

Dr. James T. Rutnam on the Anagarika

**LANKA**

# **GUARDIAN**

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## **BUS**

— Anil Moonesinghe

AND

THE

## **BUDGET**

— Kethesh Loganathan



- ★ Samudran replies to Reggie Siriwardena
- ★ Income inequality — Sunil Bastian
- ★ C. T. Blues — The Outsider

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## NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

Mrs. B. who travelled to the deep South (Kataragama) having taken the Kandy road immediately after the fateful October 16 has also toured the Ratnapura area. Last week she was North-bound, her first such journey in many years.

After the TULF joined a common opposition platform at a Colombo meeting in June, chaired by the SLFP President, Tamil opinion turned critical of the SLFP over the district council's issue. Always prone to beat the Sinhala drums, the SLFP seemed ready to stir racial feelings on this question. The Kularatne-Amarakone "group" close to the party had done so over standardisation and university admissions in '77-78. The trip to Jaffna at the TULF's invitation suggest that the North-South dialogue has been resumed. The TULF criticised the UNP on October 16th and October 17th when the government imposed disabilities on Mrs. B.

## .... AND STATISTICS

Can there be trade-offs between Scylla and Charybdis? Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel leaned on classical imagery to portray himself in his trying navigational role as he steered the national economy between twin perils of inflation and unemployment. In the same budget speech he claimed that inflation was less than 25% although other authoritative ('foreign') estimates placed the figure at about 35%. Unemployment which stood at 20% of the workforce 3 years ago has been reduced, he said, to 15%. Since inflation was still high, his budget was deflationary in sharp contrast to the two previous budgets. Will it

work? Let's see what figures are quoted in his next budget speech.

Talking of figures, there is a big discrepancy between Mr. de Mel's statement on foreign aid **per capita** and the figure given by Mahaveli Minister Gamini Dissanayake. In his budget speech Mr. de Mel gave the figure of Rs. 565/- (35 dollars). According to the Daily News his colleague says it is over Rs. 700/-.

Politicians, the press and public speakers should be recommended the title of one of Art Buchwald's columns "how much is that in dollars?" If a racial stereo-type is permitted, only the TULF members, our own Scotsmen are sufficiently savvy to ask the question. The Industries Minister, for instance says the oil bill has gone up from Rs. 1,200 million to over Rs. 6,000 million. But how much is it in dollars? Surely, the steady depreciation of the Rupee, questions the validity of many comparative statistics?

## DEATH SENTENCE

Is the JIUAC dead? The CMU's official paper suggests that the answer is "yes". Although the SLFP's Trade Union Wing strongly supported this organisation, the SLFP leadership never had its heart in the JIUAC. Prodded by the anti-CP (anti-Soviet) faction in the LSSP, the SLFP and its allies in the five party bloc are keen to bury the JIUAC whose convener is the CPSP's Pandita. This LSSP faction wants to revive an organisation like the JCTUO which will come under the strict political control of the bloc.

This CPSP, the CMU and the NSSP participated in the November 11th Day of Protest, but separately. They are still anxious to build the movement from below. A top LSSP'er said; "no, the JIUAC is not dead. It will be reactivated when an important working class issue crops up again".

## TRENDS + LETTERS

### Anagarika

I don't think the thin veneer of 'sociological scholarship' (footnotes to be more apt) displayed by Ralph Pieris in his article can conceal his real motives—to denigrate not only Anagarika but also, the Sinhala Buddhist masses who continue to hold him in high esteem and who see great relevance in this figure just now at this moment. (This year saw the final conferment of that much wrangled title 'Jathiyé Piya' on him by reverend Ganegama Saranankara whose biography on Anagarika bears that same title.

But I am sure the tolerance and equanimity bequeathed by our culture would make them take up all these insults with a benign smile. Anagarika, if

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# CTB cannibalism and second-generation mudalalis

NEWS  
BACKGROUND

The shock waves of the hike in bus and rail fares have sent the government reeling. Not a day passes without the Transport Ministry announcing new 'concessions'. A brief conversation with any UNP back benchers brings instant confirmation of the state of agitation and alarm among Government supporters: "I didn't have to face so many angry questions and so much criticism from my people even when the food subsidies were taken away" said an hill-country UNP'er who, in his second term, is not so easily rattled by dejected faces in his constituency or by the propagandist onslaughts of his local opponents. "This is real...my fellows are sullen, and that's always a bad sign."

But propaganda was the UNP's defensive reflex action. No surprise in that. While the reliance on the State propaganda machine has progressively increased with each administration (there's an important lesson in that about the state of our politics, surely?) this regime's faith is the magic of mass communications borders on a childish naivete. And so, we had those full-page advertisements in the daily papers, courtesy Transport Board. Less said about official figures, the better. (See Trends).

The government employee, the wage earner in the private sector and the middle-income self-employed Sri Lankan have been at the receiving end of a double-double shock. In the past 3 years, he has watched the food subsidies go, and his budget to feed his family swell steadily. In the meantime, rents have soared, and many of them have joined the great exodus from the metropolis. Since schooling is a high priority in the family's scheme of options, some have found a 'solution' in the car-pool system, as a countermove to rising petrol prices. For the

## High tension over bus services

Bus commuters who were stranded without bus services from Panadura on Tuesday, were inconvenienced again yesterday morning as Transport Board employees from the Panadura depot refused to work without Police protection.

The services resumed after armed Police moved in and the Panadura MP Dr. Neville Fernando appealed to drivers and conductors to get back to work.

Transport Board employees' action followed the Board's decision to suspend services on Tuesday, when both RTB buses and the Panadura depot were damaged by rioters.

majority, the CTB school bus affords the only relief. But the head of the family, has to travel by train or bus or van. Then comes the final blow — just before the budget.

OPEC-beating, if it did serve any propaganda purpose, exposed itself as a futile and fatuous exercise with the Great OPEC Petition which never reached its destination. Propaganda won't do.

What will? The government's think-tank is working overtime to find remedies with reports coming in of possible trouble. Three to four million Sri Lankans take bus and train daily. This is a highly mobile crowd. No trade union need organise this on-the-move public if it has a strongly felt common cause. And now they have one. Bus conductors, checkers, security men and police cannot handle the situation if it assumes the form of silent protest.

The World Bank says 'no subsidies' to state corporations. The World Bank is ideologically committed to private enterprise, and pushing State organisations to the wall through 'objective, strictly economic arguments' serves this ideological aim. Is a subsidy really

necessary? (This question is taken up in a informative article published in this issue of the L. G.)

The average commuter is prompted into supporting the private operators — the new bus mudalalis — since their fares structure is more 'reasonable'. Certainly, it is cheaper to travel by van.

"It can be a tax gimmick like some of these gem auctions where 'black money' is laundered through paper transactions and the ceremony of buying and selling one's own gem via an agent" observes an experienced businessman. Private van operators have the advantage of 100% Lump Sum Depreciation on these vehicles.

A quarter century after the first essay in nationalisation (the CTB) are we to witness the return of the bus mudalali, by the grace of politicking, blatant feather-bedding, JSS hegemonism, administrative inefficiency, poor output and low morale?

The cannibalisation of the C.T.B will put a second-generation of bus magnates on the high road to super-profits.

## Troubled oil in Trinco

**E**ver heard of RIZACO International? Readers of the **Daily News** and **Sun** are far better equipped to hazard a guess than the international press. Nearly two months ago, the CDN had a front page lead announcing an agreement between Sri Lanka and a "New York-based Rizaco International" to start an oil refinery at China Bay. The project, said the CDN quoting Industries Ministry Secretary, Mr. Justin Dias, would be wholly financed by foreign capital... about 750 million US dollars. This would make Rizaco the largest single investor in this country. The government would give a lease of 2,500 acres in exchange for 20% of the shares of the local subsidiary. The refinery will have a capacity of 200,000 barrels a day, way above the CPC's Sapugaskanda refinery. To start with, Rizaco will deepen and modernise the Trinco harbour.

By any Sri Lankan standards, the story was 'big'. But Colombo cor-

respondents of the world press were rudely surprised when their principals fired back: "Rizaco Who?"

One of the world's best known newspapers failed to get a line on Rizaco from the journal's New York office. The local agent, Ms. Turnkey Services of Nawala was difficult to trace, and when traced, his lips were sealed. The other promoter, a Chinese Malaysian, wasn't talking either.

The "plot" thickened when it was found that the US Embassy knew nothing about the deal. Representatives of Rizaco flew into Colombo and stayed for over a week at the Oberoi but not a word was published in the press. In fact, the story went off this radar screen of the major news papers and not a word appeared.

But the opposition took it up and the project acquired sinister undertones. Trinco is Trinco, after all.

Commenting on the ever-widening US presence in the Indian

Ocean, Diego Garcia and the refinery project etc, Mrs. Bandaranaike told K. K. Sharma of the **Statesman** (L. G. Nov 1st) that US "would be happier with Trinco"

It was significant that Mrs. B chose to speak on this to the Indian press. Nobody knows better that although Sri Lanka floated the idea of an Indian Ocean Peace Zone, the inspiration was India's and Indira's. With Mauritius demanding the return of Diego Garcia and the OAU backing this demand to the hilt, the US base will be a major issue at the UN-sponsored Indian Ocean conference in Colombo.

Playing up the military (and therefore, sinister) aspect of the story, the Opposition press noted not only the increasing number of 'calls' at Colombo of various naval vessels (US, Soviet, British, Australian, French, West German) but the "courtesy calls" of US

(Continued on page 24)

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# Budget: Signalling a crisis?

by Kethesh Loganathan

The 1981 Budget Speech is a far cry from the optimism and the "revolutionary" fervour (a favourite term employed by the UNP Government to refer to the IMF-oriented economic reforms) that characterized the 1978 Budget Speech. The following extract from the 1978 Budget Speech, which was the first official pronouncement by the UNP Government of its adoption of the IMF/IBRD sponsored Export-Led Growth Model, highlights the spirit in which it was presented and the economic orientation of the UNP. To quote: "To create a just and free economy, it has become necessary to carry almost a total economic and financial transformation in our land — almost a revolution in our financial and economic framework which has been completely restricted and hemmed in by controls for 30 years... The Budget will initiate a complete change, almost a revolutionary change in this system. It will take some time for the people of this country and for the bureaucracy to get adapted to these changes both mentally and in actual implementation... Foreign aid and foreign assistance both from international agencies and from aid giving countries will be necessary to finance this total transformation of our country."

The 1982 Budget Speech, on the other hand, is a manifestation of the contradictions that have begun to emerge out of the implementation of the 'IMF Package' supported export-oriented development strategy and, therefore, is itself replete with contradictions. Further, it could be construed as signalling an impending economic crisis, despite attempts to conceal the actual state of the economy and to present a distorted picture of the future.

*(The author is a Research Fellow with the Social Scientists Association of Sri Lanka)*

The Budget Speech in tracing the "achievements" of the UNP Government since 1977 lays emphasis on two factors — political stability and diversification of the economy. On the question of political stability it has this to say: "In the first place we have achieved political stability. It is political stability of a rare order and of a unique kind. It is not political stability that flows from the barrel of the gun... On this firm foundation of political stability we have endeavoured to bring about economic development and growth." The sentiments expressed by the Minister of Finance are nothing new. In fact, they merely repeat the rhetoric used by most governments of the peripheral capitalist States in order to conceal the real character of "political stability" which they are trying to achieve. "Political stability", in short, is basically a situation of political regimentation which is the *sine qua non* for the operation of the 'IMF Package'. It is an undeniable fact that the Government of Sri Lanka has launched a blatantly confrontationalist labour policy aimed at breaking the back of the organized working-class movement and an intense political campaign directed towards the immobilization of other alternative parties; through these methods, they seek to undermine the "political instability" associated with the two-party parliamentary system, as a guarantee to foreign investors and the local capitalists alike, not to mention as a guarantee for its own survival. The UNP is in effect trying to transcend its traditional role as one of the alternate bourgeois parliamentary parties to being the "sole agency" of the bourgeoisie. Tough anti-labour measures, it must be mentioned, are an integral component of the 'IMF Package' and a political pre-condition for the export-oriented development strategy which demands a cheap and docile labour force.

Further, there is also an element of economic necessity pertaining to budgetary allocations, which call for political repression. Since the current budgetary surplus is expected to finance 15% of the financial requirements of the Public Investment Programme, the axe will inevitably have to fall on "transfers and subsidies" which traditionally accounted for roughly 60% of current expenditure and "wages and salaries" which accounts for roughly 22% of current expenditure. It is quite clear, therefore, that political will aside, the capacity of the Government to impose a stringent policy and curtail consumption depends on the balance of power between the organized working-class movement and the State. Political stability which, is a misnomer, cannot, therefore, but flow from the barrel of the gun. It appears that the political pre-condition for the 'IMF Package' supported export-oriented development strategy has, in fact, been established. One is led to this conclusion by the deafening silence the vanguard of the working people and the sheer glee of the foreign investors as evidenced by the statement of the Executive Vice-President, Bank of America, that without reasonable assurance of political stability there would not have been an inflow of foreign financial assistance at such an unprecedented level. (Quoted by Mr. Upali Wijewardene at a recent GCEC sponsored seminar in New York, CDN 18/9/80)

The second most significant "achievement" since 1977 claimed in the Budget Speech is the increasing diversification of the economy. To quote: "Our Government's economic strategy has enabled the country to move away from the precarious situation where the performance of a single sector determined the performance of the economy as a whole. For the first time in 1978, a pattern of balanced growth became evident". While it is true that

there has been an increased diversification of the economy led by construction, transport, banking, tourism and services, it certainly cannot be considered as synonymous with "balanced growth" that is capable of laying the foundation for self-sustained growth and development. This is quite clear when one examines the performance of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors which essentially comprise the base and the leading sector of any Model of growth and development, irrespective of their ideological content.

In the Sri Lankan context, both manufacturing and agriculture have been declining. Thus, while manufacturing accounted for 14% of the increases in GNP in 1978, its contribution in 1979 was 11% and is further expected to decline to 4.5% in 1980. Similarly agriculture has been declining, both, in relation to rate of growth and its contribution to increases in the GNP. Further the liberalization of

imports, rather than giving an impetus to industrialization, has merely led to a disproportionate increase in the rate of growth of the export-import trade and the further undermining of the potential for expansion of productive capacity in the domestic manufacturing sector. It has now been firmly established that the import liberalization policy had severely affected the domestic manufacturing sector particularly those firms engaged in the production of handloom textiles, wood and paper products, glassware, chemical and metal products.

The crisis in the manufacturing sector catering to the internal market has been also confirmed by the recent appointment of a Tariff Commission, under, pressure from the Chamber of Commerce, to look into ways and means of providing adequate protection to local firms from the effects of dumping and from firms registered in the FTZ have been allowed access to the internal market.

## NEXT ISSUE

*Gail Omvedt, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of California, will write on the Indian political situation and the Left parties, in the next issue. Her survey has been written exclusively for the Lanka Guardian.*

*Also, Part 2 of the interview with H. N. Fernando, President Ceylon Teachers Union on the JVP.*

In short, the immediate consequence of import-liberalization has been a shift in investments from manufacturing activities to the more lucrative export-import trade, thus leading to a disproportionate increase in growth rates in trade and commerce and a decline in the growth rate of the manufacturing sector—a far cry from the export-led industrialization envisaged by bourgeois developmentalists and the IMF technocrats.

**PART II: Inflation, unemployment**



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# TRANSPORT TRAVAILS

by Anil Moonesinghe

**T**he attention of all Sri Lanka has been focussed on public transport with the massive fares hike — by nearly 80%. The increase is so incredible that a regular commuter who is a wage-earner will now have to pay between 1/2 to 1/3 of his wages for travelling! The daily traveller from beyond 25 miles has been dumb-struck by the utter impossibility of paying this amount.

Sri Lankans have a very high propensity to travel. The buses and the trains carry about 5 million passengers a day which is a very high proportion of the population. There is a reason for this. Our working population is really semi-urban and even rural. The cities are costly places to live in. And besides there are more amenities and a better environment living on your own land in your own village. The last four decades have provided cheap travel — which more than compensated for the costly living in the cities even if housing was available, where very often, apart from shanties, there was nothing else.

It is not an accident that road passenger transport was nationalised by the government of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike — it was one of the most popular actions of a regime brought about by a historic mass upsurge. Transport for Sri Lankans then is like free rice, and the ration book, a necessity of life.

The era of cheap and efficient transport came to an end in 1975. Two factors began to militate against it. One was the rise in price of imported inputs — fuel, oil and lubricants. In 1974 OPEC raised prices by 400 per cent. The second was the

cost of the vehicles both for road and rail, and the spares necessary for their upkeep. These costs have been rising at the rate of 12-14% per year on average as part of world inflation. Thus these two elements have combined as part of the North-South contradiction to make transport in Sri Lanka subject more and more to the world market prices whilst those who travel in them do not have an increase in their income commensurate with these price rises.

However steps were taken from 1973 onwards as part of state planning to mitigate these dangerous and catastrophic trends. One was the tilt towards electrification — the replacement of the use of fossil fuels by hydro-electric power. The first phase was the electrification of the existing track from Alutgama to Veyangoda. A plan was also envisaged for the expansion of suburban electric railways to replace the main arterial bus routes.

The other step was to run both the CTB and the railway as commercial enterprises paying their way to do this. Waste, theft, corruption, inefficiency and plain bad administration, lack of cooperation from employees had to be eliminated.

To judge whether this was happening or not there are indices. One such index is profit and loss — provided that fares were reasonable in comparison to price of inputs. Other indices are number of employees per bus, the proportion of lost miles due to engineering operational and other causes, the cost per bus mile, the cost per passenger mile, the revenue per mile the cost per mile for administration and each of the services etc. These are objective methods of judging a transport organisation. Of course a passenger views it differently as he is not worried so much about the costs as the efficiency of the service.

Since the UNP came to power in 1977 the objective indices have showed a marked deterioration — and in the recent months an alarming dislocation of the state transport systems. Whilst services are deteriorating the fares are climbing at rocket speeds! There have been three fares hikes within the last three years!

In defence, the government apologists, including the Minister of Finance have said that world inflation and rising oil prices are the reasons. Is this really true? World inflation is taking place at the rate of about 10-12% per annum. Yet, the fare rises in Sri Lanka have recorded greater increases. Is it the oil price rise? But then under the United Front Government oil prices rose by 400% in one year! Fares did not increase at that time by that amount. In fact oil is only one of the inputs and does not account for more than 25% of the costs per mile.

The inputs costs of road and rail transport have increased fantastically for one reason alone — that the devaluation of the rupee from around Rs. 14. per pound sterling to Rs. 43. today! A bus costs only 50,000/- in 1970 a full page advertisement screams out but today it is 370,000/-! Yes, you the UNP government made it that price by your devaluation. That was the price you paid to get loans from outside to finance the free imports which you talk so much about. The lending authorities lay down conditions 1. Consume less, travel less, spend more to buy less. 2. Transport must run without subsidies.

To make matters worse theft of fuel and oil, spare parts, lack of discipline, inefficient work-output, inefficient management, multiplying of the top heavy administration by having 10 boards of directors instead of one have added heavily to the escalation of costs.

*(The writer was Minister of Communications in the SLFP-LSSP coalition and Chairman of the Ceylon Transport Board between 1970-75.)*

The railway is running only 60% of the scheduled mileage of 1975 today. With all its experienced workers from the Ratmalana Workshop and the Running Shed sacked the railway is grinding towards partial extinction. The SLTB runs only 5000 odd buses (and that too only for the morning one-or-two trips) when projections showed a requirement of 7000 running buses for 1980. The fleet requirements to run that number is 8500 buses. There too with the exit of many skilled categories and middle management the situation is becoming chaotic. The buses and trains are being heavily over-loaded and this coupled with the absence of proper maintenance is resulting in the further reduction of the units running at the moment. The new buses being brought in (and many of these are already built up, unlike previously when only the bare chassis was imported) will not compensate for the outflow of buses rendered unserviceable due to bad maintenance and the rocketing accident rate.

Let us consider some of the objective indices of 1974. There were 8.5 employees per bus while in 1980 it is 11.5.

(See table below)

During the United Front government incentives were introduced and production went up. The most startling improvement was in Engineering where production of new buses went up from 1 a day to 3 a day. Together with this Employees Advisory Councils began to play an important part in the restructuring of the power relations between management and labour. All this was reflected in the balance sheet which indicated

## KALAWANA : the last chance

"Can the UNP be defeated?" "NO!", a hundred and forty odd voices will shout back in raucous unison. Essentially a 1983 projection, such UNP confidence is based on past electoral arithmetic re-worked according to the 'new maths' of P. R.

As for by-elections still fought on the old rules, ruling parties take the field with many in-built advantages, especially at mid-term contests. First there is voter psychology. An opposition victory rarely results in a change of the parliamentary balance. Besides, so many practical advantages accrue to a constituency represented by a Gov't M. P. Secondly, the sheer organisational resources of a ruling party with ready access to the State machine. Anamaduwa saw a virtual invasion by Ministers, deputy ministers and District Ministers.

a profit for the first time since 1964-65 when the first coalition government was in power.

The magnitude of the fares hike are not justified considering the deterioration of management and services of public transport. No attempt has been made to electrify both road and rail services. Further, the devaluation of the rupee should not be permitted to have an effect on the fares. The carefully balanced budget of the worker who is living on a razor's edge will go awry. The present fares rise will mean that a person travelling a distance of 50 miles will have to pay more than half his wages for travelling.

(NEXT: Some solutions

Will these two factors cancel out what the past voting pattern at Kalawana so strongly suggests — that Sarath Muttetuwega ma has an excellent chance of defeating the UNP in a straight contest. "Rathu Appo", that is, and not the CP of course. (If there are more than a hundred communists in Kalawana, it must be the best guarded secret of Cotta Road).

Kalawana is not merely the best chance to defeat the UNP. It is the very last chance thanks to the new constitution which in the interests of "political stability and development", eliminated the nuisance of by-elections and made cross-overs suicidal unless the defector could rely on a 2/3rds majority. (In introducing one-way traffic in parliament and inventing the one-directional conscience, Sri Lanka has made a unique contribution to constitutional history).

A straight contest. There's the rub. The C. P. has invited the support of all the opposition parties. Unless it is in a suicidal mood, the JVP will keep out, Anti-UNP politics rather than its unhappy fluctuating relations with the CP will determine the LSSP decision. It is unlikely to deny the CP support merely to please a small faction identified with a leading figure who is conducting a permanent counter-revolution against the USSR all on his own, cheered lustily by Peking, and Washington. The NSSP and 'Vasu' personally will support Sarath too.

This leaves the SLFP, the crucial factor. Relations with the CP are no means cordial, and in the case of some SLFP stalwarts, devastating attacks in the ATHTHA have made matters unpleasant.

The manoeuvres of the 'Gang of Fourteen' which has poor representation in the P. B. and the Ex. Co but did fight a fierce rear-guard action over Attanagalla, could deserve more serious notice. Their hopes are pinned on Nanda Ella.

(Continued on page 24)

TABLE

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Buses operated (average) per day	4590	4302	4469	4425	4583	5095	5193
Load factor	63.9	63.8	63.6	68.7	72.1	73.1	75.1
Profit/Loss	+19.8	+21.2	-2.7	-42.4	-55.0	-600.9	
	(Rs. million)						

## Trouble – shooter Thondaman

For more than a quarter century, Mr. Thondaman's relationship with India (both Delhi and Madras) has been a very special link. No Indian visitor to Sri Lanka of any political consequence has failed to have a private pow-wow with our Big (Indian) Chief. As a key figure in the protracted Indo-Ceylon negotiations, the CWC boss had political clout even when he was only a nominated MP.

While his ministerial itinerary in India last month was no doubt important, it was his mission as trouble-shooter that was probably more significant. After his talks with the Indian premier, the press reported Mrs. Gandhi's re-assurances of the "very friendly relations" between India and Sri Lanka. The UNP now hopes that Mrs. Gandhi will not have occasion to repeat her charge that the Bandaranaike family has suffered the same sort of harassment she faced under the Janata, and the file is finally closed.

## ... and the 'Gang'

Having publicised the Indira-Sirima parallel in the '77 campaign and found themselves later hoist with their own petard, UNP slogan-spinners have now discovered the Madame Mao affair far more to their liking. Mao's ambitious widow who wanted to be an empress is being tried by a special tribunal for various abuses of power.

At a get-together to welcome the Chinese press delegation, a Sri Kotha 'ideas man' was heard to say "Mrs. Mao — Sirimavo, it even rhymes better than Indira-Sirima".

The day after the delegation, led by the Deputy Editor of the 'Peoples Daily', met President J. R. the SLBC made a big story of a 'Peoples' Daily' commentary on the theme of "Equality before the law", a favourite text for JR's public speeches. When an emergency was declared in India, it was said that Indira was following Sirima. Is Deng following Dicky?

## Ovation for Amaradeva

When Dr. Sarachchandra's new play, **Vessantara**, was put on at the Lionel Wendt in mid-November, there was less drama in the play (which disappointed many of the playwright's admirers) than in the attendant circumstances. For one thing, the production had originally been financed by the SLBC, which had already forked out half a lakh (most of it must have gone on the tinsel and glitter of the costumes), when Dr. Sarachchandra's name appeared under a petition by a number of artists protesting against the imposition of civic disabilities on Mrs. Bandaranaike. Together with musicians Amaradeva, Nanda Malini and Khemadasa, the doctor was blacklisted by the SLBC, which also withdrew its support for **Vessantara**. (The tab was picked up by Ceylon Tobacco.)

However, by the time **Vessantara** opened, it was less the author than the composer of the play's music who was the centre of the off-stage drama. Amaradeva has never been associated in the public mind with political commitment, and many people had raised their eyebrows on seeing his name under the petition. Lester and Sumithra Perles's names excited a similar reaction. However, an **Observer** columnist reported that 'a brilliant film director' had told a newspaperman he had signed the petition without understanding some of the Sinhala words in it, and if he had known Mrs. B. was described as a 'peerless guide', he would have insisted that those words be excised.

Amaradeva, according to Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis, had also backtracked. However, the morning after the premiere of **Vessantara**, his denial that he had gone back on his act in signing the petition and his text of the letter to the Minister appeared in **Aththa** (the 'national' dailies blacked it out). It was probably not so much his music for the play as his dignified statement that earned Amaradeva

the big ovation he got when he took his curtain-call on the second night of the play.

What made the SLBC's black-listing odder was that the **Weekend** columnist Migara had hinted that the Minister of State was unhappy about the situation — reminiscent as it was of similar blacklists under the last regime. And a few hundred yards away from the SLBC, the State Film Corporation was apparently free to be more liberal-minded: one of the two official entries chosen for the New Delhi Film Festival was **Ganga Addara**, whose director had also signed the petition.

## Is ITN non-aligned?

The Public Performances Board has often been very strict about films which were derogatory to 'friendly countries': for instance, it once refused to allow the screening of a highly-praised Kurosawa film shot in the Soviet Union because of Chinese protests. No such inhibitions seem to operate in the case of TV. This is not to say that censorship is a good thing: if there were a variety of contending viewpoints on TV, that would be something to be welcomed. But the reality is that because of the sources from which most of our TV programmes come, the bias is overwhelmingly on one side. Not only are the World News programmes heavily pro-Western (e. g. the coverage of the Jamaican elections); the slants are blatantly there even in programmes which are ostensibly pure 'entertainment'. On November 23, for instance, ITN put over a CBS thriller, **Mission Impossible**, in which the plot concerned a group of American agents who had to thwart the attempt of the head of a Soviet film-studio to fake film footage of American war crimes in Vietnam (for screening to diplomats) by staging the scenes in the studio!



# The Gulf War and the Left

FOREIGN  
NEWS

**W**hile Sri Lanka has not been included in the nonaligned mediation group despite the fact that its Moslem Foreign Minister might have been an ideal pick, the UNP government has sensibly refused to take sides in this conflict between two of Sri Lanka's major oil suppliers. Last week, CPC Chairman, Daham Wimalasena left for Djakarta in search of additional stocks amidst persistent rumours of rationing in Jan/Feb.

Probably for the first time in its history, the SLFP has been publicly accused of abandoning nonalignment by a nonaligned state—Iran, a new but important member of the movement. Ignoring the customary diplomatic niceties, the Iranian Embassy statement was a blistering attack on the SLFP leadership.

While a section of the LSSP has been strongly pro-Iraq recently, the party itself seems to have re-examined the whole issue in the light of the Gulf War and decided that silence was the wisest choice.

The JVP has been enthusiastically pro-Iraq for a longtime.

The CP has not made any statement. Yet its 'tilt' towards Iran has been clear at least from the anti-Baathist articles which the CP press had been publishing even before the war. CP's attitudes to Iraq changed sharply with the rapid deterioration of relations between the ruling Baathists and its "national progressive front" partner, the CP. The execution of about 30 CP leaders, the banning of the Iraqi CP and the flight of many leaders to Eastern Europe heralded the open war between the Communists and the Baathists.

On Baghdad's side, this internal development paralleled a steady cooling of relations with Moscow, with whom Iraq still has a 15-year Treaty of Friendship similar to that signed with Egypt and in August with Syria. Regionally, Iraq's condemnation of the USSR over Afghanistan, coincided with its increasingly cordial relations with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, North Yemen

and the smaller Gulf kingdoms. Economically, oil-rich Iraq was opening to the West for trade and technology, as it thrust itself assertively in the area, conscious of the regional implications of Sadat's isolation, and the Shah's downfall.

The formation in Damascus (Nov. 15) of a "National Pan-Arab Democratic Front of Iraq" is therefore of interest, especially to the Left. The Front consists of the Iraqi CP, dissident Baathist Socialists, the Kurdish Democratic party and other groups. It has four objectives: (a) armed overthrow of Saddam Hussein, Iraq's President and strong-man (b) consolidation of links with the Iranian revolution (c) active support for the Palestinian struggle and (d) strengthening ties with the USSR.

Meanwhile Moscow has turned a cold shoulder to Iraq's Deputy Premier Tariq Aziz on his second visit there in search of arms and urgently required spare parts. Earlier Moscow was reported in the western press to be supplying Iraq strictly under its treaty obligations and past sale agreements. However President Bani Sadr and other Iranian leaders, including the Speaker of the Assembly have accepted Soviet assurances that no supplies have been made. At the same time, Syria, Liberia, South Yemen and the PLO have opposed the holding of the next Arab League in Amman, whereas Saudi Arabia, Iraq and others have supported such a meeting. Aware of the negative consequences of this war for the Palestinian struggle, the PLO maintains a neutral position but it does not conceal the fact that it is extremely unhappy that Iraq started the war.

The formation of this new alliance, with the Iraqi CP, the Kurdish and Baathist sections as the leading groups, means that the Iraqi CP falls in line with the Iranian CP (Tudeh) and with other Left forces in Iran on the question of the Iraqi-Iranian war. The Tudeh Gen. Sec. Nureddin Kiamouri told Eric Rouleau,

Middle East editor of *Le Monde* that "Saddam Hussein is the new Sadat and the new Shah."

Of course the Tudeh is not the most powerful Left force in Iran. The **Mujahaddin**, the most important, uphold the revolutionary content of Islam, arguing that Islam is compatible with socialism. The **Fedayeen**, smaller in number, are secular Marxists, a breakaway from the Tudeh. Trotskyists have described them as 'Left Stalinists.' Fred Halliday says they draw inspiration from Ho Chi Minh, Castro, Mao, Guevara, Carlos Marighella, etc. Within is the powerful **Cherikhaye** faction (Peoples Sacrifice) which is regarded as pro-Soviet. The Fedayeen is following a policy of 'unity and struggle' vis-a-vis the Ayatollah, at this stage of the Iranian revolution. Along with the **Mujahaddin**, they support the Ayatollah in his 'anti-imperialist' policies (hostages) but not on other issues. They give critical support to "liberal bourgeois" politicians like Bani Sadr on the grounds that their democratic policies afford the Left greater opportunities for organisation and independent action. In this, they disagree with the Tudeh which tilts towards the Islamic clergy.

The Tudeh believes that "the realities of the 20th century" will prevent any real consolidation of power by the mullahs, whereas the liberal politicians can do so, with the help of the US and the West. The West, it feels, is still looking for a Chaktiar or a Barzagan, who can move towards a western-style democracy that would wipe out the gains of the Revolution, once Iran is again enmeshed in the US-EEC economic system a la Greece.

What is equally significant is that armed Leftist militias are all fighting alongside the Islamic Revolutionary guards in Abadan and Khorramshahr. In Dezful, Amir Taheri, former editor of *KAYHAN*, Iran's leading paper reports that the Leftist militias have borne the brunt of the fighting.

# Income inequality in Sri Lanka

by Sunil Bastian

Very often Sri Lanka is described as a country that had managed to maintain a welfare system despite low economic growth. On this basis it is said that the welfare system of Sri Lanka had helped to maintain the living standard of the majority of our people at a reasonable level. Physical quality of Life Index, for Sri Lanka is 83, although her per capita income was around \$ 20 at the end of the seventies. At the same time, while many accept that there had been some improvement of the living standards when the entire country is taken as a whole, there are pockets of abject poverty in some places. In addition those looking at this question from a Marxist point of view assert that these welfare policies had benefitted only a section of our population and therefore there is a process of class differentiation taking place in our society. Finally questions are asked now, about what is happening to the pattern of income distribution due to the presently prevailing 'open' economic policies. These questions were at the centre of the discussion at one of the sessions of the recently concluded seminar series conducted by the Centre for Society & Religion. (The material pertaining to this discussion had been now published as a dossier by the Centre.)

Most of the controversies arise when we come to the question of the main trends in income distribution in our society during the past three decades. The statistical material for the discussion had come from the Consumer Finance surveys carried out by the Central Bank in 1953, 1963 and 1973. In two of the articles of the dossier, one by Dr. H. N. S. Karunathilake and the other by Dr. Lal Jayawardena, a case

is made for a favourable trend in income distribution pattern in the post independent period. Mr. Godfrey Gunatillake, whose text of a speech at the seminar is reproduced, also agrees with this commonly held view that over the years there had been a reduction in income inequality. In addition Mr. Gunatillake elaborates on the policies that are supposed to have led to this trend. They are: the massive welfare programme; the emphasis on the development of the peasant economy; nationalisation that broke up concentration of private wealth and resulted in the growth of a public sector; control of prices and rate of inflation and a progressive taxation system. Dr. Jayawardena discusses these policies under two headings — Production policies and Social welfare policies. According to him the production policies behind these trends are those that generated an income for the small scale producer and the unskilled worker. The most important of these policies had been 'the encouragement given by the successive governments to import substitution programmes for both paddy and subsidiary food crops'. These policies had been supplemented by the institutional changes brought about by the Paddy Lands Act of 1958 and Land Reform of 1972. Note that all these policies concern the rural sector where almost 80% of our population is concentrated. Dr. Jayawardena quite rightly concentrates on these policies affecting the majority of our people in his contribution.

The opposite point of view on this question is put forward in an article by E. L. H. Lee. Besides questioning the methodology of the Consumer Finance Surveys and pointing out the discrepancies of the survey data itself which con-

tradicts the favourable trend in income distribution, Mr. Lee concentrates his attention on the production policies in the peasant sector that is supposed to have led to an income distribution. He argues that many of the conclusions that the incomes generated in the rural sector of Sri Lanka had accrued to the small farmer and the rural poor, had been based on the fact that in Sri Lanka almost 95% of the paddy holdings are below 5 acres in size. But 'this ignores the fact that size distribution of holdings is not the same thing as distribution of land ownership.' Land tenure data of paddy land in 1977 shows that around 28.2% of cultivators are Ande cultivators. During the same year there had been 173,741 acres of encroached land in the country covering 110,640 units. Although we do not have exact data on landless peasants and agricultural labourers, the high rates of unemployment in the rural areas indirectly reflects the adverse situation in the rural sector. These data substantiate the view that production policies in the rural sector with the presently existing ownership patterns do not automatically lead to an increase in the income of the poorer sectors in the villages. Many other studies on the spread of the agricultural technologies associated with the 'green revolution' (High yielding varieties, fertilizers, agrochemicals) and tractors show the growth of a rich peasant class in Sri Lanka. They are constituted of those who can afford to make use of these technologies, hire-in and hire-out tractors, own boutiques and be lenders in the villages. The surplus generated in the rural sector gets concentrated in these layers. Therefore the production policies in the rural sector had resulted in a class differentiation rather

than in an income distribution. With regard to the social welfare policies there is simple material given in the dossier showing that the 'massive welfare' programmes had accrued to the benefit of certain layers of the society.

Although we seem to know something about the nature of the class differentiation in the peasant sector of Sri Lanka our knowledge about the impact of other policies that had characterised development model on the same process seem to be wanting. Some of these policies are enumerated in the Introduction of the Centre's dossier. Of these, import substitution (now export led) industrialisation, growth of state sector and the ever increasing dependence on foreign finances are questions that has to be analysed with the aim of understanding the process of class differentiation brought about by them. It is a pity that these questions which have direct political implications have not received the due attention of our Marxist scholars.

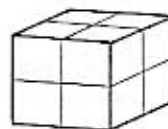
The changes taking place in our society now under the label of 'open economy' poses new challenges, whether this question is discussed in terms of income distribution (Developmentalist) or class differentiation (Marxist). In the Centre's dossier this question is taken up by Mr. Godfrey Gunatillake in the text of his speech. In the first place he argues that the 1978 consumer finance survey data is too preliminary to come to the conclusion, that the open economy policies had led to a reversal of the favourable income distribution trend, although the data of the first round (the survey will have four rounds) shows this to be so. Secondly, he accepts the fact the open economic policies had led to a dismantling of

some of the earlier policies that had ensured the favourable income distribution trend. In his view these are, the removal of the subsidies, removal of price controls & control on conspicuous consumption of the higher income groups and the emphasis on the private sector for economic growth. But in his view some of the other policies are not only continued but also strengthened. Therefore the outcome will depend on the balance achieved. An example of the latter type of policies is the accelerated Mahaveli Development. But in this case too the Marxist argument holds that Mahaveli will really accelerate this process, of class differentiation in the peasant sector.

In discussing the present policies and the possible impact on income distribution Mr. Gunatillake draws attention to the importance of the question of employment. Even the apologists for the welfare model in Sri Lanka agree that unemployment had been a crucial issue that undermined the system. In Mr. Gunatillake's view "There is no question that rapid employment creation of the magnitude which is planned for the next five years will change the entire face of the economy, alter the pattern of income distribution and create a different society, whether you call it capitalist, socialist or mixed." Whatever truth may be in this prophecy, creation of employment had been one of the principal ways of softening the contradictions that appear in peripheral capitalist development. Higher the rate of unemployment more effective this softening will be. These changes poses newer challenges to our Marxists. Attention must be given to these trends, in order to understand the class differentiations arising out of them.

*(The Dossier discussed in this article is available for sale at The Centre For Society and Religion, 281 Deans Road, Colombo 8)*

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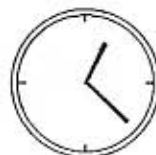
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# The enigma of Anagarika Dharmapala

by Dr. James T. Rutnam

The lives of most people when studied in depth generally reveal the enigmatic character of man. Professor Ralph Pieris's contribution on the Anagarika Dharmapala is no exception.

The historian's or biographer's task is often embarrassing when dealing with contemporary or near-contemporary events. Yet we must have the facts, though we may suspend our judgment or evaluation until we have examined the contexts. A noteworthy feature in Sri Lanka of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the bitter feud between the Karavas and the Goigamas. Reginald Fernando was an inveterate exponent of Karava causes. When the Jayewardenes chose to support Ramanathan against Dr. H. M. Fernando, the darling of the Karavas, Reginald Fernando did not hold back his venomous pen against the Jayewardenes.

It was in this society that Dharmapala moved although he himself was only half-Goigama, his mother being Durawa. Perhaps this was the reason for his differences with the Siam Nikaya who piously insist on reserving their higher ordination for pure Goigamas only.

One of the Anagarika's misguided and even pathetic obsessions, as one would note on reading through Guruge's **Return to Righteousness**, was that he believed he was an Aryan (a cousin-brother of the European), and that the Sinhalese-speakers were all Aryans. B. C. Law, a great Pali scholar and translator of the **Dipavamsa**, had remarked that "the chroniclers", meaning the authors of the **Dipavamsa** and the **Mahavamsa**, "who were mad with this idea of Indo-Aryan rule did not foresee the difficul-

ties to be met with by the modern historian". Dharmapala was no better than the 'chroniclers' and when evaluating him we have to give allowance for this infirmity.

Professor Pieris has been rather ungracious towards the Theosophists by putting the blame on them for what he calls the Anagarika's "homosexual proclivities". We know more about homosexuality now. Nature—human nature—is the chief miscreant if one must needs identify it as a wrong-doer.

We are apt to forget the good work done by the Theosophists. In fact we might not have had Anagarika without the Theosophists. Olcott's and Madame Blavatsky's (to whose motherly care Dharmapala was ever beholden) place in the Buddhist Renaissance in Sri Lanka is secure, despite the Madame's sleight of hand and conjuring feats which some may even call fraud. A recent biography of the Madame gives her well-deserved credit for the profound wisdom contained in the reported sayings of her faked 'Masters'. This reminds us of the tragic Chatterton passing his own remarkable poems as belonging to some others.

Professor Pieris has drawn our attention to a 'photocopy' of an alleged Police Report dated 14 June 1925 addressed to the Colonial Secretary, Colombo, by H. Ludovici, that appeared in Guruge's book. Peiris says that paragraph 5 in that letter had been expurgated. The photocopy really is that of a doctored copy of the original, without any indication of the expurgation or the usual dots that point to any omission. Surprisingly it has the imprimatur of the Ceylon Government Archives. The paragraph 5 referred to by Pieris dealt with the Indian boy

Naresh, whose romantic episode had been totally blacked out, although a photograph of the cherubic lad has somehow found a place in Guruge's book, but the relevance is not disclosed.

This is not the only instance where Guruge had suppressed the **ipsissima verba**. On page XLIII of the book Guruge had recorded that the last words of the Anagarika were, 'Let me be reborn ... I would like to be born again twenty-five times to spread Lord Buddha's Dhamma'. Well and good. But why omit the other words which formed part of the sentence, 'Let me be reborn in India as a Brahmin'. The Anagarika had already announced that the next Buddha—Maitreya Buddha—would be born in Benares (India) in the Brahmin caste (Guruge, p. 113). Why deny the Anagarika a noble aspiration?

It would appear that the Anagarika like many others had strong dislikes. Being a professing Buddhist he could not, of course, hate, but he had (let us say) no love for the Christians, the Roman Catholics particularly, the missionaries, the Muslims, the Karavas, etc. etc., in short all who were not (what he called) Aryan Sinhalese Buddhists. There is however one recorded instance where he showed some consideration to a Tamil. In October 1915 he wrote to Ramanathan, "The day that you are taken away from Ceylon, from that day there will be none to defend the poor neglected Sinhalese. They are a doomed people with none to guide and protect them." ("The Life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan by M. Vaitilingam, Vol. 2, p. 315).

But his frantic outburst against the white man (his own Aryan cousin-brother), whom he had

(Continued on page 24)

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# Political setting for co-operation

by N. M. M. I. Hussein

**P**erhaps the most significant development in the sphere of South Asian bilateral relations is the success of India's good neighbour policy since 1977. The major factor in this development might be India's increased sense of security in relation to its neighbours after the establishment of Bangladesh.

The South Asian region seems to be undergoing significant transformations in relation to the big powers. Afghanistan's special relations with the Soviet Union since April 1978 could be a development of enormous significance particularly as the North Western area of South Asia could be regarded as an extension of Soviet Central Asia. In the perception of some political analysts, Pakistan has become the buffer between India and the Soviet Union after April 1978. The opening of the Karakoram Highway linking Pakistan and China has important strategic implications which might have been noted by the Soviet Union and India.

After the Afghanistan revolution and the Iranian revolution, there have been further developments which give the impression of spreading instability in South Asia. It appears that South Asia as a whole has to be included in Brzezinski's "arc of instability", or perhaps the metaphor of the arc is inapposite as instability might come to be virtually ubiquitous in the Third World. An area characterized by an unfavourable ratio of population to resources, consisting notoriously of Gunnar Myrdal's "soft states", could have difficulty in avoiding instability in the context of the global impact of western economic recession. The point about instability is that it is commonly seen as facilitating great power involvement.

South Asia consists of Indian Ocean states and the reported

increase in great power rivalries in the Indian Ocean is relevant to the question of South Asia's relations with the great powers. It seems curious that neither the Soviet Union nor the US has resident missions in the Maldives, which according to current geopolitical theories is in an area that is assumed to be of importance for rivalry in the Indian Ocean. It might be that the US is primarily concerned with its oil route through the Indian Ocean, while the Soviet Union is primarily concerned with the Indian Ocean route from the Dardanelles to Vladivostok. The extent of great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean might be exaggerated in popular perceptions.

There is an ambiguity about South Asia's possible relations with the great powers. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the region could become an area characterized by intensified great power interaction after the manner of South East Asia for instance. But, as noted earlier, the great powers could provide extra-regional options important for achieving a balance within South Asia. The region is open-ended, significantly to the world of Islam, and extra-regional options could make intra-regional relations easier. The growth of South Asian regionalism does not require the total exclusion of the great powers from the area.

The analysis of South Asian relations indicate that there are reasonable prospects for regional co-operation. To counteract the lack of homogeneity in the region, there has been increasing intra-regional interaction over the decades and a consequent increase in "mutual knowledge" in the phrase used by Jacob and Teune in their study of "The Integrative Process". The consciousness of mutuality could sometimes take curious forms in South Asia, as shown by the case of Sri Lanka

where, in the popular perception during the Seventies, it is anticipated that what happens in India will be duplicated in Sri Lanka. The consciousness of mutuality between the South Asian states has been promoting a regional consciousness.

There remains the problem of disparity between the potential power centre in the region and the other countries. As indicated above, there has been a noteworthy success for over two years in India's good neighbour policy. It has been mentioned that Sri Lanka managed to continue excellent relations with India and China while India and China were having unsatisfactory relations which might be explained on the hypothesis of India's security pre-occupations in the north which did not apply to Sri Lanka. This could mean that India's relations with neighbours in South Asia have been influenced by pre-occupations regarding its security. India could feel secure enough in relation to its neighbours, but could feel insecure because of its neighbours' relations with extra-regional powers.

A recognition of the factor of insecurity in influencing South Asian relations seems necessary if the potential for regionalism is to be realized. There is no problem about recognising the sense of insecurity of small nations. The problem is about recognising the sense of insecurity of a potential power centre.

It should help to recall that India's independent history in this century began with a break-up in the sub-continent. Since then, India has had problems over secessionist movements, as in Tamilnadu, and Nagaland. In recent months the Nagas and the Mizos have been restive. There is a significant divide between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south across the Vindhya mounta-



Ins. At various times there have been problems about centre-state relations. Importance has also been attached to the fact that the Janata could not emerge as an authentic national party, since its support was mainly concentrated in the Hindi belt.

India and most of the other South Asian Countries are alike in having a "nationalist" problem. The "nationalist" problem arises out of the fact that while the "nationalist" upsurge in 19th century Europe was based on linguistic homogeneity, with notable exception of Switzerland, there is no linguistic or other homogeneity in most of Afro-Asia, which consists of nation-states based mainly on "territory". The problem of lack of homogeneity between the South Asian States is replicated by the lack of homogeneity within most of the states which are multi-lingual, poly-ethnic, and which sometimes have differences of religion etc. It should be possible for the extraordinary diversity of India to

be recognised by other South Asian states which themselves have problems of diversity. Even the US and the Soviet Union feel insecure in relation to each other. Mutual recognition of insecurity in South Asia seems necessary for the promotion of regionalism.

It should be possible for the small nations of South Asia to establish regional co-operation among themselves. There is an obvious economic rationale for co-operation among the small nations without the inclusion of India. The economic strength of India, with its relatively highly developed heavy and light industry and agricultural surpluses, could make for difficulties in regional economic co-operation including China. In regional co-operation in other spheres India might be accommodated with less problems as the relationship between the small nations and the potential South Asian power-centre need not be an adversary relationship.

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# Blok, Christ and the Red Guards

by Reggie Siriwardena

**B**lok's *The Twelve* is as innovative a poem as *The Waste Land* which it preceded by four years. Though Blok's poem narrates the events of one night in Petrograd, while Eliot's moves between many different times and places, Blok's mode of narrative is also discontinuous. The opening section of the poem is a montage of images of the city in the storm that is cinematic in quality (though Blok was writing before Eisenstein and Pudovkin), while later there are abrupt shifts between different voices and different consciousnesses, articulated through a dazzling variety of forms and styles.

Just as Eliot was to bring together fragments of other poets, snatches of jazz songs, working-class and middle-class conversation and echoes of the Buddha and the Upanishads, so Blok draws on the slang of the Petrograd streets, political slogans, popular song and Christian litany. (Not all these styles come through in translation: Section 8, with the folk-quality and the music of the Russian diminutives, is, to my mind, untranslatable into English.)

There is, however, a great disparity between Eliot's and Blok's uses of their medley of styles. The echoes of lower middle-class and working-class speech and popular song in *The Waste Land* — the woman talking in the pub, 'Mrs. Porter and her daughter', the three Thames-daughters — are used by Eliot with mocking effect, reinforcing the puritanical and snobbish revulsion against common life of a Boston Brahmin. Blok's use of his sources in the life of Petrograd is very different: *The Twelve* gains its vitality from Blok's immersion in and sympathetic identification with the life of a people involved in the throes of a great revolution. (Eliot was

to see in that same revolution nothing more than collapse and disintegration — 'the present decay of eastern Europe', as he obtusely put it in the notes to *The Waste Land*.) It is appropriate that Eliot's and Blok's poems should have had very different destinies too: the former, an esoteric work prized by academic annotators; the latter, read by Blok's wife shortly after its composition to crowds of workers and Red Army soldiers who as Blok's aunt and biographer, M. A. Beketova, testifies, 'rapturously welcomed the poem, the author and the reader. The impression made by it was shattering, many were moved to tears, and Al. Al. (Blok) himself, present at the reading, was powerfully stirred.'

Bolshevik circles, however, while gratified by the endorsement of the revolution by Russia's greatest living poet, had reservations about some aspects of *The Twelve* — especially, the climactic vision of Christ. While orthodox Christians thought the conclusion shocking and blasphemous, orthodox Marxists found it no less disturbing that the Red Guards should be led, even unawares, by Christ. Both Lunacharsky and Trotsky in their criticisms of the poem treated its conclusion as evidence of Blok's imperfect understanding of the significance of the revolution. A certain Shulgin in an article entitled 'Memories of Lenin', published in 1957, has left on record Lenin's reactions. Having quoted the last two lines of the poem (the image of Christ), Lenin asked, 'Do you understand? Explain.' And without letting Shulgin answer, Lenin added, 'I don't understand.'

It seems to me that sixty years later, we are in a better position to comprehend Blok's intentions in the conclusion of *The Twelve*

*This is the second part of an article commemorating the birth-centenary of the Russian poet Aleksandr Blok.*

and its profound historical meaning. The Christ of *The Twelve* was not the Christ of the Orthodox Church, which had buttressed the tyranny of the Tsars and itself been part of the serf-owning economy — the Church typified in *The Twelve* by the priest glimpsed in the first section of the poem:

'Why so unhappy now,  
Comrade priest?

Remember how you strutted —  
Your belly going on before,  
And the cross upon your belly  
Gleaming — among the poor?'

Blok's Christ was the original Christ of the Gospels, the Christ also of several generations of religious dissenters and social and political rebels. Sergei Hackel in his study of the poem has drawn attention to the significant fact that in the last line of the poem the name Jesus is spelt not, as customarily in modern Russian, *Iisus* but *Isus*. The form that Blok uses was that adopted by the Old Believers, the dissenters who broke away from the Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century, and were thereafter persecuted. The importance of this detail is that many of the Old Believers were not only religious sectarians but also rebels against the established social order: from their ranks had come a number of the followers of Pugachev and Stenka Razin, the leaders of the eighteenth-century peasant-revolts. (Pugachev's manifesto had promised both land to the peasants, and freedom of worship to the dissenters.) It seems to me that there are associations with Pugachev also in the images of the snow-storm in the first section of the poem: the twelve make their appearance together with the violence of the storm, just as Pugachev, in Pushkin's novel *The Captain's Daughter*, is first encountered by the narra-

tor in a snow-storm, which becomes a symbol of the violence of the peasant revolt to come.

Blok's Christ carries a flag which is described as 'blood-red'—the colour both of revolution and of his sacrificial blood—he marches at the head of the revolutionary guards, he bears a name used of him by the dissenters and evoking the memories of peasant wars, and his apocalyptic Second Coming is identified with the Revolution. Thus Blok brought together, in a flash of poetic insight, the events of October and a historical tradition of religious and social rebellion. That he was fully conscious of what he had done is confirmed by an entry in his diary for 10 March 1918.

'If there had existed in Russia a genuine priesthood, and not merely a class of morally obtuse persons of ecclesiastical profession, they would long ago have sensed this circumstance—that 'Christ is with the Red Guards'. One can hardly dispute this truth—simple one for people who have read the Gospels and thought about them.... I only established a fact: if one looked into the snow-clouds of the storm on that road, one saw Jesus Christ (*Isus Khristos*).'

That last sentence indicates that the vision of Christ came as unbidden to Blok as 'the vast image out of Spiritus Mundi' did to Yeats in *The Second Coming* (Kornel Chukovsky has said that Blok told him, 'When I finished I was surprised myself: Why Christ? Is it really Christ? But the more I looked into it, the clearer I saw Christ.') However, there is a profound divergence between the meaning of Blok's Second Coming of Christ and that of Yeats. In an essay written in 1923, Eliot described the use of myth as 'a way of controlling, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy, which is contemporary history, and he referred to Yeats as the first writer to have been conscious of this need. Eliot's view of contemporary history here may well recall to us Yeats's words in *The Second Coming*:

'Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.'

Both Yeats and Eliot found in myth a means of expressing the horror and despair with the present and the regret for a vanished order of the past which they shared. Yeats in *The Second Coming* transformed his Christ-symbol into a 'rough beast'—the god of an age of anarchic violence to be born. The power of *The Second Coming* should not blind us to the fact that it remains a cry of fear and despair, a denial, of any positive direction in contemporary history which is an abdication of the intelligence. (Is not its great appeal to literary intellectuals due at least partly to the fact that it lends itself to an indulgence of the sense of meaninglessness and impotence?) Yeats's idealisation of the aristocratic past and his eccentric theory of history could afford him no deeper comprehension of the present; and in spite of the horror of violence expressed in *The Second Coming*, he ended by embracing the 'rough beast' incarnated then in Fascism. Blok's Christ-symbol, on the other hand, was created out of an insight which brought together past and present—the drama of the Petrograd streets, the Russian past and the Christ of the Gospels—in a unifying and mutually enriching significance. Sixty years after, it is possible to say that Blok, neither Marxist nor Christian, has left us a work which is the most memorable union in literature of these two traditions of thought.

#### NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

The translations from Blok's poetry and prose quoted in this article are my own.

The formidable difficulties of rendering *The Twelve* into English have not deterred several translators from trying. The two most recent versions that I have read are also those I can recommend most strongly: those by Sergei Hackel in *The Poet and the Revolution* (Oxford) and by Jon Stallworthy and Peter France in *Aleksandr Blok Selected Poems* (Penguin).

(Continued on page 24)

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# Content, form and Marxist criticism

by Samudran

*A reply to  
Reggie Siriwardena*

I read Reggie Siriwardena's article *On Form—Content relationship and Marxist criticism* (L. G. Nov. 1) with great interest. Certainly, the question of primacy of content over form as raised by me is of broader relevance. However, I must point out that Siriwardena has isolated this phrase from the rest of my article and subjected it to a detailed treatment, giving it his own interpretation. Before I deal with certain theoretical issues of fundamental importance arising out of his article I consider it incumbent on my part to say a word about the context with which I was concerned.

In my article (L. G. Sept. 15) I was not dealing with the contemporary Tamil literary scene in general but with a particular aspect of it, the emerging progressive tradition. My reference to the sixties as a period of a 'great leap forward' had disturbed the minds of some who have gone to the extent of falsifying history and heaping a lot of abuse and slander on the progressive movement as a whole. I consider it extremely relevant to stress a point regarding this 'leap forward' as it is also related to certain general issues raised by Siriwardena. In a sense this period marked a diachronic disjunction. A new mode of creative activity challenged the existing, established, dominant mode. Now, what is the function of the Marxist critic in this context?

It is not merely one of "approval" or "condemnation" based on the extracted "ideological content" of the new literature. The Marxist critic has to perform a more complex task. In the first place, like all other Marxists, he should have a sensibility that is attuned to the motions of a specific struggle in a given historical context. Secondly, as a

critic he should have a fine grasp of the level of development of the new creative forces of literature, drama etc. This presupposes a theoretical mastery of that moment of history in terms of the instances that determine and overdetermine it. In evaluating creative writings of the early formative phases of a new tradition the critic's sense of the present as history is a vital factor. Why do I consider Maunaguru's play "Sankaram" (Destruction), for example, as a landmark? Firstly, it constituted a radical rupture from the then existing dominant mode of folk drama production. It was to my knowledge the first of its kind. It was certainly a radical play; it portrayed social conflicts and struggle for change. But, this is not to say that it was free of shortcomings. Now, when "Sankaram" is placed in the context of a stream of succeeding plays, aiming for a higher level of development of the creative forces of drama, its shortcomings would certainly become more apparent. The point to remember, however, is that all this does not reduce the importance of Sankaram as a turning point.

I have raised this point here as I find that some critics tend to apply standards derived from great works produced during the rising tide of bourgeois and proletarian revolutions elsewhere in a mechanistic imitative manner and arrive at sweeping, sensational judgements which only betray their lack of historical sense of their own environment and show them as highly literate but absolutely poor critics. The "undogmatic Marxism" of some people is an aberration of this type, which I consider to be extremely vulgar.

Siriwardena has "invited" me to face a test. Before considering this "invitation" I should like to expose the theoretical flaws that underly

his well intended article. The shortcomings I see in the theoretical underpinnings of his critique of my assertion of primacy of content, are of an epistemological nature directly related to defining the content of a creative work.

"Primacy of content over form", does not by any means deny the organic unity and "interdependence" of the two. It is only an ascertainment of the functional hierarchy of the inseparable elements of a dialectical unity. This is what I propose to demonstrate here while pointing out the epistemological errors of Siriwardena.

Siriwardena "suspects" that my insistence on the primacy of content over form is due to my loyalty to the "orthodoxy of socialist realism whose practice consists of extracting from works of literature their ideological content, for approval or condemnation". It seems to me that Siriwardena himself has adopted the same practice to identify the content of Shelly's Song to the Men of England. I think it would be fair to state that Siriwardena's grouse against the "socialist realists", is that they fail to give equal weightage to form and style as to content as "an organic element of the work determining meaning".

I must say that the practice of extracting the ideological content alone for approval or condemnation is not the correct socialist realist method of literary criticism. Those who consider that alone to be a sufficient means to evaluate works of artistic praxis are vulgar Marxists, and perhaps there are too many of them. It is not only socialist realism but socialism itself that has undergone unpardonable, criminal vulgarization in the hands of many Parties and writers. But Siriwardena, his condemnation of such vulgar methods of identification of the

content of literature not withstanding, does not seem to offer a better alternative. I am inclined to believe that he commits the same error that he seeks to rectify. With all his emphasis on the organic unity of form and content and their interdependence, which is well taken, he has not offered a method of criticism that does not create a mechanical form-content dichotomy. I think the basic flaw in Siriwardena's method, which is as I pointed out already, the method of the very "socialist realists" he condemns, lies in not being able to define content itself as a product of artistic reflection of reality.

I would think that all serious critics, bourgeois or marxist, abstract the sociological essence (which includes the ideological element) of literary works as a first step to ascertain their class bias. Perhaps many bourgeois critics do it unconsciously but their class consciousness prompts them to do this. I consider this abstraction as a necessary practice. But, I do not accept the view that the sociological essence abstracted this way alone is the content of a work of artistic praxis. It is more than that. For the content of a creative work is not a product of clinical political-economic analysis pursued along scientific lines. It is the result of a consciously pursued process of artistic reflection of particular phenomena through the "prism of the inner world" of the artist. This process is dissimilar to the method of pure political economic reproduction. Evaluation and aesthetic interpretation in the context of the creative process are functions that pertain primarily to content.

I would like to explain my point by taking the dialectic of Typicality-Individuality relationship in literature. Any particular character of a novel is a type, in the sense that he or she represents a particular social group (class, caste, religion etc.) of society. At the same time the character is an individual with a specific personality, the "this one". The character is an artistic image in which the living indi-

vidual with his or her emotions and peculiarities, fuses with the type. This is what Marxist critics call the combination of the general and the particular into a dynamic unity. Very often the so called formal deficiencies in progressive literature are the result of inadequate artistic reproduction of the specifics of the individual.

The correct critical approach is to trace these deficiencies to their roots in the content. But it is not an easy task for a critic to do. He can succeed in such an exercise only if he himself had a greater artistic mastery of the phenomena concerned than the writer whose work he attempts to criticise. A good critic ought to know his own limitations before he undertakes an evaluation of a work. Unfortunately many Marxist critics are presumptuous and exceed their limits and when they can not get to the roots, they indulge in criticising the "form" which is treated in practice as the outer shell enveloping the content.

As Marx said "to be radical is to grasp things by the roots, the root of humanity however is man himself". This man is the subject of the artist and is raised to the level of content only by the attitude and creative ability of the artist.

It is by giving to content the broader meaning I have given here that one could really establish the dialectical, inseparable unity between content and form. In this unity there is not only a correlation which determines the degree of perfection of this unity but also a hierarchy of content over form.

I think I owe a short explanation of the meaning of Form. Form expresses the inner structuration of the content. It deals with the organization of the various elements produced by artistic reflection. This process of artistic organization may go on evolving in the mind of the artist before he externalizes it as a final product. So the assertion of primacy of content over form is not relegating form to a less

important place but identifying the more decisive of the two inseparables in determining meaning and artistic quality. When Content-Form relationship is understood in this way the mechanical dichotomy vanishes. However, bourgeois epistemology is such it leads to a dichotomy often giving the impression of an independent existence of form. 'Formalism' as a tendency arises out of this dichotomy. The debate Marxism vs Formalism is the result of two contradictory epistemological positions, corresponding to two antagonistic classes.

Siriwardena says that the opposition I maintain between Marxism and Formalism has been transcended half a century ago elsewhere. But the point to be faced is that the main conflict in the Tamil literary context is Marxism vs Formalism and currently some who claim to be Marxists have fallen into the formalist trap due to their inability to understand the Content-Form dialectic as a totality produced by artistic praxis.

A word on the invitation offered to me to apply my principle, to Shelley's celebrated "Song to the Men of England". I would suggest to Siriwardena to take a look at this piece in the light of my interpretation of Content-Form relationship. It offers a better method of seeing the "organic unity" and "the perfect fusion" of content and form in the Marxian dialectical way. What Siriwardena wanted to illustrate to me is better accomplished by my method than his.

Siriwardena has referred to Brecht's Epic theatre. My position is that Brecht was a great socialist realist. He had his disagreements with other leading Marxist thinkers like Lukacs. (Incidentally, Lukacs in his later writings had accepted Brecht as the "greatest realist playwright of his time". However, his struggle to create a new form of theatre was well within the broad frame of Socialist realism. The credo of Brecht and of all other socialist realists may be expressed thus "we base our aesthetics, as

(Continued on page 24)

# C. T. BLUES

**SATIRE**

## The Outsider

**T**oday the Advertiser is God and Anandatissa, the genius who gave us "Preethi" is the new Messiah.

"But the danger signals are already flashing" warned Danny L. Velandapola, treasurer of the Inner Wheel Club and a Big Wheel in the advertising world, dragging me by the arm furtively, at the Supper Club the other night. "What's wrong?" I asked, genuinely worried.

Look, Outsider, I thought you should be the first to know, seeing that I have admired your articles, especially when you write under your own name and not under some ridiculously transparent pseudonyms like K. K. Sharma or William Rees-Mogg.... we are in deep trouble.... our aid per capita is the highest, our growth rates are the biggest, our majority is a world record, our deficit an Afro-Asian record and our inflation is in training for the next Olympics, but all this has generated such optimism that the danger is that our people will now start to relax...."

"Good God" I said, shaken.

Yes, and that's why we in the advertising world are facing our greatest challenge.... we have to under-sell the product, and project a negative image in order to undermine the overweening confidence that has saturated the market.... In short, it is a deflationary exercise...."

"Sponsored by....?"

"By the wellknown Mad. Avenue outfit, the I. M. F."

"Could I know something about it.... I mean your campaign it could be a scoop, you know?"

"We are mounting a campaign which will re-jig the most popular advertisements in the print media, radio and TV to give the audience a de-stabilising, shock effect.... do have a Bristol...."

"Why Bristol?" I inquired, disappointed that it wasn't a Dun-

hill or Benson, in keeping with his station.

"Because Bristol belongs to the world of today".... he announced, quickly adding "and who knows whether it will belong to the gazette of tomorrow?"

"Of course, of course" I said, brightly....

"Precisely.... it was a little test.... mind you, it's just the rough sketch.... our ideas-men, market-research boys and copy-writers are now putting the finishing touches to other...."

"Please, please" I begged "just give me one or two more and I'll have a frontpage lead...."

"Remember, these are crude, very rough sketches we are working on.... okay here's one.... you know the People's Bank ad on TV.... a poor man's version really of the KLM ad, the interview at Schipol airport....?"

**Interviewer:** "So why do you prefer the People's Bank....?"

**Client:** "For many reasons.... first, look at their new interest rates.... I get 22% on my savings.... but most of all, I know my money is safe...."

**Interviewer:** "Then why do you look so depressed?"

**Client:** "Because I had to borrow 50/- from the Bank of America at 24% to pay for a taxi to go to the People's Bank, stupid...."

One more for the road, so to say, wisecracked Danny. L. "Remember the ad about the crash helmet....?"

**Boy Friend:** "Darling let's go to the Galle Face for a stroll...."

**Girl Friend:** (testing his love, pushing her luck and so flirtatiously coaxing) "Don't talk to me about Galle Face.... promise, you'll take me for a bus ride, today...."

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GARADS

# New cinema and the audience

AS I  
LIKE IT

Touchstone

**W**hy has **Hansa Vilak** weathered the box-office with some success, and **Para Dige** failed? This pair of unusual films by younger filmmakers, released simultaneously in the circuits, offers an interesting opportunity for a study of the tastes and responses of the Sinhala mass audience and the problems of the serious film-maker in communicating with it.

**Hansa Vilak** made exacting demands on the audience in the complexity of its technique, whose innovations had no parallel in the Sinhala cinema. Yet the daring risks that Dharmasiri Bandaranayake took in his first film seem to have paid off. Even if some filmgoers were left doubtful about what was happening at some points in the film or where 'reality' ended and 'fantasy' began, that doesn't seem to have been a barrier to the film's popularity. But if this is a credit-mark for the Sinhala film audience (for **Hansa Vilak** is a difficult film by any standards), the failure of **Para Dige** at the box-office raises a question about the limits of its taste. **Para Dige** would appear to be a simpler film than **Hansa Vilak** in technique and narrative form. Yet Dharmasena Pathiraja has failed to reach rapport with the greater part of his audience in this film. Why?

I suggest that the answer seems to be that the popular audience today is capable of stretching its minds a good deal as far as technical complexities are concerned — as long as the situations, the experience and the emotions it is asked to respond to are within its range of comprehension and sympathy. In **Hansa Vilak**, in spite of the difficulties of the form, this condition did obtain. A marital triangle, conflict between love and family obligations, the claims of children, desire, hate and jealousy — these are within the familiar experience of the mass

audience, in spite of the technical sophistication and the absence of moralistic judgments with which Dharmasiri Bandaranayake treated them.

In **Para Dige**, on the other hand, the audience seems to have failed to find any point of emotional contact. The complaint heard from many film-goers, 'Kathandara-yaknehe' ('There's no story'), is partly explained by the fact that Pathiraja was deliberately working away from the dramatic, in the simple sense of the word. (no greater contrast with his last film, the tense and action-packed **Bambaru Avith**, could have been imagined — a sign of a good film-maker's refusal to repeat himself) However, what probably alienated the audience was the absence not just of action but of any emotional drama into which they could enter. One can imagine the frustration of people who went to the film, having heard that it was the story of a young man who had to find the money for his girl-friend to have an abortion — a situation which still, in our society, connotes a major emotional and moral crisis. But the central characters in Pathiraja's film are 'outsiders' who have severed their roots in traditional family relations, and therefore take the problem with nonchalance (Chandare's visit to his village was, for me, the finest section of the film in the brilliance with which it brings out his distance from his origins). But the characters' reaction is one with which most film-goers must have found it difficult to empathise.

Audience-response, as far as its effect on box-office receipts is concerned, is a problem only for financiers, but the film-maker who wants to communicate can't afford to be indifferent to it. However, the problem of the film-maker is by no means an easy one. On the one hand,

there can be no growth in audience-taste if the serious film-maker isn't constantly stimulating his audience to enlarge their intelligence and imagination beyond what they have been routinely accustomed to (where would we be today without the risks that the makers of **Rekava**, **Gampara-liya** or **Ahas Gawwa** took in their time?). On the other hand, the film-maker who loses touch entirely with the consciousness of his audience must pay the price. I don't propose to offer answers to this dilemma, but I would like to suggest that the film-maker's problems of communication are by no means as simple as is suggested by those critics who make a tripartite division of our cinema into 'commercial', 'elitist' and 'socially conscious' films.

Is **Para Dige** elitist? I suppose a case can be made out for calling it that, on the ground that its principal character-types and their experience are still unusual in our society. But there is no guarantee that a film whose content is concerned with themes that are more socially immediate will always and necessarily succeed in communication with the audience. It will be interesting to see what will be the response of the mass audience to Pathiraja's next film, **Soldadu Unnehe** (just selected for the New Delhi festival) — his finest work yet and the most socially critical film that any of our film-makers has made. It requires the audience to enter with humane and intelligent understanding into the experience of a madman, a drunk, a prostitute. Will it be popular? I very much hope so.

## The enigma...

(Continued from page 13)

scornfully described as a **para sudda**, is most deplorable. Professor Pieris has quoted an English translation of the offending passage that appeared in the **Sinhala Bauddhaya** in May 1914. It was certainly not seditious, but I dare not requote it for decency's sake. It maligned the entire human race, for the general and exceptional behaviours of the **para sudda** are no better, no worse, than those of the rest of humanity.

There is no denying the fact that the Anagarika, despite his little influence in Sri Lanka while he was alive, has left for better or for worse an impress on our recent history. In this I agree with Michael Roberts and Kumari Jayewardena. In the euphoria of the aftermath of colonial rule, Sri Lanka had looked out for suitable heroes among the buried colonial past, and had found one in the Anagarika. Now that he is placed in the nation's **Valhalla**, he will continue to be exposed to the slings and arrows, nay the sledge-hammers and pick-axes, of the devil's advocates.

The Anagarika was a vociferous Sinhalese Buddhist missionary of little education and less culture (this is my own humble opinion, but what or who am I?), no different from a type of Christian missionary whom the Anagarika had always (and often brutally) assailed. But as a human being prone to human frailties he is entitled to a dispassionate evaluation of his life and services, and let not the good be interred with his ashes.

## Blok, Christ...

(Continued from page 18)

Hackel's translation is a scholarly rendering which stays as close as possible to the original in form and sense, but is at the same time creative. The commentary which makes up the greater part of the book is the most extensive and illuminating study of the poem to be found in English: it is by a writer who, as scholar of Russian, priest and radical Christian, is admirably equipped to write it. The book is, however, expensive. The Penguin paper, back is cheaper and more easily accessible; it contains a free rendering of **The Twelve** by a student of Russian and an English poet working in collaboration.

## Anagarika...

(Continued from page 1)

he were living he too would have joined them, but would have probably added—"My son, I have heard all these many times before, and that is why apart from being close to Naresh as you may conclude, I decided to be born in India in my next birth, and not here amidst you folk. But as for you why don't you change your name, and try to be more subtle in your scholarly research?"

If Ralph Pieris had cared to read my booklet in the vernacular (or at least pretended to have done so as Reggie Siriwardena) he would have been spared the many agonies of intense research that have gone into deciding as to whether Anagarika was a hypocrite or a schizophrenic. Have I not shown there that Anagarika—the crafty old fox had once advised a Buddhist monk to gobble up his share of beef without making much ado of it? How does Ralph Pieris see such acts in terms of his scholarly research? But of course being no scholar I could not consider those other more important aspects of Anagarika unearthed by Ralph Pieris—the intensity of his homosexual proclivities, the regularity of his masturbatory practices or the frequency of his nocturnal emissions! I was naive enough only to look at the historical figure and be dazzled by its continuing influence on the vast masses of this country.

Anyway my booklet in Sinhala was meant for a different audience and not for "social dropouts"—even if they happen to be professors of sociology.

**Gunadasa Amarasekera**

## Troubled oil...

(Continued from page 4)

Admirals, who were plainly overdoing their courtesy. Since Trinco is in their parish, the TULF guns went into action too.

Rizaco, the project-finder, as well as the main investor, **HARCO** are not New York-based, although both have Americans at the top. They operate out of Cayman Islands, the British West Indies tax haven.

After protracted negotiations, which included checking of credentials way back to Chicago, the deal is now ready for Mr. Ed. Harrison's signature. Mr. Harrison, a US engineer represents Rizaco which has interests in Honduras and Costa Rica. Some changes have been made. The refinery's rated capacity will be 125,000 b/d and the company capital is likely to be 600 million dollars.

## Kalawana...

(Continued from page 8)

wala, formerly of the defunct PDP, who is keen on re-joining the SLFP despite the failure to have his application accepted the first time. However, the Sarath-Vasunanda Ratnapura axis will probably help frustrate these moves. If their fall-back position (Sarath as an 'independent') also fails, this group will want the SLFP to stay out of the campaign altogether.

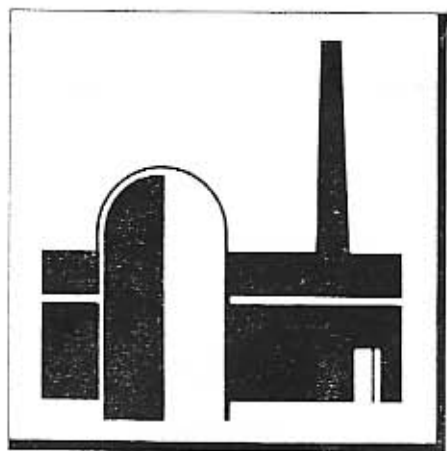
But the rapid build-up of anti-UNP feelings among the SLFPers and Opposition supporters generally will strengthen the hand of these who argue for open SLFP backing for a single Opposition candidate.

## Content, form...

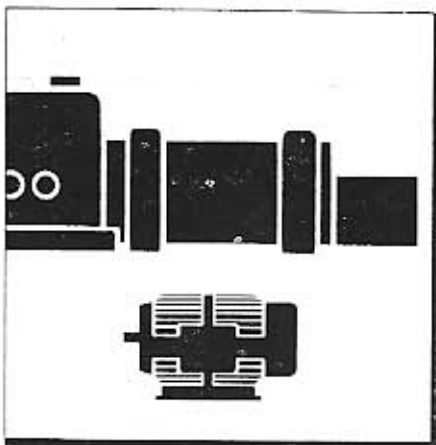
(Continued from page 20)

we do our morality, on the necessities of our struggles". He was firmly committed to "the inseparability of art and instruction". He attributed so much importance to the epic theatre because in it he could find a more optimal correlation of form and content. His experiments were a good indication of the greater mobility of content than form and the demand the former makes on the latter in periods of struggle.

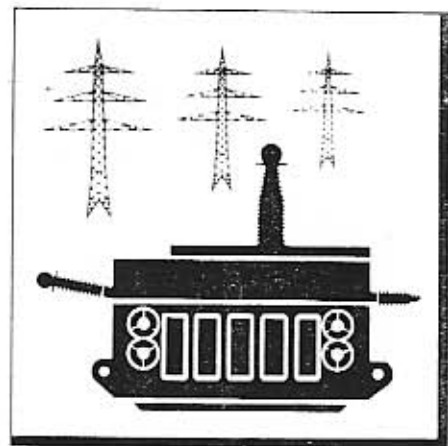




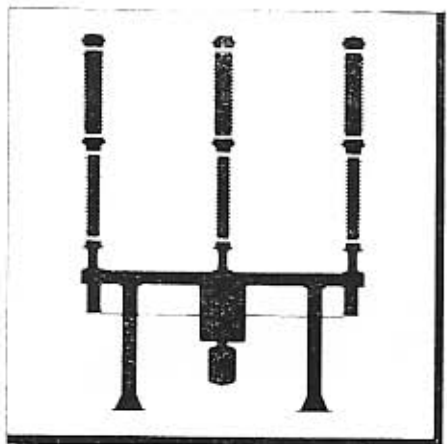
Steam and gas turbine power stations



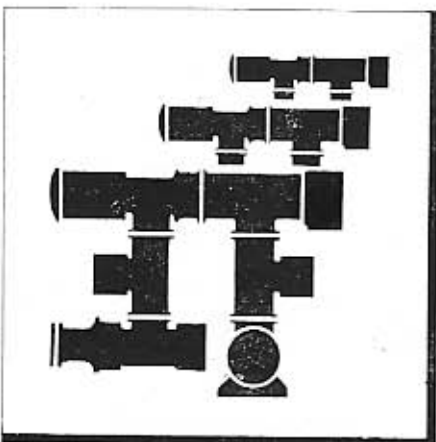
Generators and motors of all types and sizes



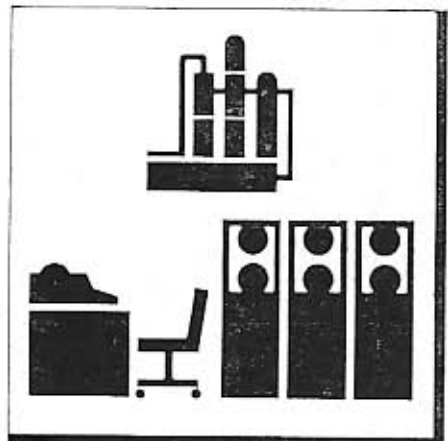
Large power transformers



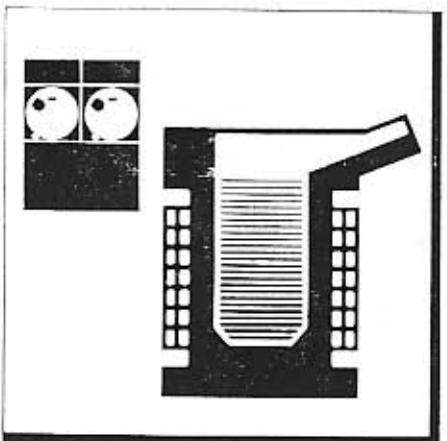
SF<sub>6</sub> circuit-breakers up to 420 kV



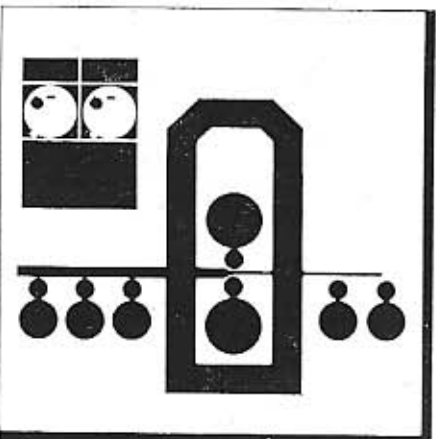
Medium- and high-voltage switchgear up to 525 kV



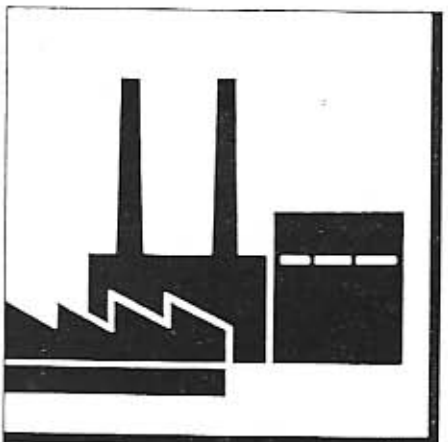
Tele-control and data systems



Electro-heat applications (foundries)



Electrical equipment for rolling mills



Complete installations for the building materials industry

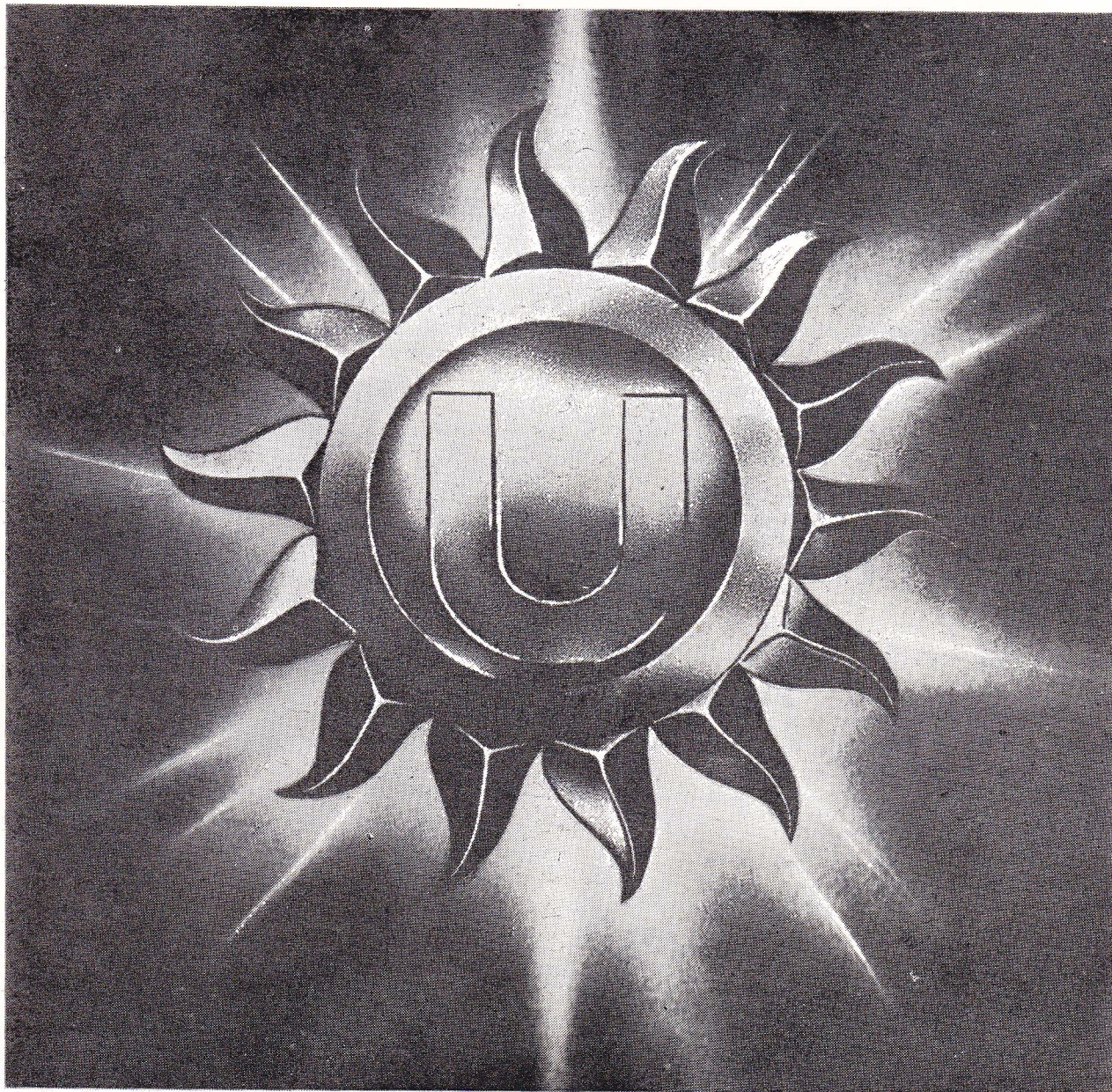
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## Upali: A company blessed by the sun

The sun, an eternal symbol of energy and the bright side of life is the Upali Group's emblem and inspiration.

For centuries the people of Sri Lanka, bronzed by its warmth have looked upon the fiery star as a sign of good omen and adorned their flags and crests with its likeness.

The Upali Group's burnished sun shines not only in Sri Lanka but over many lands, Malaysia, Singapore, Britain, where their products are manufactured and

USA, Australia, Japan, Ireland, Hong Kong, Thailand, where they are marketed.

It is the stamp of quality that is synonymous with the success of the Upali Group's ventures. In countries far and near. In spheres as wide and varied as the manufacture of chocolates & confectionery, radios and electronic equipment, motor cars, cocoa processing, cocoa plantation management, management services and distribution.

That's the sunshine story of the Upali Group, whose every product and service is blessed by the sun.



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