Civil Service in the late 1950's and served the provincial administration, the Land Commissioner's Department, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Industries. He was also directly involved in negotiations with the World Bank for aid to the Mahaweli Diversion project. We reproduce excerpts from his controversial publication: *"The truth about the Mahaweli."*

There is an amazing misconception about the nature of the decision to implement the Master Plan and about the subsequent studies now in progress. Some persons at the highest political level think that if the technical feasibility of constructing structures such as dams is established, that is adequate. This is nonsense as these constitute only (part of) the cost or investment items of a project. Before a decision to start work can be taken, the authorities and the country must know what benefits by way of settlement and agriculture there would be. These are still being debated **without data** to base the debates on. Even costs are not known and there are no data to estimate these either. It can be proved that any body who has claimed or claims otherwise (except in respect of Stages I and II of Project I) is ignorant, or reckless, or less than candid, or all of these.

It might be technically possible to build a dam 100 feet high from Ward Place to Rosmead Place. One should not undertake it particularly at public expense, if one does not know if it would be worthwhile doing so. Similarly, though it may be possible to construct a dam at Moragahakanda or Victoria or Randenigala

or Kotmale or Maduru Oya, what benefits it would bring or what harm it might cause will be unknown till agricultural development under irrigation, and the power generation aspects are studied to acceptable feasibility levels. In the outline called the Master Plan none of these things is known.

On 25th November 1978, in the course of the debate on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill (Budget) for 1979, a member quite pertinently questioned the wisdom of starting work before feasibility reports are received, and asked whether it was not more advisable to wait for the feasibility reports and then 'on the basis of it' proceed in the matter of construction. No less a person than the Prime Minister replied that "we have decided on the Master Plan" (i. e. the outline) "in regard to the Mahaweli Project". He added, "although the reservoir is planned and the feasibility report is being prepared, you know where the reservoir is going to be. So why not cut the canals?"

At what cost

One respectfully asks "Where to? To irrigate what lands, to grow what crops, using what quantities of water?". One also asks with equal respect 'At what cost?' for nobody knows what all

or any part of the Master Plan proposals would cost. The Prime Minister went on to say that the Master Plan indicates "All this" meaning the canals and the access roads to be constructed. It **does not indicate any of these**. The Finance Minister intervened to say that the feasibility reports awaited are "for the dam—what sort of dam it should be, whether it should be rock-filled or earth-filled where it should be and the geology of the dam". If feasibility studies are going to be only for dams, then the feasibility of the total project would be unknown i. e., no one could know whether there is a worthwhile use for the water impounded. There would be just no basis "to construct the access roads, cut the canals, construct the bridges, construct the hospitals" which the Prime Minister then announced would be done prior to feasibility studies! Indeed nothing should ever be started if studies are to be for dam construction only, unless the dam is for defence purposes such as look outs for an approaching enemy.

The foreign consultants now examining possible agricultural development to determine economic feasibility, should be asked to retire from the scene, and local personnel now striving to propose cropping patterns without adequate information on soils or water use could be rested for a while and given other work. Though NEDECO (the Dutch consultants) had "little time for analysis... the findings so far indicate a number of major deviations from the original Master Plan outline prepared by UNDP/FAO. Firm conclusions therefore cannot be drawn as yet...." How then could any implementation be con-

sidered or construction undertaken at this stage?

Information lost

Even the authors of the Master Plan referred to do not support the brief given to the Prime Minister, or to any other Minister, as they say, "the feasibility studies of the Second and Third Phases of development should not be initiated until the additional information obtained in the course of the First Phase developments, and experimental research is

available". These are of course, not available. The more recent NEDECO study referred to says "information available to the UNDP/FAO team was lost in the course of time".

The Prime Minister also said he knew "all this because I visited the sites". With great respect, the visit to the proposed sites of even the Prime Minister or the President or Mr. McNamara or Mr. Hopper will not indicate what settlement, infrastructure,

agricultural development, channel systems should be undertaken or what they would cost or what good they would do or whether other alternatives are preferable.

If the Government's decision is based on the idea that the Master Plan (the outline) is an implementational study, there is going to be a national disaster.

Most expensive

Two of the major and most costly features of the "Master Plan" are the Minipe Left Bank Canal (90 miles from Minipe to Kandulla) and the Northern Canal (104 miles from Elahera to the proposed Pali Aru Reservoir in Vavuniya District.) Water is to be pumped from the former to the latter canal. Some of the water irrigating lands below Kanagarayan Aru Reservoir in Vavuniya and Jaffna Districts would have come nearly 200 miles from Minipe and all of the water from Moragahakanda would be serving only the Northern Systems, at some places over 150 miles from the Reservoir.

A plan which thus proposes high cost transbasin conveyance of surface irrigation water to areas that its authors themselves say have ample local ground water sources is indeed a "Master Plan". One is at a loss what to call the decision to implement it especially when a parallel program is already underway to exploit ground water for agriculture in the North and North-west.

If work is commenced on it as now proposed, an irreversible commitment would have been made to construct the 104 mile Northern Canal, 8 large new reservoirs and the full development of lands in Areas I, J, K, L and M, feasibility studies in respect of which are not even contemplated yet. It would also result in the wonderful achievement of supplying the most expensive irrigation water in the world to areas, the plentiful local ground water supplies of which would by then have been developed separately under another project.

Local reactions . . .

(Continued from page 4)

that in Delhi, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had led a protest demonstration.

For its part, the UNP got off with a glorious exhibition in non-committal non-alignment. "We are strictly non-aligned" said the UNP's brand new general secretary.

This is not the first time that the UNP has had good reason to chuckle over the SLFP's retreat into studied silence. As Mr. Hameed boasted in a recent interview, the Foreign Ministry votes were passed without a word of serious criticism from the opposition.

On behalf of the TULF, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam has 'condemned' the Chinese action whatever the 'circumstances' that may have led to it, and called for a Chinese withdrawal.

Vietnam was heavily supported by the Left parties, with the exception of Mr. N. Sanmugathasan's Ceylon Communist Party which chose to say nothing.

Mr. Bernard Soysa (LSSP) said that the world revolutionary movement had been stabbed in the back and the glorious banner of the great Chinese revolution besmirched. The aggression, says the LSSP, is an attempt by China to restore the hated Pol Pot regime.

The CPSL flings back the charge of hegemonism and expansionism

and sees it as part of China's anti-Vietnam policy which began with the cynical use of the Hua minority to create trouble for the war-ravaged nation. It also refers to a new Peking-Washington-Tokyo axis.

Speaking for the JVP, Mr. Bopage denounced the 'treacherous' leadership of China which was now 'Yankee-Sino alliance'.

While condemning the Chinese aggression and warning that the situation could give 'a licence to US imperialism', Mr. Bala Tampoe, (RMP) added that even if the Pol Pot regime deserved to be ousted, Vietnam had no right to invade Kampuchea.

T. U's condemn

At a meeting summoned by the Sri Lanka Vietnam Friendship Association, representatives of the LSSP CP, and several major trade unions and public organisations passed a resolution which denounced the Chinese aggression, and declared that this 'wanton act' was a violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and socialist fraternity. It called for an immediate withdrawal of Chinese forces, and compensation by the Chinese for the damage caused. Associated with the Friendship League were the C.F.L., C.F.T.U., United Liberation of Labour, Communist Labour Movement, Lanka General Services Union, the Palathpalana Progressive Employees Union, the Kandy Small Traders Association etc.

Doyen of newspapermen

Clarence Fernando is as much an institution in the local world of journalism as is the newspaper of which he is now the editor *The Ceylon Daily News*. Clarrie as he has been known, to more than one generation of newspapermen, is undoubtedly the doyen of our press corp.

When he left the Navy after the war Clarrie signed up with *Lake House* as shipping reporter. In 1953 he was part of the *Lake House* team that covered the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Described as one of the best news editors Sri Lanka has known, he served for many years as news editor on the *Ceylon Observer* under Tarzi Vittachi. In 1960 he was appointed Deputy Editor of the *Observer* and acted many times for Editor Denzil Peiris. Likewise he was Deputy Editor of the *Daily News* until his retirement in 1974.

Clarence Fernando is best known as Sri Lanka's correspondent for *Reuters* the British news agency. His election as Vice President of the Sri Lanka Foreign Correspondent's Association, underscores this. He has been with *Reuters* for nearly twenty years, and is unofficial dean of the foreign correspondents.

He was called out of retirement to become the third editor of the *Daily News* since the new government came to power.

Shaping non-alignment

Yugoslavia mourned the death of *Edvard Kardelj* who had often been singled out as Tito's successor. He was also Tito's closest associate in shaping the independent and non-aligned policy of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav leader Vladimir Bakaric paid a handsome tribute to *Kardelj* at a recent commemoration meeting in Belgrade:

"A man of vision in respect to peace and progress he was a



Clarence Fernando

realist in political activity" Bakaric said.

"He persisted in stressing the universality of the principles of active peaceful coexistence as an indispensable factor in not only ensuring world peace, but also in development and growth to socialism in the world".

Bakaric strongly emphasized *Kardelj's* "epoch-making contribution to development of the theory, ideology and policy of non-alignment".

"He saw the movement of non-alignment as not only one of the most significant autonomous factors of international affairs and cooperation, but even more—as a form of progressive social, economic, political and cultural re-grouping and linking in the present-day world".

"*Kardelj* saw the movement of non-alignment as one of the vital

components of mankind's social transformation while warning about the harmfulness of the attempts to divide this movement or reduce it to someone's political reserve", Bakaric stated.

The plight of the boat people

The Boat People of Yaumati in Hong Kong are a set of people living on boats which they formerly used for fishing. These boats are hardly more than 100 sq. feet. Yet they include all the apartments of a house. These people fell into such a situation after the deterioration of the small-scale fishing industry. Many of these boats are decaying fast and it is quite common to see children being drowned annually, due to boats breaking and sinking.

They need immediate resettlement. Since May 1977 there have been constant requests for resettlement. But they yet have to be resettled.

Sympathising with their plight a group of 76 people, comprising 10 children, 48 women and 18 men, went to the Governor's House with a petition requesting better housing. On the way they were arrested by the police and later charged with "unlawful assembly." This group includes 6 students, 3 social workers, 1 medical doctor and 1 Catholic priest.

Happy under black Government

Masayoshi Ohira, newly elected Prime Minister of Japan has been identified as the first professing Christian of his generation to lead Japan. He is said to have been converted as a high school student and was a street corner preacher before he turned politician. He shuns all alcoholic beverages, a rarity among Japanese politicians. With Southern Baptist evangelical Jimmy Carter in the White House, the two most powerful market-economies are headed by committed Christians.

(Continued on page 20)

Bookies and big money

by Gamini Dissanayake

In the early '70s there was news in London of a "Punters (Killer) Syndicate" which had a capital of over £150,000 losing every penny of it on the horses. At the same time, Fleet Street reported a case of 'tote-rigging' at Perth in Scotland (at the course) where bets were deliberately flooded on a second or third 'favourite' so that the first favourite who won that race returned a handsome dividend on the 'tote' which could otherwise have been very short.

A few months later, the *'News of the World'* exposed the ingenuity of four youths (Greek, if I remember right) who crookedly won over £18 grand on the afternoon Dogs when the Flat Season was in full swing. Their method was daring but simple. One of them was at the track and when the dogs were 'off' and were on the hometurn (at the final bend), sent a one-word message on the walkie-talkie containing the trap number of the probable winner. His colleague who waited outside a closeby bookie with other members of the gang had the bet 'on'. The betting office clerk who was so busy with a major Flat Meeting and at least two other meetings to attend to, did not pay much heed to the greyhounds and might not even have heard the words "The hare is running!" on the 'Extel' when he was supposed to close the betting on that race. The youth did not have the luck always with the betting office employees but managed to collect about £18,000 over a period of five months. In the end, one of the boys bragged about their spoils at a pub and the story leaked to the press.

A few months later, the *'Mirror'* reported another revealing story. A pretty woman at a race course

was accosted by an amorous book-maker with a how-about-it wink and asked her if she was winning. When she said 'No' he asked her softly if she would like a 33/1 winner in the next race. Not interested, she returned a firm 'NO' and walked away but to her awe, the very next race was in fact, won by a 33/1 rank outsider!

Many a time on the TV, an observant viewer would notice jockeys not doing enough on their mounts—a perennial dirty thing euphemistically called bad

"Like all other industries, racing in capitalist countries is a subtly organised one, where the average punter is exploited for the benefit of a privileged few."

riding, bad timing, holding up a wee-bit late etc; of course, there are Stewards Inquiries but they do not award a race to a losing favourite unless it has been obstructed in the final stage or some such thing.

From the foregoing it should be fairly clear that racing, for the most part, is a mug's game. If the form horses win that much the bookies will never make billions as they have been doing every year. And the punters who 'win', in fact, are not the day-to-day small-timers but 'sharks' who are informed of 'coups' and wait for other 'good things' to lay out at least a few thousands at a time. 'Infallible' Method Makers such as the much advertised Bob Dawson and his Dawson System, the Timeform Phone Service and the like are good only for those with a large bank balance who could afford to sustain a long losing sequence.

Like all other industries, Racing in capitalist countries is a subtly organised industry where the average punter is quietly exploited for the benefit of a privileged few.

Some striking examples of such exploitation were revealed, the reader might recall, in his review of Susan George's book *'How the Other Half Dies'* by Ivan Ribeiro (LG Feb. 1st). The book itself is sold in Colombo for Rs. 39.90 but the less affluent reader who is unable to buy the book will have a first hand experience of what it is all about if he goes for a packet of 'Nespray', for instance, at Rs 13.40.

In England, I believe still, the weekly wages are paid on Thursday and the bulk of the employed

are weekly paid. One could see that the media, especially, the TV would be oriented to major commercial ventures from Thursday to Saturday. To cite just one example, however much one wanted to be in one's digs on a Thursday evening, after seeing the 'Top of the Pops' on BBC 1 around 7.30 (and after supper), the temptation to be out at the jigs or Disco would be irresistible.

And when it came to racing, one could bet one's life that if the bookies failed to beat you on Thursday or Friday, they would certainly do you on Saturday or vice-versa. The reporters who do the ITV 7 or the BBC Quinella would welcome you with an accommodating smile, tipping their hats to you, to the TV races and would tempt you with their hot-tips that hardly come up. On an average, the odds against cracking the jackpot of the ITV 7 which is over £40,000 for a stake of 20 pence unit, would be at least 7 million to 1. And in the weekly Football Pools, one's chances of predicting 8 score draws out of a card of about 50 games would be a fantastic 20

million to 1 chance. Yet the masses keep on trying, never giving up but the balance sheets of Littlewoods or Vernons like those of Ladbrokes or Hills year after year would be phenomenal enough to give you heart attacks and/or stomach ulcers.

On the turf, Monday is generally called the Favourites Day, naturally, but not so really as many punters will tell you. But one thing is sure. If the bookies allow you to win the first, second or even the fourth race they would still be laughing because at the end of the meeting both your winnings and what was originally in your wallet generally would be in their tills. On the other hand, if the favourites were losing the majority of races on a card and if it comes up in the last race, the bookies would suddenly turn Good Samaritans and would give you a fairly reasonable dividend—a bonus that would make up for your bus or tube fare, a pint of 'bitter' (Guinness is especially recommended for your health) and for your prayers too, as most of these so-called pluralist-democracies are supposed to be Dharmista Societies.

Coming back to things nearer home, one could increasingly discern almost all the symptoms of capitalist systems—from racing, blue films, junkies to exclusive Key Clubs i.e. organised wife-swapping that is engulfing our middle class etc; etc—in full bloom in our local scene.

A few weeks ago, we read about a leading politico lamenting over the incidence of alcoholism at a prize-giving in a Dhamma School. In the year 1978, our people have drunk to a tune of Rs 4 billion. Naturally, a great number of punters should be in that group among the millions who drink to escape from the frustrations and oppression generated by the economic system of their society.

In Part I of this article (LG Feb. 1st) we pointed out that some of the major book-makers were trying to levy the BTT of 10% on the bets from the punter and how a minor concession like payment of 1/3 place odds was conceded by them. We also hinted

that even this kind gesture might be withdrawn if the punters' luck changed, even for a while. At the time of writing, informed circles are of the opinion that the book-makers have had a pow-wow recently and are seriously thinking of stopping the publication of the English Dogs Meeting—a practice generally done when racing is affected by adverse weather as our punters have been winning on these cards; which is probable as the chances of winning on the Dogs are relatively more favourable than on the horses. The minor concession the bookies have made seem to boomerang on them. For, while the British punters try to pick both the winner and the runner up in that order to Forecast on the Tote in each greyhound race, our punters bet on them as they do the horses which give them in this case, a 4 to 1 winning chance in every dog race as opposed to the British punter who only get a 30 to 1 winning chance for his method in a reverse combination.

However, while a Big Bookie keeps on insisting that the tax should be paid by the punter with his wager, some others have relented even after allowing the minor concession. For example, while both the No 2 Man and the No 4 Man have announced that they would levy the tax only on bets of over Rs 100 (in this case the tax is deducted from the winnings only) an up-and-coming fellow does not charge the tax at all on the punter—win or lose. This division among the bookies has substantially reduced the collections of the Big Man.

According to well informed punters, the average collections by the bookies is around Rs 15 lakhs a day and shoots up to over 20 on a good Saturday.

The Big Man still collects about 6 lakhs a day while his two main rivals in the city get 5 1/2 lakhs between them. And the two leading outstation bookies (one in the hill-country and the other operating from down-South) collect 3 1/2 and 1 1/2 lakhs respectively. There are about 50 other minor book-makers scattered in the country whose daily swoop is around 5 lakhs

What the punters fear most now is that in their coveted Flat Season in late March their dreams of winning may well wither away if the local bookies decide to call it a day over their continuing feud on the manner of levying the tax from the punter. Said one punter to this journal last week, "Our bookies have made their fortunes that would easily last them and their generations for at least several centuries. They have always been their own masters—because of their wealth and political influence—and have always been dictating terms to us. Even now they sell you the race sheet but continue to give you wrong and or inadequate information about the sport with impunity. Only big time punters with strong political support dare to import material on racing. The bookmakers could easily publish detailed past results, speed, figures, noted in the running, market signals etc of every meeting after about 4 days but they won't. Because they are so wicked they are mortally scared of their clients. They get all the latest material on racing but give you some bits of information once they are outdated. Even here, nearly all of them give you the same dated information though they publish their Racing Sheets separately. This is organised exploitation at its dirtiest. If the Government so desires it can intervene for fair-play..."

"There are about 25,000 people working for the bookies today," said one betting office clerk. "They get a daily wage from Rs 10-20 on a casual basis and nothing more. What beats us is that if the workers of the Distilleries, Breweries and the National Lotteries Board are entitled to EPF and other benefits why not us? After all, how could racing be any worse than drinking or buying Lottery tickets printed at the Govt Press? They beg for donations for Cyclone relief and what not. So why not collect the BTT from Racing for development purposes? One to two lakhs of rupees a day to the Treasury is not peanuts, is it? But let the punters get a fair deal as the monies come from them."

IRAN (5)

Where the money went

by Mervyn de Silva

The oil wealth was seen by the Shah and his technocrats, mainly from the Harvard Business School, Princeton and UK universities (the counterpart of General Suharto's Berkeley Mafia) as a potent, divinely ordained injection for what the *Financial Times* called "the unabashed capitalism" that led "to the political revolution today". With the quantum leap in oil revenues, a self-confident Shah announced his "Fifth Five Year Plan" which would give Iran the infrastructure and the industrial base from which the Shah's imperial visions of big power status could "take off". Instead it spawned inflation, and high-level corruption on a scale that is mind-boggling.

For the Western arms suppliers, exporters, bankers and brokers it was the "golden age". A top US official was reported last week to have described it as 'gold rush mentality'. More so than Saudi Arabia or the Gulf, Iran was the new Eldorado. It was all part of course of the re-cycling exercise, sucking back the petrodollars.

Voluminous statistics are now freely available but we might select a few merely to give the reader a 'feel' of what was happening in Iran these past few years. These will illustrate the "mentality", give an idea of the new atmosphere and environment, and its social and economic consequences.

(i) Iran became the world's biggest buyer of arms. The US alone had a 12 billion dollar agreement, and nearly 10 billion is still in the pipeline. The US was selling sophisticated weaponry which had not yet reached the US forces. The contract included 160 F-15

and F-14s, Boeing Airborne warning systems, destroyers and submarines, Bell helicopters, and other expensive hardware for the Army and Navy.

For Dupont, ITT, General Dynamics, Bell, General Motors, Textron and other US giants it was the greatest bonanza of the decade. Correspondent Stewart Fleming notes a salient point. These US companies opened 300 sales offices in Iran in 2 years and yet not more than two dozen were actually manufacturing anything locally.

How did it all add up? The US imports 5 percent of its oil from Iran. Iranian imports represent two and a half percent of total US exports in 1978 and this gives the US a favourable trade balance of over 800 million dollars.

It also gave high-income jobs to over 40,000 US executives. (The number excludes diplomats, military advisers etc). This 40,000 is part of the 100,000 expatriates who swarmed Tehran sending rents sky-rocketing. While an Iranian doctor, professor or civil servant (who didn't take bribes) was gradually pushed out of his own city and forced to find accommodation in the cheaper, dirtier part of an increasingly ugly swollen megalopolis, the expatriate community created a lifestyle which the affluent Iranians (those connected to the Imperial court, the businessmen and contractors using political influence for grabbing easy-money contracts, shamelessly corrupt officials, the upper echelons of the security forces) imitated with disgusting fluency.

(ii) Iranian money was keeping the western arms industry, factories and plants going. The

West Germans had imposed on their own initiative a ban of sorts on arms sales. But economic need (keeping German labour employed) the lure of the fast buck and envy of trading rivals (Japan, UK, US, France) made Bonn change that policy. Herr Genscher, the German Minister, justified the change with a statement that he must now ponder ruefully. Iran, he said, was "no longer an area of tension".

A Kiel firm promptly got itself an order for 6 diesel electric submarines worth over a billion, D. M. The Chairman of the firm Howalats Deutsche Werft said that but for this contract he would have a lay off 1,500 workers.

The 5th Five Year Plan produced an astounding array of 'white elephants', an obvious example being 4 nuclear power stations costing 12 billion D. M. For the first part of this job, the German firm, Kraftwerk Union brought in a staff of 3000. The end result? Iran is West Germany's biggest oil supplier. In the first six months of 1978, Germany had a trade surplus of 500 million D. M.

(iii) The International Military Services the contracting agency of the UK government for arms, had signed agreements totalling 700 million pounds. This included a Rapier anti-aircraft missile system costing 400 million pounds. Another big sale was 2,400 Chieftain tanks. All the big UK companies, ICL, Cementation, Leylands etc won huge contracts, one of the most interesting going to Armitage Shanks, world famous for its toilets!

(iv) A Cadillac Seville which sold for 12,000 dollars in the US fetched 37,000 US dollars in Tehran. Meanwhile in Isfahan, Prince Ghulam Reza, the Shah's

brother who owned the best property there, told middle-class motorists complaining of the traffic that they should learn to travel in their own light planes.

Investors and insurance brokers, banks, joint ventures, export orders, high-living expatriates—this became the pattern of life at the top, the tone set by those who had made their millions.

Of the four major Iranian banks, one was run by the Pahlevi Foundation (the Shah's family) and another by the Army Pension Fund.

Dualism

Using the city of Manila as a vivid illustration of certain characteristic problems which arise from the kind of 'development' I was writing about, Professor Espiritu used the term "economic dualism". It found a striking symbol in the grotesque contrast between the plush homes of Makati, a little bit of Miami, and the dirty shacks of Magsaysay village, less than a mile away.

The city of Teheran projects an even more dramatic image of the same situation.

But the preferred pattern of development results not merely in purely economic problems. It leads to some easily recognisable social ravages, problems which are best described as 'cultural'. In fact Prof. Fouad Ajami chooses the term 'cultural dualism' to point to one of the major causes of the Iranian upheaval. He says "the risk of acute cultural dualism is inherent in all strategies of accelerated development". Although we need not share, for the reasons I have stated earlier, his view on 'accelerated development', his description is particularly apt. He speaks of the split between the 'official culture' and the 'culture of the people', the anger and the confusions accumulating beneath the glitter and the grand illusions of power.

Religion

Asian Theology: Irrelevant or Irreverent?

Revolutionary challenge of Christianity

by Jayantha Somasunderam

At first glance the Christian Churches and Christian theology seem to be far removed from the on-going struggle in the Third World for social and economic emancipation. The Churches have always been identified with avaricious materialism and their theology preoccupied with abstract spiritualism. Yet, in our day, we seem to be witnessing a valiant attempt by some sections of the Church, to erase this debilitating image and come out strongly on the side of the underprivileged and their needs.

For a century the Church has been polarised between an orthodox segment that has opted for scriptural fundamentalism and a liberal segment that has compromised with the fast-changing world. Having scuttled their own faith, the liberals found refuge in a social gospel that has kept coming out with heroic utterances. But their activity has been as their faith. And their impact on the enormous problems that confront backward societies like our own, has been unimpressive.

In contrast, those who kept the faith, have matured in time into Christians who have arrived at a balanced perspective, giving proper and practical emphasis to social action. The work of the Salvation Army needs no introduction, nor does the role of a man like Kier Hardy of the British Labour Party.

All of this, however, was taking place in the Protestant Churches, which by their very nature, were more open to change and reform. But the Roman Church held tight to its conservatism and reaction, right into our generation. The creative work of Social Catholicism

among Irish-American labour was smothered by the overpowering image of the monolithic Roman Church.

Crisis

The crisis in theology as far as the social imperative was concerned, arose because modern ecclesiastics could not perceive a role for the church in contemporary society. Yet the Church has been the greatest instrument for historical change. It was the impact of the Roman Church and her saints that fashioned modern Europe, they were the prime conductors of a civilisation that was Graeco-Roman in origin but Judeo-Christian in Ethics. It was the Reformation that created bourgeois values and served as obstetrician to the capitalist era. **It was a Priest, not Lenin, who led the march on the Winter Palace and ignited the Russian Revolution.**

So long as it kept the faith and activated itself, the Churches have down the ages been prime instruments of historic action. Why then cannot the Church be a vehicle for revolution in our day? Is it because it has no faith, in either God or itself?

Such questions spring to mind when one reviews the work of the Asian Theological Conference, held recently in Sri Lanka. The ATC is the brainchild of radical Asian pastors—many of whom are found in the Roman Church. In Latin America the Bishops have, in the face of US backed fascist state machines, slung guns over their shoulders and gone up into the mountains to carry out guerrilla war. Asian priests have been slower to respond to authorita-

rian bourgeois regimes—but today in countries stretching from Pakistan, to Korea and the Philippines, they are awakening, in bitter denunciation of the **status quo**.

Asian dilemma

There is an element of poignant pathos in their characterising of the Asian dilemma, "Asia suffers under the heels of a forced poverty. Its life has been truncated by centuries of colonialism and a more recent neo-colonialism. Its cultures are marginalized, its social relations distorted. The cities with their miserable slums, swollen with the poor peasants driven off the land, constitute a picture of wanton affluence side by side with abject poverty that is common to the majority of Asia's countries. This extreme disparity is the result of a class contradiction, a continuous domination of Asia by internal and external forces. The consequences of this type of capitalist domination is that all things, time and life itself, have become marketable commodities.

"A small minority of owners dictates the quality of life for the producers (workers, peasants and others) in determining the price of their energy, skills, intelligence as well as the material benefits needed to sustain these. What is produced, how and where it is produced, for whom it is produced are the decisions of transnational corporations in collusion with the national elites and with the overt or covert support of political and military forces."

The ATC has come out openly against the market economy and put its money on the centrally planned economies.

The struggle against these forces has been courageously taken up by the advocates of socialism. This socio-political order corresponds to the aspirations of the Asian masses both in the rural and urban areas since it promises to them the right to take their life into their own hands, to determine both the social and economic conditions that govern their well-being.

Facile approach

"A very large part of Asia has succeeded, after long struggles, in establishing this socialist order.

However, it must be added that the socialist transformation in these countries is not yet complete and that these countries must continue to liberate themselves from all distortions in an on-going self criticism."

Such a facile approach to the problems of Asia show an overdependence on Communist Parties that are Stalinist in origin. Such parties are seen as the vehicle of social change — no comparable role is demanded of the Church — its revolutionary potential is denied.

There are justifiable attacks made on environment polluters like Japan's Kawasaki and Philippine nuclear power plants. "We join with our fishermen in their struggle against the unscrupulous practices of certain countries like Japan, Taiwan and South Korea." But no honest attempt is made to criticise the authoritarian regimes in North Korea and in Cambodia, or the single-minded nationalism of countries like China and Vietnam. This is a mistake, not only because it is amoral, but because it abdicates the Church's role to narrow political groups — Stalinist parties in these instances.

The ATC concedes God's role in history but not in individual lives. This is a theological lapse of the first order. Because it denies the need for personal liberation — a liberation that must precede social and economic liberation if the latter are going to have any lasting influence. The experience of workers' parties in Asia since the War, has crystallised the paradox of liberative power, its ruthlessness when applied by those who have hoped, should form the crux of the ATC's social teaching. Its absence is tragic.

They talk of "the revolutionary challenge of the life of Jesus" when they should talk of the revolutionary change in **our** life when Jesus lives within us; and the capacity of this relationship to effect revolutionary change in the world around us. Our task is not merely to find the socio-economic mainsprings of oppression but to eradicate them. "Philosophers" said Karl Marx, "have tried to interpret the World. But the thing to be done is to change it!"

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The irrelevance of Sri Lankan sociology

by Laksiri Jayasuriya

(Prof. Jayasuriya is head of the Department of Social Work in the University of Western Australia)

I propose to use the debate of the two Gunatillekes about "Academic Colonialism and Chauvinism" in 1975 with reference to the state of the Social Sciences in Sri Lanka, to comment briefly on some key issues facing social scientists in Sri Lanka today. This I hope will help us to look at what we are doing, what we have, and in the end what we might be capable of doing in the social sciences, especially in Sociology.

Susantha Gunatillaka and R. Peiris (in a little known paper called the 'Implementation of Sociology in Asia.') have very rightly pointed out that the growth of the knowledge in the science of man and society has been inhibited by our Intellectual Dependence on the ways of sociological thinking and modes of analysis derived from Intellectual Centres of gravity in the West, to which we have been for a variety of cultural reasons been accustomed to align ourselves. The consequences are manifold: For one thing, we have as 'Passive Consumers' of this vast body of knowledge, endeavoured to apply uncritically to our own societies, theories and models which have little meaning and significance for a genuine understanding of the social reality facing us. Thus, eg. we have used the classical sociological theories of Comte, Durkheim, Weber and others imitatively without recognising the nature of their origin and more importantly, their 'Ethnocentric' Character as I had occasion to observe some years ago in my Presidential address to Section F (SLAS, 1971), entitled 'Uses and abuses of Sociology.'

We have got our priorities all wrong because of this continuing dependence. The anthropological bias in much of our contemporary social research reflects over-

whelmingly this tendency. Here, both Western and indigenous scholars despite their pleas to the contrary, have played nothing more than an ethnographers role documenting and describing cultural curiosities — belief systems, values, religious rites and practices. These are 'Intellectual Trivialities' which do not deepen our understanding of current realities. Of course, they may be important for the science of man but how long can we afford to remain as curiosa in the sanctuary of some museum? These inquiries represent a kind of 'withdrawal into a contemplation of one's cultural heritage' (Peiris) without any attempt to view this heritage as a transforming social reality.

Likewise, we note a preoccupation with the study of religion and economic development in the mistaken belief that this single institution of religion becomes a sufficient explanation of our failure to 'Develop,' to modernize i.e. to achieve an appropriate stage of development in a unilinear evolutionary pattern of development. But, surprisingly, there is little sociological analysis of the meaning and significance of religious institutions in the various facets of social life. This kind of critique can be extended to other fields, such as studies of rural development, family planning and now the fashionable 'Communication Studies' to show how often we have indulged in parading trivialities dressed in esoteric jargon, and the language of sophisticated models applied to numerous micro-level studies.

The bias towards micro-level village studies also reveals an unwillingness to view the broader spectrum of social reality. I interpret this as an **opting out** of social concern — a brahmin-like aloofness — from a sense of creative engagement, involvement and participation in the social scene. Here, we come across what Peiris alludes to as the problem of 'distance' from the objects of investigation, the need for objectivity and

In 1975, Dr. Susantha Gunatilleke, Director of Research, Peoples Bank and Mr. Godfrey Gunatilleke, Director Marga Institute engaged each other in a wide ranging debate on the state of the Social Sciences in this country. Recently, Dr. Laksiri Jayasuriya, formerly head of the Department of Sociology in the Ceylon University, took the title of that debate "Academic Colonialism and Chauvinism" as the point of departure for a paper he presented to the Ceylon Studies Seminar, Peradeniya.

In the first part of his paper, Dr. Jayasuriya examined some emerging perspectives in western sociology. Classical theory (or mainstream sociology), the heir to the Positivist tradition, was under attack from several 'radical' schools. Dr. Jayasuriya identified five sources of attack, and dealt in some detail with each, notably the Frankfurt School and the Marxist-Structuralist position. We publish the second part of his paper which offers some new directions for Third World, and Sri Lankan sociology.

detachment in so-called "Dispassionate Inquiry" has meant the accumulation of a sterile body of knowledge which had made little impact on practical matters. Surprisingly, micro-level analysis where it has been attempted is, as Susantha Gunatillaka remarks, the prerogative for the mandarins of Sociology from the West represented by the vast array of well funded Western Researchers who have made us the "guinea pigs" for testing out their preconceived models or theories, whose validity, as our earlier preliminary remarks indicate, even within the current body of Sociological knowledge, is highly questionable.

An interesting feature of these attempts at micro-level studies is the partiality towards one kind of theory, especially of the kind of structuralist — functionalist outlook which is primarily directed at an understanding of "system maintenance," social stability and social

order. It is basically an equilibrium model — which fails to illuminate the nature of change processes in society. On the contrary one of the pressing tasks of the social sciences in Sri Lanka must be to focus on the analysis of social changes, and knowledge in this respect is sorely lacking. Perhaps, contemporary literature is more insightful in this respect than sociological knowledge and, as in the history of sociology in the West, it needs to be pointed out that a great deal of the growth of Western Sociology may be portrayed as developing in parallel with the literature of the 19th century. One writer has aptly observed that 'so long as literature is concerned with the most urgent and political question of the time, so long will society develop in parallel with literature' (P. 29). The Sri Lankan Sociologist, I believe has much to learn from this viewpoint. **The crucial issue of course, is the priorities we have and the questions we wish to pose for research.** Instead of looking for answers, we must start seeking questions that can lead to further questions — problem solving vs fact finding.

In many ways the most characteristic feature of a great deal of what is recognised as sociological or social science research and inquiry is the emphasis placed on quantification, (itself based on a false view of social science) typified by the plethora of survey type analysis one finds in such fields as development studies, family planning, education and rural sociology. The social scientist, has under the influence of what is now called "vulgar positivism" or naive empiricism" become a generator of "Fact-posturing propositions" — a mere fact gatherer. What all this points to is the divorce of theory from a fact. Again, it reflects fundamentally, among other things, I believe, a refusal nay a **fear**, to become "involved" — to engage in a critical analysis of the nature of social reality itself. This alone, I believe, has inhibited the development of a social science body of knowledge adapted to local needs and a willingness to come to terms with sensitive areas such as social

change, conflict and power structure.

To sum up then, the constraints of "academic colonialism" are considerable and their appreciation is vital to an appraisal of contemporary social science knowledge in Sri Lanka, a knowledge of what we are doing in the name of the social science. But if this diagnosis is sound in its broad outline, where do we go from here? What options do we have? What issues do we face in restructuring the social sciences? The Third World plea is for academic self-reliance or "Indigenization" of the social sciences as has been attempted in the Latin American scene and to some extent elsewhere, eg. Africa and Asia. For purposes of discussion, I wish to make a few perfunctory — probably rash — propositions in the hope that they may generate further comment and reflection.

Guide lines for a 'relevant sociology.'

First and foremost, I think we need to be forewarned about the dangers of rushing headlong into "Indigenization", especially of what Godfrey Gunatilleke calls the possibility of a **high degree of isolationism**, a closing of windows, and of adopting a romantic conception of an idyllic state of knowledge derived from one's own cultural past. Clearly, we need to be committed towards the **pursuit of a universalistic concept** of knowledge, and in doing so we must begin to adopt a critical, and sceptical posture towards social science thinking as it exists today. We need to avoid the dangers inherent in this type of argument of throwing the baby out with the bath water!

As Godfrey Gunatilleke says, we need to accept the fact that we will be "**knowledge dependent**" for a long time to come. What is, therefore, important is the **critical and imaginative** appraisal of this body of knowledge, by trying to understand how this knowledge arose and the circumstances in which this knowledge has developed over the last hundred years or so. We need to recognise that as one writer put it that "it is

quite another to define its purpose and lay down rules for accomplishing that purpose." Hence we need to adopt the perspective of "Sociology of knowledge" itself before we can appraise the available knowledge **selectively for our purposes.** These **purposes** — the basis of the search for relevant knowledge — raise questions which I must confess, falls within the moral realm — the realm of valuations. But ultimately their identification is basic to a view of praxis, a programme of action. The linkage of **theory and praxis**, as the Radical or Critical sociologists put it, is crucial to this task and no social scientist can shirk his responsibility in this regard.

NEXT: An alternative sociology.

FROM FRYING PAN TO DEEP-FREEZER!

Newly de-colonised nations, and the older countries of Latin America, had all inherited the same idea from the dominant Euro-American culture: work hard and you will become prosperous. Gradually we all discovered that hard work and prosperity were not cause and effect; something external to ourselves always seemed to break the reputed connection! The so-called neutrality of the world market place turned out to be a neutrality between the exploiter and the exploited, between a bird of prey and its victim. If in our effort to find resources for survival—let alone development—we carried out the textbook procedures for raising capital we always seemed to end up under the virtual control of the transnational corporations or subject to I.M.F. deflationary policies—or both. We did not achieve progress; we simply moved from the frying pan into the deep-freezer! Even if we tried to do nothing except sell our traditional exports and buy our traditional imports, we found that we could buy less and less with more and more of our hard work."

JULIUS K. NYERERE
(Arusha Conference,
Feb. 12, 1979)

Which way for the Left?

(8) Nava Lanka Communist Party

The NLCP claims to be a Marxist-Leninist political organisation devoted to the task of building a strong and correct Revolutionary Communist Party by unifying all the Marxist-Leninist political groups. Firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung's Thought, assertion of independence in international relations, special effort to build worker-peasant alliance and reliance on mass struggle are its main positions. Ariyawansa Gunasekara and Kalyananda Tiranagama of the Central Committee were interviewed by the "Lanka Guardian".

Q: Could you tell us something about the origins of your party and the groups that came together to form it?

A: Our party was formed in early 1976 at a Congress of communists who were compelled to break away from the Ceylon Communist Party at various times between 1964 and 1972. There were several comrades who long remained in the Central Committee of the CCP such as A. Gunasekara, K. A. Wimalapala, Kularatna Wickramasinghe and D. U. Jayasekara. Our aims in forming the Party were to inherit and carry forward all the positive factors of the CP formed in 1943, to rectify the mistakes committed by the Left Movement and give a correct orientation to it, and build a strong, revolutionary CP capable of leading the Sri Lankan Revolution to success by unifying all M-L groups.

Q: One of the main intentions of your party was the reunification of all the militant sections which broke away or were expelled from time to time from Mr. Sanmugathan's Ceylon Communist Party. Would you agree that this aim has not been achieved?

A: It was not our aim to unify groups that broke away from Sanmugathan's Party but to unify all M-L groups into a single Party. For instance, Dharmasekara and Mahinda Wijesekara were not in Shan's Party. When we set on this task we never had any illusions about an early or easy success. It is true that our effort has not

been entirely successful. But it has borne some results like the united May Day Rally of 1978 and the 10-Party Unity.

Q: What do you think are the main reasons for the present crisis and break-up of the once powerful Maoist movement on a local and global level?

A: Opportunism and revisionism of the leaders is the main cause of the weakening of the Maoist Movement in many countries. Many such leaders have not understood the essence of Mao's thinking. Often they pay lip service to it while acting contrary to it. Their sole concern is to issue some statements, deceive foreign representatives and get some personal benefits.

Q: Recent discussions held with a view to reunite the Maoist movement in Sri Lanka seem to have broken down. As a party which has consistently fought for such a reunification, what do you think are the main obstacles to achieving this aim?

A: There are several factors that cause difficulties in achieving this aim. Firstly, there is the personal factor. Most of these groups are led by individuals - petty bourgeois intellectuals. So far, many of them have not been able to get rid of their "clique" mentality completely. Secondly, there is the foreign factor. Some of these groups owe allegiance to various foreign parties. But we believe the historical necessity of the movement will certainly help

overcome these difficulties, and lead to unification.

Q: The Samastha Lanka Govi Sammelanaya, one of the oldest and best known peasant unions in the country is closely related to your party, while the Left movement's most famous peasant organiser Ariyawansa Gunasekara is one of your party's leading comrades. Could you tell us something about the present situation and future prospects facing this country's peasantry particularly in the light of the government's agrarian policies.

A: No doubt the schemes like the Mahaweli may be of some use to the peasantry. They may be able to ease the two main problems of the peasants (land and water) somewhat. But under a capitalist setup no development scheme will really benefit the people. Bureaucrats, contractors and the capitalists will thrive by squandering the national wealth intended for these schemes. Real results can be achieved only if these schemes are implemented under a People's government.

Q: Would you agree that unlike in most other 'Third World' and, especially, Asian countries, the Sri Lankan peasantry has been a relatively dormant socio-political force? Do you foresee an end to this, an upsurge of peasant militancy together with renewed prospects of peasant organisation?

A: We cannot agree. Our peasantry is not dormant. In the history of our peasant movement we had the opportunity of leading several local peasant struggles. In the 1956 transition they played a very active role. In 1971 it was the peasant youths who heroically fought the armed forces. If they have a genuine organisation and leadership they will certainly play a decisive role as a socio-political force in this country. Surely there will be an upsurge in the peasant movement in the near future.

Q: What would you say were the mistakes and shortcomings in the attitude of the Left movement towards the peasantry of this country?

A: The Left movement did not understand the importance of organising the peasantry of this country. Because they never gave serious thought to the question of capturing power, there was no real necessity to do so. Therefore, they neglected the peasantry. Peasant organisations are indispensable for a revolutionary party. Being petty-bourgeois parliamentary parties interested only in winning a few seats in Parliament they could carry on without taking pains to organise the peasantry which is a difficult and painful job. It is also less profitable than organising the Trade Unions. They did not realise that the peasant question was essentially a national question. Their cosmopolitan approach alienated them from the peasantry.

Q: In the article on 'The National Bourgeoisie and the United Front' and a multi-part essay on 'Lenin and the Stages of the Colonial Revolution' all of which were published in your theoretical journal 'Nava Lanka', your party seems to express the view that the 'national' bourgeoisie and, therefore, the SLFP have exhausted their progressive potential and no longer have a progressive role to play. However, you have simultaneously refrained from defining the present stage of the Sri Lanka revolution as 'Proletarian Socialist' and continue to define it instead as 'New Democratic'. Isn't this position contradictory?

A: We never said that the national bourgeoisie and the SLFP have exhausted their progressive potential. Still they may have a limited progressive role to play. What we said was that the SLFP and the national bourgeoisie today were not the same as in 1956 — a new big bourgeoisie grown out of the national bourgeoisie has formed close links with foreign capital and taken control of the SLFP and, therefore, it could not give leadership to the anti-Imperialist movement in this country. Both can play their limited progressive role only in a united front under the leadership of the working class. We discard the idea of a united front under the leadership of the SLFP. This is consistent with the

New Democratic stage of the Sri Lankan Revolution.

Q: What is your party's position on the struggle for a separate state in the North? What is your attitude to the TULF?

A: Successive bourgeois governments in this country did not make any honest attempt to solve the problems of the Tamil People. What they did was making political capital out of the existence of these problems during election times. As a community, Tamil People have genuine grievances. All their national rights must be accepted and granted. Suppression by armed force will not be a solution to this problem but will only give rise to increased resistance. Being a nation, Tamil People in the North have a right to self-determination. But we think their demand for Eelam under a Tamil bourgeois leadership would not be a solution to their problems.

Q: What is your party's stand on the current disputes within the Maoist Movement such as the 'Theory of the Three Worlds', the Sino-Albania and the Sino-Vietnamese/Kampuchean problems? In general, what is your attitude to the domestic and foreign policy line of the present Chinese leadership?

A: As a party we take an independent stand in our international relations. We are not blind supporters of the political line of any foreign Communist party. In our view, these socialist countries are nationalist than Marxist in their approach to problems. That is why this type of conflicts arise between them. Every Communist Party has a right to decide what is good for it without any interference from others. Yet we must say that there are certain things which we cannot understand in the domestic and foreign policy of the present Chinese leadership. But we believe that the Chinese people educated by Mao Tsetung and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will not deviate from the path charted by Mao Tsetung.

Q: What is your view of the JVP before and after 71?

A: Before 1971 the JVP was a non-Marxist petty bourgeois political movement mainly confined to the youth, especially of peasant origin. Its political doctrine was a hotch-potch of the teachings of Debray, Castro, Guevara and Goebbels spiced with a few quotations from Lenin and Mao. Extreme communalism, youthful romanticism, highly emotional speeches, well planned show-off, assurance of an easy and early victory with the least sacrifice etc; are the means the JVP employed to deceive the youth. Objective conditions for the rapid development of a petty-bourgeois movement like the JVP were there. The difference between the JVP leadership and the rank and file was clearly seen during the insurrection. The rank and file members were dedicated to the cause of changing the existing social system.

But can we say the same thing about the leadership? Though Mr Wijeweera is now claiming the honour for the insurrection for himself, before the CJC he tried to depict it as a counter-revolutionary act committed by his political rivals in order to destroy the JVP.

Even after 1971, the JVP has not analysed its mistakes. Its so-called self-criticism is only a vain attempt at covering up its political crimes. Today the JVP is committing more serious mistakes than before 1971. Having run after Trotskyism for some time, today it is flirting with Soviet Social-Imperialism in search of a short cut to power. It is currying favour with the UNP reactionaries. It is disrupting the unity of the progressive forces. Here we mean the JVP leadership and not the ordinary membership.

Q: How would you characterise the current situation and the prospects facing this country? In this context what are the tasks of the Left and the obstacles to be overcome in order to achieve Left unity.

A: The international situation is very confused. Super Power

(Continued on page 24)

Politics of Higher Education (2)

Social composition of the universities and politics

by Sunil Bastian

As university education began to spread to a greater part of the population there came about in the campuses a definite change in the whole atmosphere. The representatives of the subaltern social classes actually brought the campuses closer to the society. The Universities which earlier were even physically isolated from the rest of the population became absolute. At least universities were forced to relate to the outside society in their basic objective. The new classes of students wanted their problems discussed in the campuses. They wanted a relevance in their content to the life situations. The isolated academics were questioned. All these in the final analysis meant an embracement of politics by the universities. From now on the university could justify itself in the eyes of the students only by responding to the rhythm of politics that vibrate through the society.

At this point it is important to notice how the university came to be justified politically from two ends—the end of the rulers and the end of the ruled—but with apparent contradictory aims. The rulers attempt to get the benefits of knowledge produced to maintain their hegemonic interests and the ruled by sending their representatives in, brings 'outside' politics to the campus. The final result is the politicisation of the higher educational institutes. Therefore however much we may try to contain it, the development of our history had brought politics right into our higher educational institutes.

These transformations of the relation between the state and

the university and the impact of the altered social composition of the campus population, brings to our notice the nature of knowledge itself, revealing its political conditioning. This is something that there had been always, but only becoming more explicit nowadays.

Traditional attitude to knowledge had been to consider it as a product of those who speculated about the world and tried to make use of it or tried to adapt it in order to solve man's problems of living. This common definition can be applied to both natural and social sciences. The development of the scientific method tried to make this knowledge value-free, implying its neutrality and applicability to all situations. Some of the aspects discussed above shows to us the myth of this neutrality. In fact the political conditioning of knowledge seems to go even deeper.

A questioning of the existing approaches to knowledge will have to question even the basic divisions of subjects and their objectives of study as we have them today. In Europe where these divisions arose the stimulus came from the problems that those societies faced. It was these problem-solving situations that determined this particular division of knowledge into subjects. But how are these divisions helpful to us in solving our problems. To take a well known example from the social science as it developed in Europe, it gave rise to a subject called Anthropology whose objective of study was the 'native societies' and another discipline called sociology concentrating on the European societies. It is quite apparent that this type of a division cannot hold its ground meaningfully in the Third World. More important are the problems posed by our

developing economies to the natural sciences. For example, can an Agriculturalist tackling the question of fertilizing meaningfully do it without a consideration of what fertilizers mean to us as a socio-economic problem, and without taking into account the link of the fertilizers with the world Capitalist system through the multinationals. How many of our agronomers not to mention development journalists jumped into the band wagon of the 'Green Revolution' and in fact actually helped to implement it without understanding whom it really benefitted.

These types of dangers where the specialist is made use of simply because he had been given a specific approach to the knowledge and therefore is trained to see the problem narrowly is immanent in the natural sciences. We, if we are really serious about solving our problems of development must try to see afresh, without these filters, the wealth of knowledge that the world has today; the way knowledge developed and the way its categorised depended on a certain socio-economic model of development that the world had gone through and is going through. It is not free of these influences and thus not free of political determinations.

Although many of us try to dissociate higher education from politics what I've tried to show is how politics is present at the core of higher education. In fact the justification of the existence of the university itself is political. This is what the liberal bourgeois democratic ideas have tried to hide with their concepts like 'academic freedom' and 'university' autonomy. What is happening today in Sri Lanka, for example through the New University Bill is a process of taking the sheepskin away from the wolf and thereby laying bare its true nature.

Sinhala films and oppressed groups in society

by Ananda Jayaweera

From its inception the Sinhala film industry has produced a spate of bad films made purely for commercial purposes, lacking any artistic value and consisting of the usual mixture of fights, low comedy, romance, night club scenes plus the standard quota of songs and gyrations which pass for dancing. These films usually plagiarised from Hindi & Tamil films—have been artistically bad and socially lacking in any awareness.

It is 25 years since the new wave of Sinhala films commenced with Lester Peries' 'REKAWA'. Since then, there have been many artistic, technically proficient and well-acted Sinhala films which have served to show that Sinhala film producers do indeed have the capacity to rise above the badly-produced, sensational films that flood the market.

But has there been a parallel development of a social awareness or consciousness in the thematic content of our films? Claims are made even in some 'progressive' quarters that there is a radical trend in the cinema. But instead of bringing a more sensitive and realistic portrayal of the peasantry, working class, fishermen and women to the screen, we have seen films which, though well-acted, technically competent and full of lyrical shots, actually tend to be 'anti-people' in content projecting a false and contemptuous attitude to these oppressed social groups.

In this article, it is intended to look at some attitudes and impressions conveyed to the mass audience through films, expose, their class nature and then to consider a few of the larger issues

regarding their role in creating and affirming stereotype images that contribute to the continued dominance of bourgeois values.

Peasants

Let us take for example the way the peasantry and rural poor are portrayed. From such early films as REKAWA, SIKURU THARUWA and KURULU

landscape; the inhabitants are generally guile-less, full of rustic simplicity and virtues. The intrusion of villainy is through a land-owner, boutique-keeper or state official. However, since the emphasis is always on personal drama and the characters stand isolated from their social setting, the social reality of the life of a peasant, his relationship to



*Urban unemployed youth—an oppressed group
(from the film 'Ahas Gawwa')*

BEDDA, to latter films like AKKARA PAHA and KAWDA RAJA, the village and its inhabitants are shown in an idyllic romanticised manner; the village itself is picturesque with its paddy fields, dagoba, temple, well or tank being prominently in the

others of his own class, the impact on his life of the land-owner or the trader who exploits him, are completely ignored. Even in the rare cases like KAWDA RAJA, when there is some depiction of the problems of the peasant, the relationships are

portrayed in terms of black and white and are always reduced to a personal level with the conflicts being solved at the same level.

There has been no Sinhala film which has attempted to go behind this idyllic picture of the village and the peasants and to analyse, in realistic terms, the problems of this group. On the whole the cinema's portrayal of the peasant is romantic, one-dimensional and distorted and uniformly contemptuous. The most gross example of this attitude was seen in **KOLOMBA SANNIYA**, where the peasant, with his traditional rural habits, attitudes and customs is brought into an urban milieu. His basic inability to understand and cope with this unaccustomed way of life is the source of coarse humour and he is made the butt of cruel and vicious jokes. The contempt of the so-called urban sophisticated towards the rural, finds its full expression in this film.

Even in a film that seeks to portray a peasant rebellion (**VEERA PURAN APPU**) a gross caricature is perpetuated. The peasants are shown as yelling, half-clad 'natives' without an ounce of strategic wisdom, with their final defeat being a foregone conclusion. And what do they do after a temporary victory? They quickly become a bunch of loafers, indulging in drunken dancing.

Fishermen

The fishing community of Sri Lanka has fared no better. In films like **DHEEWARAYO** and **HITHA MITHURA**, we find the same kind of romanticisation, as the fishermen have been abstracted from the social reality in which they live and struggle. Even a more sensitive film like **SATH-SAMUDURA** falsified to some extent the reality by placing more emphasis on the struggle the fishermen are called upon to wage with the forces of nature. **BAM-BARU AVITH**, on the other hand, totally ignores this aspect to concentrate on the social relationships both within the fishing community and with the exploiting outsiders; even here,



'The village folk are generally guile-less, full of rustic simplicity...' (from the film 'Rekawa')

the fishermen of Kalpitiya are depicted as almost permanently drunk, violent, primitive people whose savagery is only kept under control by the Navy, Police and the sympathetic Catholic priest. No trace of class consciousness is seen among the fishermen in this film. There is no class enemy and it is only the 'hippie' type from the city who speaks of exploitation and oppression, thus adding to the general political confusion underlying this film.

Urban workers

Sinhala films are notable for their free-floating characters, who seem to exist without any visible means of economic support; most often the 'lower classes' are portrayed in this manner; they seem to exist merely to fill the landscape and to be at the beck and call of the rich. Even in the relatively few films where workers are shown in an actual setting of work, the portrayal is anything but real and merely conforms to the stereotype image of the worker that exists in the minds of the bourgeoisie. In Sinhala films, the society and the culture of the working class are held in utter contempt. In **CHANDI SHYAMA**, for instance, the workers are depicted as a grumbling, lazy set of people who have up to now been controlled by the employer with an iron fist. Finding that this style of management is

getting outmoded, he gets a friend of his to enrol as a worker and by a few acts of collusion with the employer, to become the union leader. In **SELINAGE WALAUWA**, the workers living in the slums are merely interested in a feeble betterment of their immediate surroundings and are shown to be without any trace of class consciousness.

Or to take an example from a better film—in **SIKURULIYA**, the driver with whom the heroine elopes, is depicted as a violent brute; he is a woman-beater, getting constantly mixed up in drunken brawls and for relaxation taking part in a 'bajau' led by that prince of lumpen-culture, Freddie Silva. Here, not only is the worker depicted as a primitive creature, but his very lifestyle, his home, and his culture are portrayed in a contemptuous manner, as contrasted with the middle-class values of the heroine.

Women

Of course it is not surprising that Sinhala films display a similar backward attitude with regard to women. They seem to see woman only in terms of 'good' or 'bad'. The former include the devoted, doll-like girl-friend whom one can almost see growing into the other stereotype of womanhood—

(Continued on page 20)

Sinhala films . . .

(Continued from page 19)

the long-suffering mother. There are also designing bad women (Chin Chin Nonas), night-club girls and the vicious schemers who plot to rob the hero or the heroine of his or her birthright. In SASARA, the simple Buddhist village girl is virtue incarnate, while the urban, modern girl is a Catholic, whose family indulge in all sorts of deadly vices including drunkenness, immorality and even attempted murder. Naturally, the unsuspecting hero in this film from a 'respectable' family falls prey to the evil gold-digger and pays for his sins. In all such Sinhala films, one can be sure that by the end of the film, these 'bad' women and shrews will be tamed, chastised and perhaps imprisoned (as in Sasara)

However, it is interesting to note that the 'good' and the 'bad' share one fate as women; they all spend their time cooking delicacies for the hero and polishing his shoes; they are all equally the victims of the oppression, violence and degradation inflicted on them by a patriarchal, capitalist society. However, no film questions this situation; indeed, they all condone it as the victims are only women and that is their 'karma'.

(NEXT: Working women, false values)

Trends . . .

(Continued from page 1)

In Peking. But the poster is as much politics in China as Mao's Thoughts. So political observers walking or driving down Dharma-pala Mawatha, where the Chinese Embassy has its imposing offices, would have noted the piquant irony

of a poster in red, it simply said "Chinese bandits; Hands off Vietnam".

Students of the art recognised the distinctive style introduced to poster-politics by one of our youngest political movements.

People . . . (Continued from page 7)

Meanwhile in Rhodesia, Prime Minister Ian Smith's son, Alec, is reported to have undergone a conversion experience. He claims that his religion now affects his political thinking. "I grew up taking privileges for granted. I automatically assumed black men would serve me and that I would get a top job. This arrogance and self-centered indifference to others has changed. I would be happy now to live under a black Government."

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2 FACES & 1 BODY**



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although some ALIENS wanted me removed**

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- * Save Water * Stop Smoking
- * Avoid Alcoholism * Keep Fit
- * Don't Gamble.

The Battle of the Blues

How it all began

by Elmer de Haan

The Bishop was troubled in mind. He read and re-read the letter on his desk but repetition only served to increase his worries. In utter perplexity he sent for his chaplain, an old school friend, on whom he was wont to lean heavily in settling the many vexatious problems of his diocese.

"Good morning, Boke, he greeted his chaplain. "will you sit down".

"Hullo Juggins, why the long face. Have you been at the bottle again?"

The Bishop sighed. Boke was very helpful in times of need but apt to be facetious at times. "I've had another letter from Lambeth, will you read it."

The Chaplain did so. "Pheugh" he muttered, "what have you done to rile the old boy, he seems to have his knife in you."

"No, I can't say I blame him, he is only doing his duty. You see, behind the Archbishop stand the industrialists. With them Christainity is just a matter of profit and loss. If they are to support our mission abroad, they expect to be reimbursed, and that most handsomely".

"H'm, there is much truth in what you say, Bish, how are you expected to help?"

"By willy-nilly increasing the number of converts each year, Boke".

"But the day of forcible conversion is long past and I cannot see any other way of, shall we say, persuading the heathen to abandon his pagan gods and accept Christ the Saviour."

"The Archbishop is of opinion, and the Governor agrees with

The Battle of the Blues is the sporting event and social occasion of the year. The celebrations in connection with the centenary will bring Royalists and Thomians in special charters from New York and London, from Sydney and Hong Kong. Dying of cancer, Elmer de Haan lets his lively imagination roam to give us his own fanciful account of how it all began a century ago. As a Royalist, de Haan of course is fiercely partisan and proud of it.

him, that should we open more schools in the island and accept only Christian students who would later be eligible for the higher posts in both the Government and Mercantile Services, we would solve our problems".

"But how would that help those blasted capitalists back home".

"Why Boke, it is all so very simple. You convert the heathen and the first thing he does is cover his nakedness and dress like a Christian. Then Manchester supplies the clothing, Nottingham the footwear and so on".

"Ah! the economics of religion. What a sordid business it all is, Juggins, I never saw my priesthood in this light before. Every time I convert the heathen I shovel some chink into an industrialist's pocket."

"Don't take it to heart, Boke We are both doing a job of work for which we are paid handsome salaries, like the gardener out there. It is never good for a priest to have illusions. I never had any". The Bishop's voice grew kindly, "Naver, Boke stir muddy waters, one never knows what may be at the bottom. About these schools, I suggest we begin first with Colombo. Will you see to the notice in the Gazette. What do you think will be a suitable name".

"S. Thomas'. Was he not the disciple who doubted?"

"Excellent", chortled the Bishop "I see you have not lost your sense of humour".

The next week a notice appeared in the Gazette calling for applications from boys below fifteen years of age who were to be admitted to the new school at Mutuwal. "Instruction would be given in the Three R's and the Christian Religion. Selection would be limited to the sons of minor headmen, rural peasantry and estate workers. Preference would be given to boys who were not sons of I. R. C.'s."

The results were calamitous. Every churl, every varlet, every villain, every clodhopper, who could beg or borrow a pair of brown shoes from some kindly European Planter, promptly mounted his thirickelle and drove post-haste to Mutwal to seek admission. They came in droves, these sons of the soil. From far off Bintenne, from the wilds of Dedigama, from the jungles of the Raja Rata, from the rolling plains of Horagolla, they kept on coming, all demanding admission. The Bishop did some quick thinking. Selecting two hundred or so of the less disreputable, he dismissed the others with kindly words and gestures, advising them to re-apply the next year. Ordering the chosen few to cut off their kondes and bathe their selves, he took counsel with his chaplain as how best to prepare a dinner for the new boys.

Mr. Ashley Walker waxed wrathful. Spacing his study, he groaned aloud. What the devil did this fellow Falkner think he was doing in suggesting a cricket match between Royal and this

foundling S. Thomas'. Did this idiot Falkner realize what sort of boys he (Walker) had to deal with. Haughty aristocrats every one of them, filled with pride of race. Stiff-necked and quick to anger. He, Walker, already knew what their answer would be. The rigid stare, the raised eyebrow, the curled upper lip, the stony silence, the cold contempt.

He, Walker, would feel like a worm in their presence, and this was what that dunderhead Falkner was letting him in for. He groaned in spirit, everything had gone wrong for him since he came to this blasted school. What a fool he had been to have fallen for the specious promises of that glib-tongued scoundrel Cull. Back home he had refused the head mastership of a leading public school in the South of England to come to Ceylon. If this match does not come off, he soliloquized grimly, he would be lucky if he was given a house master's post at any Grammar School. One forlorn hope, however, remained to him in his predicament. If he could win Silva of the Sixth form, that silver-tongued orator, more amenable to reason than the others? He sent for Silva.

"So you see, my dear boy", pleaded Walker, "it's all up to you. The Bishop and the Governor are particularly in favour of such a match in the belief that public school spirit and sportsmanship could be established through intercollegiate matches. It is all poppycock, I grant you, but my whole future depends on the playing of this match."

"I shall do what I can", agreed Silva, "but it will be hard going. These Thomians are a rum lot, Sir. I saw some of them at the Fort Station the other day, there was still an unmistakable air of the rustic about them. Clad in ill-fitting, ready-made suits, probably purchased on instalments at Simes Emporium, they looked pathetic. Most of them wore black pants with tan shoes. If you ask me, Sir, I think them impossible".

"But Silva, "moaned Walker, "why should you of the Sixth be so stand offish".

"They are quite nice fellows, Sir, but you must appreciate their position. This is an Eastern country with age-old customs, customs you Europeans will never understand. Should, for example, the son of a Maha Mudaliyar rub shoulders even on the cricket field with the son of some minor headman who is probably also the village cattle lifter as well, the M. M. will assuredly be called upon to resign in disgrace. Here Sir, water does not readily mix with oil. But I shall do as you ask of me and summon the Sixth to meet next evening. Beven, Corea and Roberts are the ones you will have to watch, especially Beven. He is tough".

Walker nodded gloomily. He knew that fellow Beven only too well. Sharp eyed, possessed of the tenacity of a ferret, he never missed anything. Corea was more easy going but stiff necked and unbending when his dignity was assailed. Roberts, gaunt and taciturn, pounced on the first slip you made and like the terrier never let go. It was not going to be easy despite Silva's suavity and diplomacy.

Silva had made a good job of it. The Sixth while not being exactly chummy were not openly hostile. They had the appearance of men who were prepared at great boredom to themselves to listen to both sides of the story. Walker hastily decided to abandon his opening preamble and get on with it.

"Silva", he informed the Sixth, "would have already told you why this match should be played. I should like to have your comments".

After a painful silence of nearly two minutes, a cold, emotionless voice asked, "Are you seriously suggesting, Sir, that we should play this Dotheboys Hall or S. Thomas' or whatever it is called". There were murmurs of "you said it, Beven".

"Why, yes", gulped the stricken Walker, "both the Bishop and the Governor expressly desire it".

A harsh, grating voice, not unlike an alligator at lunch, cut in abruptly. "The wishes of these estimable gentlemen are no concern of ours. By the way, where is this place called Mutwal?"

"Now wait a minute Roberts, don't rush matters", pleaded the now disintegrating Walker, "this, er, Mutwal is a small village by the harbour, a little to the north-west of Kotahena".

A strangled "My God" from Corea made the tomb-like silence that followed Walker's ill-chosen words seem even more deep than the eternal peace that enveloped the Universe before Creation, for Walker had committed the unpardonable *faux pas*, the word *Kotahena* was never used in polite circles.

"Does it mean, Sir" asked Van Geyzel, a shy youth who rarely spoke, "that we have to pass through this 'K' place to reach Mutwal".

A general murmur arose.... "Impossible.... Simply not done... ..shocking.... chuck the whole affair, I say.... Walker must be crazy to expect us..... I warned you all along that there was a catch somewhere.... Silva deserves a ducking for letting us in for this..... I am for resigning and going home".

Interrupting this symposium, Walker broke in with "No, No, Boys, it's nothing like that. You will not have to go anywhere near Mutwal. The Match is to be played at Galle Face".

"AAAAH! the long drawn sigh of relief filled the room and swelled into a magnificent crescendo before dying away, "why did you not say so at first, Sir, that makes all the difference".

Walker sat back in his chair, mopping his damp forehead. Arising, he tottered to his cupboard and took out a bottle of his Brandy. He needed it as never before. The Sixth had left some minutes earlier, having given him their word to play the match.

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Letters...

(Continued from page 2)

Movie maker

acclaimed director of the local film scene. Mr. Peiris, has been the victim due to unwarranted remarks made by him of certain 'tribes' who are engaged in this ribald trade of journalism.

The author, who admits that he has covered aspects ranging from Parliamentary affairs to accidents as a journalist is 'conscious of direction' in presenting to his readers a critical analysis of the latest production of Lester's. After reading his essay I came to the conclusion that a seasoned journalist is capable of doing justice to any subject and it is proved beyond doubt that it is not essential to be a film critic to analyze a film, thus negating the theory advocated by Lester.

Let us not permit as the author suggests to allow Lester to "languish in his cave and roll-a-rock over the entrance" but as suggested by another contributor (C. Wijeratne) in the same issue that he will resurrect to "find his way back to meaningful realist cinema".

Colombo-15 **Camillus Fernando**

Which way...

(Continued from page 16)

contention for domination is felt even here in local politics. Neo Colonialism operating through multi-national monopolies has taken our economy into its grip and is being tightened day by day. This economic situation is reflected in the socio-political measures taken by the Government. Hence anti-labour laws, curtailment of democratic rights etc; at the moment people are confused and the Left is disunited. There is no Left force capable of leading the masses against these measures. Hence the reactionaries have found it easy to carry out these steps.

Cocksure commentators

I will begin by answering Chintaka's two questions: 1. Yes, capitalism is, as a system, inherently exploitative. 2. No, Socialism, as a system (Chintaka's emphasis), is not exploitative.

Now, will he answer mine please?

1. Where in the world have we a non-exploitative society today?

2. Where in the world today is there (I quote) 'a society where the administrative apparatus is both representative and open to genuine popular participation'?

I hope he will answer without resorting to name calling ('intellectual vagrant') and the meaningless gibe ('We find him hanging around Gulags etc.' and 'get to the back of the class' etc.) Both parties to a debate can do this sort of unfunny thing but it does not advance the argument.

As for surplus not being co-terminous with profits I wish Chintaka would tell Karl Marx this the next time he runs into him. I am prepared to debate 'the central tenet of Marxist political Economy' with Chintaka 'if the Editor permits' but only on condition that Chintaka agrees to remain relevant and not have recourse to the patronising sneer and other such gimmicks which comprise the shop-worn stock-in-trade of the professional paralogist.

Lastly, some common ground: I agree with Chintaka about Milton Friedman and would characterise the Nobel Prize for Economics awarded to him as of a piece with the Nobel Prize cynically given to Kissinger and Begin. But I would use softer words than maniac: simplistic and

cocksure. Friedman, too, believes the mode of analysis he employs is the finest available. So did the Rev. Jim Jones. The world is today full of such true-believers of various persuasions and denominations ready to kill and die for their cause. The followers of Chintaka's 'master' too have had to face 'cruel exposure' in their own numerous versions of 'Chile' over the last sixty year.

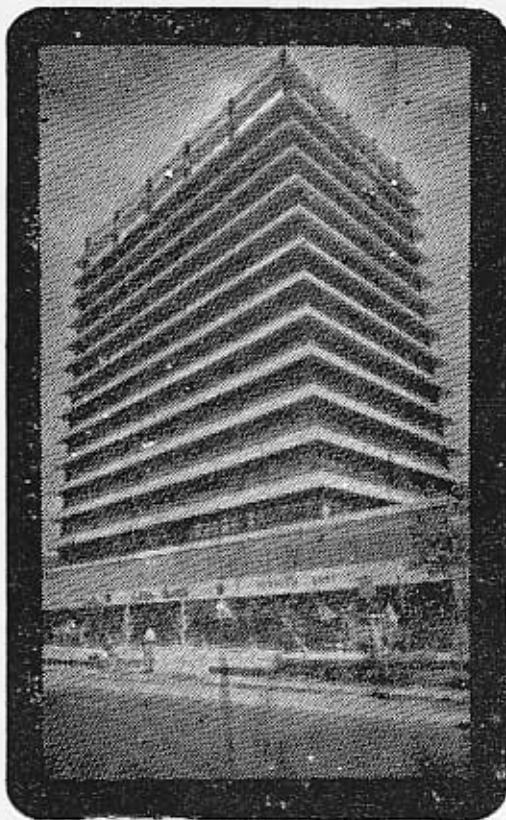
Kollupitiya

Costain de Vos

Physician heal thyself

It would surely be outrageous conduct on my part and totally without justification were I to call Mr Amaradasa Fernando a purple-bottomed baboon; I should have no evidence whatsoever on which I could base such an unfair and unfounded description. Neither can Mr Fernando have any grounds for calling me an illiterate and a lickspittle unless it be my failure to find Mr Haan's letter amusing when Mr Fernando himself thinks so highly of it. Mr Fernando's reaction, I suggest, is excessive. 'Hobbledehoyhood' was the **mot-juste**. Mr Fernando should understand that it was not polysyllables that I took objection to but the assumption that the use of polysyllables was in itself amusing. Mr Haan's letter was at least good-humoured; Mr Fernando's is ill-tempered. Mr Haan's two Latin phrases did not, in Mr Fernando's quaint phrase, 'break my back'. Actually I found them rather pathetic. Cicero's wail to Catiline was badly mangled ('patentia' indeed!) and Apelles' admonition to the cobbler was used in an inappropriate context. I wonder if Mr Fernando spotted these lapses. His claim that Mr Haan's letter contributed to the anti-imperialist movement tells us something of Mr Fernando's concept of that movement. If Mr Fernando looks up St Luke 4:23 he will learn that the correct text is: 'physician heal thyself'.

H. W. Fowler



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