

EXCLUSIVE

Revolutionary movements — a rethinking

— *Wallerstein*

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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**JVP's
TACTICAL
SHIFT**

**Tamil Radicals
and the Left**

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struggle grows**

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- **ISRAEL AND THE WAR** — *David Lamb*

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PRESS FREEDOM

Punish the press and hear the case! Is this really the policy that the Justice Ministry has recommended to the government? Coming as it does from the U.N.P., here's irony reducing the sublime to the ridiculous.

With what pious indignation the U.N.P. and its top lawyers marched to the Constitutional Court in 1972 against the Press Council Bill. It would undermine the foundations of press freedom, they argued. It would extinguish the lights of liberty, they thundered.

Today, the Press Council is there — same law, same institution — and nobody says it has done any of those dastardly deeds.

In 1973 Lake House was taken over. (Dr. N. M. Perera, on his death bed, was to admit it was a mistake). The U.N.P. hollered even louder. And its election manifesto solemnly swore to "restore" independence. The Lake House is there today — under a UNP appointed Board. Within forty eight hours, it also took over the TIMES, admittedly a 'sick' institution, under the Business Acquisition Act, once denounced by the U.N.P.'s liberals as "draconian".

Now a draft law which will force newspapers to cease publication the moment someone, anyone, files a defamation action. Supposing the action is dismissed, who will compensate the newspaper for loss of revenue? Twenty such cases, and this country will be without a single newspaper! Besides constitutional guarantees, isn't there a fundamental principle that a man (or newspaper) must be found guilty under the law before he (or it) is punished?

THE A.S.E.A.N. WAY

Though Sri Lanka is a rejected suitor, the ardour for ASEAN in the hearts of some Sri Lankans seems undiminished. The newspaper

reports on the ACBC incident strongly suggest a planned attack by about 75 'unidentified persons' who came in CTB buses. While we wait for the police to dig up more evidence, let's note that these things happen just before 'elections' in Indonesia, Philippines etc.

Professor Sarathchandra, the victim, has recently launched a powerful attack on what he describes as the cultural degeneration that has accompanied the new consumerism of the 'open economy'. The target of this intellectual onslaught is the new value system. The first shot was fired, in fact, in this journal; the target was Tower Hall and what he branded 'the new mudalali theatre'. Then came his S.L.A.A.S speech on the State of Culture and Society today. These same ideas spread out on a wider canvas became a Sinhala booklet. And early last month, he appeared on a public platform with Mrs. B.

PRESIDENTIAL POLL

While Mr. Maitripala Senanayake has already thrown his hat into the ring, frantic back-door negotiations to find a "common Opposition candidate" go on. Names tumble out each week — Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Mr. Siri Perera, Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena (this may be wishful thinking by the opposition), Prof. Sarathchandra, Mr. Rukman Senanayake, Mr. Upali Wijewardena, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa et al.

Earlier the Opposition cut itself to pieces while preparing for the parliamentary election. Now the confusion and the squabbling is over a presidential candidate — and all because the President spoke of amending the constitution to enable him to hold a presidential election after 4 years in office. Working backwards, and presuming that the result of his action was the outcome intended, then the question is: Will what can now be held early, be in fact held early?

⊗

Popular Sociology Fantasy or Bunk?

You published an article in your Journal on 1st July 1982 on the above subject. This article as stated by you was by "A group of professionally qualified sociologists drawn from the University and leading Research Institutes". Further, mention was made about the Sociologist Association formed only last year.

We Lecturers, in the Department of Sociology, Siri Jayawardanapura would like to be informed who the office-bearers of this association are — President, Secretary and the Committee, and where the Association presently is and its membership. It appears that this intellectual group is engaged in doing research on on-going research which in our country is nothing but gossiping on what a few have painstakingly done. As

(Continued on page 2)

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Popular Sociology . . .

(Continued from page 1)

they speak of professional standards and ethics it would have been ethical of this group to have published their names rather than indulge in this type of attacks taking cover under certain associations and Research Institutions.

B. A. Tennyson Perera
(Lecturer)

Mrs. Swarna Perera
(Lecturer)

Edwin Ganihigama
(Lecturer)

Sunil Jayawardena
(Lecturer)

Note by Editor :

The President of the Sociological Association is Prof. Ralph Peiris the first Sri Lankan Professor of Sociology and presently Research Professor of Sociology at the University of Colombo. He is at the moment the only Professor of Sociology in the country. He is also the current Chairman of the highest official Social Science Advisory Body namely the Committee on Social Science of the Science and Energy Authority which comes under His Excellency the President. He is the author of several books by recognised publishers and technical articles in sociology as well as on development. The general body of the Association including those who have participated in the monthly meetings of the Association this year include Mr. Dudley Dissanayake, Mr. Sarath Chandresekera and Mr. Ranaweera, Deputy Director and senior staff member of the School of Social Work, Dr. Newton Goonesinghe Dr. I. V. Edirisinghe, Ms. Ramani Jayatilleke, Ms. G. Kolambahuwa all of the Department of Sociology, University of Colombo, Dr. S. Hettige of the Department of Sociology of the University of Sri Jayawardenapura, Mr. S. Gamage of the Department of Sociology, University of Peradeniya, Dr. Susantha Goonetilleke and Mr. Rex Casinader of the Research Department of the People's Bank,

Dr. Jayantha Perera, Mr. Halim Ishak and Mr. Ranaweera of the Agrarian Research and Training Institute, Mrs. Kamalika Peiris and K. L. Chandratilleke of the National Institute of Management, Dr. Edward Perera, Ms. Aruna Dayaratne and several others.

This comprises the majority of sociologists at the Universities and research institutes in Sri Lanka. Space does not permit us to list their publications, but many of them have published extensively both technical articles and books by reputed publishers. This list does not include those members who are in non-academic positions in the public and private sector, but who are members.

We trust that this information meets the main point made by the four signatories to the letter above. May we, in turn pose a few questions to these four academics in the confident expectation of a prompt and satisfactory reply.

(a) What do they think of the **content** of the report which is surely more important than the Association's office-bearers?

(b) Do they, for instance, agree that a statement like "about 18% of all the comely girls of tender age coming to Colombo turn to this profession (Prostitution) is unscientific nonsense"?

If so, do they regard it worthy of a person holding the title of Associate Professor at a leading University, entrusted with teaching sociology to a new generation?

(c) What is their considered opinions as academics of a statement such as "317 abortions per day are performed in Colombo alone. The situation in other towns is not second to this"?

Since this discussion is now attracting a great deal of attention from academics, would they kindly join the debate by submitting their views?

Ratnapala School of Sociology

I am glad that your parent two wrote under the title "Ratnapala School of Sociology" came into contact with that school through an article in your esteemed journal. But for him to have come to conclusions of Prof. Ratnapala's research from a single article published, is a thing which I don't understand. Could people, particularly readers who constantly read an excellent Journal as the "Lanka Guardian" be so gullible? The parent should have asked more about Prof. Ratnapala's works from the Professor himself, and verified the data and statistics given before he jumped to such conclusions. That indeed would have been a very logical step. I am glad that he is reading the Professor's research contributions. When he reads all this, let him ask himself whether what the Professor says is correct or not. Then he can make his own conclusions. But to jump to a conclusion at the sight of a mere article and then read the Professor's works in order to find fault with them could not indeed be a rewarding experience.

As a parent of two grown-up children and as a teacher for over 25 years, I believe our parents should not be so gullible.

Piyaseeli Sirisena
Maharagama.

Appalled

As a professional statistician teaching statistics to Social Scientists I would have normally disdained from commenting on the spurious figures given by Prof. Ratnapala. They are so blatantly unbelievable. He has not given any factual basis for these incredible figures.

However as a University Teacher in Statistics I am appalled at the facts that another University teacher presents these false figures to the public and students as facts.

Dr. Dias Hewagama
University of Peradeniya
(More letters on page 20)

Mr. Wijeweera keeps his options open

NEWS
BACKGROUND

The charge that Mr. Wijeweera was an agent of the UNP, always seemed ludicrous to the knowledgeable student of Left politics because it ignored two facts of history. One relates to the personal history of Mr. Wijeweera and the other, to the history of the JVP. Mr. Wijeweera's father was crippled below the waist for life by UNP thugs while he was campaigning for a Left candidate at the 1947 general election. When members of a political party which was founded by a defector from the UNP, hurl charges of "UNP agent" at Wijeweera, and these charges are repeated by senior Left politicians who have excellent personal relations with the UNP leader, it is no wonder that the JVP boss repudiates it with particularly harsh bitterness and scorn.

The second fact is that the JVP decision to collect arms was taken in fear of an "internal coup" by the 'hardline faction' in the UNP government of 1965/70. Such fears were fueled by the then P. M. Mr. Dudley Senanayake himself who stated publicly that there were elements within his party who had dictatorial ambitions.

The point then is that the JVP has always been conscious of a threat from the 'hard Right' within the UNP, just as, after 1971, it has been extremely fearful of Mrs. B. Over the past several months, going back in fact to late last year, the UNP-JVP detente relationship has been almost totally eroded. Forced into the streets by pressures from its mass base during the introduction of the White Paper on Education, the JVP was met by a vicious propaganda barrage (the appellation of 'terrorist' being attached to them once more, this time by J. R. J. himself which) was soon backed up by acts of coercion. A faction within the UNP articulated the view that the JVP was beginning to eat into the former's

youth base and was therefore a threat which had to be beaten back. When the 'Kelanitissa dynamite' stories and the Embilipitiya bomb factory incident proved to be "dirty tricks" and were accompanied by the appointment of the 3 man Committee in charge of 'disinformation and black propaganda', the JVP really got alarmed. They perceived the ascendancy of what they term 'the Ranil-Matthew faction' within the UNP and the weakening of the other more 'populist' grouping in that party which was still interested in maintaining 'peaceful co-existence' with the JVP. Mr. Wijeweera saw a replay of 1971 i.e. a hostile coalition of the police (specially the intelligence gathering branch), the mass media, powerful bureaucrats and certain political personalities orchestrating a crack down on his party.

Having renounced the armed road and furthermore even abandoned the semi-clandestinity and the rudimentary parallel structures that existed until shortly after the 1977 general elections, Mr. Wijeweera has only two 'weapons' with which to safeguard his movement. The first is the impressive expansion of the JVP which has rendered it a genuinely mass party. Particularly if it performs reasonably well at the upcoming elections, it is unlikely that any government will risk an upsurge of popular protest by launching a campaign of repression, hopes the JVP. Its second 'weapon' is the adroit manipulation of the contradictions within and between the major Establishment parties.

Hence Mr. Wijeweera's signals to the Kobbekaduwa faction of the SLFP(S) and the JVP's call for a single Opposition candidate to defeat JR and tear up all repressive legislation. Salamat Ali, writing in the Far Eastern Economic Review, predicts that the JVP could hold the balance in the next legislature. This then is the message that

Wijeweera is sending the UNP leader: The JVP has its options wired and the UNP is not the only game in town. So call off the hounds.

Colombo students on Lebanon

A 60,000 strong Israeli troop armed by the American Imperialists with over 500 armoured tanks and modern sophisticated war planes have entered Beirut mass murdering the Palestinian People destroying schools, hospitals and villages, devastating Lebanon as a whole, violating the territorial integrity of other nations too. Preparations are being made to launch a final attack on the Palestinian People and on the P.L.O. fighters besieged in Beirut.

Though with no modern advanced weaponry to match a counter attack on its enemy the Palestinian fighters have heroically struggled falling one behind the other to defend the Palestinians and Beirut, even with their out dated weapons, from the Israeli invader. **The Students Assembly of the Colombo University Sri Lanka** offers its highest salute to this heroism. We also offer our fraternal greetings to all students and leftist organizations in America, Europe and Asia who rose against the Israelists aggression. Especially to those Israeli University Students and Left Movements within Israel who opposed the aggressor in his own country.

The Students Assembly denounces with disgust the fake radical Arab States who raised their voices against the American Imperialists and the Israeli Zionists some time ago, who now remain silent in front of the Israeli aggressor and who stab the Palestinians and the P.L.O.

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Growing Tamil Radicalism and Sri Lanka's Left

Samudran

For many years after 1956 the national question of Sri Lanka suffered severe theoretical distortions within Sri Lanka's left movement. With the final capitulation of the CP and LSSP to bourgeois reformism and parliamentarism in the 1960's when they accepted a position of junior partnership in the united Front with the SLFP serious internal discussions on the national question virtually ceased to exist within these two parties. The Communist party which held the most advanced Marxist—Leninist position on this vital question since the 1944 Congress (ref, CP's resolution of 1944 on the national question) wrote off the Tamils as a liability in the business of parliamentary politics. The LSSP's attitude was different. From a position of 'parity of status' they degraded themselves, with the CP (Moscow), to the notorious 'masala vadai' line. It was the view of the LSSP and CP leaderships—though not publicly stated—that a continuation of their original positions on the national question would be detrimental to the popularity of the two parties among the Sinhala voters who constituted the majority on an ethnic basis. So they reneged to a Sinhala line. But then what was the result? Today they have become virtual non-entities in the parliamentary scene. They are less popular than they were before they capitulated. Their trade union strengths have dropped to marginal levels. The most glaring lesson of this tragic debacle is that a working class party will lose its credibility among the workers when it begins to play the opportunist game by bourgeois parliamentarism. Those workers who were only trade union conscious—and the bulk of them are still that—learnt to be more opportunistic than their leaders and parties, and finally got used to the practice of being in a pro-government trade union always.

The real damage caused by the capitulation is much more than what is visible. In my view, the worst damage is the nurturing of opportunism at the level of workers organizations. The practices of the CP and LSSP were a direct violation of the principles outlined by Lenin in 'What is to be done?'.
The situation of a two party (CP, LSSP) left movement is a thing of the past. Since 1964 we have been witnessing a continuous fission of left parties which accelerated with time. Today we have a multitude of parties and groups calling themselves Marxists of more kind of the other. Some of them have addressed themselves to the national question again in a serious manner. The emergence of sustained youth militancy in the North has been a compelling factor in this regard. Several groups and parties were forced to open their minds to a new situation of violence in the North where the State could not carry on its repression without challenge. After 1977, with the escalation of repression, the political radicalism of the Tamil youth become more and more left oriented. Today there are socialist-oriented revolutionary groups in the North and East that are looking for an open dialogue with revolutionary groups in the south. All this have certainly contributed to the renewal of theoretical discussions on the national question within the highly splintered left.

However, the debate on the national question within the Marxist circles often takes a sterile academic turn boiling down to court room battle like scenes where books are thrown at each other. More often than not, these long winded debates end up at the usual finish "you Stalinists"—"you Trotskyists". In this intellectual melee the question of self determination is reduced to quotations from the classics,

which are hurled at each other without adequate reference to the local context. There are some who strive to justify their opportunist positions by quoting Marx, Lenin and Stalin on the national question without any regard to the political processes at work in the Tamil areas and the country as a whole. Such opportunists and dogmatists have failed to learn that in political struggles, theoretical positions are put to practical tests and creative-minded Marxists reformulate their positions when these are proved by practice to be at variance with reality, which is not static. Marx himself set a good example of such scientific practice with his sharp political sensibility that responded to the struggles of his time. I can cite many practical situations which made Marx to even reverse his earlier positions, but I shall mention only one that is closely relevant to this discussion i.e. Marx on the Irish question. On the 2nd of November 1867 in a letter to Engels he wrote, "Previously, I thought Ireland's separation from Britain impossible. Now, I think it inevitable". Marx went further than this offering a rudimentary but very appropriate programme for Irish self-government, in which he advocated an agrarian revolution and protective tariffs against England. Again note, Marx, the great advocate of free trade, was explicitly for protectionism in this instance. I did not refer to these points regarding Marx with any intention of suggesting that he would have advocated Eelam in Sri Lanka today. Such an extrapolation is uncalled for. My purpose was to show that Marx never allowed a discrepancy between his theory and reality unlike some of our Marxists who would blame reality for such a discrepancy.

The distressing features notwithstanding, there are some positive results out of the debate in the Marxist circles. As one who has participated in some of these discussions, I would stress the following points to be among the most positive outcomes:

(1) Many creative minded and politically advanced comrades have stressed the need to pay foremost attention to the specifics of the developments in the State-Tamil people contradiction.

This is a precondition to a proper understanding of the present Sinhala-Tamil relations. Very often these two are mixed up, leading to much confusion.

(2) The consequences of institutionalized discrimination against the Tamils and the systematic racist propaganda of the mass media and the Sinhala-Buddhist organizations among the Sinhalese people for the past twenty five years, have created an almost unbridgeable gap between the two nations. Certain text books of the Ministry of Education with their Sinhala Communalist bias have poisoned the minds of Sinhalese children irreparably. These factors have operated without any effective challenge from working class movements or any other countervailing forces. All these would mean that, irrespective of the good desires of individual Marxists and other progressives there has been a severe blunting of the class struggle and there are several racist institutional barriers to the developments of a working class consciousness. Only vulgar Marxists would consider consciousness to be solely and automatically determined by class. With the help of the Aryan myth, Great Sinhala chauvinism has taken an ideological form of racial superiority. Thus there is racialism in a country where anthropologists may not find two disparate races!

(3) The radicalization of the Tamil youth was the outcome of a politicization that was internal to the Tamil nation and almost totally independent of the existing Marxist parties of the country. This deve-

lopment is founded on a social base in the North and East consisting largely of lower middle and poorer sections of the people who are the most seriously affected by government policies and racist state terrorism. A radical mass movement independent of, and in many ways opposed to, the TULF would be a logical outcome of this trend. Such an outcome would be of positive value to the country's political struggle for change and should be encouraged and supported by all genuine leftists in the South.

(4) *The continuous repression of the Tamil people in the North and East has led to a deep rooted popular resentment among them. This has helped, in no small way, the success of commando style anti-state operations of the so-called Liberation Tigers. The people have found the state's armed personnel to be the real terrorists, however much the press and the state owned mass media attempted to point a deadly picture of "Tamil terrorists". The experiences of the DDC election and the political impotence of the parliamentarist TULF have made many Tamils in the North and East disillusioned with a Parliamentary solution to their problems. Today the Tamil areas have to be regarded as more advanced in extra-parliamentary struggle than the Sinhala areas.*

It is not my intention to elaborate all these points in-depth. I have formulated them in my own way with the hope of stimulating further thinking on them. I would like to confine myself only to some aspects of the emerging radical alternative in the North and East, against the background set out above.

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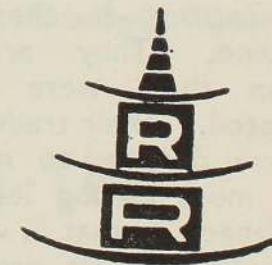
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War has cost Israel its underdog image

David Lamb

BEIRUT

Like the United States in Vietnam, Israel has used its overwhelming military power against an outgunned guerrilla army in Lebanon and is paying the price in damage to its international image.

The reasons are varied:

In the 3½ decades of Arab-Israeli wars, this is the first one in which Israel is perceived to be fighting an offensive campaign. In earlier wars, Israel emerged with an image of a righteous underdog fighting off Arab hordes bent on its destruction.

While this campaign was directed against an active and willing enemy, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Israeli forces have gone far beyond their original goal of driving PLO gunners out of range of northern Israel and have besieged an Arab capital for the first time.

Also for the first time, most firsthand reports of the fighting are coming from journalists covering the Arab side of the war, and their accounts of the damage done by Israeli firepower have led to sympathy for the Arab side, particularly the civilians.

Television Shows Horrors

As in Vietnam, the horror of war recorded by television newsmen has inflamed public opinion against continued fighting. And as the American authorities did during the Vietnam War, the Israeli government has accused Western journalists of misunderstanding its purpose and of wildly exaggerating the number of civilian casualties.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, during his recent trip to Washington, denounced the coverage. And, outside Beirut, an Israeli soldier screamed at several American repor-

ters the other day, "Why are you doing this to us?"

The Israeli forces have faced the same problems the U.S. Army did in Vietnam: The hunted guerrillas live among the civilian population, and innocents have been killed. That is irrefutably clear to journalists who have travelled without Israeli supervision through Beirut and to Tyre, Sidon and other scenes of combat in the three-week-old conflict.

"Was I out to 'get' Israel?" asked Steve Mallory, an NBC correspondent whose crew's film footage has been some of the most graphic of the War. "Hell, no, I'm here to cover this story just like any other, to record what I see from this side, and what I see is Israel plowing through Lebanon as though no one existed except its so-called enemy.

Civilian Bodies Arrived

"I was at the Berbir Hospital (in Beirut) the day the bodies came in during the big attack. They were civilians—a 7-year-old girl... and old woman, you name it. Of the first 10 or 12 victims, there was one guerrilla."

The director of Berbir Hospital, Dr. Amal Schamma, estimated that civilians made up 75% of the casualties on the now-suspended Israeli bombardment of the capital. Administrators interviewed at other hospitals put the civilian wounded and dead in the 80% to 90% range.

Israel has said its forces have killed 2,000 PLO guerrillas. So, if the hospital officials' estimate that 75% to 90% of the casualties are civilians is reasonably accurate, the indications are that thousands of civilians must have been killed.

FOREIGN
NEWS

Precise figures are not available, and any figures are unreliable, in part because both sides are likely to be using them for propaganda purposes.

The Lebanese government says 15,000 civilians have been killed and 50,000 wounded in the war. The Palestine Red Crescent (Red Cross) Society puts the number of civilian dead and wounded combined at 35,000. Caritas, the Roman Catholic charity organization, which operates 24 care centres in Lebanon, says 14,000 civilians have been killed 20,000 wounded and 600,000 made homeless.

Israel estimates the civilian dead at something less than 600, excluding the casualties in West Beirut, which is not under Israeli control. Israel says about 20,000 people have lost their homes.

At this point it is impossible to know where the truth lies.

— (Los Angeles Times)

Letter

'Pugwash Group'

In an article written by me to the July 15 issue of your journal on the "Sri Lanka Pugwash Group", I made a statement regarding a meeting of this Group, on April 29, 1981, to which though a Pugwashite, "for some strange reason I was not invited". I now find that I was out of the island during this period. I apologize to the organisers for what was a *bona fide* mistake on my part, and in fairness to them I do hope you will publish this letter.

Osmund Jayaratne
University of Colombo

Philippines : Dependency, Dictatorship and Revolution

Muto Ichiyo

The United States' government still considers the Philippines to be part of America. They have two huge bases — the Subic Naval Base and Clark Airfield — which are very important for the operation of US military forces along the Asian arc. There is also a heavy US economic presence, but we shall discuss that later.

The other side of the picture is that the Philippines is also the site of **the most advanced armed revolutionary struggle in the whole of Asia**, at the present time. The struggle in Thailand occupied this vanguard position after the Thammasat massacre and the coup of 1976. Several thousand students and worker activists left for the jungles and reinforced the CPT guerillas, but the Kampuchean issue triggered off conflicts. Dissatisfied with the old CPT bureaucracy, its policies and the ineffectivity of the old Party programme, these urban elements returned. Early last year, Thai government forces managed to make incursions into the Northern base areas of the CPT, which has since shifted Southwards.

In the meantime, the Philippines had come into the forefront. The New Peoples Army (NPA), which is the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), has been greatly strengthened in a matter of three years. I visit that country almost twice every year and each time the situation has changed. In 1968, some of the CPP's young members, led by the journalist and intellectual Jose Maria Sison, split from that pro-Moscow organization and formed the Maoist Communist Party. In 1969, under the direction of this CP, **between fifty to sixty persons** formed the NPA in Northern Luzon. Their initial attempt to build liberated areas there met with failure and they suffered heavy damage, so

they changed tactics and decided to go deep into the ranks of the people and organize the mass movement. In 1976, the NPA's top leadership was arrested and a new set of young people moved into the central leadership. Following a prolonged self-criticism, they embarked upon a programme of decentralization whereby the Central Committee only co-ordinates national level decisions, leaving local decisions to the provincial units. This has proved to be highly successful.

Now the NPA has liberated areas, but one must remember that 'liberated zones' in the Philippines are peculiar. If one were to imagine them as areas where the army cannot enter, one would be wrong. The NPA has organized whole **barrios** (villages), but this is 'underground'. The farmers join the NPA militia, hide weapons in the village, and some even join the mobile regular forces of the NPA. However the government does not know that the village is under NPA influence because it is adorned with Marcos posters and even votes for Marcos! If the 'barrio captain', i. e., the village big-shot, turns informer, he is severely punished, so, for the most part, they keep their mouths shut even if they know what's going on. At night, the farmer-guerillas organize into units, go to other areas, fight and return by day-break. They make it a point never to fight in their own areas.

Political Education

The most notable characteristic of the NPA's struggle is the emphasis on political education. I call them 'seminar maniacs'. They use their own highly developed educational package which is based mainly on progressive Church sources such as Paulo Freire, INODEP, and Father Francois Houtart. Edu-

This is the text of a talk given recently at the State University of New York at Binghamton, by MUTO ICHIYO, editor of the Japan-Asia Quarterly Review AMPO and Director of the Pacific Asia Resources Centre (PARC).

cational techniques are also adopted from the Chinese Revolution. One is very impressed by these seminars held among the peasants. Terms such as 'tools of analysis', 'micro-macro analysis', and 'class analysis', are deployed at these sessions, but there is also much singing and enjoyment ... and farmers drink Coca Cola! The education starts with micro analysis, i. e., the living conditions, ownership patterns and power structure in the village itself. The discussion of the intra-village class structure is expanded to regional, national (the 'US-Marcos fascist dictatorship'), and global (MNC's, US imperialism) levels. This educational programme is not conducted in a 'top-down' manner. The seminars are very active and the participants are very lively. Much criticism and self-criticism is engaged in, with people voicing their real views. The programme consists of a large number of sessions. There are 'beginners sessions', 'core sessions' from which NPA cadres are recruited, and finally, 'evaluation sessions'.

While the Church itself has no programme for analyzing and radically restructuring the economy, still less for conducting the revolution, there are very many Church people who are close to the masses and live in the **barrio**. Here, many priests use Bible classes to develop a class analysis of the society.

Strategy

The NPA describes itself as Maoist, but they are not follow-

ing a pro-China line. They divide the revolutionary war into the three standard stages of Strategic Defensive, Strategic Stalemate, and Strategic Offensive. According to NPA thinking, the first strategic stage is further divided into two sub-stages, the primitive and the advanced. They say they are now passing from the primitive to the advanced substage of the 'strategic defensive'. UP and AP reports place current NPA strength at 6,000-7,000 guerillas and 20,000 supporters, while Newsweek gives a figure of 10,000 guerillas. Though the Philippines is geographically insular and has no equivalent of the Ho Chi Minh trail, the NPA is fairly well armed. Weapons are purchased from American soldiers and also from the MNLF in Mindanao which has strong international (Islamic) connections. One wing of the Moro movement fights for independence and the other for autonomy. Their land policies differ from those of the NPA, but the two forces engage in regional co-ordination of their armed struggle. Weapons are not very expensive and a good revolver can be bought from American servicemen for 500 pesos (8pesos=1 dollar).

The NPA's traditional stronghold is Northern Luzon, but later they commenced operations in Mindanao as well. Now the sharpest confrontations are there. There are sharp clashes south of Luzon too, on the island of Samar. The important point is that the NPA now operates all over the country, capturing and sometimes holding small towns. One notices that all officials carry fire-arms. The NPA hopes, as they move into the second 'sub-stage', to capture small, isolated cities and set up a power structure. The political wing of the NPA is the National Democratic Front (NDF), which has solidarity groups and spokespersons internationally (mainly in Holland).

Militarization and repression

The repressive apparatus is multi-tiered. The para-military Village Militia is in fact the private army of the rich landlords and usurers. This militia is equipped with carbines. The main burden of anti-guerilla operations is carried

out by the Philippine Constabulary. Then there are the Army and the Police. The Army, the Police and the Constabulary are grouped together in the Joint Command.

As in South Korea, there has been a militarization of the entire society. There is a new word in use: 'salvage'. One hears of a number of people being 'salvaged'. This means kidnapped, tortured and then killed. The perpetrators are the military and the police. The victims are kidnapped, taken to 'safe houses', tortured, murdered and their bodies dumped on the road, while the newspapers write about the casualties suffered by the NPA in a 'clash with security forces'! The safe houses are private apartments or farm-houses which the security forces hired, so as to avoid charges of torture in the police stations, during the Carter 'Human Rights' years.

This terror is aimed mainly at the farmers because land is a very important object of capital in general and the MNCs in particular, given the new 'development strategy' of the regime, the centre-piece of which is 'corporate farming'. According to this policy, companies buy up large tracts of land to grow paddy or fruits, thereby reaping huge profits. Nowadays the peasants say that having good land is a curse because you will be evicted from it by the military. When a lumbering company for instance, wanted a particular tract of land, a band of armed men set fire to the villagers' houses. The armed group was accompanied by the local police chief and the local manager of the lumbering company. Later, when the villagers tried to use legal methods to regain their land, they found that the land titles had been altered. Very big MNCs like Ford and Kawasaki engage in these practices. Kawasaki pays as little as 15 cents per square metre as compensation to the farmers.

So it is obvious that the militarization is meant to create conditions for the operation of capital, especially foreign capital. In the rural areas the main contradiction is between capital and the peasantry. This aggravates conditions in the urban areas to the extreme because

the evicted peasants come into the cities and swell the slum areas. (Only some are lucky enough to get employment). **Export-oriented industrialization** is the main aspect of the 'new industrialization policy'. Ford motors was the first to enter the Bataan FTZ, but now there are over 100 companies, including Japanese and West German ones.

As for the traditional **workers movement**, the trade unions were repressed and then converted into 'company unions'. Two years ago however, that is on May Day 1980, something remarkable happened. 30,000 workers rallied in Manila itself and founded a new trade union federation called the May First Movement (KMU). It differs from older trade unions in that it fights for political as well as economic demands, and represents what it calls the "newly emerging working class". This working class is arising from the export-oriented, foreign capital dominated industries. Coming from the rural areas, they are already politicized. The KUM follows the National Democratic Front.

Current situation, future prospects.

In June 1981, Marcos officially ended Martial Law and started a process of 'normalization'. But all this was just in name, because at the same time, the practice of 'salvaging' was also stepped up! The Presidential elections were boycotted by the NPA/NDF, and the mainstream Japanese press reported a boycott rate of 68%. The NDF succeeded in forging broad alliances in this boycott campaign, which was the first nationally co-ordinated political campaign since the declaration of Martial Law in 1972. A broad, anti-Marcos, anti-US imperialist political front has been formed on the basis of a programme called 'Compact'. This front includes even Senators who are to the right of known militants like Sen. Jose Diokno. What is interesting is that elements who would agree only to an anti-Marcos platform years earlier, now agree to anti-imperialist slogans. What is also interesting is that the old pro-

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GUATEMALA : The biggest volcano

Dayan Jayatilleka

The US economic stake in El Salvador is very small and its military involvement has little economic logic. It is the decision of the Reagan administration to 'draw the line' in El Salvador after a string of defeats in Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Iran, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan, that underlies its increasing intervention in that country's internal revolutionary war. This is by no means the case with Guatemala. U. S. investments there total almost 400 million dollars, and even more significant are that country's strategically valuable mineral resources, its size and its geographical location on the Mexican border. The U. S. fears that a victorious revolution in Guatemala will detonate a social explosion in Mexico, which could in turn seep in to the U. S. via the migrant farm workers in Texas. This could ignite five predominantly Black Southern states, ie., the Black Belt, for which the Comintern advocated nothing less than secession. With such a scenario for the American revolution does seem a little far fetched, the Mexican ruling class is keenly aware of the danger posed to them by the Guatemalan revolutionaries. Mexico like India another semi-peripheral state, adopts a relatively anti-imperialist posture, while maintaining a highly skewed distribution of income and a repressive authoritarian/corporatist regime. There are large concentrations of extreme poverty in Mexico and many of the social ills manifested in other Latin American countries are visible there. Killings, tortures, and disappearances of trade union activists are mounting in number.

It is noteworthy that Mexico's attitude to the struggle in Guatemala is completely different from its position on El Salvador and Nicaragua. It has forcibly repatria-

ted Guatemalan refugees, sending them to almost certain death or torture. In 1970, Mexican Police murdered Yon Sosa, the leader of the MR-13 guerrilla group, after he had crossed the border seeking refuge. Just as the Salvadoran revolutionary process is more 'radical' than the Nicaraguan Revolution was in terms of its social liberation content, the Guatemalan revolution has an even more pronounced 'class verses class' content than even the Salvadoran. This is reflected in the unitary statement from the **Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)**, issued in January of this year which defines the Popular Revolutionary War as one waged against 'the rich, both national and foreign', for the purpose of 'definitive national liberation and social emancipation' that will 'put an end, once and for all, to exploitation, repression, discrimination, oppression and foreign dependence'. The URNG is the umbrella organization that unites the four Guatemalan revolutionary guerrilla organizations, i. e. the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of People in Arms (ORPA), and the National Leadership Nucleus of the Guatemalan Labour Party (PGT). If the URNG is Guatemala's equivalent of the FMLN, the equivalent of the FDR is the Guatemalan Patriotic Unity Committee (CGUP) whose chief US based representative, **Frank Larue**, was one of the key speakers at the COHA conference. Mr. Larue, a labour lawyer and a member of the Justice and Peace Commission of Guatemala, a coalition of grass-roots Christian organizations, has been living in exile for the past one year. He dismissed the Rios Montt coup as a ploy by the young officers who are fighting the guerril-

las in the field to secure a resumption of US military aid which had been cut off during the Carter years, due to the black human rights record of General Lucas Garcia. The Reagan administration too had been seeking a pretext to resume this military assistance since the guerrilla war was expanding. The coup has provided that pretext. Mr. Larue pointed out that General Rios Montt was commander of a region, in the 1970's, in which genocidal offensives had been conducted against the native Indian populace. After the coup, the Guatemalan military has followed US advice and 'cleaned up its act' in the cities, where foreign newsmen are based. But the massacres in the countryside go on unabated. Providing documented evidence of at least four massacres that have taken place after the coup, Mr. Larue said that instead of an average of 36 people killed a day there were now 20 people killed per day, but for the revolutionary forces, 'that is still twenty people too many'. In any event Guatemala has been ruled and repressed since 1954 by the military as an **institution**, and it matters little who is chosen from within that institution to be President. The struggle would go on until the military is disintegrated as an institution and a structure.

I had an opportunity of having a lengthy discussion with Frank Larue when he arrived at Binghamton a week after the COHA seminar at the invitation of the Latin American Solidarity Committee at the University here. Both at his talk in Binghamton and at an informal discussion he stressed two aspects of the Guatemalan revolutionary process, namely, the massive incorporation of the Indian populace and the participation of Christians. Even until recently, the left

in South America had debated whether Indians could be involved in a revolutionary process or if they were too conservative and isolated to be able to participate. (Reminiscent of the discussion of whether the plantation proletariat can be counted on as a motive force of the Sri Lankan revolution). Suddenly the Indians have resolved this debate by participating in huge numbers in all aspects of the revolutionary war. Frank Larue explained that it was ORPA which, basing itself on Fanon, gave special emphasis to the ethnic question and began organizing in the predominantly Indian areas in the early 1970's. After **eight years** of clandestine activity (during which its armed expropriations were written off as banditry by the military), ORPA emerged publicly as an organization in late 1979, with a large support base among the Indian populace. The EGP too, followed this path, and is now the largest of the guerrilla organizations. The EGP was founded by the survivors of the FAR's Edgar Ibarra Guerrilla Front (FGEI), the strongest guerrilla zone in the 1960's. In the years they spent outside the country, these militants not only underwent military retraining, but also made an indepth study of Guatemalan society and came up with two strategic principles. The first was that the Indian people were the main force of the revolution and should be the main focus of the guerrillas organizational efforts. The second was that the revolutionaries should work within and through those structures of the Church that were closest to the grassroots, thereby reviving the spirit of the 'Church of the catacombs' and revolutionizing Christianity while Christianizing (to some extent) the revolution. Upon their return to Guatemala, this historic core of the EGP learnt the Indian languages and won over several Indians who had a high level of consciousness. Then they implanted themselves deep in the heart of the Indian populated areas, living and working with the people there, and fighting off the military incursions. This was in 1974.

The objective conditions for the upsurge of the Guatemalan Revolution were created by the development strategy of the Central

American Common Market (CACM). A spurt in industrialization and a rapid growth of agricultural enterprises along modern capitalist lines took place on the basis of heavy foreign investment. This thrust of capitalist relations of a dependent sort, took place against the backdrop of the world economic crisis of the 1970's which was manifesting itself most sharply in the periphery. While peasant families were thrown off the lands they had cultivated for years and enmeshed in modern wage relationships, 25% of the work force was unemployed and inflation resulted in a serious deterioration in the living standards of the working class. Workers struck for higher wages; students for desks, toilets and teachers. Town dwellers demonstrated against increases in bus fare, while slum dwellers waged struggles for water, transport, paved roads, garbage collection, and electricity. The worker-peasant alliance was symbolized by a march by the miners through towns and villages where they were housed and fed by peasants and the urban poor. The government responded first with selective assassination of leaders, but the people responded by transforming the funeral processions into massive and militant street demonstrations. Bloody massacres and indiscriminate terror followed, but there is a point of saturation beyond which terror no longer functions, and is transformed into a source for deeper commitment and determination. A anti-capitalist, national-popular bloc began to crystallize, comprising of workers, **campesinos** (agricultural workers), students, slum dwellers, priests and nuns, intellectuals, professionals, and technicians. Not only did each sector unite its various organizations, but intersectoral unity was also formed through the mechanism of confederations. This took place in all spheres and on all levels, ranging from unions to human rights organizations, religious groups, cultural fronts, journalists associations, and associations of labour lawyers. Parallel to this process of co-ordination and convergence of mass organizations, the repression brought about the realization that the fight was no longer for limited demands such as wage increases, or for partial solutions,

but should be considered part of a total struggle to change the whole system. The need for secrecy, for new structures, for methods of self-defence and for other forms of struggle such as economic sabotage were realized by the mid-level leadership of the mass organizations. Meanwhile, the guerrilla organizations had realized, after the failure of the 1960's foquismo, that massive local backup was needed not only for successful military operations, but also for their very survival. Thus, the repression was driving both the popular sectors and the guerrillas into each others arms. The guerrilla organizations reached out to community leaders, members of co-operatives, health workers, members of self-help organizations in the slums, church people involved in the **conscientization** efforts and lay catechists of the **comunidades de base** (base communities). These linkages have given the guerrilla organizations a firm base in local communities, in a process which is known as the '**massification of the revolutionary war**'. Thus it is, explained Frank Larue, that the revolutionary guerrilla organizations, basing themselves on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Che Guevara, and on their own analyses, have, after a decade of silent struggle, a single axial struggle of many forms, an active armed presence in 19 of the country's 22 regions, which amounts to 60% of Guatemala's territory, containing over 50% of its population.

Philippines: . . .

(Continued from page 9)

Moscow CP and the Right wing Social Democrats haven't joined this Front. Of course this 'CP' even supported the declaration of Martial Law in 1972!

Meanwhile, the NPA, having thoroughly studied the Nicaraguan experience, expect to reach the 'second stage' i. e. that of 'Strategic Equilibrium (stalemate)' in 5 6 years time. Right now they say that Marcos has been totally isolated, politically. When they reach the 'second stage', they expect US military intervention and are trying to build up international solidarity from now on, to face this contingency.

Revolutionary movements in the era

Immanuel Wallerstein

"The moving finger writes...."

Social change is an ambiguous phrase. Change can imply either historic novelty or historic alternation. Social change in the first sense is a recording of the ceaseless flow of the stream of history. "Nor all thy piety nor wit shall lure it back to cancel half a line." Social change in the second sense is a recording of the many cyclical rhythms of which social life is composed. A concentration on either of these components tends to give us sterile interpretations which are often tautologous and in any case offer little guidance as to how we can intervene in the construction of our collective destiny.

Both the ceaseless flow and the cyclical rhythms are there of course and what we see is simply a matter of how we cut into the "blooming, buzzing confusion." A good part of the problem of social analysis is that explanation requires concepts, and that concepts are reifications of our perceptions of past phenomena which, however heuristic, are always distortions. Hence we are condemned to explain the historically unique by the sociologically general. Not only is this difficult but our standard methodologies seldom take this into account.

An inappropriate methodology merely invalidates social science analysis; it incapacitates social movements. Revolutionary movements can only succeed to the extent that they know how to maneuver in the dark forest of the present with concepts inevitably derived from the past. It is this subject to which I wish to address myself — the evolving strategies of these movements since the second World War.

I will not argue here, but merely restate in capsule form, my conception of the structure and history of the capitalist world-economy up to that point, and the internal contradic-

tions in the system. I believe capitalism to be the mode of production of an historically singular phenomenon, a world-economy that originated in Europe in the sixteenth century and which, by its internal logic and dynamic, expanded over time to absorb all other areas on the globe, and hence to destroy all other social systems.

To describe this world-economy as capitalist is to assert that it is a single social division of labor based on the integration of complementary production processes, and that the institutions of this world-economy are structured in such a way that they reward more often than not those whose activities are predicated upon the endless accumulation of capital. Over time, the operations of such a system tend to result in the formal rationalization of the extraction of surplus-value, and to the extent that rationalization is achieved, it eliminates structures which counteract a polarization of the class structure.

A moment's reflection reveals that the formal rationalization of the system undermines its substantive rationality and thus in the long run its political viability. It is therefore the success of capitalism as a world-system (and not its difficulties) that will bring about its demise. Both Marx and Schumpeter saw this with lucidity, and we will do well never to lose this apothegm from sight. The path to the success that is failure is however slow and sinuous. Its byways are determined by the three basic dilemmas of the system which we may label provisionally the economic, the political, and the ideological dilemmas.

The "economic" dilemma is that those activities that maximize the profits of individual economic enterprises in some short run do not optimize the continuing capacity of the class of entrepreneurs to obtain profit in some longer run. Specifically, reducing the wages of the workers of a given enterprise may increase the profits of that enterprise. Because however every enterprise

tends to do the same, the cumulative effect is to reduce global effective demand and thereby make it more difficult for the collectivity of entrepreneurs to realize profit. This leads to the contradictory actions which account for the repeated long-term cycles of expansion and stagnation.

The "political" dilemma is that those who are globally rewarded by the institutions are a minority. The majority are constantly resisting this state of affairs. They are expressing their resistance within, through, and to the institutions in various ways and with varying and shifting efficacy. The dilemma is that resistance changes the *rapport de forces* and results in new political compromises. Whenever these new compromises favor the movements of resistance (and of course sometimes they do not), it involves weakening the holders of power in the system by reducing both their short-run political power and their long-run capacity to accumulate capital. However, every compromise has its ransom. The very fact of the compromise reincorporates the movements of resistance into the framework of political stabilization of the system.

The "ideological" dilemma results from the ambivalent roles of two key institutions of the capitalist world-economy, the states and the nations. The states and the nations are both creations resulting from the ongoing processes of the world-economy. They are not only created institutions; they are institutions that are being constantly recreated. The states are defined by and constrained by their membership in an interstate system.

The nations are defined by and constrained by their necessary relationship to a state structure. The problem for the accumulators of capital is that they need to utilize state structures as a crucial intervening mechanism in the construction and constant reconstruction of the world market. In order, however, to do that, they have to foster

Lecture delivered at Brandeis University in the series, "Social Change Since 1945" sponsored by the Department of Sociology.

of U. S. hegemony and after

nationalism as the social glue of these structures, which in turn makes the state structures a force for internal social compromise that puts limits on the accumulation of capital. The problem for the movements of resistance is that they need to acquire power within the state structures to achieve their ends, and they foster nationalism in large part in order to acquire state power. However, the acquisition of state power and the growth of nationalism have acutely negative as well as positive aspects for movements of resistance.

I call these two problems an ideological dilemma because both the capitalists and their opponents are forced to fight their battles in the distorted ideological prisms which the institutions of state and nation construct and constantly reconstruct. Whereas therefore the economic dilemma of the capitalist world-system is primarily a problem for the party of order and the political dilemma primarily one for the party of movement, the ideological dilemma is one both sides share. This explains some of the curious convolutions we have seen up to now on questions relating to the evolution of the interstate system, the rationalization of state-machineries, and the fostering of nationalist sentiments.

As I said however, I wish to consider these dilemmas from the point of view of revolutionary movements. Where in fact did the world stand in 1945 at the end of the second World War? The interstate system had just emerged from a long reshuffle of alliances. This reshuffle had begun in 1873 with the decline of British hegemony. It had culminated in the third Thirty Years' War, that of 1914-1945, between the two contenders for the succession, Germany and the United States. The U.S. was the unequivocal victor of this long war and emerged as the new hegemonic power of the capitalist world-economy.

The second World War marked the turning-point as well of a Kondratieff cycle. The B-phase of

stagnation which commenced more or less in 1920 had ended, and a new and dramatically-expansive A-phase was beginning and would last until circa 1967. The efficiency of U. S. productive enterprises was at that point unmatched anywhere, and this provided a secure base for U.S. control of world trade and finance as well as for U.S. military supremacy.

The only significant constraint on U.S. power was the U.S.S.R. The Soviet regime was the product of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, a major expression of a steadily expanding network or family of world anti-systemic movements that had first emerged on the scene in the nineteenth century and had become a major geopolitical force in the twentieth. Although the U.S.S.R. was not as strong, either economically or militarily, as anyone pretended, it was just strong enough to create world-systemic space for various anti-hegemonic and anti-systemic forces.

The strategy of the anti-systemic movements had been decided upon long before. It had in fact been conceived in the nineteenth century and confirmed by crucial decisions during the 1914-1945 period. In the period from 1945 on, this strategy has paid off in enormous successes. Despite this fact, there seems to be a widespread feeling that these movements are in some sort of cul-de-sac. To understand this paradox, we must first review the historic development of their strategy.

I talk of anti-systemic movements, but of course this is not nineteenth-century language. The nineteenth-century analysts and activists talked of two phenomena, the social movement and the national movement. What was meant by the social movement were all those forces being organized by and on behalf of the working classes — one should really say, the urban working classes — to defend their rights against a triumphant bourgeoisie and to assert their claims in the distribution of reward and power. What was meant by the national movement were all those

forces that defended the rights and asserted the claims of "peoples" who did not control their own state structure.

These two movements were seen as quite different and, to a great extent, antithetical. Furthermore, they tended at first to be located in different places. The social movement emerged first in Western Europe, the national movement in various parts of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. There were of course places where, from the very beginning, both existed — for example, Italy, Russia, Ireland — and in these countries the relations of the two kinds of movements were ambivalent at best, often hostile.

Still the two movements, if their social composition and their themes seemed to be quite different, followed strikingly similar trajectories in terms of their strategic options. Both kinds of movements went through a fundamental debate about their relationship to the state, about whether or not the basic strategy of social change was to be the acquisition of state power. Once that was decided by both movements in favor of the state power strategy, both of them suffered a basic split in terms of the modalities by which state power would or could be acquired.

It was by no means obvious in the early nineteenth century that the optimal way to assert the claims of the working classes or of the oppressed peoples was through acquiring state power. One major alternative was the withdrawal into utopian communities. Another major alternative was the mobility of individuals, each climbing the ladder of social stratification by isolated, persistent effort. A third major alternative was terrorism which was intended to bring about the collapse of the existing order. All three alternatives have had their advocates and indeed still do.

Somewhere in the middle third of the nineteenth century, however, those who advocated the creation of permanent organizations designed to

mobilize large numbers of people in the struggle to achieve power in specified states won the day world-wide both within the social movement and within the national movement.

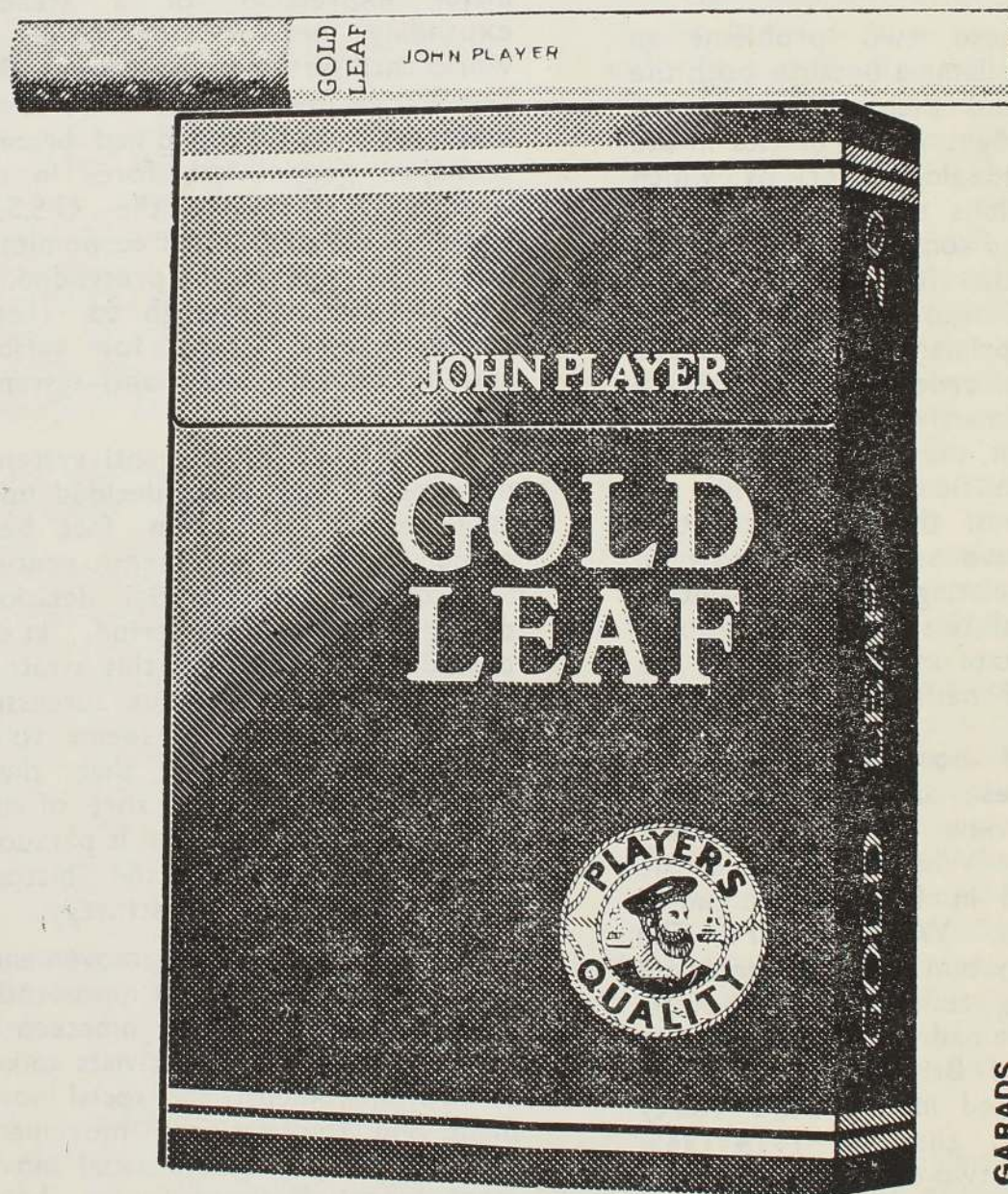
The two key elements of this strategic option are in the phases, "permanent organizations" and "specified states." Both elements have had enormous consequences. Permanent organizations had the strength of cumulative power and of constant readiness for tactical battle. They had the less desirable side effect that the perceived needs of organizational survival led to tactical compromises in contradiction with strategic objectives. The fact that power was sought in specified states focused political energy in an efficacious manner on a realizable goal, and the movement could reasonably expect that power in specified states would have meaningful outcomes for the masses organized by the movement. It had the less desirable side effect that seeking power in specified states in practice excluded seeking other kinds of power. Furthermore, power in specified states, once achieved, turned out to be less great than anticipated and the perceived needs to survive in state power led to further tactical compromises in contradiction with strategic objectives.

To repeat, once the state power strategy was adopted, the question arose about the modalities of achieving this power. The basic fault line has lain between those who argued for a creeping, gradual acquisition of state power versus those who argued for a cataclysmic, sudden acquisition. Much went with one or the other option, which came to be known as reformism vs. revolution. The reformists argued the possibilities and the merits of compromises with the existing holders of power, the utility of education as a tactic, the desirability of creating organizations whose very massiveness would be a mode of persuasion. They tended to argue that objective reality was on their side and that they were really fulfilling the best of previous ideals (bourgeois ideals for the social movement, Western ideals for the national movement) rather than destroying them. The revolutionaries asserted the opposite on all of

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Europe and the Buddhist East : foragers versus legitimisers

Susantha Goonatilake

In the last article I examined one aspect of the intellectual encounter between South Asia and Europe. That examination, while recognising the fact that South Asia had a sophisticated Intellectual tradition showed that in its encounter with the West it gave rise to a particular form of intellectual enterprise which I called 'legitimation'. In the legitimisation game, Western intellectual material is used to legitimise the East with perhaps the unconscious motto "Eastern thought is timeless and modern." Such exercises have been done mostly by Eastern writers.

Foragers : at the edge of science

The category I want to look at in this article is that of an opposite kind which I would like to call 'foragers'. Foraging is essentially from the West to the East and is done by Western practitioners. It occurs at a time when there is uncertainty in epistemological and other bases of many Western sciences, the atmosphere of uncertainty encouraging them to explore new views. Foragers are often at the pinnacle of their respective subject of the Western tradition. They are fully incorporated into that tradition, and in fact are at the latter's advancing edge. Being on the edge of research and new knowledge they are acutely aware of the major problematics in their sciences and arts. They are now engaged in hunting out for new solutions and new pathways in the current impasse of their disciplines. In doing so foragers use material from the East as essential fodder to build the new thrusts or their sciences (and arts). To illustrate I will give two examples, one in physics and the other in psychology.

Modern physics at its fundamental level has been perceived by many to be in a crisis, specially at the level of sub-atomic phenomena.

A recognition of this apparent collapse occurred largely with the birth of quantum physics and relativity. Since then it has been a topic of much speculation, specially with new experimental findings adding to the confusion. There are many interpretations as to the alleged crisis some even questioning whether a crisis in physics exists at all.

The writers in this genre begin with the collapse of the Cartesian world view in physics which had made a sharp division between spirit and matter and provided a philosophical justification for the physics in Newton. The Cartesian and Newtonian separation of the observer and the observed has suffered a dramatic collapse with the development of modern physics.

The act of observation itself tends to change that which is observed; described in the well known Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. Thus, the more we know about the position of a particle, the less we know about its momentum and vice versa.

In today's physics, both matter, as well as energy exists both as particles, as well as waves. Matter is transmutable to energy and vice versa and both can present themselves either as particles as waves. This apparent contradiction between particles and waves is further complicated by the fact that in quantum theory matter does not exist with certainty at definite places, but has "tendencies to occur". That is, the presence of particles can be indicated only by the probability of their occurrence. Thus "we can never predict an atomic event with certainty; we can never say how likely it is to happen". The mechanistic world of Newton's deterministic laws has thus been proved untenable in sub-atomic particles. Further with the proliferation more recently of a

vast number of elementary particles, the term "elementary" has lost some of its intrinsic meaning. Elementary particles perhaps possess a very doubtful existence with respect to their "elementary" nature.

The non-commonsensual world of quantum physics is also paralleled by developments in relativity where the everyday reality has been transcended. Thus, for example near the speed of light, length becomes shorter and time slows down.

This quantum physical reality has led some physicists to reach towards Hindu and Buddhist roots to try and discover new explanatory schemes. Some of these writings have become very popular over the last few years (such as for example "The Tao of physics" — and "The Eye of Shiva"). These writers have suggested that descriptions of reality revealed by modern physics are in essence very similar to those revealed in classical Eastern thought. To indicate what the flavour of this thinking is I will only enumerate some observations of one such writer Fritjoff Capra.

"The Buddhism of Physics"

Fritjoff Capra in "The Tao of Physics" believes that the changing dynamic context of modern physics with its transmutability of elements has echoes in Buddhist concepts of change. The ceaseless chain of **Samsara** in Buddhism emphasises transmutability of objects and this constant transformation reveals the worlds which is described in Buddhism in terms of movement, flow and change. A central tenet of Buddhism Capra notes is that "all compounded things are impermanent." In Buddhism, objects are seen as process in universal flux, without reality being attributed to things, apart from the process of change. Thus the Buddhist concept **anatta** (no soul) denies the existence of an unchanging and rigid

soul and in its stead has posited the concept of the reality of the human individual as arising from a changed process. Similar echoes are found also in Hindu writings.

Capra finds strong co-relations between the reality as described by the new physics and reality as described by the East. Thus with "the conception of physical things and phenomena as transient manifestations of an underlying fundamental entity — is not only a basic element of quantum field theory, but also a basic element of the Eastern world view.

Like Einstein, "the Eastern mystics consider this underlying entity as the only reality: all its phenomenal manifestations are seen as transitory and illusory." (Capra p. 221) The emphasis in modern physics to field phenomena — as opposed to ultimate particles — Capra finds it also paralleled in the **Upanishad** thought that Brahman is the Void and the Buddhist concept of Sunyata both of which suggest similar views. He notes that both the methodology of the modern physicist, as well as of Asian philosophers have been empirical. The knowledge of physics is derived from experiments that of the Eastern sages from meditative observations. He says that in both contexts a mechanistic world view does not apply and that a more organic view of the world prevails. Like the Eastern tradition physicists are dealing with phenomena beyond the sensory experience of everyday reality and have to face seemingly paradoxical attitudes to this experience. "From then on, therefore the models and images of modern physics become akin to those of Eastern philosophy" (Capra p. 53). Both tend to look at reality beyond as it were, the commonplace and come to realise the limitations of perception and the need to go beyond, and discover the ultimate perspectives beyond the immediately observed.

In the case of the Eastern philosopher not only is the bridge between the observer and the observed-subject and object-blurred like in modern physics, but it is inseparable and indistinguishable. (Ibid p. 146). Thus, the Upanishads puts it "Where there is duality, as it

were, there one sees another; there one smells another; there one tastes another.....But where everything has become just one's own self, then whereby and whom would one see? Then whereby and whom would one smell: then whereby and whom would one taste?" or as the Lama Govinda has put it as regards Buddhism "The Buddhist does not believe in an independent or separately existing external world, into whose dynamic forces he could insert himself. The external world and his inner world are for him only two sides of the same fabric, in which the threads of all forces and of all events, of all forms of consciousness and of their objects, are woven into an inseparable net of endless, mutually conditioned relations" (Govinda 1973 p. 93).

Capra does not see Eastern thought as replacing physics, but as only complimentary views of the same reality. The striking parallels between their descriptions of different aspects of reality, only show a common approach.

While recognising the parallels between modern physics and Eastern thought which Capra has indicated one should note that there are legitimate objections to Capra's methodology, as well as to his unconscious ignoring of certain facts. Thus an atomic view of nature — unlike the wholistic view that Capra sees is a central concept of early Indian thought both in the Buddhist and Jain systems which has not been taken into account sufficiently by Capra. His examples from Eastern thought are a historical, taking at times passages from the Vedas, Upanishads, the Buddha and from more recent writers such as Suzuki and Radakrishnan. Capra's methodology denies the existence of an organic internal evolution of schools of thought and perspectives within a common Asian tradition. He emphasises the store of common ideas, but he has not recognised sufficiently the detailed growth and differentiation of this common store. He has not paid also sufficient attention to specially the internal contradictions and differing viewpoints between the different schools in Asian thought. Sunyata theory, (for example, the theory of the void arose as a criticism by Madhyamika

philosophers such as the Nagarjuna of earlier Buddhist theories). He also ignores the significance of, for example, the fact that some of the key aspects of Greek thought — the seed bed of the Western tradition — such as those of Pythagoras had strong parallels with South Asian ones; both Indian and Greek thought being probably subject to a strong degree of mutual influence.

Capra's view of modern physics and the underlying parallels he finds with Eastern philosophy has to be seen in perspective as that of a Westerner facing a strong crisis of epistemology in his science and searching for solutions to this crisis. There are other writers, for example the Buddhist Angarika Sugatananda (Francis Story) who have expressed earlier than Capra and in my view, in the better manner and with greater knowledge of Eastern thought. What Capra has attempted in an ultimate sense is forage in the storehouse of Eastern thought and pick and choose elements that fit into his own conceptual field and epistemological needs. He does not by this exercise discover an essentially new continuity in worn out Eastern intellectual limbs, he only points to possible directions of absorbing the Eastern from the perspective of the need for a continuity of his own scientific tradition.

PSYCHOLOGY: Humanistic and Buddhist/Hindu

Another scientific discipline of the West that has recently drawn considerable inspiration from and evoked parallels with Eastern thought, specially of Buddhism and Hinduism is psychology. This tendency is most vividly seen in the increasingly dominant Humanistic or Third Stream psychology associated with such names as Maslow and Frankl.

The designation "Third Stream" for this psychology arose because it attempted to transcend the seeming polar opposition of behaviourist psychology and the approach associated with Freud, and his followers. (Rogers 1963 p. 21) In the case of behaviorist psychology (the main inspiration in this school was from the Russian Pavlov with the more recent formulations by

the American of Skinner) presumed a model of man which was both mechanistic and simplistic. In behaviourism no evidence was given to the subjective side of man, only to his overt behaviour. Freud on the other hand emphasised the terrain of man's mind with channelled biological drives mediated through various structures of the mind.

The new Humanist psychology came into prominence over a decade or so ago, at a time when the above two broad schools were losing their impact and a mood of increasing disenchantment with both schools was setting in. Today Humanistic Psychology is a strong contender to be a leading psychological school in the Western countries and its success has to be laid, for its attempt at filling the chasm between behaviourism and Freud. The work of two of the major writers in the field, Maslow and Frankl indicates the broad theoretical outlines of Humanistic Psychology.

Maslow set forth in 1943 a hypothesis on the needs of man and man's motivation, that, although subject to much dispute has since been highly influential in the later psychology. According to this, there are basic needs of man which can be arranged hierarchially.

These are psychological safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation needs. When a need lower down the scale is satisfied, the next higher need emerges to dominate conscious life and to serve as a centre for the organization of behaviour.

Maslow explored the concept of "self-actualization" in great detail, and went on to analyse how the process of "self-actualization" took place and whether all people were capable of experiencing it. Towards the end of his life Maslow modified his hierarchy of needs and recognised that self-actualisation need does not necessarily develop when the others are fulfilled. However, he was able to separate tentatively a class of people whom he termed self-actualising people who gained intrinsic satisfaction from their work and he also showed how all people go through what he termed 'peak experiences'.

Self-actualising people in their behaviour are, he suggested relatively spontaneous and in their inner life, thoughts and impulses far more so. They behave with a striking simplicity, naturalness and a lack of artificiality about them. Self-actualising people are not centred on themselves, but on problems external to themselves. And they tend also to be creative.

Frankl (1966) following in the same general direction as Maslow, states that pleasure which is the basic drive behind the homeostasis-principle-based psychologies like those of Freud, is not a goal itself but a side effect or by-product of attaining a goal. Frankl states that the basic concern of man is a will to meaning, gratification of other needs are by-products of this search. Frankl's finds that self-actualisation is an effect of meaning fulfillment, of self-transcendence and is in accordance with Maslow views, namely that self-actualisation can best be carried out via a commitment to an important job (Ibid). Maslow commenting on Frankl's perspectives agreed that the will to meaning is man's primary and highest concern but adds that few people actually seek self-actualisation (Maslow 1966 p. 127).

The above views of man held in the psychology of Maslow (and Frankl) have strong echoes with the concepts of (psychological) man held by Hinduism and Buddhism. It is interesting to document some of these parallels, by taking the two leading psychologists Maslow and Frankl. The former defines the highest need of man as "self-actualisation" and the latter defines the prime need of man as the "will-to-meaning". It is one of the striking facets of this work on motivation that many of these concepts are similar in more than a superficial way, to Eastern, and specifically to South Asian concepts of motivation. In fact, much of the literature on the subject looks as if it were drawn more from Buddhist and Hindu texts than from the earlier Western psychological traditions. Not only are the concepts similar, but there is a high degree of direct borrowing of Buddhist terms and themes.

Thus Maslow (1968) after detailing the characteristics of self-actualisation as based on experimental results writes that the goal of self actualisation :

"seems to be simultaneously an end-goal in itself, and also a transitional goal, a rite of passage, a step along the path to the transcendence of identity. This is like saying its function is to erase itself. Put the other way about, if our goal is the Eastern 'one of egotranscendence and obliteration of leaving behind self-consciousness and self observation, of fusion with the world and identification with it, of harmony, then it looks as if the best path to this goal for most people is via achieving identity, a strong real self and via basic-need-gratification rather than via ascentism," (Ibid p. 114)

Clearly, in discussing the complicated mechanics of self-actualisation he equates this with Eastern approaches. Persons familiar to Buddhism will recognise this, the individual searching "selfishly" for transcending selfishness, as a problem dealt often in the Buddhist literature. (Keith 1923)

I have mentioned earlier the references to Buddhist or Hindu concepts terms and practises in the literature on self-actualisation. Thus "high Nirvana", "low Nirvana", "Bodhisatva", "Pratyekabuddha" appear in Maslow (1968) and practitioners of Humanist Psychology like Lawrence (1971) have applied Buddhist meditational techniques in group theory. In Maslow's clear assertion "the new psychology is also in the Eastern tradition". (1968)

There are significant parallels between Hindu and Buddhist psychologies and philosophy and Humanist psychology. Buddhism and Hinduism are often impregnated with psychology (although these psychologies are not ends in themselves but are psychologies for "therapy" and in a deeper "growth" sense than is Humanist Psychology) and have many points of similarity and identity with the subject matter of Western psychology. Maslow and Frankl (among others) have at times acted as forgers of the Eastern tradition at times to bolster their own, problematic and it requires less of a conceptual leap to see the similarities between the two traditions than in the case of modern physics and Eastern thought. In the former the subject matter of the two

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traditions is very similar and almost identical at times, whilst in the case of physics the similarities are not in subject matter but in epistemology and core assumptions of what is reality. Yet although Humanist psychology has striking similarities with Eastern thought it is not an attempt to grow out off intellectual limbs from the Eastern tradition. Humanist Psychology comes very close to this attempt specially when one considers that "the new psychology is also in the Eastern tradition". But the central interest of Humanist Psychology remain in the tradition of a forager. It forages the eastern past for raw material to its own intellectual advance

Foragers in Perspective

I have given a few examples of foragers from two disciplines. I personally do not necessarily agree with the interpretation of physics or of psychology given by the res-

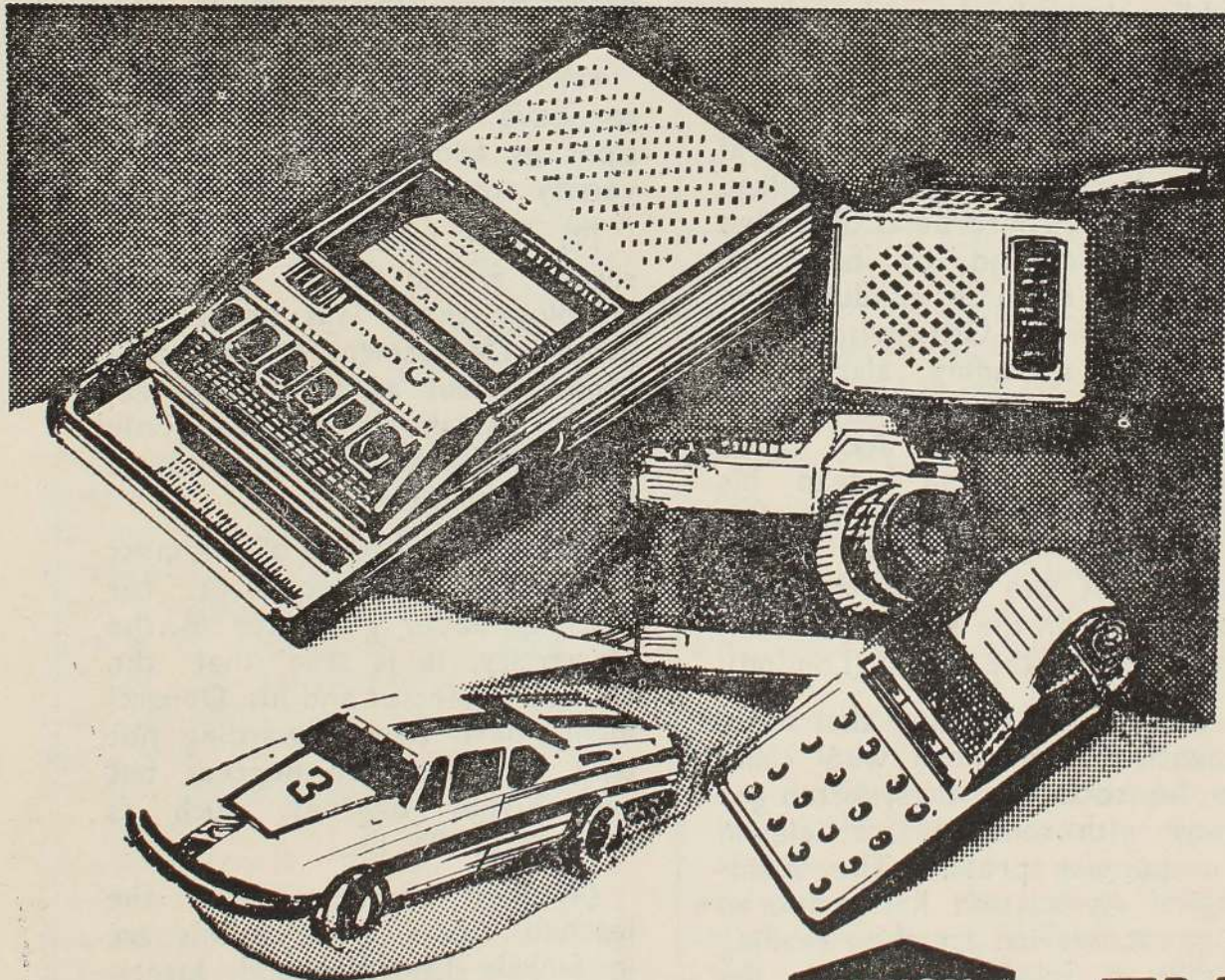
pective foragers (nor do I have the detailed expertise to make a judgement). However, what I have described is an attempt which is virile and creative to use the vast store house of Eastern thought to build new directions in the two sciences in crisis.

I have given here in somewhat detail only two examples from the field of science. One could also give examples from the arts where Western foragers have looked outward and built new directions in their respective fields. Thus the Impressionists drew inspiration from the Japanese woodcut and West African and Oceanic Art strongly influenced Picasso, Similarly Brancusi, Klandinsky and Klee were strongly influenced by yogic concepts and oriental philosophies. Thus some of the modern Western sculptural and painting tradition bloomed by foraging for cultural

artefacts from non-European areas. They were then re-transformed and adapted to fit the cultural and emotional needs of their host country.

These facts of foraging are a contrast to the legitimisers I had described earlier whose attempts are in essence an act of legitimising the past only perhaps to preserve it. I had observed that legitimisers were often Easterners and foragers Westerners. For a true creative use of our traditions, legitimising Easterners should become foragers. They should use the past intellectual traditions to build their futures on the advancing edges of their sciences and arts (that is of course if they are only to become advance soldiers in Western intellectual programme. The other possibility of developing alternatives to the Western tradition is perhaps a more exciting prospect, but beyond discussion here.)

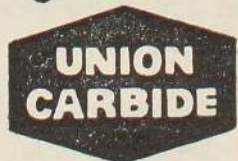
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Phoenix

Letters . . .

Ratnapala and V. D.

I thank the Sociological Association for the article entitled Popular Sociology, Fantasy or Bunk? (L. G. 1 July) and your Journal for giving it publicity.

As a medical man, I should like to comment on Professor Ratnapala's remarkable findings about "V. D.". I think I am entitled to ask Prof R the following questions.

1. What disease or diseases does Prof R include under the term "VD"?

2. What diagnostic criteria did he employ to diagnose these diseases in 4000 to 5000 males a day?

3. If he had any co-investigators in this gigantic undertaking, would he please name them, and their qualifications to diagnose "VD"?

4. To detect 4000 to 5000 cases of "VD" a day, what population did he screen? At the very least he must have screened twenty times this number.

5. Using what pretext did he manage to get permission from this vast number of men a day to examine their genital organs? I suspect that very few of us would willingly expose our genitals to a Sinhalese scholar or even a sociologist especially if the stated purpose is to detect possible "VD". Did he deliberately lie to 4000 to 5000 males a day and pretend that he was a medical man? If he did, it would be a serious matter, amounting to criminal assault.

The antivenereal diseases campaign, employing dozens of medical officers, many of them specialists in sexually transmitted diseases, and scores of paramedical staff, detected only 12,211 cases of such diseases in the entire island in 1981. The good Pro-

fessor R, working alone, or with hitherto undisclosed co-workers, detects 4000 to 5000 cases of "VD" a day in Colombo alone. So would it not be better to scrap the antivenereal disease campaign, and hand over this work to the Research Director of Sarvodaya, lock, stock and barrel?

After all, for someone who came to Sociology by way of Sinhalese, and managed, as a sociologist, to detect 4000 to 5000 cases of "VD" a day, treating these conditions should be a trifling matter. Just think of the money you will save, Dr Ranjith Atapattu, please.

Dr. Colvin Goonaratna

M.B.S., M.R.C.P., Ph.D.

(Faculty of Medicine)

Colombo.

Pop Journalism, Not Sociology

I am glad to note that the Sociological Association of Sri Lanka has made its views on Prof. Nandesena Ratnapala's "flights into fantasy" known to the public through the columns of the *Lanka Guardian* (L. G. July 1st)

A social scientist when he decides to educate the general public bears a heavy responsibility. It is his duty to be as objective as possible and to base his views on research conducted on scientific lines. Otherwise he will be only spreading alarm and despondency among his readers. Obviously Ratnapala has failed in his duty. When I read his articles I was wondering whether I was not reading the Sinhala version of the articles that used to appear in the *People* (London) and *News of the World* (London).

It is our misfortune that social scientists, and those who claim to be social scientists, often got away with sensational articles in the popular press. The Sociological Association has rendered a great service to the reading public in Sri Lanka and to the Social Sciences by exposing the unscientific and sensational nature of Ratnapala's articles.

Dr. K. H. Jayasingha

(President, Sri Lanka

Political Science Association)

University of Peradeniya.

Open Letter to U. G. C.

Thank you very much for publishing my letter as a parent. Let me also add that I read with interest and alarm the Reverend Lecturer's letter on the Ratnapala brand of Sociology. My promise to write a further letter based on subsequent "research" still stands good, for the moment.

However, this is not such a letter but a more pressing one, based on very disquieting information that I have come across since writing the first letter. This information, gathered from several sources, if true, makes a complete mockery of the University system and what a University should stand for.

I raise the following questions as an open letter to the University Grants Commission, which I believe is the highest University body and the statutory guardian of the Sri Lanka Universities:—

(1) Does the learned Professor have the requisite qualifications as laid down in the University statute?

(2) Is it true that until the recent arrival of a Ph.D. in Sociology there was no teacher in the Department who had confirmed status as a Sociology lecturer (which is acquired only after recognised post-graduate qualifications)?

(3) In the absence of the most elementary pre-requisites for teaching under-graduates in the University, is it true that the learned Professor and his Department have been awarding not only undergraduate degrees but also higher degrees, such as M. A. and Ph. D.?

(4) Is it also true that the learned don's qualifications are in Sinhala Language and Literature?

Colombo 5. **D. C. De Silva**

(More letters on page 23)

DEATHTRAP — or the importance of being like Ernest or bye bye American pie or a review of a sort

Jagath Senaratne

Deathtrap opened at the Wendt on the 26th, and it's undoubtedly one of the best English productions to come our way for a long, long time. It's such a relief after an almost never ending stream of inane musicals that have been churned out in the recent past — and although I didn't even see his earlier production (a musical), de Zilva is to be congratulated in having brought it off so **technically** successfully, in, this, I believe, only his second attempt at a fully fledged production.

The technical virtuosity which is evident in this production...the meticulous eye for detail...the lighting that was exceedingly creative and effective...the stagecraft in general, and the acting too (except, of course, those flaws which are practically organic to our English theatre — but, more of that later)...makes even more poignant the paucity of substance within contemporary English theatre. Let me make it clear from the outset that I'm not comparing the English theatre to the Sinhala theatre; and that I **don't** believe the English theatre can ever be an enterprise as far-flung as either of the two national language theatres. But I do believe that in this plural, multi-lingual society of ours, it has an important role — if only it would recognise this, and get down to some serious work.

These presently active individuals have been associated with the English theatre for close upon a decade — some starting from even before the original Shakespeare competition days — and their interest and commitment to theatre is unquestioned. They've accrued an impressive array of technical skills over this period of time, which are grossly underutilised and will soon lose their cutting edge if neglected any longer. Of the young directors, Nedra Vittachi's work was in the right direction. But, as they were individual isolated efforts, unsupported by the others within a general creative movement, one felt hesitant to critically address the flaws which were evident, for fear of strangling a healthy and

potentially fertile tendency at birth. Anyway, she's the only one of the younger set to take the care and interest to actually produce some of her own plays, and one hopes she'll continue her work after her return.

In the last few months we saw Ernest MacIntyre's "Let's give him curry", and Sooty Banda's on the boards at the Wendt. Of the two, MacIntyre's play was the most significant — maybe the PPB's scalpel had something to do with Sooty's play losing most of its punch! MacIntyre's play skillfully discusses a whole host of issues situated right within the English speaking middle class, and also succeeds in giving us a glimpse of the unexplored dramatic terrain latent within the middle class ethos...a terrain virgin in its practically untouched state. Theatrically the play may not be as sophisticated as **Deathtrap**, but because the play's locus is set firmly within an identifiable social milieu it will be remembered long after the other is forgotten. MacIntyre's "The education of Miss Asia" is still talked about by some of the more perceptive members of the younger set, and an analogous situation may be said to exist between it and 'Equus'. I don't maintain that these are the sole criteria with which we evaluate, but maybe these will at least give us one method by which we could infer the true meaning of that quicksilver category 'relevance'?!

No doubt there's much to be debated and refined, remoulded and defined, but this is the direction that the younger set should take... reflect upon **their own** experiences... their roots... and derive inspiration from their own Being. If they do so, they'll not fail to strike a responsive chord in the thousands of youth who find themselves in similar predicaments. But the question is **can** they see themselves clearly enough tackle honestly the contradictions within them, of the convolutions of class, linguistic superiority, prestige, and snobbery?... **have** they anything to say, or is it all dishonest Art and pretense?

Their initial endeavours will not be as polished in form as 'Deathtrap' — that remarkable tightness, the intriguing manner in which the wheels within wheels develop... almost a hall of mirrors where reflection and counter-reflection, "play" and "reality" become indistinguishable — but the younger set should realize that unless they enter into a generalized process of wholly original productions, their English theatre will not be even considered to have come of age; and some of the more reflective among them well know this. They've shown, in 'Equus' and now with 'Deathtrap' that they have full and confident mastery of the stage, **once** the essential conceptualization is done for them. It's time they did that part too. (To liven-up these inevitable draws)

And why limit themselves to the precincts of the Wendt? I don't accept that pat reply of "no audience". Create an audience; make genuine efforts to bring good, relevant, and critical theatre to a wider public. As a result of significant changes in the social composition of the English speaking strata after 1956 — what with the drastic loss of political clout and State patronage there's a large potential audience out there (conveniently concentrated between Kollupitiya, Bamba, and Mt. Lavinia, for instance) who have far less elitist pretensions and inhibitions than their elders. Of course, unlike the cinema, they are not in the habit of going to the theatre, but if even a tenth of them could be attracted... and if there is genuine commitment it could be done. Also, why not go to the outstations — Kandy, Jaffna, and Galle for instance, where significant English speaking (but not necessarily exclusively English speaking) communities exist. Elaborate sets of course would be out of the question, but those could be reserved for the Wendtians couldn't they?! And what about street theatre? Admitted, the potential audience is much smaller than for the Sinhala troupes. But, to give examples of

the possibilities — how about groups doing their thing during the interval in the Royal-Thomian (see above)? A spot of theatre verite to get the young people interested, and to take theatre to the carnival, concert, school fete or sportsmeet. . . to where the people are? Outlandish? I'm practical? I would say what's lacking is the will and imaginative-interest. Let me hasten to add that I don't advocate an exodus from the warm, reassuring womb of the Wendt — that may turn out to be fatally traumatic. What I would suggest is using the Wendt as home-base, and while performing as usual within, to range far and wide without (in every sense of the word!).

But, it's not only the arithmetic of the audience alone that matter so much as factors like language. The fetish which the bourgeoisie have as regards the "correct" pronunciation of what they fondly assume to be "Standard English", is the single most inhibiting element obstructing the development of a genuine indigenous English theatre. These ideological patterns are reproduced from generation to generation by those innumerable 'trendy-whatnext' schools of "elocution" and "speech training", and seem to have so far successfully performed their function — namely, the creation and re-creation of elite consciousness. The all pervasive influence of these "schools" seem to

have created a distinctive Speech-Community, effectively sealing — off the Wendt. Incidentally, none of the accents in 'Deathtrap' even remotely resembled an American one — which makes me recall a similar situation in the Royal College production of "A Death of a Salesman" some years ago. I suppose the logic is that any accent is better than none, "after all these being foreign plays, one must create the proper mood you know".

Can the English theatre be taken seriously, or is its function that of merely titilating the jaded sensibilities of the Colombo bourgeoisie? An excuse, perhaps, for them to see and be seen in their newest threads faithfully copied from Soen, Seventeen or maybe. . . Vogue? A sad state for a theatre to descend to, when one ponders upon the fact that a CR-Havies match performs an identical function! Is it possible for those who function within the 'hot house' environs of the Wendt to even come near a 'relevant' theatre, a genuine 'theatre of critique'? Or, are they doomed to enact these charades, quite hopelessly out of phase with the times, with their youth and talents criminally wasted? Only time will tell. . . and in the meantime? Oh, we'll hopefully wend our way to the Wendt on wet nights, weary wayfarers lost amidst this sterile wasteland, ever expecting a local Weiss. . . or even a Wesker. .

POEM

(1982 marks the 15th death anniversary as well as the 80th birth anniversary of the Black poet Langston Hughes.)

Listen, Revolution,

We're buddies, see —

Together,

We can take everything:

Factories, arsenals, houses,
ships,

Railroads, forests, fields,
orchards,

Bus lines, telegraphs, radios,

(Jesus! Raise hell with radios!)

Steel mills, coal mines, oil wells,
gas,

All the tools of production,
(Great day in the morning!)

Everything —

And turn 'em over to the
people who work.

Rule 'em and run 'em for us
people who work.

On that day when no one will
be hungry, cold, oppressed,
Anywhere in the world again.

That's our job!

I been starvin too long,

Ain't you?

Let's go, Revolution!

The Housewife's Choice!

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Letters . . .

Lankan Options A reply to D. Jayatilleke

On reading Dayan Jayatilleke's latest contribution to your Journal ('Lankan Options', LG, June 1 1982), I am struck by the extent to which his attitude appears to be shaped by events in Central America. Be that as it may, I would like to comment on some of the points made in the above article.

Firstly, I find his use of that archaic Stalinist term 'social-facist' (sic) in relation to the 'traditional Left' rather offensive. Was it not the theology (it certainly wasn't scientific theory) behind this terminology that aided in the defeat of the German Proletariat and the rise of Nazism thereby leading to the deaths of over 30 million people? DJ's quite blatant Stalinism is confirmed by the accusation he hurls at the Italian CP: 'a collective police informant, in the company of Mafia and the Church' (were not the Poumistas once slandered as agents of Franco?).

Secondly, I object to his insinuations that there was imperialist backing for the 1965 movement in the armed forces. Considering the measures taken against those implicated in this movement, such suggestions are contemptible.

But these are relatively minor points in relation to his major thesis, that the three most likely scenarios, namely a presidential-military coup (who ever the President), a military coup, or the return of a revanchist Sirima, are all variants of a single solution to the accumulation crisis: Neo-fascism. 'It appears that there is no possible future for Sri Lanka but domination by the Fascist Jackboot.

Undoubtedly the danger exists of intervention by reactionary forces in the manner described but this does not mean that Neo-fascism is inevitable. Is there not a possibility of a different course of events? It should not be forgotten that while the proletariat and its allies

are dormant, they are not vanquished. The masses are simply marking time until the next elections.

Consider a different scenario (to use one of DJ's favourite expressions): the victory of a Sirima-led front at the next general election (which seems pretty likely), the explosion of the accumulated frustrations of the last few years and popular demands for more radical measures. These demands would be articulated by the radical sections of the front who, as those who witnessed the Five-Party May Day Rally may agree, do not lack a fairly large support base. Would it be beyond the bounds of reason to expect enthusiasm to be generated among the masses as it was in Allende's Chile or in Portugal after the revolution? Is it unlikely that the slogan of 'Popular Power' will take root in a country which has already experienced (albeit in a limited and sometimes bureaucratic manner) the functioning of certain organs of popular control?

Referring to the Chilean experience, Michel Raptis has written 'It (the UP) succeeded to the government after an electoral victory.... The error of some people on the extreme revolutionary left was to minimise the importance of this victory; they failed to understand that it would "objectively" unleash a real and lasting revolutionary process.... The concrete problem for the real revolutionary forces in Chile was, how could they bring to a victorious conclusion the revolutionary process that had been unleashed by the victory of the UP, the level of its official leadership being as it was? The hypothesis that the revolutionary process did not exist, or that "new revolutionary leadership" was necessary, led in practice to a withdrawal from the objective process to a position where one resigned oneself in advance to the "inevitable" defeat without actively participating in the struggle.' "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Chile". Allison and Busby, 1974).

It appears to me that the task of the Left today is to prepare to channel the mass euphoria that would accompany the victory of a Sirima-led front towards social transformation, and to prepare to fight reactionary intervention against such a process. It would do well to learn from the mistakes made by the Left in Chile, in Argentina and in Portugal. I suggest that this course of action is more realistic than DJ's alternative of preparing to fight **after** a dictatorial takeover. I also suggest that DJ cease generalising on a Central American model.

Mohammed Zaidi

Bunk and Balderdash

At last, I was quite relieved as I finished reading the article, entitled "Popular Sociology — Fantasy and Bunk" (L. G. Vol. 5 No. 5) for I realized that it was the only scientific and professional evaluation of the series of articles published in the 'Sunday Divayina' contributed by my kind professor Nandasena Ratnapala. Although some scholars, having echoed their views of the series in a certain Sinhala newspaper, were virtually unanimous in their condemnation of them, the reaction, I would say, was unnecessarily emotional and illogical, if not derogatory and malevolent. I greatly appreciate your Journal for its critical Journalism, objective observation and punch. You hit the nail on the head. Thank you. But one point to make. The departments of Education, Psychology and Sociology of our universities seem to have been particularly negligent in this area of research. It is high time you, the Sociological Association took up the challenge.

U. Amarasinghe

(University of Sri Jayawardenapura)
Meepitiya, Kegalle.

Sai Baba is here

Sai Baba is reputed to materialise objects out of thin air and satisfy the gullible or the devout (you can choose your own metaphor). He has now been invited as a State guest, because his fame has spread far

(Continued on page 24)

Letters. . . (Continued from P. 23)

and wide even to Sri Lanka. There is a campaign in certain misguided quarters implying that we should not invite Sai Baba, because he is irrational, may be bogus and possibly could lead astray the people of the country. These however, are false arguments. The real arguments for us not wanting a Sai Baba should be that we now seem to have a Sai Baba in our midst. This is my reading of the Guardian's article 'Sociology or Bunk'.

What the "research" of the learned Professor, which is described in your pages has succeeded in doing is to present facts not second to that of Sai Baba. He has apparently been able to materialise over 1.4 million persons getting V. D. in Colombo a year, when there are only 330,000 males in Colombo. Similarly, he has apparently been able to materialise more females having abortions than the entire female population in the probable child bearing age. If materialising such persons out of thin air is not an act of wizardry beating Sai Baba, I do not know what magic is. I believe strongly that it is much more difficult to materialise people out of thin air than holy ash. So clearly the learned Prof. Ratnapala is better than Sai Baba.

We have recently cheered great Sri Lankan feats such as dancers of the twist entering the Guinness Book of Records and a Sepala Ekanayake hijacking an Alitalia flight. We have proved Sri Lankan mettle to the world. We should now in similar way extol the virtues and publicise more the "findings" of the learned Professor as a real alternative to Sai Baba. Could we perhaps not export him to other countries for valuable foreign exchange or in the alternative get the Indian government to invite him in return for the Sai Baba's State visit? Colombo. **Siri**

Titbit

My friend the late Costain de Vos (who recently lost his life in an accident at Reichenbach in

FRAUD IN SCIENCE

FRAUD in research in developed countries is not a trivial matter, it often ends with the dismissal of the person concerned. One of the most publicised cases was that of William Sommerlin a promising young scientist from a well recognised American Institute and expected once to be a future Noble Prize Winner. He was found cheating and fudging results. The immediate response was the loss of job and scientific career and his withdrawal from research.

A few years earlier Sommerlin had announced that in the case of skin grafts the phenomenon of rejection could be circumvented if the transplant was earlier kept alive in a nutrient broth for about a week before the transplant. He was supported in his work by an eminent immunologist Dr. Robert Good who was chief of the widely respected Sloan-Kettering Institute of New York. This line of research was very relevant for transplant practise and his work therefore "hit the headlines".

However, he reached greater fame after being suspended from Sloan-Kettering and being called "the mouse painting doctor" by U. S. newspapers. Later he admitted to painting mice to appear to give the results he wanted. Application of the standard ethics of science meant that he lost his job immediately — and although some of his research ideas had potential — they were now all questioned. Such cases of fraud are rare in the Western countries now, but science had always progressed by showing up fraudulent acts for what they were.

A vetting of claims of colleagues are a normal part of scientific research because the researcher addressed first his peers who assess his work and then the public. It is the peers, whether they be the Royal Society in the 18th century or the professional and academic bodies that keep a check on pseudo science and separate the false from the real.

the GDR) was a life-long bachelor. So your correspondent Costain J. de Vos Jr. of Dehiwela represents an aspect of my friend's life I had not even suspected.

Incidentally de Vos Jr. calls his little tale about the special brassiere designed for Jane Russell by Howard Hughes a 'titbit'. Surely, in the circumstances, the **mot juste** is **titbit**?

Boyd Almeida

Demetagoda.

Wedded as he is to the memory of de Vos pere, correspondent Almeida will be glad to hear that Costain Jr., however shrouded in mystery the circumstances of his birth did think of that titbit. The GUARDIAN, alas, has been as coldly insensitive to the subtleties of his composition as it was to the delightful contribu-

tions of his illustrious father whose death in the G. D. R. comes as a shock to us but as no surprise. We were certain the L. G. would sooner or later drive him up the Wall. Ed.

Revolutionary . . .

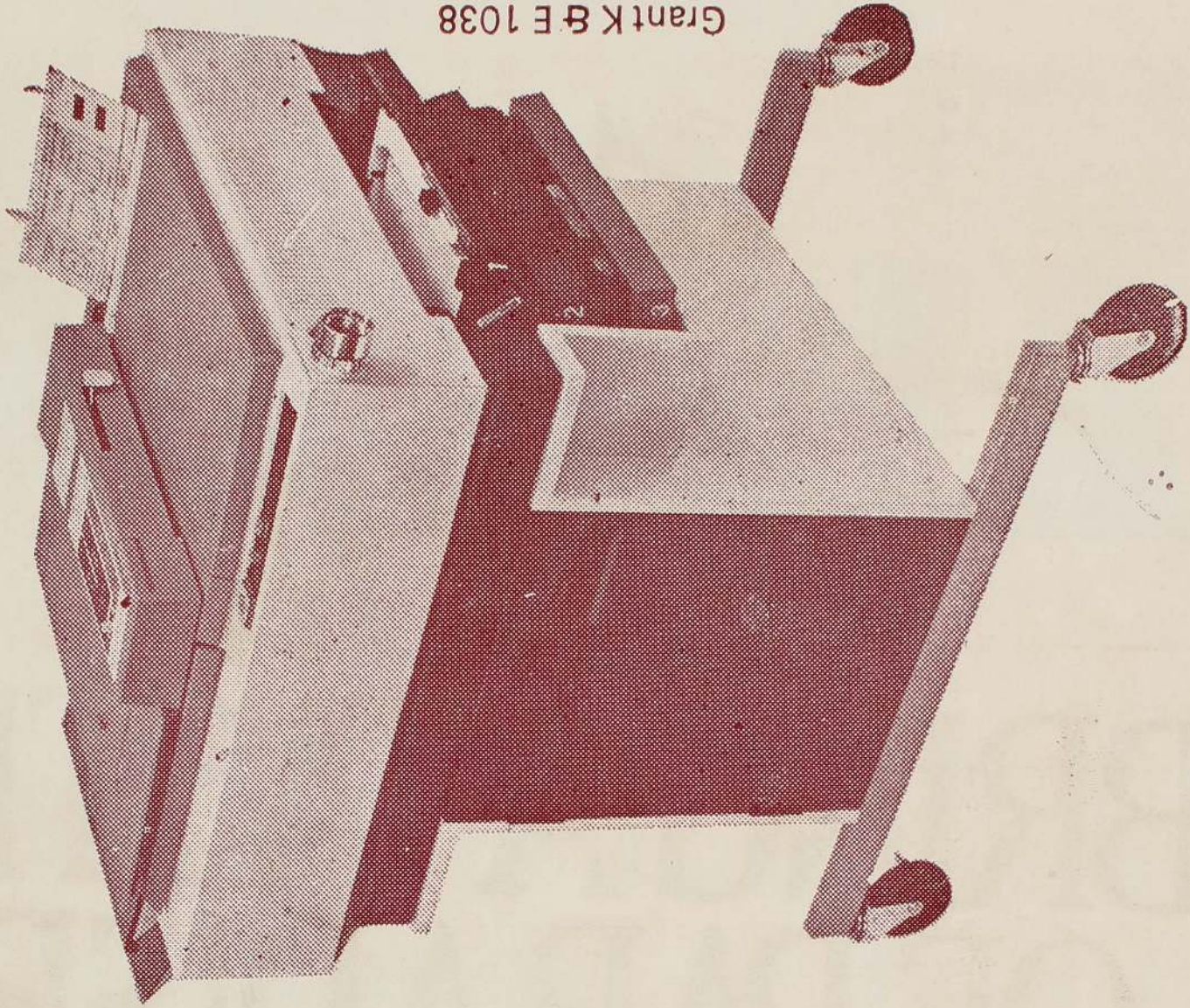
(Continued from page 14)

these propositions. Compromise was said to be neither desirable nor possible, education a mirage, and mass organizations inefficacious unless guided by a cadre (or vanguard) party. Objective reality was seen as operating in their favour only via subjective organization and transformation, and the previous ideals were castigated as hypocritical and deceptive. A new culture was to be constructed which would draw inspiration from the cultures of the oppressed masses who would now be able to realize new possibilities in an arena of freedom.

(To be Continued)

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