

INTERVIEW JVP AND THE LEFT — H. N. Fernando

LANKA

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UPALI : Fortune
smiles.
Will the UNP?



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— Gail Omvedt

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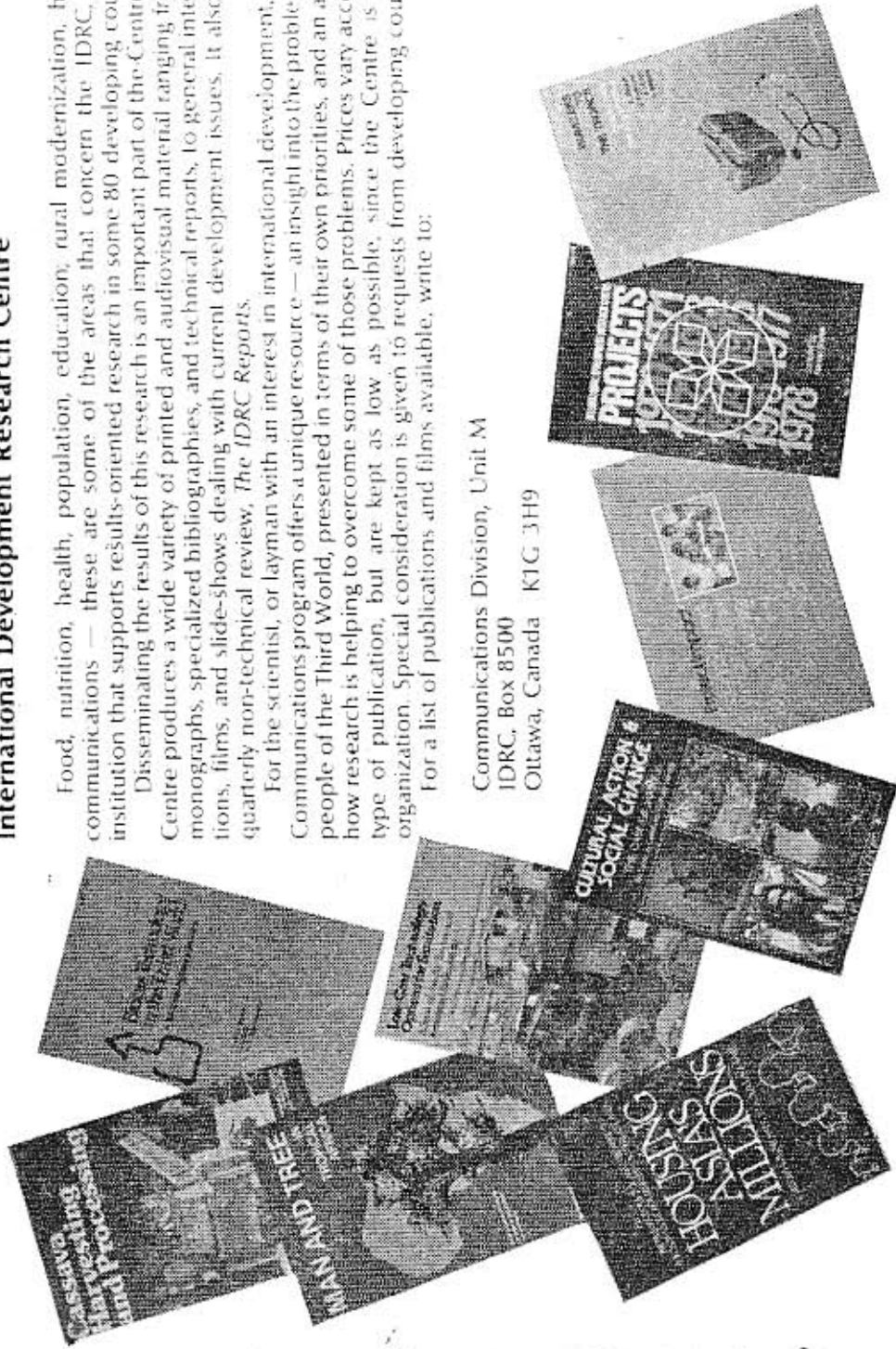
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WHAT'S THE QUESTION?

So the UNP has found an answer to the Kalawana problem in the Third Amendment and a referendum. In this instance, what's important however is not the answer but the question. What is the question which will be posed in the referendum? If the question is intended, as we are told, to "accommodate the elected member of Kalawana" then we shall have two MPs for Kalawana. This of course means that Mr. Pilapitiya whom the Speaker designated "the lawful MP for Kalawana" by virtue of his nomination remains.

Quoteworthy is this observation of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, the architect of the 1972 constitution. "At least the UNP has taught the world that it is possible to have the cake and eat it".

On the lighter side, the Colombo circuit has now picked up a story whose authorship is still a secret. At a London bookshop a student of Sri Lankan politics asked for a copy of the Sri Lanka Constitution (1978). The polite reply was: "Sorry, we do not sell periodicals".

PLOT THICKENS

Too busy explaining to the people a tangled mess of Kalawana where everybody, according to the UNP, is right and nobody wrong, UNP propagandists missed a news report which could have been perfect grist to their mill. The *Dinakara*, the SLFP paper recently carried a speech of its leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike. The report said that Mrs. Bandaranaike threatened to expose high level cons-

piracy in the Party, involving top SLFPers who were in close contact with the UNP. Meanwhile, both sides — the Gang of Four and the Dirty Dozen — are preparing for a meeting of the 350 strong all-island executive committee. Sources close to Mrs. B. say "After that meeting, the Dirty Dozen will have to go to the UNP Job Bank".

NONALIGNMENT

Pro-UNP Foreign Ministry officials guffawed when the Iranian Embassy in Colombo accused the SLFP leadership of "abandoning nonalignment". Last week they had another loud laugh when the Information Division picked an item from the SLFP paper the *Nation*. In a signed article by Peking-liner Karawita whose "Party" is described humourously in Left circles as SLFP (Marxist-Leninist), Vietnam and Cuba were called "client states". It was at the 5th Summit, presided over by Mrs. Bandaranaike that Cuba was elected to be Sri Lanka's successor as Chairman of the nonaligned movement.

This jibe by a "Sirimavoist" provoked sardonic sneers among the pro-UNP F. O. lads who had appreciated the timing of the Chinese Government's invitation to a group of Sri Lankan lawyers. While Madam Mao was being charged for "monstrous abuses of power" by a special tribunal, a delegation of local lawyers was in China. The delegation included President Jayewardene's brother, H. W. Jayewardene QC, Mr. A. C. de Zoysa, the chief prosecutor at the Special Presidential Commission, and Mr. H. L. de Silva, Mrs. Bandaranaike's lawyer.

Form and content

My reply to Samudran (LG, Jan. 1) was full of printers' errors which obscured my meaning, but in order not to take up too much space, I shall correct only one which is especially misleading. In the printed version, I appear to be objecting to Samudran's description of Brecht as 'a great socialist'. What I was really questioning was his reference to Brecht as 'a great socialist realist' — the operative word being the last.

Reggie Siriwardena

Colombo 5.

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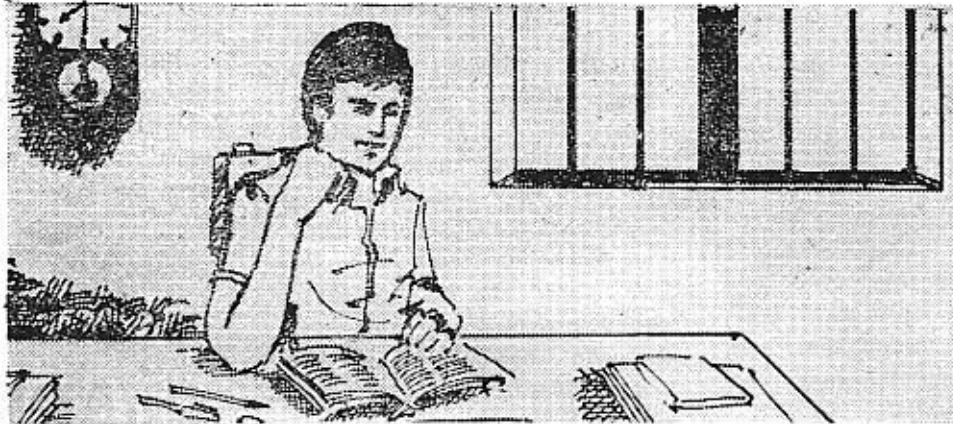
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UPALI – The business of politics

The New Year brought the Lanka Guardian a surprise gift, a copy of "FORTUNE", hot off the press, with greetings from its board of Editors. Like TIME and LIFE, Fortune was founded by the great American publisher Henry R. Luce, the man who said that this century would be "an American century". Fortune certainly smiled on Henry Luce. And now it has smiled on Sri Lanka's "dashing deal maker" Upali Wijewardene.

"I'm Upali Wijewardene...I'm running for President".....The UNP did not give Upali a chance to introduce himself to the local yokels of Kalawana in this fashion. Otherwise we could have witnessed an American style election campaign and also a classic contest between the apostle of pure unbridled capitalism and the future leader of the Communist Party. But there could be other openings on the way. Baddegama was vacant last month and the Hanguranketa UNP MP died on January 4th.

In Britain, he has a string of horses. His favourite jockey is none other than champion Lester Piggott. The animals bear some interesting names: Kandos (the chocolate which made him the first million he had sworn to make before he was 30); Ringitt (the currency of Malaysia where he has cocoa and coconut plantations) and General Atty, a not unknown soldier. The man who ran his horse in the Derby is doubtless still keen on the greatest race of all, politics.

Power is the point of intersection of Big Money and Big-time Politics, and Upali has already set his mind on another track to power, a national newspaper. Upali's future biographer — and he must surely purchase one sooner or later—has only to twist the title of a Scott Fitzgerald novel. 'The Last Tycoon'. Upali is our first tycoon. By international standards

the only. Cambridge education and Unilever Executive training were the preparation for a young man who had inherited a flair for business from both sides of his family.

While many would like to hitch their waggon to this rising star or climb aboard his executive jet, others might regard him as the kind of aspirant who must be stopped in his tracks before he gathers jet-speed.

Some months ago, Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel reminded those who think they could convert Sri Lanka into a South Korea or Singapore that the UNP was a democratic-socialist party. But for those in the UNP who are tantalised by South Korea and Singapore Upali is the natural ideological trail-blazer.

The continuing speculation about Upali's entry into politics commands serious attention because his private life, like his remarkable career, has symbolic nuances too.

When he married Dr. Seevali Ratwatte's daughter, the attesting witnesses were his aunt-in-law, Prime Minister Bandaranaike, and his uncle, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. The architect of the Export Promotion Council, Dr. Ratwatte was its director-general, when Mrs. Bandaranaike's government had already prepared the blue-prints for the FTZ and drafted the Foreign Investment Guarantee Law. When the victorious UNP gave top priority to the FTZ, it did not have to look far to find a chief executive for the GCEC — Mr. Upali Wijewardene, with Dr. Ratwatte as one of his deputies.

If such a marriage had not taken place, a social historian would have had to invent it. Far more than a sharp rupture, there are strong elements of continuity linking the last years of the SLFP regime with the UNP's new

economic strategy. On several occasions, the President has said that even another SLFP government is unlikely to depart radically from that strategy.

"If Upali wants to come to parliament, let him come through the front door" said his UNP critics, meaning that he should contest a seat. Upali was ready to take up the challenge but he was thwarted.

If he continues to be blocked in his bid to enter politics, through the UNP will he look for other avenues? He is the first Sri Lankan to have his profile published in a journal as fastidious as FORTUNE. Louis Kraar has revealed Upali's business style. He has a habit of buying up "sick companies" and firms whose fortunes are sagging but which in his shrewd opinion have a great potential for recovery. "In the business of politics to day, purchasing SLFP stock could be a sound investment" says a pro-LSSP businessman, adding "Anura who said so many nice things about Upali in parliament may not mind".

Demonstration

Wednesday afternoon, January 7, saw a demonstration outside the Chinese Embassy at Turret Road. Demonstrators carried placards and shouted slogans:

Release Chiang Ching!; Release Mao's comrades; Long live Comrade Mao Tsetung!; Long Live the Cultural Revolution!; Down with Teng Hsiao-ping.

In the melee that occurred outside the gates of the Embassy (which were quickly closed), the show case was smashed. The crowd, thereafter, dispersed.

Onward Christian soldiers

In predominantly Buddhist Sri Lanka, the Catholic and Anglican churches are emerging as daring and, perhaps in official eyes, dangerous voices of dissidence. On Christmas day, the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation began its news bulletin with an item on Christmas in Poland. In none of its bulletins, did the SLBC broadcast even a sentence from the special message of the head of the Catholic Church. It was also ignored by the State-owned newspaper groups. This is the first time that such a thing has happened.

In his message Archbishop Nicholas Marcus Fernando said "this Christmas as we look around for Christ, where can we find him? Where are the hungry, the naked and those in sorrow and want? 40,000 men and women lost their jobs in our country not many months ago, how will they face this Christmas? So many thousands of workers with their dependents are on the streets, begging, trying to find other jobs, selling or pawning whatever they have, borrowing and perhaps even contemplating suicide".

The Archbishop has also ordered that all collections since the second Sunday in advent should be given to the families of the dismissed strikers. The "Catholic Messenger" and its sister Sinhalese paper, have started a special fund to help them. The new Archbishop has attracted attention in Church circles abroad after the defiant stand he took on the question of abortion at the recent Vatican Conference. Pleading the cause of the Third World poor, he stressed the relevance of social and economic pressures in deciding doctrinal issues.

Some time ago Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe, the Anglican Bishop of Kurunegala, held a "workers mass" at Ratmalana, 200 yards away from the railway workshop where the general strike began. He said "we have to carry this struggle to the very end." The text of his sermon was released to the media but only the "SUN" published it, with some significant deletions. It has now been published as a pamphlet.

Non-aligned

YUGOSLAV 'PURITY'

With preparations underway for the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Delhi early next month, the proposed Indian Ocean Conference will be the main concern of the nonaligned states of this region. The UN decided that this meeting of Indian Ocean states should be held in Colombo this year and the idea was wholeheartedly endorsed by the sixth summit in Havana.

But the United States which has been invited as one of the 'big powers' says that it is 'inopportune'. Inopportune for whom? Plainly for the US which having created the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force, (it held joint exercises in Egypt recently) is now busy 'beefing up' its Indian Ocean Fleet as part of the general 'militarisation' of US foreign policy.

The Reagan victory, US commentators agree, heralds an American recovery from 'the Vietnam/Watergate syndrome'. Symbolising this return to sound health is the appointment of General Alexander Haig, a Vietnam Commander and a Watergate 'plumber' as Secretary of State.

The first "political" act of the Rapid Deployment Force will be to torpedo the Indian Ocean Peace Zone conference.

While the US decision is under-

A delegation from the two churches also made things quite uncomfortable for the government at a recent conference on human rights.

The meeting was convened by the Sri Lanka "Centre for Human Rights." While the Buddhist, Hindu and Moslem clergy who also participated were discreetly conformist, the reports presented by the Christian delegation were critical of emergency powers and police and army excesses. In its annual report Amnesty International has alleged the widespread use of torture by the security services during six months of emergency rule in the northern province.

standable in the light of its strategic interests what has begun to trouble the non-aligned members of this area is the behaviour, especially the backstage manoeuvres, of Yugoslavia, a highly respected founding father of the NAM.

Under the pretext of preserving 'the purity of nonaligned principles', Yugoslavia is taking up position after position on various issues which objectively serve the interests of the US, and are very much in line, within the movement, with ASEAN.

"Study the Yugoslav economy and you will realise why" a senior African diplomat who had served with the OAU for many years advised a Sri Lankan delegate in New York recently. A US-based Indian journalist who was present at the conversation in the diplomat's lounge of the UN, noted Yugoslavia's galloping inflation, its unemployment, its mounting foreign debt, its exchange crisis, its heavy reliance on the remittances of Yugoslav migrant workers, (over a million) in Western Europe, and its increasing dependence on the IMF and western 'aid'.

By equating the superpowers and stating this as a basic principle, Yugoslavia helps the US to shrug off the responsibility for not signing SALT 2 (a step warmly supported by the Sixth Summit) of confusing the general issues of scaling down strategic arms, and diverting nonaligned opinion from the fact that the US is now set to launch a new arms race. It also helps the US to prevent itself from being isolated as the exclusive target of nonaligned criticism over its stubbornly negative policy on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal.

* Yugoslav 'purity' has become more and more suspect with each crisis-situation. It was prepared to attack Vietnam which helped Kampuchea to rid itself of Pol Pot, now recognised as one of history's most barbarous and genocidal rulers. But its "pure principles" stuck in the

MIRJE festival

The Inter-Racial Friendship Festival and Carnival organised by MIRJE (Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality) in Colombo in the last week of December was notable as the first endeavour to convey through the arts and entertainment the message of amity among the people across ethnic and linguistic divisions. Around three thousand people attended the carnival in the three days when it was on. This was perhaps less than MIRJE

Yugoslav . . .

(Continued from page 4)

throat when Tanzania did the same service for the people of Uganda against their tyrant, Idi Amin.

*When the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping announced to the world, on his way back from the US, that China would 'teach Vietnam a lesson' and proceeded to send 250,000 troops across the border, the purists of Belgrade found silence golden.

*With South Africa, Israel is the **bete noire** of the nonaligned. Under the sponsorship of the US, a superpower, a tripartite treaty was signed between Israel, Egypt and the US. The military implications of this treaty are now being revealed in the US-Egypt joint exercises and the public offer of Ras Baniyas as a base for the US. Its political significance, as the PLO indignantly repeats, is the sell-out of the Palestinian people. The Arab League has expelled Egypt. But Yugoslavia, the high priest of pure principles, is Egypt's defender

*Yugoslavia attacked Cuba for defending Angola against an invading South African army but this does not prevent her cozying up to Senegal and Ivory Coast, who enjoy Pretoria's patronage.

*Afghanistan is criticised for allowing Soviet troops on its territory but not a word of criticism is uttered about the arming, training and financing of 'rebel' groups, and other subversive operations mounted by the US and China, via Pakistan, and with distant help from countries like Egypt. ●

organisers had hoped for, but for a pioneer effort of this kind it should not really be considered discouraging. Moreover, MIRJE had to face the handicaps of meagre press publicity (including a total black-out by the Sinhala press) — an indication of what our mainstream press thinks of communal amity.

Perhaps the most positive achievement of the MIRJE undertaking was that it had succeeded in enlisting the participation of schoolchildren in the essay and poster competitions on the theme of anti-communalism and friendship between people of different ethnic groups. Some of the children's posters on this theme were extremely imaginative and striking. Another original and powerful exhibit in graphic art was Charles Dayananda's group of line drawings on the subject of **Twenty-five years of national oppression**: these should be preserved and made available to a wider audience in a more permanent form. The revival on this occasion of the Ceylon Teachers' Union exhibition, **Daruduka**, portraying the inequalities and class differences in the lives of children and education in Sri Lanka — a memorable presentation of social analysis and criticism in visual terms — was welcome. The presentation by the Co-ordinating Secretariat for Plantation Areas of the problems of estate workers should also have brought illumination on this subject to many visitors to the carnival.

MIRJE, one understands, intends to hold similar carnivals in Kandy and Jaffna in the course of this year; it is to be hoped that the Colombo carnival too will be made an annual event. From their first effort MIRJE should have gathered much experience to do even better next time. In particular, the organisation will have to think up ways of publicising the event sufficiently even if little co-operation is forthcoming from the mass media'

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NEW DILEMMA

Gail Omvedt

The cultural activity also reflects tensions on the left. To give an example, in recent assembly elections there were three street play groups in Bombay, giving hundreds of performances in front of factories, railway stations and workers' tenements; one propagating for the CPM, one Naxalite group urging boycott of elections, and one other ML group calling for a new constitution. The latter two in particular denounced the bourgeois electoral system, but the Naxalite group was afterwards beaten up by CPM sympathizers for its boycott call. Similarly in Kerala the CPM, which until recently overwhelmingly dominated the cultural movement, has been charging that "Sex and Naxalism" are taking over the stage and some of the ML poets have been arrested in state action against the Naxalites there.

In spite of these strengths, however, the Naxalite movement as a whole is politically floundering and unable to come forward with a national revolutionary alternative to the "left and democratic front" which it disagrees with. First there is political division. In terms of tactics, the emphasis of the various groups varies from those still proclaiming and practicing Charu Mazumbar's old "annihilation of class enemies" line to those who have more or less eschewed armed struggle to concentrate on mass organising. In terms of international loyalties, recent developments in China have shaken them as much as Marxist-Leninists in other countries, and positions now vary from "allying with the U. S. against social imperialism" to condemning China itself as "social imperialists." All major sections of the Naxalites have suffered further splits in the last two — three years: the CPI(ML) once led by Satyanarayan Singh has now broken in two; the old COC (Central Organising Committee of the CPI (ML) and the UCCRI (Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India) have also split, and much of the splits are in effect along linguistic regional lines so that

the Naxalites now have much of their mass base only at a regional level.

Those groups that have renounced "adventurism" and now concentrate on mass organising (and these include, it must be stressed, almost all of those who once themselves in 1967-72, went through the fires of annihilation, armed struggle and brutal repression) find themselves in much the same dilemma as many other communist trends — how to establish mass political support in areas where large sections still have faith in Indira Gandhi and democracy, how to build up a revolutionary mass movement directed against the state. The Naxalites differ from the CPI and CPM in that they conceive of the "new democratic state" in their programme as based on revolutionary peoples' committees at all levels, while the other parties define their "national democracy" and "peoples' democracy" in basically the same structural terms as the existing bourgeois state, up to and including the two houses of parliament the separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary etc. At points in their struggles the Naxalites have built such peoples' committees. But, once the state crushed the armed struggle, the groups have found no way to build up any real political movement on this basis. In effect, while for the CPI and CPM the "political movement" has become equivalent to elections, for the ML sections it has become only armed struggle and the propaganda of armed struggle.

It is partly because of such frustrations that there is once again in India a resurgence of hard-line "annihilation" policy. A naxalite organisation operating mainly in the four southern states (Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra, Karnataka) has been condemning all the other trends as revisionists and furiously again trying to organise direct attacks on landlords. The result has been that they have gained some mass base at least temporarily among dalit agricultural labourers in North Arcot

and Dharmapuri, two backward districts of Tamilnadu state. And once again, with all fanfare and special police units, the mailed fist of the state has come down, and the arrests of hundreds of cadres and the killing of many (supposedly in "escape attempts" but actually in police firing or as a result of torture) is dispersing the movement.

Besides the Naxalite groups, which still share an analysis of the Indian state as a "semi-feudal" "semi-colonial" one dominated by comprador bourgeoisie and landlords, there are some other parties and organisations that stand to the left of the CPI and CPM but with a very different analysis. This include such parties as the Lal Nishan Party (LNP) in Maharashtra and the Socialist Unity Centre (SUC) mainly in Bengal, which have a strong trade union base among both urban and rural workers and agricultural labourers and which see India as a bourgeois state and refuse to join the CPI-CPM alliance with bourgeois parties. In addition there are many ex-Naxalite or semi-Naxalite or simply dissident Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals working among the masses.

The Naxalites themselves (like the CPI and CPM) call for a "four class alliance" of workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the national (or small) bourgeoisie. They have never really compromised with bourgeois parties to form a political alliance. Similarly, they have never wavered in their support for the liberation struggles of such groups as the Nagas and Mizos in India's northeast perhaps because these have represented the only really successful application of the ML line or armed struggle and liberated zones.

Finally, in regard to the Assam movement, after a period of some debate most ML groups now give it critical support. All of these distinguish them from CPI-CPM-led front, along with the more expected differences on a pro-Soviet foreign policy.

The party, the movement and ourselves

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party is now fully forty-five years old. It is by far the oldest political party in Sri Lanka. In fact, it is the only political party functioning today whose beginning goes back to the pre-world war II period.

During these forty-five years, the world has undergone decisive political and social changes. The changes have been such that we can say realistically that politically and socially there are in fact two worlds today, and not one — a decaying capitalist world which is a spill-over from the historical past and burgeoning socialist world which demands the future. It is the major task of mankind in the coming years of this epoch to complete the replacement of capitalism with socialism throughout the planet, thus bringing into being that new world order which will enable mankind to ascend to the next higher stage in its development. We know that the movement of history is decisively in that direction already, whatever be the obstacles the past may place in the way of the future.

Political and social change has not passed Sri Lanka by, these forty-five years, though a socialist Sri Lanka is still a phenomenon of the future. In fact, the political and social changes which Ceylon has undergone in that period are both far-reaching and deep-going. Politically we have moved from direct imperialist rule to self-rule, from imperialist subjection to national independence. The task in that field is to safeguard the independence we have achieved and it needs safeguarding specially in view of present trends in politics and to carry forward the struggle to extend that independence to embrace specially the field of the national economy. Our economy is still a dependent economy subject to dominant imperialist exploitation. That exploitation is conducted by other means than

before independence, namely, by the neo-colonialist means which have replaced the colonialism which has been politically displaced. If this struggle is not carried to success, the continued dependence of our economy on the imperialist world economy will have adverse repercussions on the political independence we have achieved. As we shall see, this struggle is enmeshed with the struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

In respect of social changes, there has not been that fracture in the continuity of development which is marked in the field of political change by the grant of Independence in 1948 and the consolidation and completion of Independence through the adoption of the 1972 constitution.

Nevertheless, in important ways the social scene of today is sharply different from, let us say, the pre-war social scene. The dominantly landowning character of the Sri Lanka bourgeoisie is gone, the endeavours of the present regime to restore private-capitalist big land-ownership have not gone far enough or been successful enough in extent to constitute a real restoration of capitalist big land-ownership. The traditional village has disintegrated under the assault of invading capitalism, disintegrated, that is to say, beyond the possibility of resuscitation. The cultivator, including the former national subsistence farmer has been caught up into the national, and even international monetisation of the rural economy. It is a new farmer that characterizes agriculture outside the plantations. The middle class has swelled, as also the working class. The former drawing considerably from the rural well-to-do, the latter drawing on the rural reservoir of the displaced, whose inflow has brought about the new phenomenon of mass unemployment. There is also, within the bourgeoisie and the upper middle class, the new

phenomenon which is referred to nowadays as mudalalidom. We have of course, had mudalalies before. But the mudalalies of today, an entirely modern post-war phenomenon, represents in the main the small capitalist entrepreneur growing into bigness. He is less westernised than his big brother and is altogether more swabhasa.

There are other and major features of the contemporary scene to which attention needs to be driven before we pass on. There is first of all the pervasive welfare state, or rather, the pervasive system of state-provided and financed general welfare which has been steadily built up in the years since independence up to 1977. This included in later years the so unique and expensive rice for the mass of deprived people in our country. It included free education and free public health services and cure, such as was remarkable in a developing country. The subsidies to the consumer would make quite a long list.

Another noteworthy feature in the post-independence scene is the growth, with gathering speed, of a strong public sector of the economy, marked by an expanding constellation of state corporations in which took place the major part of the nation's production (61 per cent. as of 1977) and, until the present government took over, the predominant investment from which the expansion and development of the economy ensues. Included in this sector, as the major section of them all, are the plantations, which were all nationalised in the post-1972 years. Let us remind ourselves that the second of the three fundamental aims announced at the inauguration of the LSSP in 1935 was "The nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange." The first was the attainment of a society free of discrimination on

the basis of race, caste, religion and sex. We have indeed achieved much in our forty-five years.

Another feature that distinguishes the forty-five years we are considering is the wide Trade Unionisation of the working class. Pre-War Trade Unionism was largely confined to Colombo and its environs. The largest and the most developed section of the economy, namely the Plantations, the unionisation of which had only just begun in pre-war days, are today completely unionised. The trade unions become both an accepted pronounced feature of the political and social landscape. They too are, of course, under attack from the UNP Government.

The proliferating political parties which so characterise the political landscape of Sri Lanka today are almost entirely a post-war phenomenon, although the universal adult franchise which necessitated the formation of mass political parties

for coping with the mass electoral process was introduced in Sri Lanka as far back as 1931. There is a pervasive political consciousness among the masses today which at best was only in an incipient stage in 1935. It is the political parties which have done the job of organising the local masses by the trade unions, which, of course, from very early days had also their political links.

Let us round off this survey by underlining that specially the last three features to which attention has been drawn, namely wide-ranging State welfarism, the Trade Unions, the welter of political parties, reflecting the growth generally of political consciousness among the masses, represent, along with that feature at the centre of the political landscape — Parliament — the tremendous growth of parliamentary Democracy in Sri Lanka. This all-embodying political feature of independent Sri Lanka is in many ways the most precious

heritage of our people from some fifty years of political development. It is a heritage in the creation of a development of which the LSSP as a party and Samasamajism as an ideology and a movement played no mean part. And let it be remembered, included in that heritage is an authentic mass movement which from its beginnings came under the radicalising influence of the LSSP and Samasamajism generally. In that way, we are ourselves part of this great national heritage and not merely, like so many others, just inheritors of it. It is the most treasured asset that we possess, built over forty-five years of unremitting work among the masses and unflinching struggle against Imperialism and Capitalism for independence and socialism. We cannot let it go without fighting to hold it. That fight is a fight not only for our future but also a fight for the future of our nation. The responsibility we shoulder is no less.

(NEXT: 1977-1980)

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IS MARTIN BORMANN DEAD? - (I)

The past has not ended

Jayantha Somasundaram

A Reuter despatch from New York a few weeks ago reported that Ladislav Farago the Hungarian-born journalist, had died. Farago made a name for himself with his biography on Gen. George S. Patton, later made into an award-winning film. But right now we remember Farago for his series of articles in the London *Daily Express* and his book *Aftermath*, published in 1972 and 1974 respectively, in which he claimed that Martin Bormann, Adolf Hitler's deputy, was alive and well in Argentina. Since May 1st 1945 when he disappeared in Berlin, German authorities have sought to establish that Bormann died in the fighting. In 1946 however, Bormann was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

The media did not only remind us that Martin Bormann might still be alive. *Newsweek's* October 20th issue had as its cover story "Europe's Neo-Nazi Terror," in addition, *The Deccan Herald* of October 21st published a UNI story datelined London, below the headline "Spectre of Fascism haunts Europe again."

Was Farago right and is Bormann alive? The question is relevant not only to sensation-seeking or cranky journalists. It becomes the question around which the political future of our world revolves. Because the circumstances surrounding Bormann's alleged escape to freedom, the secret fascist organisations that he is said to have built and the growing fascist movements around the world, will together determine the chances for democracy today and for world peace tomorrow.

EICHMANN

Martin Bormann had been Deputy Fuehrer since the defection of Rudolf Hess in 1940. And when Hitler committed suicide on 30th April 1945, Bormann became defacto head of the Third Reich.

L. Bezymensky began trailing Bormann from the moment he entered Berlin, hours after Hitler and Goebbels had committed suicide. He has written a book *Tracing Martin Bormann* in which he claims that Bormann broke out of Berlin as it was being ringed by Soviet troops. He headed south for the "Alpine fortress," a redoubt in Austria prepared in advance for Nazi fugitives. From there he took refuge in Denmark, whilst he was being tried *in absentia* at Nuremberg. He then began his 'grand trip' south to Italy where his son and daughter had taken monastic vows. Finally, across the Atlantic to Argentina where Adolf Eichmann was already "in exile". Eichmann was later kidnapped by the Israelis, tried and executed.

Prof. Hugh Trevor-Roper the British historian says, there is no conclusive evidence of Bormann's death. "I have some evidence which suggests that he reached Bolzano where his wife lived".

Dr. Heinrich Duermayer former Chief of Police in Vienna writes, "the Bormann case cannot be viewed in isolation from the preparations which the Nazis made long before the crash in order to protect the lives of the leaders. Throughout the world the Nazis set up 'reception points' for the fugitives. We know that in many countries, including Switzerland, camouflaged bank accounts were opened and firms set up. These colossal means were destined, first to finance the fugitive leaders, and secondly, to finance the international fascist apparatus - everything was being prepared for lengthy and active underground activity."

GAULEITER CIRCLE

Fritz Bauer, General Prosecutor of Hessen, a veteran of the Resistance, says: Bormann succeeded in escaping to South America from Italy where he was secretly taken through the Alpine Brenner pass. True, so far all efforts to find

Bormann have not yielded any result. **But the Bormann case is not terminated.**

The past has not ended.

Are Hitler's appointed leaders and the secret organisations that they set up in the last days of the Second World War active — and are they responsible for the growth of fascism throughout the world in the last thirty five years?

Before he committed suicide, Hitler appointed a new cabinet with Dr. Werner Naumann as Minister of Propaganda. Naumann is said to have helped Bormann to escape from Berlin, and was then himself hidden by Countess Lea Van Divoet, cousin of Belgian fascist chief Leon Degrelle, until arrested by the British Military Police in Dusseldorf in 1953.

In the intervening eight years, he along with Gustav Scheel, Minister of Religion in the post-Hitler cabinet, built up in West Germany a neo-Nazi organisation called the Gauleiter Circle. Parallel organisations had been springing up in other parts of the Federal Republic. In what was the British Zone, Wehrmacht generals Mantueffel and Schwerin joined SS cadres Franke-Grieksch and Beck Brorchsitter to form the *Bruderschaft*. In the US Zone the Leading Committee worked openly for the release of Nazi war criminals. **And all such groups maintained contacts with Nazi fugitives in Spain and South America.**

SEIG HEIL

The charge has also been made that neo Nazis have infiltrated the mainstream parties of the Federal Republic. As early as 1950, Werner Naumann remarked that "Adenauer is not at all a bad choice for a people which lacks confidence. But National Socialists (Nazis) to be able under these conditions to influence political events must join the Free Demo-

cratic Party and gain control of it."

At Nuremberg Goering had taunted the Americans: You think it is enough to arrest Nazis and introduce democracy overnight? Do you really think they have become in the slightest degree less Nazi because they have been adopted by the so-called Christian parties? **They hide for a minute behind the priests' surplices!**

Younger German politicians like Dr. Rainer Barzel use familiar arguments for territorial expansion when they ask the Soviet Union to hand back "the Zone" (the German Democratic Republic) and speak of their claims to regions "east of the Oder and Neisse."

The fear has also been expressed of German rearmament under Hitler's generals, some like Speidel, Heusinger and Foertsch piloted the Bundeswehr in its early years.

The *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported in 1977 of a "mock burning of Jews" at the Bundeswehr College in Munich on February 16th. "There were shouts of 'Seig Neil' and the Nazi anthem 'Die Fahne hoch' was sung." At the Bundes-

wehr College in Hamburg Navy Sub-Lt Sosam was called a 'Jew' and given a nickname 'Sholom Rosenbaum'. And smeared on his door was 'Don't buy anything from Jews,' a slogan used to terrorise Jewish shop keepers in the thirties.

LEOPARDS

Cadets at the Hamburg College have joined an SA-Sturm (squad of storm troopers) and call for the extermination of 'Jews and Communists'. At the Nuremberg Barracks pamphlets have been distributed, dismissing as a lie the accusation that the Nazis exterminated millions of Jews.

Military experts acknowledge that the new German tank, the Leopard, enables one to regard the German armoured forces once again as the most formidable in the west, and perhaps in the world. The name is itself pregnant with memories—not Tigers anymore but their feline sisters, Leopards. A more subtle but perhaps equally important factor in the German's dominance is the *esprit de corp* of its tough, proud, tightly-disciplined tank-troopers. Carrying on the traditions that once ranked their

predecessors among the elite of Hitler's armies, they dress in distinctive coveralls and black berets that set them apart from other Bundeswehr troops; they move smoothly, almost cockily, around their beautifully maintained vehicles.

"All of which goes to show" laments *Newsweek* "how short a generation is!"

Some months ago Hans Filbinger, Minister-President of Baden - Wurttemberg was identified as a courts martial officer in the Nazi Navy who had handed down death sentences to 120 dissident Naval officers. This led British TV commentator Tom Bower to characterise West Germany as the safest and most profitable place for Nazi war criminals. When the Federal Republic closed Nazi files in 1965, on the twentieth anniversary of VE day, only 12,000 out of the 160,000 Nazis on whom prosecutors have files had been brought to trial. In any case the sentences passed by German courts amount to **one hour to one day of imprisonment per Nazi murder.**

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Financial 'discipline' and IMF criteria

Kethesh Loganathan

The first part of this article sought to portray the real character of the two major "achievements" of the UNP Government mentioned in the 1981 Budget Speech — namely political "stability" and increased "diversification" of the economy. Thus, it was pointed out that the true character of "political stability" in Sri Lanka, as in the case of other "peripheral" capitalist social formations, is state repression which is both dictated by the demands of the Export-led Growth Model and a response of the contradiction inherent in the Model itself. Likewise, the so called, "diversification" of the economy referred to in the Budget Speech as another major "achievement" by the UNP Government was explained in Part I of this article as a process characterized by "unbalanced growth" led by export-import trade, tourism, banking and other services with hardly any potential for authentic industrialization and "balanced growth" leading to self-sustained growth and development.

Part II of the article placed the trends cited above as the outcome of the IMF/IBRD sponsored export-oriented development strategy and went on to elaborate on the emerging contradictions. An attempt will be made in this article to place the budgetary proposals within the context of the scenario cited above. An attempt will also be made to highlight the continuity in the policies pursued by the two major bourgeois parliamentary parties, despite alleged differences in their class basis and a false treatment of import-substi-

tution-led industrialization and export-led industrialization as **Models** which are mutually exclusive.

Let us now proceed to examine some of the salient features of the Budget proposal. According to the Budget speech, the 1981 Budget reflects the government's commitment to fiscal and monetary discipline as a way of controlling inflation and for the mobilization and utilization of resources towards production oriented investments. To quote: "The government will have to take every step to reduce unnecessary expenditure. Strict fiscal and monetary discipline and increased local production is the only way to control inflation as far as possible." Again, "The policy of this Government is primarily designed to generate and redirect resources from consumption to investment." In my opinion, the apparently aggressive stance taken by the UNP Government which would gladden the hearts of the technocrats, is in fact a defensive one. In short, the 1981 Budget is, both, the manifestation and an ad hoc response to certain contradictions inherent in the IMF/IBRD sponsored export-oriented development strategy which was highlighted in Part II of this article. The direct manifestation of the 'crisis' contained in the Budget speech are as follows:

(1) The slashing of capital expenditure by Rs. 2.7 billion with the three "lead projects" bearing the brunt of it. Related to this is the decision to discourage supplementary estimates and the strict imposition of the 'profit' criteria on state Enterprises.

(2) Domestic borrowings to the tune of Rs. 3,750 and the raising of the limit on treasury bills by Rs. 2,000 millions.

(3) Foreign borrowings to the tune of Rs. 8.1 billion.

As far as the cut-back in Capital Expenditure is concerned, it must be admitted that it fits in with the over-all stress on 'fiscal discipline' as a means of cooling an over-heated economy. However, the fact still remains that the pattern of allocation of resources between the "lead projects" and other components of the Public Investment Programme has been kept intact. In other words, the Budget does not in any way question the existing pattern of allocation of resources and the prevailing 'developmental' priorities. It appears that the melodramatic manner in which the original estimates were slashed, was stage-managed for a specific 'purpose'—namely, to demonstrate to the World Bank and the IMF that if it is 'fiscal discipline' that they want, then the Government is prepared to oblige. It must be clearly understood that the blessings of the IMF and the IBRD are imperative, not only for development financing and balance of payments support, but even more important, to qualify for a high credit rating which would place Sri Lanka as a sound 'client' for penetration by International Finance Capital via the Transnational Banks and the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium.

Another function of 'fiscal discipline' is its supposedly anti-inflationary character. It is my contention however, that the character of 'fiscal discipline' enunciated in the Budget fits in well with the scenario which was aptly labelled by an eminent academic as the "paradox of inflationary deflation". (Cheryl Payer)

Firstly, the quantum of the cut-back in Capital Expenditure will only have a minimal effect on confining the high level of effective demand generated, particularly, by the construction activities pertaining to the three "lead projects"—the Accelerated Mahaweli Development

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Programme, the Housing and Urban Development Programme and the GCEC. Secondly, the subordination of the State Enterprises to the 'free play of the market forces' under the guise of 'Profitability/Efficiency' criteria and made compulsory by the decision to curb the use of supplementary estimates, will necessarily lead to an upward adjustment in the price structure of the goods and services provided by the State Enterprises. Thus, the increase in Transport fares, postal and telegraph rates, the price of milk etc. are just the initial strides of an impending 'galloping inflation'

Yet another consequence of 'fiscal discipline' is that it virtually imposes a ceiling on the prevailing level of employment in the State sector. To digress a bit, the retrenchment of some 70,000 workers immediately following the July strike was openly justified by the Government, not only in political terms, but also as an economic necessity. It was repeatedly pointed out by members of the Government that the strike had made it easier for them to get rid of redundant labour thereby, enabled them to rationalize operations and make the State Enterprises more 'efficient'. The Budget proposal pertaining to the cut-back on capital expenditure and the curb on supplementary estimate has, therefore, merely formalized a process which has already started taking place. However, there are clear indications that the tendency towards retrenchment of workers and the de facto ceiling on employment creation by the state sector will reach unprecedented levels.

It is in the context of what was stated above that one should examine the implications of the budgetary proposal pertaining to the raising of the level of domestic borrowings to Rs. 3.7 billion and the raising of the limit on treasury bills to Rs. 2 billion.

The quantum of domestic borrowings by the Government could conceivably lead to a situation where the private sector will be compelled to cut back on investments due to the credit squeeze. This is not to say that the fears of the World Bank that private sector could well lose out to State sector in the competition for scarce resources is valid. On the contrary, the

partnership between the State sector and what could be termed as 'Big' Capital (both local and foreign) is well established, with the former providing the necessary business climate and infrastructure for investments by the latter. On the other hand, those engaged in petty commodity production catering to the internal market and without the resources to change their investment portfolio to reap the benefits of the lucrative export-import trade and other leading sectors like tourism, construction etc. have already fallen by the wayside. (eg: handloom sector). Similarly, petty traders and petty commodity producers directly linked to the growth centres will soon be tottering on the brink of bankruptcy in the face of increasing centralization and concentration of capital. Under these circumstances, the scope for employment creation by the private sector though higher than in the case of the State sector will be severely undermined. In short, the Government's strategy aimed at buttressing the impact of inflation by providing employment to at least two members of each family does not have any economic basis.

As far as the issue of Treasury Bills are concerned, the inflationary impact is only too well known, particularly in economies where the principal buyer is the Central Bank.

The third important feature of the Budgetary Proposal is the quantum of foreign borrowings. Due to limitations of space and the complexity of the issue which will have to be examined within the framework of neo-colonialism, I prefer not to dwell on it at length. Suffice it to say, that foreign capital is expected to finance 63% of the Public Investment Programme and the crucial issue is, as the World Bank Report to the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium has pointed out, "Whether or not external resources will be available on appropriate terms and in the magnitude required." The irony is that if the above condition is not met, the Public Investment Programme will have to be scrapped; on the other hand, if the condition is met, the outcome would be the notorious 'debt trap'-pathetic but typical of most 'peripheral' capitalist States.

To be continued

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OPTIONS AND SCENARIOS

Chintaka

The Left should, in the present context, have adopted a modified version of Lenin's position on the First World War, where he identified it as an inter-imperialist war and urged its conversion into a Civil War, where the masses would break from, and overthrow, 'their own' bourgeoisie. The Left should have utilized the exposure of Mrs. B and Felix, to call upon the pro SLFP masses to overthrow their bourgeoisie leadership and join the Left, which is the only true alternative to the UNP. A similar call should have been issued to the pro-UNP masses in the context of the Budget burdens. The Left should have used the Commission's findings to expose the hypocrisy of the SLFP's democratic disguise as well as the sham that was the Land Reform, the Foreign Exchange cases, etc.

The Left should simultaneously point to the UNP's corrupt and anti-democratic practices. This twin thrust would generate or enhance mass disgust with the two main bourgeois parties. A parallel would be the manner in which the American 'New Left' utilized the Watergate hearings and the Senate investigations of the CIA, while criticising the limited and bourgeois nature of those 'probes.' The Indian CP(M)'s use of the Shah Commission's findings provides another example. In fact, that party's subtle, flexible tactics and its political campaign against Indira paid off in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, and it was able to emerge as the credible alternative to the two bourgeois formations, in those important areas.⁶ Surely an example worthy of emulation? The JVP is perhaps not unaware of this since, true to its ideologically schizophrenic nature it has, despite its own anti-Stalinism had praise for the (Stalinist) CPI-M! But the JVP has also chosen to turn a Nelsonian eye on the CPI(M)'s flexible and cooperative attitude to other left and progressive forces such as the CPI.

Main blow

My argument that in the immediate context, the main blow should have been and should be focussed on the SLFP, has excellent Leninist-Stalinist antecedents. In his essay 'The October Revolution and the tactics of the Russian Communists', Stalin summed up the Leninist tactic of directing the main blow at the intermediate forces, thereby isolating these parties winning over the broad masses from them, and polarizing the situation between the principal enemy (the governing force) and the revolutionary forces. Of course Stalin did not absolutize this tactic, as is proven by his broad alliances during the 2nd World War. It is interesting to note that while the Chinese CP, in the aftermath of de-Stalinisation, criticized Stalin's thesis of causing a polarization aiming the main blow at the middle forces, Albania's Enver Hoxha has correctly rehabilitated this thesis in recent times.

Extra parliamentary politics

Trotskyists (NSSP) and Maoists are thrown into ecstasy at the idea of the SLFP embarking upon the path of extra-parliamentary mass struggle. In fact the NSSP's main criticism of the SLFP has been that it was waiting for an electoral solution in 1983 and was reluctant engage in extraparliamentary actions. But it is not at all self evident that a party of the monopoly bourgeoisie adopting the extraparliamentary road, is a progressive phenomenon. In fact, the contrary is true. Such behaviour by a big bourgeois party only indicates that it is moving away from the norms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. This is not a progressive, but a counter-revolutionary phenomenon, with quasi fascist features. The UNP Government's authoritarian constitution, its repressive legislation, its use of the armed forces during the Emergency in the North (1979) and its deployment of the JSS, are

all pointers to a distancing from bourgeois democracy. But this cannot be taken in isolation. The UNP is merely confirming, institutionalizing and formalizing the anti-democratic authoritarian tendencies of the SLFP led UF regime. We may even say that the 1971-76 period was the most repressive period of post independence Sri Lankan history. The SLFP and UNP regimes can be placed on a continuum, and the present regime is a linear projection (in terms of economic policies and concentration of political power) of the previous one. If the SLFP reassumes governmental office, it will definitely reconfirm and extend the present Right authoritarian trends.

What we are witnessing now is the shift away from bourgeois parliamentary norms, on the part of both political formations of the ruling dependent bourgeoisie, the UNP and the SLFP. The SLFP's internal reorganization parallels the reorganization carried out by J. R. Jayawardena in the pre 1979 period. The SLFP's extraparliamentary mobilization, like the UNP's has a counter revolutionary content.

Chairman Mao berated his ideologues in the late 1970's by saying "you are supposed to be making the revolution but you don't know where the bourgeoisie is! The bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party!"

Similarly, we may tell the local Maoists "You are supposed to be fighting fascism, but you don't know who and where the fascists are! You are supposed to be fighting for New Democracy against imperialism and feudalism, but you don't know who the anti-democratic, feudalistic and pro-imperialist elements are! They are at the apex of both the UNP and the SLFP."

The Indian CP-M, while correctly asserting that in the context of structural crisis, the capitalist class

is impelled towards Right authoritarianism and that this tendency was present in both big bourgeois-landlord dominated political formations, (Congress and Janatha) went on to identify the Congress-I and specifically the Indira-Sanjay caucus as the main source of the Right authoritarian danger. Later they also identified the communalist RSS within the Janatha as an equal danger. After identifying these (ie Right authoritarianism and communalism) as the main and immediate threats, they adopted flexible tactics manifested in blocs, alliances and united fronts, and emerged not only as the governing party in three states, but also as the main organised opposition on an all-India basis, to the ruling Congress. We must give serious consideration to the parallel proposition, namely that the Dias Bandaranaike-Ratwatte oligarchy with Sirima-Anura-Felix at the apex, constitutes a chief center (together with the JR-Upali-Mathew group of the UNP leadership) of Right authoritarianism. A return to governmental office by the Bandaranaiques will lead, probably within months, to a counter-revolutionary drive aimed initially at the JVP, then at the Tamil people in the North and the Hill Country, and finally the working class movement as a whole. Right authoritarianism and communalism will go hand in hand, and a semifascist situation will ensue. Since there are only **quantitative** and **tactical** differences between the UNP and SLFP, the same fate is in store if the UNP remains at the helm. The task therefore is to prevent the Bandaranaiques return to power and prepare to prise the UNP out of power; to block the SLFP's path and blunt its forward thrust with a view to accumulating the forces to overthrow the UNP. These are tasks which are organically linked, tasks which are part of one strategic movement.

Scenarios

One objection to the above mentioned set of tactics is that it would encourage the emergence of a non-Bandaranaike SLFP leadership which would be more amenable to entering a coalition with the UNP. We may advance several

counter arguments against such an objection. Firstly it is not absolutely certain that a de Bandaranaike-ized SLFP would inevitably enter a grand coalition with the UNP. In fact, certain members of the Bandaranaike clan (such as Anura, Seevali Ratwatte) are more likely to lead the SLFP into such an alliance than are non Bandaranaike SLFP leaders. Then again, a de Bandaranaikeized SLFP, whittled down by purges, defections, regional splits etc may be drawn towards an alliance with the Left, and if there exists a broad unity of the Left, it may be able to wield greater influence within a bloc with such a SLFP. Indeed, those whose main paradigm remains that of an SLFP-Left bloc, should be glad of a de Bandaranaike-ization of the SLFP, since such an SLFP would be weaker and therefore more open to Left pressure tactics, than an SLFP in Mrs. B's iron grip. Of course such pressure can be fruitfully exerted only if the Left itself is united. Here the best example would be the CPI-M's project of a **Left and Democratic Front**, in which the alliance of the main Marxist, working class parties, the CPM and CPI, is the central axis.

On the other hand, what if a de Bandaranaike-ized SLFP is drawn into a grand coalition with the UNP in 1983,84? This is a distinct possibility, when one takes into account the objective need for such a united front of the bourgeoisie in the context of deepening structural crisis. Mrs. B demurred from leading her party into such a coalition because of the unfavourable parliamentary balance of power, her own 'feudal' pride which did not permit her to accept anything but first place, and finally, the psuedo progressive stance of her daughters who spout radical sounding slogans in order to defend the left flank of the oligarchy and thus perpetuate its political dominance. With the elimination of these elements, an alternate SLFP leadership, especially if it contains

Anura Bandaranaike, could very well wind up in the arms of the UNP. Should this prospect deter Leftist from launching attacks on the Bandaranaike family at this particular conjuncture? Should the Left desist from the (Maoist) Policy of "flogging the cur that has fallen into the water?" No, a thousand times no.

Is the scenario sketched out above becomes a reality and a united capitalist front is formed, so much the better for the Left, for the obvious reason that a sharp polarization will take place along class lines, leaving the Left as the sole alternative to a UNP-SLFP combine.

There is of course, still another scenario, namely that of parallel splits in the UNP and SLFP, and a consequent convergence of the dissident forces. The Upali Wijewardene question may eventually create such a split in the UNP, and the anti-Upali forces could merge with the anti Sirima forces of the SLFP, leaving Mr. Upali Wijewardene to effect an alignment between the Bandaranaiques and those at the apex of the UNP. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike's praise for Mr. Wijewardene in parliament recently (CDN Dec 13th) could be a pointer in this regard. In such an eventuality, the Left would have to consider this super alliance of the most pro-imperialist, most monopolistic sections of the bourgeoisie, this new, political "Upali Group", to be the main enemy. But let us leave this speculative discussion aside for the moment.

The key tactical tasks then, are to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among ones enemies; to take advantage of their mutual enmity, which hinder them from making a deal against us and thus free our hands for a certain period to advance and consolidate the socialist revolution. (Readers may recognise these phrases as Lenin's).

These tactics however, must be part of the overall strategic project, namely, the unification of all anti capitalist forces for the building up of a third force as the non capitalist alternative to the two main bourgeois political formations.

MAO ON 'TRIAL'

N. Sanmugathan

By staging the trial against the four leaders, including Mao's widow, who were associated with the revolutionary policies followed by Chairman Mao Tse Tung, particularly during the last years of his life, the Hua-Teng revisionist clique in China is in fact putting Mao on trial. The charges for which they are being tried and which could carry sentences of life imprisonment or even death, stem out of their activities during the Cultural Revolution and afterwards.

It is of course well known that the cultural revolution was personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao. The present revisionist leadership of China wants to erase out the entire episode of the Cultural Revolution and to reverse its correct decisions. But it cannot do this by frontally attacking Mao because he still commands immense personal and political prestige among the masses of Chinese people. Therefore the Chinese revisionist leadership is forced to mount an attack on Mao indirectly by putting the four leaders associated with Mao on trial.

But in an attempt to muddle the real issue, the four are being tried together with followers of Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and five former top military men in the Lin Piao clique. They are being bracketed together as the "Lin-Piao-Chiang Ching counter revolutionary group" despite the fact that the charges are fundamentally different. Followers of Lin Piao are being charged with the crime of plotting to murder Chairman Mao, while the main charge against the four leaders is that of trying to usurp party leadership and state power. The four leaders are also being accused of having been associated with Lin Piao during the Cultural Revolution. But, then, which genuine leftist was not so associated during the high tide of the Cultural Revolution? Not only Mao but Chou-En-lai, one of the patron saints of the present revisionist leadership, functioned along with Lin Piao and Chiang Ching in the Cultural

Revolution Committee.

Whatever be the motives of this trial. It is important for revolutionaries to understand the complicated ideological and organisational struggles that took place during the Cultural Revolution. It was a classic example of how Mao applied his famous tactic of "Make use of Contradictions (among the enemy), win over the many, isolate the few and destroy your enemies one by one". The Cultural Revolution became necessary because at that time, China was poised on the road of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, as had happened in the Soviet Union. It was in order to fight the growing power of the right that Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution. But within the camp of the revisionists, however, there existed different factions. One, headed by Liu-Shao Shi and Teng Hsiao-peng, was the Soviet style revisionists who looked towards Khrushchev and the Soviet Union as a model of what "socialism" should be. From the opposite end stood Chou En-lai who opposed Soviet domination by pushing for capitulation to U.S and the West. In between, stood Lin Piao who seems to have been a careerist but who played an important role in the early part of the Cultural Revolution, because he wanted to knock down Liu-Shao Shi, in order that he himself inherit the mantle of power. Mao seems to have realized that the pro-Soviet revisionists like Liu and Teng posed the greatest threat to socialism in China and therefore seems to have teamed up with Lin Piao and Chou En-lai to strike at Liu and Teng which he did successfully.

It must be realized that the cult of personality, with which Lin Piao surrounded Mao, never had the latter's blessing. He has stated this explicitly in his interview with the American writer, Edgar Snow. In a letter written to his wife in May 1966, Mao has said I have never believed that several booklets I wrote would have so much supernatural

power...It seems that I have to concur with them. It is the first time that I unwillingly concur with others on major questions. I have to do things against my own will. "But he warned his wife not to criticise Lin Piao in order not to create a rift in the Anti-Liu Shao Shi camp.

After the fall of Liu-Shao Shi and Teng, when Lin Piao jumped out to pursue his career Mao had to enlist the support of Chou En Lai. But before Chou-En-Lai died he had moved on to the camp that opposed Mao. That was why Mao did not attend Chou's funeral.

All these revisionist cliques had one common political line. That was the line of the "productive forces" and "dying out of Class struggle." "We have established socialism, so there is no more need to wage class struggle," they claimed, "the task now is to concentrate on the economy and make China a powerful modern country". This was quite clearly opposed to Mao's line of continuing the class struggle and revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and putting politics in command.

Nevertheless, Lin-Piao's fall was a traumatic event for all China and had deep repercussions at all levels of society. It gave a big boost to the right, who used it as a pretext of combating Lin's "ultraleft" line to launch an assault on the cultural revolution and Mao's line as a whole. Many of those knocked down during the early part of the Cultural Revolution were brought back during this period. One of them was Teng Hsiao-peng who became the spearhead of the right, while Chou-En-Lai became the rallying point and guardian angel.

The death of Chou-En-Lai was the occasion for an attempt by Teng to assert himself, through the April 5th events in Tien-an-men square. But he was struck down again by Mao personally. But the

(Continued on page 18)

Balance of power

N. M. M. I. Hussein

The most important question for the future in international relations is whether international order will be established on the basis of balance of power, which includes alliance systems involving unequal relations between power centres and some states, or whether a new international order will be based on the true independence of states as distinct from merely formal sovereignty, equality of status in state relations arising from sovereignty, and international co-operation on the basis of peaceful co-existence, which are the fundamental principles of non-alignment.

It is necessary to explain before proceeding further that "balance of power" has acquired various connotations, some of them positive, through its practice over the centuries and the ideological support given to it since the 18th century. One political scientist has given eight different meanings to "balance of power". In this paper "balance of power" is taken to mean a system which involves alliances the true nature of which was conveyed very succinctly by a British Prime Minister of the 19th century, during the hey-day of British power, when he said that Britain does not seek alliances but grants them.

"Balance of power" has constituted the typical order in international relations in the past. Since the breakdown of a bi-polar world there is the possibility of the emergence of a multi-polar world with plural power centres, or an international order based on non-aligned principles. At the present stage polarisation seems to be weak. The international order seems to be far more egalitarian than ever before, but at the same time the world is characterised by a factual inequality between states, in extent of territory, population, economic and military strength, greater than ever before. The present situation has been described as amounting to "formal democracy and real oligarchy" by Raymond Aron, who

argues that the traditional order of power has been transformed, but not overturned. The implication is that the world is in a transitional phase before a multi-polar order is established.

Some of the developments in the Third World seem to be significant. The purchase of arms by some of the Third World countries seem to be growing at an exponential rate, and Third World conflicts seem to be increasing. Many Third World countries have been upset by the action of Morocco and Mauritania in Western Sahara, by Indonesia's action in East Timor, Somalia's intervention in the Ogaden province of Ethiopia, Vietnam's action in Kampuchea, China's in Vietnam, Tanzania's in Uganda, etc. No judgment at all is here being implied about the rights and wrongs of these actions. It is an indubitable fact that in the perception of many Third World countries those actions have been very disturbing. Sometimes there are allegations about wars by proxy, which cannot take place unless there is a propensity to fight on the part of the Third World countries. Toynbee would have been of the view that the Third World countries are behaving exactly in the manner that sovereign states have always behaved: they go to war. It is arguable that anarchy might spread in the Third World, with more conflicts taking place, until now new power centres emerge and international order is once again established through balance of power.

The non-aligned movement itself seems to be in difficulty. It is a familiar claim in non-aligned rhetoric that the increase in membership from 25 at the Belgrade Summit in 1961 to 86 at the Colombo Summit in 1976 shows the gathering strength of the movement. According to the criteria for membership adopted in 1961, the qualifications for membership are mainly postulated on non-involvement in

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military alliances conceived in the context of great power rivalry, and the refusal to concede military bases to a foreign power in the context of great power rivalry. But military alliances and bases progressively became less important for the great powers, and this led to the possibility that some countries could qualify for non-aligned membership while being in fact aligned. The Declaration adopted at the Colombo Summit was notable for its emphasis on the importance of maintaining the true direction of the non-aligned movement. Subsequent developments have not been encouraging.

Non-alignment might also be seen as a post colonial expression of the liberal utopianism of 18th century Europe, which in this century led to the League of Nations and the United Nations. The realist critique of non-alignment would regard it as having unrealistic objectives after the manner of European liberal utopianism. The 18th century notion of "harmony of interests", between individuals and between nations, was made

possible by the unparalleled expansion of production, population and prosperity which marked the 100 years following the publication of Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations", that is, until the third quarter of the 19th century. The economic situation changed in Europe thereafter, but the illusion of a "harmony of interests" was kept going by the United States, which significantly had an expanding domestic market till after 1929. Hence, the enthusiasm of Woodrow Wilson for the League of Nations. This is the analysis by E. H. Carr in his "The 20 years Crisis" of the utopian background of the League of Nations and the United Nations. In terms of this realist critique, it could be argued that non-aligned principles might have made sense in the context of an expanding world economy, but the world economy is in difficult straits today.

The realist critique would today anticipate the emergence of new power centres, balance of power, unequal relations, in other words, a new form of imperialism. In the context of the world economy

facing difficulties that seem to be insuperable for the foreseeable future, new forms of economic imperialism might be anticipated. But the economic theory of imperialism of Hobson and Lenin seems to have been successfully challenged by Schumpeter and others. A revival of economic imperialism need not be regarded as an inevitable outcome of the present situation.

(To be concluded)

Mao on trial...

(Continued from page 16)

death of Mao in September 1976 weakened the left camp and the right carried out the Coup-de-tat in October 1976, by which they arrested the four leaders without the sanction of the Central Committee, polit bureau, or its standing committee. Now four years after the arrests, a secret trial is going to be arranged.

Whatever be the outcome of this trial, the Hua-Teng clique will not succeed in wiping out the revolutionary image of Mao and his associates from the minds of the Chinese people and the international communist movement.

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Indian cinema

The screening of Shyam Benegal's powerful film, *Ankur*, at the Lionel Wendt Film Society's International Film Festival this month raises once again the question why we never see anything of the best Indian cinema in the normal circuits. There is no cinema from which our film-makers can learn more and no foreign cinema to which intelligent audiences can respond better (because of the similarity of social context and experience) than the new Indian

cinema — especially the Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu cinema. Yet the finest work done by the new generation of Indian film-makers remains unknown to our audiences, while we are still given only the commercial products of the Bombay and Madras studios. It is a sad fact that in London one can see more good Indian cinema in a year than we have had here in a lifetime.

One purpose for which the take-over of film imports by the State Film Corporation was recommended by the Film Commission was to extend and diversify to the range of foreign films brought to the local screen. Yet this is where the failure of the SFC has been most conspicuous. Under the last regime nationalisation of imports was rendered ludicrous by a glut of *Carry On* and *Crazy Boys* farces. The present administration of the SFC has only restored the *status quo* that existed before the nationalisation of film imports, and the American and commercial Indian cinema continue to be the dominant sources of film imports.

The SFC's answer will no doubt be that it is giving film-goers what they want. This is a question that was thrashed out in the Film Commission's report: if you condition audience-taste in a particular direction by giving them a particular kind of cinema, they will continue to ask for what they have been accustomed to. However, there are already discriminating sections of the audience (the same film-goers who see the better Sinhala and English-language films) who are perfectly capable of responding to the serious Indian cinema. No doubt the SFC cannot hope to make out of a film like *Ankur*, if it were to import it, the big profits that it derives from one of the Hindi musical extravaganzas. But do we need a State Corporation to run the film industry like

(Continued on page 24)

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UNIONISM AND THE JVP

Q: While you were affiliated to the JVP, many within your union accused you of anti-democratic practices, expulsion etc. Now, on the other hand, the JVP leaders say that the majority of your organisation have lost confidence in you. What do you have to say? What will be the future of the CTU and your future as the trade union leader?

A: As you know, when taken as a group of social motivators, teachers are extremely active. In the last decade, the social consciousness of Sri Lanka's teaching population has undergone many changes. My belief is that their political consciousness is at a level which we can put our faith in; I say this, bearing in mind the fact that it is teachers, more than any other group, who have the opportunity to reaffirm a neo-colonial mentality in our children or demolish it. Accordingly, our union consists of a large number of members, some of whom openly support certain left-wing political parties and bear varied shades of left-wing opinions. Thus, and rightly so, there are conflicts of political ideology among them. This conflict takes place in the union at all levels. In the past, the ideology of the JVP was propagated within the Union by our General Secretary and myself and other leading activists. It is only natural that a number of other opinions were also organised to confront this situation. Ultimately, we defeated all these shades of opinion at the level of the Annual Congress. Since the defeated group later on engaged in activities aimed at sabotaging the organisational unity of the Union, we were even compelled to expel some of them at a Special General Meeting. It is my personal opinion that the inclusion of a number of persons found fault with for personal misdemeanours, in this group, was a distinct disadvantage to it. It is natural that after suffering defeat in a conflict of political ideology, those who are defeated bring forward many reasons for their defeat—in many cases, distortion of facts plays a leading role. The direct accusation of these groups was a weak one — that we were sub-

ordinating the Union to the politics of the JVP. However, our moving away from the JVP has turned all their allegations to nought and we hear that this situation has created a grave crisis among these groups.

The JVP sympathisers within the Union apart, members of the JVP's Politbureau are going around the country, holding meetings and babbling about ejecting me, our General Secretary and several leading activists from the Union. I will speak only of one past experience regarding this rumpus. Several weeks after we had come out in opposition to the JVP's political position regarding the strike, our Hambantota District Committee summoned a meeting of the general membership. The majority of those holding positions of leadership were supporters of the JVP. Not that alone, they also considered the Hambantota District to be a JVP stronghold. Yet, in the end, the majority of the general membership approved the letter regarding the strike which was sent by the Executive Committee of the Union to the JVP, as well as approved of other steps taken in this connection. The JVP supporters were utterly defeated.

The Ceylon Teachers' Union is built on a democratic organisational framework. At its annual sessions, some political resolutions are discussed all through the day. I don't think such a keen political debate exists in any other labour organisation. Therefore, the small group who complain that the Union's leadership is subordinate to the politics of the JVP as well as the group, now decimated, who agitate about the Union's leadership moving away from JVP politics, can place their problems before our membership at our next Congress. The general membership of the Union will hear all of us out and take a just decision in this regard.

If one understands the past and present of the Union, then one can also see signs regarding its future. By this time, the leadership and a large proportion of the membership of the Union is linked directly to

*Interview with
H. N. Fernando*

left-wing politics in the country. The present leadership of the Union has never carried through a programme that is disadvantageous to the working class movement of this country, and proletarian politics in general. We go through the present with a awareness tempered by our experiences of the past. Our future is based upon two factors — an understanding of the weaknesses in our ideological awareness up to now, and a bringing together of whole lot of fresh experiences.

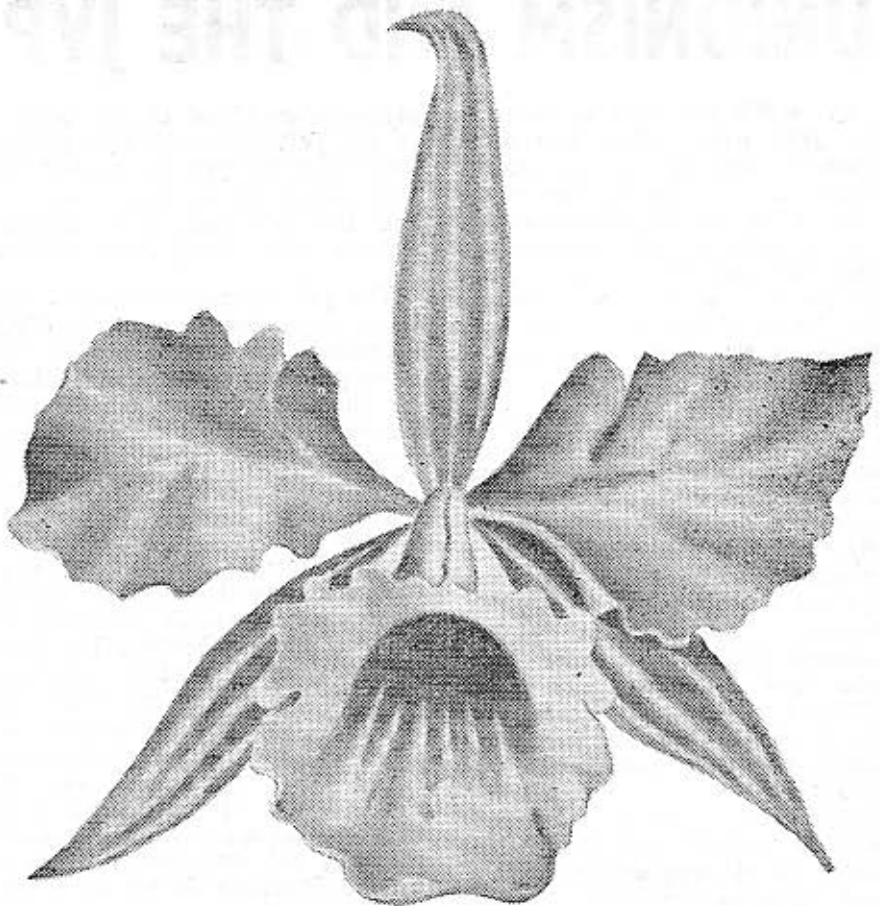
Q: What is your analysis of the present political situation in the country and the situation within the Left movement? What kind of general line or perspective should be fought for today?

A: I believe that the store of experiences we gain, politically, today, is incomparable to any of another age. The present stage, when Sri Lanka is facing a series of crises in all spheres — economic, social and political — is an extremely decisive and transitory one.

The economic crisis has reached an intensity as never before. The rate of inflation is 42%, while the budget deficit is 8000 million rupees. It is expected that by next year it will exceed 15000 million rupees. The present rulers advocate printing of as many currency notes as are necessary and obtaining as many foreign loans as possible, as a panacea for these ills. They have reduced the ordinary people of this country to an extremely miserable position by cutting down the few remaining subsidies in an attempt to curtail inflation; yet even this drastic step has not been a success. Even though the present capitalist clique has selected the ploy of an 'open' market combined with massive foreign investment as a strategy for fostering capitalist development in Sri Lanka, it is clear that this is not going to bring them any relief; they have become full-fledged partners of the crisis which confronts international capitalism. All they know is to transfer the burden of this crisis on to the shoulders of the masses of this country, and they attempt to quell any opposition to

these moves by using the tools of repression to stay in power for as long as possible.

The enormity of the crisis which engulfs the present strategy for capitalist development in Sri Lanka is clearly reflected by the many upheavals in the political sphere. We know that, turn and turn about, the UNP and the SLFP gave political leadership to strategies of capitalist development in Sri Lanka. Today, the two are engaged in a subtle tug-of-war, in which the threat of one swallowing the other is great. It seems as if Sri Lanka needs two parties to give political leadership to its capitalist system! In the '70 — '77 period, the SLFP, together with the two reformist parties, the LSSP and the CP (who today protest that they did not enter into the government in order to bring about the dawn of socialism in that era) passed on the burden of the capitalist crisis to the ordinary people of this country. Since 1977, the UNP has continued this task. To achieve this end, they have chosen the policy of an 'open' market, large-scale foreign loans and the FTZ, which were all part of the SLFP's planned strategy in the last days of their regime. They were not able to implement these policies due to their fall from power, but the UNP today carries on the same policies with gusto. However, knowing that political power will be snatched out of their hands as a result of these same policies, we should not be surprised to see the UNP adopting drastic political ploys in order to counter threats to their position. The new Constitution, the proportional representation system, the imposing of civic disabilities and all repressive legislation is a part of this scheme. We view the conflict between the UNP and the SLFP as a mere quarrel between JR and Sirima as to what should be the mode of capitalist economic development in Sri Lanka. What is evident now is that the capitalist class has become stronger under JR's rule — this is why the entire capitalist class extends its whole-hearted support to him. Our country is in the grip of the crisis that pervades all underdeveloped capitalist countries. The groups that are in power concentrate on preventing their own fall from



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political grace rather than on solving this critical situation. What can we expect from the present ruling clique which is committed to act in the interests of a specific class? It can be seen that the ruling clique headed by JR is engaged in stabilising its constitutional dictatorship in a very shrewd manner. Yet, being not experts but merely citizens of this country, we clearly see the truth of the 'Mahaweli Illusion' and the stumbling blocks of the FTZ.

We must view the left movement in this country through the spectrum of the formation of the rightwing forces in this country. Accordingly, my opinion is that the left movement in Sri Lanka today is going through an extremely sluggish phase. The movement grew and progressed from the 1930s onwards; the uprising of workers, and the common masses in 1953 was the high point of this development. With its defeat, we clearly saw the true nature of the leadership of the LSSP and the CP, which were the two political parties most powerful within the working class movement. They ended up in the arms of the bourgeoisie. As I said before, the JVP was organised, and grew, as a response to these betrayals. This party, which spread largely among the youth of this country, faced severe repression after the defeat of the uprising of 1971. Today they are active once again. But now their goals also pose a problem for us. After the struggle of '55, the leadership of the CP and the LSSP strove to graft on **survival** instead of **militancy** on to the working class movement. This was the only way in which they could realise their personal ambitions! It is becoming clear that the leadership of the JVP is also moving along the same path. The attitude of the JVP towards the recent strike was the starting point of its journey along this path.

This is why I say that this strike has been a standard for measuring the pulse of all political parties in Sri Lanka today. There is no doubt that the UNP, which is now in power, came forward in all its strength to repress the strike, and that the SLFP, lending its support, in principle, to this end helped to

sabotage it. Yet it is the LSSP, the CP and the JVP that face the biggest crisis in this regard. The reformist ideology that the LSSP and the CP tried to generate within the working class movement while they were in power within this movement was so strong that it eliminated its own creators. Today, these fellows are unable to obtain the support of working class forces even to sustain themselves politically. The majority is deaf to the clamour. The larger numbers of the working class, which, together with other sections of the people, threw them out of their Parliamentary El Dorado, are today engaged in producing a surplus for the capitalist class of this country.

As far as I can see, the JTUAC which consists of a majority of labour unions and federations which act as the political arms of the capitalist SLFP and the reformist left-wing parties, as well as the minority of working class organisations that belong to other radical forces, is no longer a united group. It could not act in unity even at the time of the strike. But it is full of carboard strongmen who rose up to drive us out of the organisation purely on the strength of differences in political ideology. Up to now they have been unable to organise a programme of action to support those strikers who have been victimised by the repressive actions of JR's regime. Not even a successful campaign of agitation has been launched! All they could do was to advise their membership, in secret, to bow down to the repressive edicts of the JR's regime. The JTUAC is such a divided, inactive and stagnant group owing to the various opinions and ideas of the political parties that give it leadership. After the strike was dealt a death blow by JR, the only idea of the SLFP, the LSSP and the CP seems to be to use it as a trump card in the next elections. The hunger and the sighs of the strikers contain their hopes and enthusiasm. These parties, which lent their 'full support' to the strike until it got off the ground, abandoned this tactic as soon as it encountered JR's repression, and began to consider this repression as a means of strengthening their own

parties. Regarding the result of the strike, they put forward an intriguing formula: 'Solve this muddle as quickly as possible by bowing down to JR; if this is not possible, join our front and help us to win in the elections of 1983; stay alive till then; we will give you your jobs, even if you're dead by then!' They think of the repercussions of the strike in terms of nothing other than that they may be able to use the situation to get if not all, at least one or two, of their men into Parliament at the next elections.

I feel that this strike has clarified several issues. (1) Bourgeois ideology has the working class movement in a stronger grip than any of us had imagined; (2) This is a direct result of its prolonged control by reformist parties; (3) Only a long drawn-out and painful struggle can rescue the working class movement from this situation.

Does the clamour raised by the JVP, who mouth ideas similar to some of those I have given above, but in a glaringly out of context and disjointed manner, mean that it is the true guide of the working class movement? Not at all. They who laugh at other's nudity do not see that they are stark naked themselves! Even though they do not realise how they intimidated and betrayed the strike just as the CP and the LSSP did, all those with some sense and understanding of the working class movement have acknowledged this to be a fact. According to one leader of the JVP, 'the primary significance of the strike is nothing but a loss in income for the party'. Therefore, what is more important is not the working class struggle but the survival of the Party! In fact — no matter if there is no working class struggle, no working class movement, no working class itself! What is important is that there should be a party to guide it! Let everyone know that in our country there are not one or two but three or four of this kind!

It is significant that you ask me about the path for today. As I said before, there is only one path along with we should travel; there is only one path to drive

away the bourgeois and reformist ideology and power that reigns within the working class movement today. This is the path of instituting the victory of proletarian revolutionary ideology and power. It is a long and wearisome path. We will have to attack and face counter-attack. It is inevitable that many who start off with us will fall by the wayside. It will be a struggle against Parliamentarist parties, a struggle to build extra-Parliamentary forces; a struggle against those who shout out revolutionary slogans and keep Parliament firmly in view; a struggle against the UNP, the SLFP, the LSSP, the CP and the JVP.

Numerically speaking, and thanks to the reformist parties, the majority of the working class is gathered around the true representatives of the bourgeoisie, the SLFP and the UNP. It is no simple task to rescue this majority from their grip, and, developing their class consciousness, to reaffirm within them the objectives of the social revolution. This task can be accomplished by launching an unceasing and organised ideological attack against the capitalism of the UNP and the SLFP, the reformism of the LSSP and the CP and the neo-reformism of the JVP. This is the task of the day confronting all working class revolutionary Communists.

Q: What are the chances of the JVP reorienting itself and adopting a correct line? What in your view are the JVP's prospects? Finally, what of your own political future?

A: When one considers the problems that have arisen in connection with the programme of action adopted up to now to bring about the victory of the JVP's policy declaration, we can see two factors very clearly. Either the programme of action was not a systematic one, but one constructed as and when the need arose; or else a programme that up to now has not been revealed to the membership exists. Whatever the truth of the matter, the opportunities to discuss shortcomings of the programme of action planned out by the leadership of the JVP,

within the party, are limited indeed. They spared no pains to prevent the general membership of the party from coming to know of the facts regarding the political differences between ourselves and the JVP's leadership. As soon as they realised that there was a serious conflict of opinion between us, they first built up a strong wave of opinion against us throughout the country and they summoned us to a discussion. When we pointed out that such a discussion would be fruitless, they once more went around the island declaring that we would not attend any discussion. It is because of this authoritarian nature that they have not felt it below their dignity to fall so low as to reach a level which is not befitting to the responsible leadership of a political party. It is because we have been in the JVP that we have no faith in an 'inner party struggle' within it! It is because it is absolutely necessary to struggle against the neo reformism of the JVP's present leadership and because within the party such an action is impossible, really unthinkable, that we decided to launch such a struggle from outside the party. Even though we left as a gesture of protest against present political trends within the party, we must keep in mind that there is a considerable group of militants within the party who are also opposed to the current reformist trends.

The major problem that we, as a group who were actively devoted to the party for a considerable period, have to face now is that of the future of the JVP. As I mentioned earlier, the JVP was able to bring about a certain blossoming within the left movement in Sri Lanka throughout the past decade mainly because the movement had previously been weakened by the series of great betrayals carried out by the traditional reformist left-wing parties. It seems that the present leadership of the JVP has forgotten these historical facts completely. We can, without fear, predict that the attempt of the present leadership to guide a movement based on militant experiences of the past, according to their own reformist

aims, will be a disastrous failure, and that they too will meet with the same fate as the leaders of the traditional reformist left movement. The single reason for this is that within the JVP there are a large number of militants who are dedicated to the struggle for a structural transformation of our society. It is inevitable that the social reformist trends that are now in ascendance will be defeated and the triumph of social revolutionary trends is assured. The present belief of the JVP's leadership, that 'in order to build up a strong party that can confront the gigantic repressive machinery of JR, one must lead a peaceful and struggle-less existence in the present' will, in the future, be clearly revealed to be best tactic of social reformism.

The political consciousness of an individual is something which is moulded in accordance with the changes taking place within the country's political sphere. Those who, while living within a bourgeois political framework, engage in an attempt to develop a proletarian revolutionary consciousness are most quickly subject to these changes. This is the truth regarding myself as well. From the time I became linked with the left movement, I have been caught up in its currents and cross-currents. In the present too, I see myself in the same situation. Just as all other who are politically conscious, I too am bound to be moulded by the changes which take place in the country's political framework.

All citizens

(Continued from Page 19)

a commercial distributor? I am not expecting a total change in the pattern of Indian films imported: that would be utopian. All I am asking for is some diversification in the quality of Indian films imported each year so as to include at least a few of the more serious films, with a recognition that profit-making should not be the sole criterion for a national film corporation.



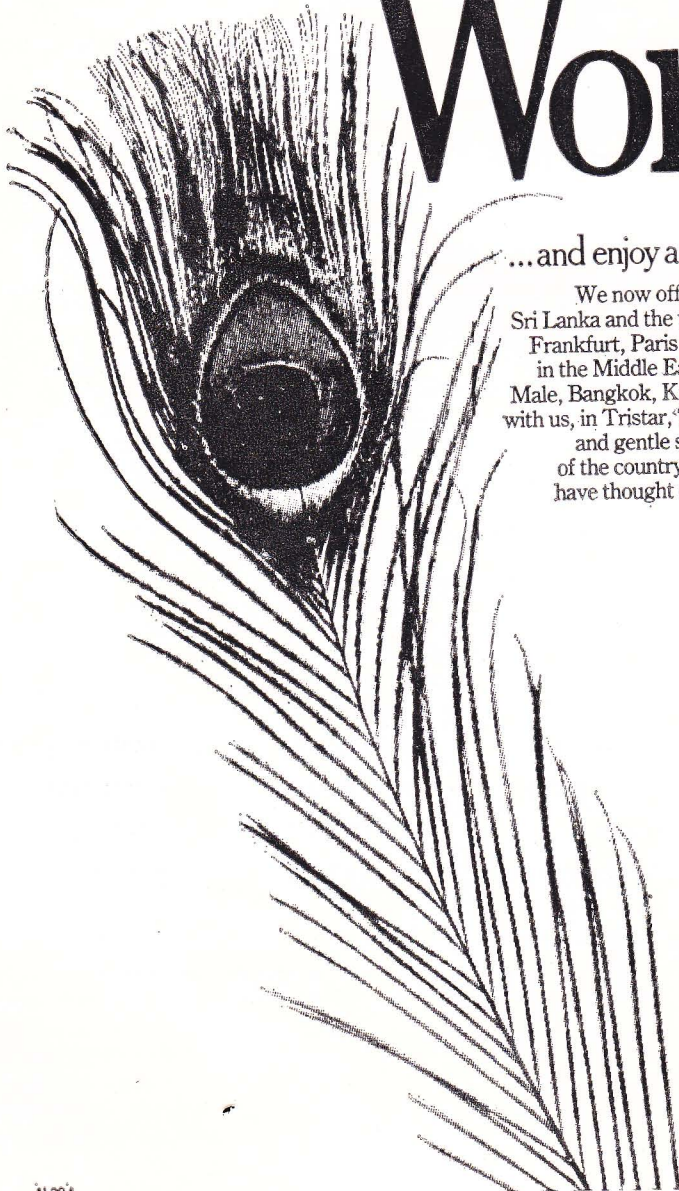
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