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SPECIAL — Cecil Rajendra : Poet without fear

— Tom Fawthrop

LANKA GUARDIAN

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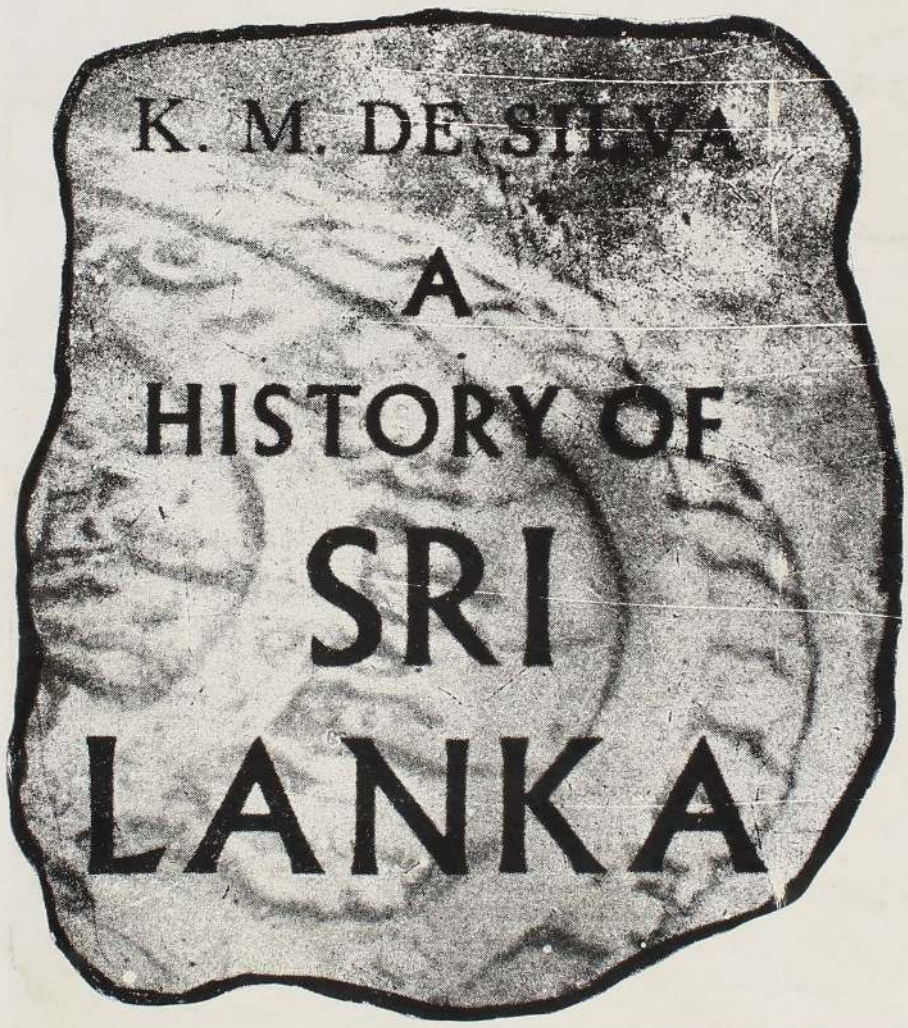
PECCADILLOS, YES
PLAGIARISM, NEVER !

Michael Roberts

on



Lanka, Yugoslavia — Pol Pot's friends

— Wilfred Burchett

Mahaweli — Master Plan gone awry

— Pauline Doidge

World crisis and impact on Third World

— Dayan Jayatilleka

● MAY DAY POLITICS ● TRINCO DEAL ● UNP, IMF

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CASTE — A COME-BACK?

To each sociologist and political scientist, his or her own thesis. Some swear by the Wriggins school, and others by the Jiggins version which gave caste such an all-important role in the drama of Sri Lankan politics. Urmila Phadnis and like-minded "Sri Lanka watchers" prefer to study it through the prism of religion. Classes, power elites, emerging elites are also fashionable categories.

Is caste making a big come-back into electoral politics? It is always there beneath the surface of party politics, and the recognition of such realities is no cause for shame. In the world's most populous democracy the so-called "untouchables" represent a powerful force. And in the more 'advanced' societies there are well-established categories which pay pooja unabashedly to race, religion and colour; for instance, the ruling WASPS in the US (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) or the Blacks, the Jews and the "Pigs" (Puerto Ricans).

Within days of the Darley Road fracas when the SLFP (M) became SLFP (M) and SLFP (A) and the widely reported caste jibes (later denied by Anura Bandaranaike) the press took up the caste issue. And now that President J. R. made reference to it on a public platform, commentaries appear almost daily. The SILUMINA had a major piece by its political pundit and the SUNDAY TIMES also took it up but in a slightly different way. It brought in caste in a general attack on the UNP's favourite target (and best known 1977 slogan) 'family bandyism'. Is the UNP mounting a new campaign? Will pre-election propaganda be drenched in casteism?

PARTY PURGE

Is the UNP poised for a dramatic purge? or is it only going to take some of the rogue elephants for the usual river bath?

Next to inflation, it is the widespread talk of high-level and large-scale corruption that has done the most damage to the party's image. The leadership must surely know this.

In the past however, there has been more talk and dire warnings about corruption than actual action. Whatever action taken was more the customary "committees of inquiry" which often didn't submit reports or reports which gathered dust in some odd corner.

Now the UNP has got really rattled. But what will it be this time? The white-washing machine the dry-cleaner or the sackcloth and ashes?

VOICES OF PROTEST

For some time now this journal has drawn attention to simmering traditionalist (Sinhala-Buddhist) protest. One of those leading the traditionalist counter-attack against what we called the 'new thuppahism' fostered by 'open door' economics, consumerism and ASEANIZATION is Dr. Sarachchandra. Not surprisingly the man who pioneered the revival of Sinhala drama took the re-decorated Tower Hall as symbol of this 'new wave' of vulgarity. In an **L. G.** *article he referred to the "mudalali theatre".*

*Long before that, another interesting question had been raised in this magazine. "Where are the Buddhist radicals?" (That debate has now become a Sinhala publication titled "***Religion and Politics***". In the course of those exchanges there appeared to be general agreement that Christian church groups and individual priests were far more closely identified with currents of radical protest in Sri Lanka.*

As a result, many of these Christian groups have come under fire in the mainstream media. Recently Bishop Lakshman Wickremesinghe was mis-quoted in the press to show that the Church was trying to use peoples' movements to further its own ends.

(Continued on page 31)

Kampuchea, Burchett and L. G.

Recently I came upon your series of articles on Kampuchea ("Background to Indo-China conflict"), which were printed in the Lanka Guardian in early 1979 under the name Amara Senanayake. Having recently completed the editing of Wilfred Burchett's new work on the same topic ("The China-Cambodia-Vietnam Triangle'), I was extremely impressed with the factual accuracy and the insight of these articles. Mr. Burchett's book, which was written after five fact-finding trips to Kampuchea and Vietnam, presents in greater detail those events so well summarized in the L. G. articles. I believe it is a book which will be of great interest to the readers of the Lanka Guardian.

(Continued on page 2)

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Letters . . .

(Continued from page 1)

"The China-Cambodia-Vietnam Triangle" has been published jointly by Vanguard Books of the United States and Zed Press of Great Britain.

Arlee Frantz
Vanguard Books.

(Excerpt from the book on page 15)

Subramaniam and Salami-Slicing

Mr K. Subramaniam (LG 15/3, 1/4) has indeed tried very hard to make a case for transforming India into a regional super-power (the New Raj ?) and for all of us in the region to duly recognize India as the up and coming super-power. He is naturally resentful about the disrespectful attitude of India's neighbours towards this super-power to be.

Although Mr. Subramaniam appears to have all the answers to all the questions one may raise about the matter, the fact remains that whether India can become a super-power or not is something that will be determined not by the subjective and wishful thinking of a handful of chauvinists in New Delhi but by the objective realities obtaining both inside and outside India. (I am sure that Mr. Subramaniam is familiar with the fable about the frog who tried to bloat itself to the size of a bull.)

Recently the '*Times of India*' (clearly pro-Indira now) expressed concern over Bhutan developing friendly relations with other nations in the region. The '*Times*' was quite explicit that Bhutan's attempts at direct negotiations with China and upgrading of relations with Bangladesh were not in the interest of good Indo-Bhutanese relations. The tone of Mr. Subramaniam's writing is no different from that of the '*Times*'

Mr. Subramaniam may have his own interpretations about India's annexation of Sikkim, but India's neighbours had an altogether different view of that matter. Mr. Subramaniam also managed to dismiss the India's annexation of Kashmir as something not very different from the integration into the Indian state of the princely states of Hyderabad and Hunza. One may well remember that the Kashmir question was a major factor which damaged India's credibility as a peace-loving nation.

Mr. Subramaniam's arguments often seem to rest on phrases like 'Chinese aggression of India, 'all problems in Southeast Asia (arising) out of China's attempt to exercise hegemony and Vietmamese resistance to it' , 'Salami -slicing tactics by the Chinese in the uninhabited mountainous areas' , 'China (possibly applying) pressure on Burma (against India),' etc. , and he proceeds to complain that 'China is still keeping open its options about its claims on its neighbours'. But I need not remind Mr. Subramaniam that it was India which benefited from the expert 'salami-slicing' by the British colonialists, without whose occupation of the region India in its present form will be hardly imaginable.

Mr. Subramaniam appears to strongly resent Nepal putting China on par with India, Sri Lanka seeking identity with ASEAN, and the reluctance of Bangladesh and Pakistan to seek common identity with India. He also claims that possible political instabilities in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh or Nepal can prove to be a threat to India's security, The identity and security of these nations is their problem not India's. It will be better for everybody in the region if spokesman for such agressive Indian foreign policy would first try their hand at sorting out the problems of identity and security inside India, where under Mrs. Gandhi's rule there is quite a bit of racial and religious tension.

It may console Mr. Subramaniam if one were to tell him that no nation in the region treats Pakistan after Bhutto as a serious threat to India's security. However, quite a few political observers suspect that Mrs. Gandhi's recent claims about threat to India's security are only a pretext to further clamp down on the opposition to her regime. India, I agree with Mr. Subramaniam, is, besides Sri Lanka, the only (bourgeois) democracy in the region. But what keeps democracy ticking in India is not any great commitment of the Indian nation and its people to the democratic system but the diversity and the size of the nation which makes it a rather difficult task for a military take-over and the fact that the mass illiteracy and political backwardness in India permit the corrupt capitalists and their allies in political power to hold on to power.

The fallacy in Mr. Subramaniam's arguments is often self-evident and I need not spend any effort to refute his arguments. However, I just cannot resist temptation in commenting on his observation about India not having any ideology to export. I guess the Gandhi referred to was M. K. Gandhi and not Indira, Sanjai, Rajeev or Feroz Varun, and would like to point out that MKG's ideas do not appear to have a market even inside India today.

Mr. Subramaniam, perhaps, is dead right when he refers to woolly-headedness, lack of purpose and low competence in India's efforts in the development and defence sectors. Judging by his article I am tempted to conclude that the pundits of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses too are making their fair contribution.

S. Sivasegaram
University, Peradeniya.

Public Holidays

A Lankan friend working in New Delhi, on a recent visit to Colombo, told me that in spite of bride burning (which seems

(Continued on page 31)

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MAY DAY POLITICS

LSSP : Not with a bang...

If the SLFP schism was tragi-comedy, the LSSP split was pure farce. Although the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, among its many other, more positive contributions to our national politics, had indeed introduced atomic fission to Sri Lanka, nobody had thought the party capable of one more bang. As it happened, the LSSP 'explosion' missed April Fool's Day by a long fortnight and just managed to grab the tail of the New Year festivities like a slightly wet fire-cracker.

The SLFP tragi-comedy may have been made for the special audience of President Jayewardene. The LSSP affair was enacted for the exclusive delight of Mrs. Bandaranaike. For months, the LSSP had tried to play 'honest broker' in the SLFP dispute. Now it was Mrs. B.'s turn to offer the broker her services over his own breakup.

"Are you still the party secretary?" Mr. Bernard Soysa thought it was a long delayed April Fool's joke, when a newspaper reporter got him on the phone at Mr. Leslie Goonewardene's home. The LSSP leadership was indeed taken by complete surprise for Mr. Anil Moonesinghe who had issued a letter to the press signed "General Secretary" had attended a Polit-buro meeting the previous day. At that meeting Mr. Soysa had taken up the question of a reported press statement by Mr. Percy Wickremasekera (UCMU). Mr. Wickremasekera had said that the UCMU would join the SLFP (S) May Day demonstration. The statement had been made before the LSSP decided to participate in the May Day procession organised by the SLFP(S) and its minor allies.

Mr. Moonesinghe, according to party sources, made no comment when this issue was discussed. Now, the leadership is certain that its own decision to join the SLFP (S) on May Day precipitated matters. Anil had pushed his own line — a programmatic understanding with the SLFP (S) as a prelude to a new United Front *a la* 1970. The "line" had been rejected in March with the Anil group mustering only a dozen votes in a Central Committe of 51.

If Anil had to retain his own identity (as leader of an LSSP faction) and effect also the SLFP (S) — LSSP hook-up he had to do it before May Day. The party was unlikely to hold a special conference to 'test' his line. May Day was clearly the occasion to make a public demonstration of his position.

That Anil Moonesinghe should take this stand comes as no surprise. The 'Anil line' has been identified and commented upon in the *L. G.* several times in the past. Ever since 1956 when he sported a pale blue banian, he has always been the SLFP'er in the LSSP. Though his speeches and articles do show a thin coating of Titoism and Labour Leftism (Tony Benn) and some residual traces of Trotskyism, Anil has always been the electoral politician par excellence, with an eye on the portfolio rather than the revolution round the corner. An able organiser and an indefatigable worker of the type not always found in the SLFP, he will be an asset to the SLFP (S) which he is bound to join sooner or later.

How the LSSP leaders and unions are going to march in the same procession with Anil's men, and avoid unpleasantness in public and embarrassment in private, will be known by May 1st night.

Integrity in politics has been at a low ebb in recent months on all sides. The LSSP which clung on to its respectability even as its fortunes waned, has suffered another blow. So has the traditional Left in general. It is not only Mrs. B. who has reason to smile There must be celebrations in the JVP camp too.

TRINCO : a tactical retreat?

The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation's full-page advertisements in the local press inviting international offers for the construction of an oil terminal in Trinco has received wide publicity abroad. The reason is plain enough. Despite evasive official statements and non-committal replies to press and Opposition, it was generally believed that the agreement between the CPC and the US Coastal Corparation required only the formality of signatures. In fact, the *SUNDAY TIMES* (London) of 24/1/82 carried a despatch from Anthony Mascerenhas and Iqbal Athas which began "The United States will gain control this week of the biggest oil storage facility in the Indian Ocean". The Trinco 'tank farm' was described as "one of the most glittering prizes in South Asia" which the Americans will gain control of... without a shot being fired".

But the shots were in fact fired — by the Opposition parties here, and by the Indian parliament and press. All of them shared the view that this was not a "pure commercial deal" as half the cabinet had kept insisting it was — in Colombo and Delhi.

The *Sunday Times* noted that while the government claimed it had "reserved the right to prohibit foreign naval vessels and customers using the tanks"... "official sources privately admit that the attempt to prevent the diversion of oil to military purposes is illusory".

The new terms and conditions have an interesting provision. The oil cannot be sold to "any military establishment".

Besides this fear that the deal will involve us, wittingly or unwittingly, in military operations

(Continued on page 9)

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WRITING OF HISTORY

The debate goes on

In its issue of Feb. 15, an item in *L. G. s* regular "News Background was entitled "History of Lanka — Great Minds Agree?". (It is not every month or every year that a History of Sri Lanka is written.) Indeed when Professor K. M. de Silva brought his book recently the author himself made the claim that it was the "first comprehensive history" of this country since Sir Emerson Tennent wrote his book 100 years ago. For a journal like the *L. G.*, this is important news indeed.

It made an even greater claim on our attention when the "*Daily News*", the favourite newspaper of the English-educated Establishment (and this 'history' is in English) published on its editorial page a review by Prof. A. J. Wilson (Univ. of New Brunswick, Canada) where we were informed that this book is the last word on the subject by "the wizard of Peradeniya". Having noted that the author's "outstanding academic record and scholastic achievements" were on record, the *L. G.* stated: "In view of the gigantic scale of the study and the erudition obviously involved in such an undertaking the assistance of an academic association was invited in connection with a review. Hopefully, a full and formal review will be published soon", The *L. G.* report then added that a member of this academic body had in a "first run-through of the sections on economic history only, discovered what he chose to call a series of striking "correspondences".

The "correspondences" related to the published work of **four** Sri Lankan academics (Michael Roberts, L. A. Wickramaratne, S. B. D. de Silva and A. V. de S. Indraratne, and to **two** others, John Ferguson and T. L. Villiers, quoted by S. B. D. de Silva, with full acknowledgement.)

In the editorial judgement of the *L. G.*, the existence of such "correspondences" raised many interesting issues; issues that were not only well within this journals area of concern, but cast a public duty on a publication of this kind. The *L. G.* thus posed these questions:

> "What do these 'correspondences' mean? A meeting of minds? A pure concidence? A simple secretarial or typist's error and an absence of inverted commas? Then, where are the inevitable mass of footnotes and acknowledgements? An inexplicable act of academic negligence or a freakish trick of memory? On the other hand, has Prof. de Silva opened himself to allegations of plaglarism. Since the word is derived from 'plaglare' (kidnap) could this be constructed as academic kidnapping?

Given its own inadequacies, the *L. G.* conceded that its contribution to the discussion it sought to promote would be necessarily limited. It said:

"This journal does not have researchers on its staff to give an authoritatitative answer. So the matter must be open to academic discussion, and most of all to some explantation from the author. Naturally the *L. G.* will not only welcome such a response but give it the prominence it would certainly deserve".

Professor Kingsley de Silva, we do realise, is an important and exceedingly busy man as a scholar probably engaged in many academic projects, a member of the University Grants Commission, a director of the Bank of Ceylon, a participant in high-level conferences and allied pursuits. Up to the time the May 1st issue was in prepartion, Dr. Kingsley de Silva, if he had read the *L. G.* of Feb. 15, had chosen to remain silent. That is his absolute right and privilege.

Equally it is our right and privilege to pursue these matters in view of (a) the academic issues involved (b) the public importance of the project concerned a comprehensive history of our country and (c) the publicity which accompanied the release of the book.

Some "reactions" were interesting but of little value. The groves of academe are full of grape vines, and along these came campus chatter which can do no more than whet the layman's curiosity.

"The C. O. 54 and C. O. 55 boys must be quite concerned" was a message from another university. Though no serious attempt was made to break these cabalistic codes, it transpired that "C. O." stands for "Colonial Office" and "54" for the Ceylon series. Evidently many theses and treatises have slumbered securely on nothing but the Colombo-London correspondence between British officials here and the Colonial Office.

A veteran teacher, now in retirement, is also said to have remarked: "The *Lanka Guardian* has

Letting down the side

When we allowed most of our colonies political freedom at the end of the last World War we expected of those that took over the burdens to carry on the enlightening mission that we initiated. In the Universities more than anywhere else we expected our traditions of Cambridge and Oxford to continue. The standards of academia we hoped, would proceed on the levels set in the mother country.

Just like the Parliamentary system we handed over to the ex-colonies has crumbled and become a facade, so apparently has the system of responsible academia that we wished for. I do not normally agree with your journal's editorial viewpoint, but your description of academia in Sri Lanka that emerges from your article on 'correspondence' saddens me. My grandfather might perhaps have nodded 'I told you so'

Without sounding too paternalistic may I suggest that the Sri Lankan University once more reintegrates itself with the University of London so that a proper academic climate could emerge once again in Sri Lanka.

P. Whitelaw.

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set in motion a train of thought which if it is allowed to gather speed may run over many reputations, leaving behind a trail of academic skeletons..."

While the *L. G.* took no notice of these, a long letter arrived on March 18, from Dr. Michael Roberts of the Dept. of Social Anthropology, Univ. of Adelaide.

Amused by some of its contents, (particularly Roberts quoting Marx!) some of his former colleagues may perhaps wonder why we were not tempted to publish it on April 1st. But the *Lanka Guardian*, unlike the mainstream media, is not given to playing April Fool's Day jokes in poor taste. In any case, we thought the issues involved were sufficiently important enough to be accorded a 'cover story' prominence, and that is what's being done in this double issue.

Dr. Roberts' letter (See **"For Kingsley and Country"**) which is published in full, levels many insulting charges at this journal. The *L. G.* has reserved the right of reply and does so separately. (See **"For THE LOVE OF MIKE").**

As one of the authors named, Dr. Roberts enjoys a very special authority to speak on the "correspondences" relating to his own published work. What does he have to say? He furnishes us entirely new information which promptly provokes a fresh set of questions. In doing so, Roberts does make, perhaps unwittingly, a most valuable contribution to this discussion, besides confirming the intrinsic importance of the matters we raised at the outset.

"Wickremaratne and I were the principal authors, but K. M. de Silva had a hand in the general overview and the final draft, besides providing the initial draft of pages 89-90".

Roberts then lets us into another secret. To his "personal knowledge" (Roberts, now playing de fence counsel **and** witness) K. M. de Silva was "already working" on the O. U. P. commissioned "History of Sri Lanka" when these chapters of the Univ. of Ceylon **'History of Ceylon'** (Vol. 3) were being drafted. So it was "hardly surprising that he incorporated the findings of those involved with him in writing of the British period of rule within his broader and general work".

Thus, concludes Roberts, the correspondences between "my writing" and K. M. de Silva's are "quite understandable and legitimate".

It would indeed be helpful if we could know what L. A. Wickremaratne, the other member of this academic "gang of three" has to say about Roberts' revelations. Meanwhile Roberts' own admissions force many other questions into the open.

(i) If he is the **principal** author, what does it make K. M. de Silva? Co-author? Part-author? Auxiliary, subsidiary?

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(ii) Whatever K. M. de Silva's precise contribution in authorship (and we are obliged to take Roberts' word/ten years after the event) why was this not acknowledged at the time? Was Roberts, the principal author, principally responsible for the suppression of this fact or was this non-disclosure of cooperative enterprise mutual agreement with his accomodating amanuensis, K. M. de Silva?

(iii) Whichever the explanation, a general issue arises at this stage. Is this non-disclosure of auxiliary services a universally accepted practice or is it confined to our academics? If the latter, a spectre surely haunts our temples of learning — the spectre of un-named (part) authors and shadowy ghost-writers?

(iv) On the other hand, if this is only an idiosyncrasy of Roberts, does this not place Roberts' readers in a peculiar predicament, in the future? They can only presume that he is the **principal** author. There could always be some other person who "had a hand" in the "final draft", besides providing the initial draft of one or two pages, perhaps even more. A decade later, this un-named amanuensis may "incorporate" Roberts' findings and regard the transfer as perfectly "reasonable" and "legitimate". (Observing the striking similarities or "correspondences" some scholar may proceed to accuse the second writer of "plagiarism". He will of course plead that he helped Roberts. But just supposing poor Roberts (perish the thought that the world of scholarship should suffer such a mortal blow) may have gone down under, permanently.

(v) **In any event, the extent of K. M. de Silva's assistance to Roberts in 1973 is the main plank of Roberts' explanatory plea in March 1982 and his defence of "understandable and legitimate." On account of Roberts own non-disclosure of that fact, the reader was not privy to such knowledge in Feb 1982.** Therefore **our act of presenting these correspondences in Feb. 15 was even more understandable and legitimate.**

Dr. Roberts makes an argument of the fact that Professor de Silva, at the begining of some of his chapters, (21 and 29) has a bibliographical reference to certain authors from whose material de Silva has "incorporated" entire sentences — numerous sentences that we called correspondences **without inverted** commas. While Roberts construes this as licence to incorporate whole sentences without inverted commas, we would like to ask academics and readers whether this is an accepted norm in the world of scholarship?

Two connected questions then arise:

(a) **Does the subsequent approval of an author whose material has been "incorporated" (minus inverted commas) make act of incorporation proper academic practice or is this not a general issue on which individual reactions cannot settle the question?**

(b) **What of those authors whose material has been similarly incorporated minus inverted commas who do not extend such polite approval later?**

In any case, Roberts omits to mention that there is not even a single bibliographical entry on Dr. S. B. D. Silva's work from which we re-produced several "correspondences".

So much for correspondences between K. M. de Silva's "History" and Roberts' article. For obvious

NOTE BY EDITOR

FOR THE LOVE OF MIKE!

How delightfully ironic that a man who is so punctilious as to put a commonplace phrase which is no Marxist invention within inverted commas ("whims and fancies") and acknowledge authorship within brackets (Marx) should undertake to play the patriotic, enlightened and impartial arbitrator on a matter that is all about the conspicuous absence of inverted commas.

If some of his leftwing Peradeniya colleagues were inclined to regard him as the 'wonder boy of the gymnasium, the Establishment pet or Labrooy's little lamb, they must surely be pleased to re-discover that Brer Roberts is now quite the radical Third World 'lion' probably brushing shoulders with Bruce McFarlane and berating the bourgeoisie in the common rooms of the staid Adelaide campus.

Sri Lanka's trained talent, quoth Roberts pompously, is too thin on the ground. We trust that the Australian turf is slightly thicker since his arrival in a country once described as a pimple in the arse of Asia. But we seriously doubt it. This judgement is founded on our own experience. For when he last appeared in these pages it was to earn a para for some pseudo-academic piffle he let loose about post-1956 cultural change at the Marga Institute under the tremendous title: **"The Past in the Present: the Asokan Persona as a Persisting Paradigm of Authority in the Sinhalese Political Culture."**

We laughed at this pompous pedant who certainly knew to mind his 'p's. And it is this pedantic coxcomb who now has the insolence to accuse us of pedaticism, muck-raking, mud-slinging, character-assassination etc.

The *Lanka Guardian* has had many detractors but never since its inception have we been charged with these offences, in public or private. It is not the type of journalism we practice.

Correspondent Roberts evidently has solicitous friends who transport the *L. G.* all the way to Australia and deliver it to the Roberts homestead in Adelaide. We challenge Roberts to persuade one of these friends in Colombo to file a plaint against us before the Sri Lanka Press Council accusing us of "these offences." (Shakespeare)

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reasons, we are in no position to obtain the views of Messrs Ferguson and Villiers. Two others, Indraratne and Wickramaratne, have not communicated with us at the time of going to press. Dr. S. B. de Silva, on the other hand, told us that on Feb. 11 (before the *L. G.* was out) he received a registered letter from Professor Kingsley de Silva which referred to "rumours", "malicious comments" and "statements" that were "malicious" and libellous in both intent and and content".

It is usual for local academics, Prof. de Silva had added, to put up with such things without protest. He, on the contrary, intended to "take a different course of action".

Of immediate relevance to the general issues raised later by the *L. G.* was Prof. de Silva's remark that he "has consulted dozens of books, articles and unpublished theses" and "had in all cases given the authors concerned credit either in the text or in footnotes".

As for the correspondence with Dr. S. B. D. de Silva's work, Professor K. M. de Silva had observed: **"if your name does not appear either in the text or in a footnote it is for the simple reason that I have not used your material in my work".**

Whereas Prof. K. M. de Silva, it should be said to his credit, is direct, straightforward and blunt (perhaps even aggresssively so), Dr. Roberts is defensively circumlocutory and slippery. Having pronounced the correspondences with his own work "understandable and legitimate", he has to explain the rest. This is how he does it.

"It is striking that *virtually* all your examples of correspondence are single-sentence illustrations. Several of them refer to the presentation of statistical facts. Yet others to rather prosaic details. On such mundane points it is hardly surprising that *some* correspondence in language should occur in *some* occasions in a long and general work". (All italics ours).

To save space, we shall republish only one such correspondence and leave the reader to ask himself whether this is a "prosaic detail" and "mundane point" on which it is hardly surprising that "some" correspondence in language has (magically) occured.

This is from John Ferguson (1903)

B: "The coffee crop for the whole year was often dependent on the weather during a single month: or even a week's (or a days untimely rain or drought might destroy the chance of an adequate return for a whole year's labour." (John Ferguson **Ceylon in 1903,** *(Colombo, 1903, 70.) (p. 339)*

*A: "The coffee crop for the whole year was often dependent on the weather during a single month; a week's — or a day's — untimely or unseasonal rain might well destroy the chance of an adequate return for a whole year's labour." (p. 273)

On the specific issue of correspondences, Roberts can speak with special authority only in regard to his own writings. But he chooses to do much more. "Writing a general history is a most difficult venture. I, for one, would hesitate to take on such a task".

Just when we are about to offer silent thanks for small mercies, it becomes painfully obvious that this burst of modesty is passing fit or pure affectation. Roberts in fact undertakes a task no less monumental.

He plays loyal Peradeniya pal and pompous little pedagogue pontificating on the problems of analysis and interpretation; he is the grand patron of pedants presenting gratuitous testimonials to a man of Professor de Silva's rank; he is the compassionate priest pleading for the peccant professor and then absolving him of all but most trifling sins (peccadillos); he is the pitiless instant-portraitist of Sri Lankan society, the ills of its intelligentsia and bourgeois manners; he is a pillar of rectitude, the paragon of journalistic practice and propriety.

While the reader may note with disgust that we share Roberts' own penchant for the palpitating "P" (see **"For The Love of Mike")** we close with two other points.

K. M. de Silva is widely accepted as Sri Lanka's No. 1 historian. If the person involved was of a much

(Continued on page 31)

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HISTORY OF LANKA

FOR KINGSLEY AND COUNTRY

Michael Roberts

A friend has brought across a recent edition of the *Lanka Guardian* in which lengthy comments are made on K. M. de Silva's *A History of Ceylon*. In charging him with plagiarism, your article has employed some of my writing as evidence. Taken as a whole your article appears to be an attempt at character assassination. To my mind it is marked by pedantic nit-picking and a failure to understand the nature of K. M. de Silva's enterprise.

Writing a general history is a most difficult venture. I, for one, would hesitate to take on such a task. His background of solidly documented research, his long teaching experience, and his editorial work in connection with the *History of Ceylon Vol 3* and *The Ceylon Journal of Historical & Social Studies* renders K. M. de Silva one of the few people qualified for such a monumental task. A general history is a difficult enterprise because it calls for a synthesis of the existing corpus of knowledge in a succinct yet lucid manner. While involving the marshalling of data, such a history must seek after a readable narrative form which a layman can understand. The data and interpretation need not derive purely from primary sources. Indeed, it is expected that a general history will draw a great deal of material from other secondary works. It is the fashion for some general history books to omit citations altogether, other than bibliography at the end. This is done in order to prevent the book from being cluttered up with citations — for a compact work of this nature will demand a citation for every sentence if the standard practice was adhered to and this would add enormously to the cost of publication.

The bibliography and the academic reputation of the author stands guarantee for the documentary grounding of the analysis. (This does not exclude challenges on substantive issues of analysis.) I believe the Cambridge History series followed this practice. It was this series, as K. M. de Silva makes clear in his preface, which guided the writing of the University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon Vol 3* which appeared in 1973 under K. M. de Silva's general editorship. I believe that the same guidelines were followed in his own *History of Ceylon*.

Viewed in such a light the examples which you have so assiduously pulled out of his text do not, in my mind, substantiate a charge of plagiarism. For such an accusation it would be necessary to produce an example of a whole paragraph of several sentences taken verbatim from elsewhere. It is striking that virtually all your examples of 'correspondence' are single-sentence illustrations. Several of them refer to the presentation of statistical facts. Yet others to rather prosaic details. On such mundane points it is hardly surprising that some correspondence in language should occur on some occasions in a long general work.

Yet another point needs to be made. The chapter on "Export Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century" in the University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon Vol 3*, which K M. de Silva is alleged to have plagiarised, was a collaborative enterprise between me, L. A. Wickremeratne and K. M. de Silva. Wickremeratne and I were the principal authors, but K. M. de Silva had a hand in the general overview and the final draft, besides providing the initial draft of pages 89-90.

It may also be of some pertinence to the case that the drafting of the chapters in the University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon Vol 3* occurred in 1971-73, at a stage when the Oxford University Press had commissioned Professor de Silva to produce a general work on the history of Sri Lanka and when he was already working on that task (my personal knowledge). It is hardly surprising that he incorporated the findings of those involved with him in writing on the British period of rule within his broader and general work. Nor should any critic so conveniently omit the fact that K. M. de Silva had referred to these writings at the head of chapters 21 and 29. To anyone familiar with academic formalities the location of these citations should have been indicative of their general relevance throughout the chapter.

For these reasons I consider the 'correspondences' between my writing and that of K. M. de Silva's (which you pinpoint) to be quite understandable and legitimate. Professor de Silva is a scholar who has devoted a great deal of labour to the improvement of our stock of knowledge about Sri Lanka affairs. To the best of my knowledge he has done so with admirable competence and with professional decorum. This does not mean that I support his analyses and his interpretations on all issues. There are a number of issues on which academic debates can be fruitfully conducted, and K. M. de Silva is too good a scholar to expect anything else. For others to devote their time to pedantic matters and to peccadiallos is, to my mind, a waste of time which pulls people away from more substantive issues of interpretation.

Such pedanticism seems to have a strong foothold in our culture. In the early 20th century our reformist nationalists devoted a great deal of time to legalistic issues and hair-splitting arguments. From personal experience I am aware that such pedanticism is found in some measure with the ranks of Sri Lankan academia. It

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Trinco. . .

(Continued from page 3)

(thus making the Trinco terminal a priority target of any power hostile to the country which is using the port's facilities) there was also the apprehension about Sri Lanka's nonalignment.

In a recent article in the *New York Times*, its roving correspondent in South Asia, Michael. T. Kaufman quoted Mr. Anura Bandaranaike MP on this aspect of the matter. Sri Lanka's nonaligned foreign policy has taken a pro-United States tilt after the current government took office nearly five years ago. He regards this as an ominous compromise of traditional neutralism.

There's still one other question. Evidently both the Sri Lanka Embassy in the US, and the US Embassy here, did not recommend the US Coastal Corporation (Bermuda subsidiary) too highly. Why then did the Industries Ministry and CPC go so far in negotiations with this Corporation?

While some Opposition parties think that the government has been forced by protest to include the new provision about sale to "any military establishment", others think that this is a tactical retreat, and the deal will be signed after the elections.

For Kingsley. . .

(Continued from page 8)

is a pity that the *Lanka Guardian* has so wholeheartedly committed itself to the cause of pedanticism, and allied it to an equally common penchant for mudslinging. Our trained talent is too thin on the ground for time to be wasted on 'whims and fancies' (Marx) which obscure more fundamental problems of analysis. Unfortunately our literati have, all to often, tended to indulge in these pastimes from their perches in common rooms and bourgeois drawing rooms; and those who have laboured hard to produce empirical studies of our society's history and economy invariably become the targets for such attack. It is in the national interest for scholars to focus on substantive analytical issues and I look forward to a review of K. M. de Silva's book from the Social Science Association on these lines. In the meantime I emphatically protest against the pedanticism and muckraking which the *Lanka Guardian* has so lavishly indulged in during the course of its recent comment on K. M. de Silva's book under the title "*HISTORY OF LANKA* — great minds agree?"

University of Adelaide,
South Australia.

(As we go to press, we have received a letter from Dr. L. A. Wickremaratne, which will be publised in our next issue.)

TAMIL COURSE

— Letter to President

The Students Assembly of the Colombo University has sent a letter to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Higher Education, asking him to resume the Tamil medium courses in the Arts Faculty of the Colombo University. The

(Continued on page 31)

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From "Consulting Engineer"

Victoria mobilises to avoid delays

Pauline Doidge

At Victoria irrigation and hydropower project, main contractor Balfour Beatty/Nuttall is trying to mobilise more plant and equipment in an effort to still meet its 1984 deadline. There is no doubt that two major tunnel collapses that occurred within weeks of each other 650 m from the dam's power station portal, have caused enormous problems and considerable delays.

The gaping chimney within the faulted zone above the tunnel is thought to be as much as 50 m high. Already over 1000 m^3 of muck, including boulders weighing up to 4t, has been removed.

The current proposal is to concrete up the entire tunnel cavity, then drive through that with a pilot heading in the crown until sound rock is reached. But there are problems getting a placer on site because the equipment is not available, and then the question of how to get the concrete in well above the crown. One possibility under consideration by a special team of experts from consultant Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners and Britain's Overseas Development Administration, is to drill a 300 mm diahole from the surface down into the chimney and pour the concrete through that. But the raise bore machine on site cannot provide a lined hole and it is feared that the hole would collapse.

The faulted zone of the tunnel is now so dangerous to work in that it has been closed off. Operations have ceased at the outfall drive.

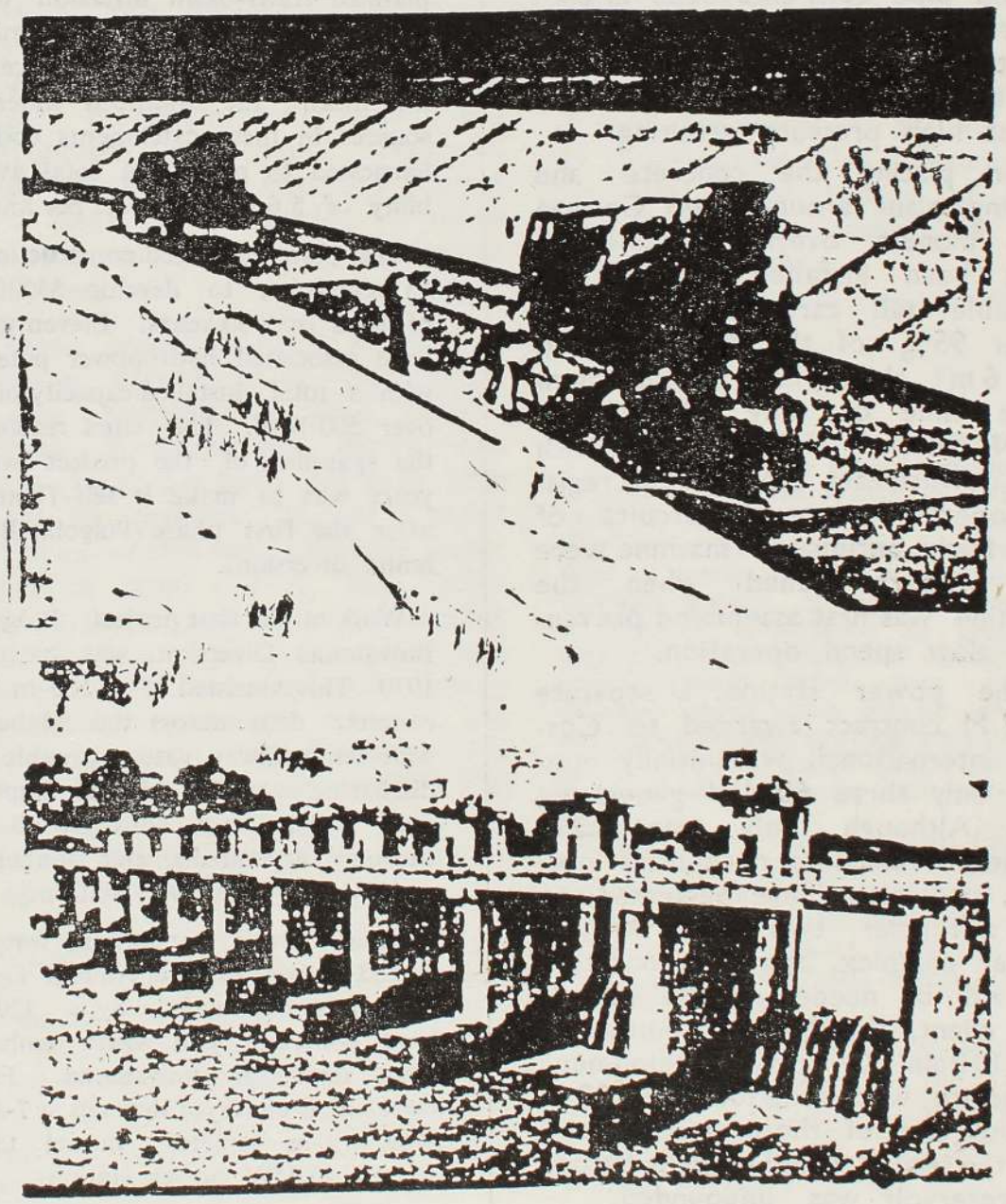
The project

Victoria project comprises a double curvature concrete arch dam 120 m high, a tunnel and a power station with a generating capacity of 210 MW. The dam wall is relatively thin—550 m across the crest but only 7 m thick, increasing to 25 m at its thickest point near the foundations.

When constructing the dam, contractor Balfour Beatty/Nuttall will use mainly 15 m wide vertical cantilevered blocks on both the upstream and downstream face. The blocks are cast in 2 m lifts with varying thickness, the base level being 23 m below the dry river bed level.

To counteract the force of water falling more than 100 m from the crest spillway, a 3 m thick slab will be constructed on the down stream foundation level. Anchors 10 m long and 40 mm in diameter will secure the slab to the rock. Due to poor rock conditions beneath the proposed slab, the area has had to be excavated and refilled with up to 10 m of concrete.

The first phase of the project has been the construction of cofferdams along the line of the river to permit the building of a diversion channel and construction of the first blocks of the dam on either side of the Mahaweli river. The river has a high flood potential, particularly during the annual



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monsoon season. Diversion tunnels are therefore impractical as they would need to be too large.

In place of these, the river will be diverted in January of next year through two temporary openings 8 m square in the right hand side of the dam. Since flood waters overtopped gabion protection walls in September inundating right bank excavations for the dam, the gabions which had already been raised by 2 m to cope with expected flash floods are to be raised again. No serious damage was done to the structures — the excavations were pumped out, silt hosed away and concreting recommenced within the week.

The total amount of concrete in the d m is about 660,000 m^3 requiring aggregates of up to 150 mm produced by the site batching plant. Temperatures within the mix have to be carefully controlled; conditions in Sri Lanka average 80°F. An ice plant has therefore been installed to turn out chilled water and 30t of ice every 24 hours. 19 mm pipe coils embedded in each layer of blocks will carry refrigerated water to keep the concrete slightly below ambient temperature whilst high pressure grouting.

For placing the concrete and moving plant around, two German PHB blondin overhead cableways have been installed. Using one movable tail carriage, they can cover 95% of the dam site and the 6 m^3 skips have a maximum cycle time of only 4½ minutes. BB/N recently had trouble with the downstream blondin; the registor-operated control circuits of this fairly antiquated machine were not properly tuned when the machine was first assembled preventing slow speed operation.

The power station, a separate £6.7 M contract awarded to Costain International, will initially operate only three 60 MW generating sets. Although only one 6.2 m diameter tunnel is needed at present, provisions have been made to add a further two sets to the power complex, and a second tunnel will be needed in the future. The client, the Mahaweli Authority and Britain's Overseas Development Authority who contributed £ 100 M to the cost of the project, agreed that the second tunnel be built before the reservoir was impounded.

THE MASTER PLAN

Preliminary studies of the resources of the Mahaweli basin were first made by the Irrigation Department in the 1950s. As a consequence, a joint Food & Agriculture Organisation/United Nations Development Programme team was asked to draw up a master plan — which was completed in 1968.

The master plan which covered nearly 40% of the island, estimated that a mean yield of 6.4 M acre feet per annum of water was available at the lowest diversion point on the Mahaweli Ganga. By constructing a series of reservoirs on the Mahaweli and its tributaries, it was estimated that nearly 4.3 M acre feet per annum could be regulated for irrigation with a 90% frequency of use. As the land available for irrigation between the Mahaweli basin itself was insufficient to make full use of this water, the study team planned trans-basin diversion to the adjacent river basins of Maduru Oya and the North Central Province. By this means, the untapped water resources in these catchments could be harnessed to provide a total availability of 5.6 M acre feet per annum.

The plan envisaged construction of 15 reservoirs, to develop 350000 ha of land over 30 years. Eleven would have associated hydropower potential with a total installed capacity of just over 500 MW. The chief reason for the spanning of the project over 30 years was to make it self-financing after the first phase (Polgolla-Bowatenna diversion).

Work on the first project, Polgolla-Bowatenna Diversion, was started in 1970. This consisted of a 150-m-long concrete dam across the Mahaweli with ten spillway gates, capable of discharing over 5000 m^3 /sec. Impounded waters are conveyed 8 km through a 6-m-diameter tunnel to a 40 MW hydropower station.

After power generation, water is routed across to the Amban Ganga basin and impounded by a 320-m-long concrete and earth embankment dam at Bowatenna. From there it is conveyed through a 7-km-long, 4-m-diameter tunnel to a second 40 MW power station.

This first diversion, completed in 1976, provided supplementary irrigation to over 24000 ha of existing fields in system H, and a further 32000 ha after emptying itself, via the Amban Ganga and the existing Elahera Canal, into the ancient tanks of Minneriya, Kaudulla and Kantale.

The following year, the Socialist government suffered a landslide defeat Mrs Bandaranaike was ousted in favour of the more moderate (and pro-Western) J R Jayewardene. The new government decided to telescope the 30-year Mahaweli programme into a period of between five and six years to make the country self-sufficient in rice production (its staple diet), generate power to fuel industry until the end of the century, and very important, to solve the unemployment problem then running at over 20% of the work force.

Under the 'Acclerated' Mahaweli Development Programme, 29000 ha of previously uncultivated land would be developed under system H, while 125000 ha of new land and 32000 ha of existing lands would be cultivated in systems known as A, B, C and D in the Mahaweli basin and its immediate basins.

Therefore it was necessary to construct five dams — Victoria, Randenigala, Maduru Oya, Moragahakanda and Kotmale — at an estimated cost (then) of around £ 600 M.

The Mahaweli Authority was created in 1979 to implement the project in collaboration with the Ministry of Mahaweli Development, the Mahaweli Development Board and the Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau.

The now-modified accelerated programme has four main components.

* construction of three storage and hydropower dams — Victoria, Kotmale and Randenigala — on Sri Lanka's largest river, the Mahaweli Ganga.

* irrigation development of system C and B, by means of the Right Bank Transbasin Canal and Ulhitiya and Ratkinda reservoirs and, for system B, the Maduru Oya reservoir.

* irrigation development of system A, the project further downstream.

* completion of the on-going development of system H, G and D and Bowatenna power station.

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Double trouble at Kotmale

Kotmale hydropower project is the Government's worst headache because it is currently operating under two major constraints: a substantial portion of total project cost (which latest estimates put at £166M) has yet to be found, and because of that, negotiations cannot be settled for its major dam contract.

So far Sweden has put up most of the finance, and the Government is certainly hoping that it will make up the shortfall. But up till now Sweden has shown a fairly tough policy on increasing loans.

The Government is hoping that Swedish contractor Skanska Cementgjuteriet will be able to make some further savings on the dam. Both sides are playing it very close to their chests at the moment with the Government looking for a figure of £77 to £83M, and Skanska having tendered at £97M. Skanska is in a stong position, since all three Kotmale contracts were negotiated.

Kotmale consultant Sir William Halcrow & Partners meanwhile is anxious to get the pro'ect off the ground, so it has devised a scheme for bringing the cost down to £91M, which involves incorporating the upstream cofferdam into the dam itself, and relocating the spillway so that it is slightly nearer the centre of the dam. Halcrow has managed to convince CECB head Dr. Arumadura Kulasinghe, that the increase in cost of raising the dam at some future stage which this modification will bring, will be marginal. However, this scheme increases the risk of flooding and damage by lowering the level of the cofferdam, and Halcrow is currently trying to find an insurance company that will not slap on enormous premium.

Kotmale is scheduled to complete by February 1985, so the Government cannot afford to hang about much longer. The dam has already been deferred by a year because, as one engineer tactfully put it, 'its original site was not an obvious choice'.

According to Halcrow chief resident engineer Pat Sadler, the rock dips downstream at the original site, at an angle of about 12°, but the dip is contorted downwards into the left bank and out of the right bank. So there is a tendency for the right bank to slide out and down. Halcrow is putting in rock anchors to restrain any movement

The mechanism that in the geological past caused a whole area to move out on the left bank was a source of dispute between geologists for over a year. 'There's been a lot of geological studies done on this project in the past', said Sadler, 'but no one ever appeared to have co-ordinated the results of them and drawn the appropriate conclusion'. Halcrow, who was brought into the project at a later stage, decided to move the dam site 200m downstream early last year.

These problems have resulted in a sharp escalation of cost, which is why Kotmale is now under-funded. Already the dam's top water level has been cut back 25m (from its original 728.5m) in order to keep within the estimated upper figure of costs (1979) But Sadler says his main concern is time rather than funding, and with plant idle due to the shortage of heavy equipment operators, Skanska has had to accept the Government's offer of Chinese replacements. The first batch was scheduled to arrive on site in September and Sadler predicts 'major problems'.

Kotmale involves a rockfill dam with an upstream concrete membrane, which impounds the waters of the Kotmale Oya—a tributary of the Mahaweli Ganga. These are conveyed through a 7-km-long low-pressure tunnel to an underground power station of 200MW capacity.

The low-pressure tunnel is being drilled from the dam end from a gantry with 12 hand-held drills. At the power station end, an Atlas Copco 3-boom drill jumbo is being used. Mucking out at the power station side is done with a Caterpillar side-tipping front end loader, while at the dam end there is a railmounted system. Mucking is carried out with a Conway Mucker which loads on to a Muhlhauser convey or via a Hagglund shuttle car.

Skanska has now finished excavating the two diversion tunnels, a total length of 1600m, in preparation for construction of the dam and is building the portal intake structures up - and down - stream. The D-shaped diversion tunnels, 9m equivalent in diameter, were excavated by the top heading and bench method. Rab Brown, Halcrow RE for underground works told *Consulting Engineer*, 'the priority now is to complete the concreting of the portal structures and concrete-line the diversion tunnels so we can complete the diversion of the Kotmale Oya (river) during the first four month of 1982'. Meanwhile, dam foundatian excavation has started.

The master . . .

(Continued from page 12)

Victoria project, which is now being built, will generate power and supply irrigation water to system E and C and, in conjunction with Randenigala reservoir, supplement water supplies to system B. The planned Randenigala project, 21 km downstream of Victoria, in addition to generating power will re-regulate discharges from Victoria before they reach Minipe, where water will be diverted for both the existing Left Bank Canal and the Right Bank Transbasin Canal (now under construction).

The flows in the Right Bank Canal will be further regulated in the nearly completed Ulhitiya-Ratkinda twin reservoirs for irrigating lands in system C, and further diversion to Maduru Oya reservoir, which is under construction.

The prime function of Kotmale is electric power generation, but it will also increase the amount of irrigation water available at Polgolla, through regulation of flows in the Kotmale Oya.

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How Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka helped Pol Pot

From "The China, Cambodia, Vietnam Triangle"

by **Wilfred Burchet**

Hanoi's major effort to ward off the otherwise inevitable full-scale confrontation was its three-point proposal of 5 February 1978. It stated:

(1) An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border region; the armed forces of each side shall be stationed within their respective terriories, five kilometres from the border.

(2) The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi, or Phnom Penh, or at a place on the border, to discuss and conclude a treaty on mutual respect and a border treaty between the two countries.

(3) The two sides shall reach an agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

Copies of the proposal were sent to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and to governments represented on the Coordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Movement, then under the chairmanship of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). There was no reply from Phnom Penh but immediately following the proposal — between February 9th and 11th — the Tay Ninh capital was shelled by Chinese 122 mm and 130 mm artillery and district centers were bombarded in the three Mekong Delta provinces of Long An, An Giang, and Dong Thap.

In May 1978 Hanoi proposed that the UN appoint a mission to mediate frontier and other outstanding problems between Vietnam and Kampuchea. This move was blocked by China.

Then at the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement in July 1978 — which I attended — Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh asked that the appointment of a "good offices" mission, composed of Non-Aligned members, to mediate Vietnam-Kampuchea differences be placed on the agenda. Sri Lanka's foreign minister A. C. S. Hameed, as Chairman of the Movement, was willing, as was India's foreign minister, A. B. Vajpayee, who chaired the Political Committee where the agenda was decided. But Yugoslavia's foreign minister, Josip Vrhovec, acting as the delegate of the host country and under intense pressure from China — which was not a member but was extremely active in the lobbies — persuaded Sri Lanka's Hameed that this would be a "divisive move" because only one of the two parties to the dispute sought mediation. To force the proposal through — assured as it was of overwhelming support — would be "interfering in the internal affairs" of Pol Pot's Kampuchea! Under pressure from Sri Lanka, Vietnam withdrew the proposal in the interests of "maintaining Non-Aligned unity"!

On the opening day of the Belgrade Conference I met Milan Marcovich, head of liaison with foreign delegates and a friend from my days in Phnom Penh when he had been Yugoslavia's Charge d' Affaires there. His first question was: "Do you know what's going on in Cambodia?" I replied that I did not and that it was just this lack of information that was most troubling. All of my requests to make a visit had been ignored. "It is simply awful," said Marcovich, "and we are the best placed in the West to know because we have maintained an embassy there all the time. All our mutual friends have been killed." He then ticked them off on his fingers, starting with Huoth Sambath who had headed several ministries under Sihanouk and as ambassador at the UN had immediately rallied to the resistance government. He had been appointed by Pol Pot as the Khmer Rouge ambassador to Belgrade "He returned for a so-called conference of ambassadors and like all others who responded he was arrested and executed."

He asked if I had met Vittorovich, a Yugoslavia filmmaker who had made the only Western film inside Pol Pot's Kampuchea. I had but had not seen him since he visited our home in Phnom Penh years earlier. Marcovich said he would be at the conference the following day — and he was. After greetings, his first question to me was: "Did you see my film?" I had not but my wife Vessa, who was standing alongside me, said she had seen it on French television. Asked what she thought of it. Vessa replied: "For anyone who has lived in Cambodia, it was terrifying. The only smiling face was that of Pol Pot." Vittorovich seemed relieved. "Then my message got through," he said. "What we saw was a hundred times worse than we could put on film or I could express in my commentary." It was clear that diplomatic considerations were an inhibiting factor!

What was extraordinary at Belgrade — and in February 1979 at a meeting of the Non-Aligneds' Coordinating Bureau in Maputo (Mozambique) and even more so at the Non-Aligneds' summit in Havana in September 1979 — was that Yugoslavia took the lead in stubbornly defending the Pol Pot regime. It continued to do so later at the United Nations. That the "best informed" Western country would do this is explainable only by Yugoslavia's intimate relations with the United States and its new-found friendship with China.

(*Continued on page 25*)

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IMF keeps anxious foot hovering over the brake

Nicholas Colchester

THE economic policies of the past compete visibly with those of the present on the narrow roads of Sri Lanka. The buses of the Central Transportation Board, battered and trundling relics of 20 years of state control, represent the discarded strategies of the Bandaranaike era. Weaving past them race private sector buses spawned by the new policies of President Junius Jayewardene: smaller, faster, more adventurous in their search for passengers, but also pricier, they seem an apt symbol of free enterprise unleashed.

Sri Lanka is, indeed, an object lesson in liberalising the economy of a developing country. The country provides a representative case: rich in agricultural potential, poor in minerals and oil, equipped with an ex-colonial racial problem. The island has also experienced the benefits and discomforts of indebtedness to the International Monetary Fund.

Above all, Sri Lanka is interesting as a test case because of the clearcut way in which the Jayewardene Government changed economic course when it came to power in 1977. It discarded many years of interoversion, state control and public sector domination, and substituting acceptance of private and foreign investment, reductions in subsidies, a floating of the currency, but also grandiose public development projects financed via a more spendthrift attitude to public and international debt.

The vital statistics of the economy responded in the following manner: In the four years 1978-81 real growth in the Sri Lankan GDP averaged 6.5 per cent, slowing gradually to 5.8 per cent in 1981. This compared with growth averaging 3.6 per cent per annum in the years 1970-77. An unemployment rate of 13 per cent is now claimed by the Finance Ministry, compared with 20 per cent when the Government came to power.

On the other hand the rate of inflation surged sharply, reaching 26 per cent, according to the official consumer price index, in 1980 before dropping to some 18 per cent in 1981. This compared with an average rate of 5.7 per cent in the years 1970-77. Unpublished prices indices suggest a much higher actual rate of inflation — perhaps 25 per cent in 1981.

At the same time Sri Lanka's current account deficit deteriorated sharply. It was equivalent to over 19 per cent of GDP in 1980, improving to 15 per cent in 1981. In the mid-1970s Sri Lanka's current account was essentially in balance. As a result Sri Lanka's external debt has risen fast to over Rs 29bn (U.S.$ 3.12bn) by the end of last year. The cumulative debt burden nevertheless remains relatively low by the standards of most developing countries.

These broad "before and after" figures suggest an overambitious dash for growth during a period when the second oil shock and falling commodity prices were making development an uphill struggle for the whole of the third world.

They also reveal the impact of the corrective action imposed by the IMF. The Fund suspended its lending to Sri Lanka in July 1980 and insisted on a clamp-down on public expenditure in 1981.

Nineteen eighty-two has opened with Government officials friendly towards the IMF and ready to admit that puplic spending had run out of control during 1980. Both the IMF and World Bank are pleased with the way control was restored in 1981—the Government deficit dropped from 22 per cent of GDP to 14.5 per cent — but are looking askance at the budget for 1982 which predicts a fresh upturn in Government borrowing to some 17 per cent of expected GDP. Even that appears optimistic·

There were two paradoxes in what President Jayewardene calls his bloodless revolution. The first was the way in which a decision to "privatise" the economy led to such a rapid increase in *public* spending, an increase which, in fact, deprived the private sector of resources just when it was being allowed to re-establish itself.

In the initial euphoria the ministries in Colombo outdid one another in grandiose investment projects and were not sufficiently reined in by a cordinating authority. Government investment reached one-fifth of GDP in 1980.

Some of these projects promised intangible returns—the urban housing projects, for instance, or the new parliamentary complex at Kotte. Both appeared to be putting the icing before the cake.

Others made more long term economic sense. The giant Mahaweli project, involving four dams and the resettlement of 140,000 famillies, should ultimately make a great contribution to the economy in the form of energy and irrigation. But it is now clear that too much was attempted too quickly and that the available aid was spread too thinly. The quadrupling of the cost estimates to $2.5bn has left the Government financially exposed.

The other paradox is that privatisation was not applied to the motor of the economy — the tea and rubber sectors, which together account for half of Sri Lanka's exports. The policy of land reform and nationalisation pursued by the previous regime had clearly run these two sectors down: tea output was stagnating at 210m kg per year in the mid-1970s compared wito 240m kg in the mid-1960s.

Rubber production remained static throughout the 1970s at about 140m kg. Yet after four

(*Continued on page 25*)

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FOREIGN AID: Donations to the status quo

Jan Nederveen Pieterse

Foreign aid is a paradox. On the one hand it represents a recognition that the prese t economic order is unjust and in need of remedy, and on the other hand **foreign aid tends to be given only to those countries that are willing to accommodate themselves to the same present economic order.** Chile is a case in point. When Salvador Allende assumed power in 1970, determined to control the operations of foreign multinationals, World Bank loans were drastically reduced. Loans were resumed only after a coup which brought a military regime to power favourable to foreign investment. Thus foreign aid is a contradiction in itself. It is a symptom of the disease of which it claims to be the cure.

To understand foreign aid is to understand the system of which it is a part. Foreign aid is a part of the political economy of imperialism.

In the old days, say in the time of the Roman Empire, the imperial power took it as a task to build infrastructural works and to create a framework for trade. Roads were built to give their armies easy access and to make trade possible, the roads were kept safe from bandits, and Rome also provided a common currency. The imperial power was the policeman and banker of the domain.

These activities that are normal for any hegemonic power are now labelled 'aid' 'development aid', and 'security assistance'. At present there is not one empire; since the period of the latest hegemonic power, the Pax Americana, has come to end with the Vietnam war, the system is in crisis. Although the United States is still the strongest single hegemonic power, rivals are emerging from the shadows, Europe, the East bloc, South East Asia. Many of the tensions we see today, the military conflicts, the crisis of the international monetary system, reflect the tansition to a new multicentered order. Accordingly, the tasks of controlling, directing, facilitating world trade are now shared by all these hegemonic rivals.

What is now presented as 'aid', amidst humanitarian, altruistic, moralistic pomp, is just a part o this control, it is the works that are necessary to open up the wealth of the hinterlands of imperialism, of multipolar geopolitics. Roads and ports are built to bring raw materials to the world market, mines and power stations and factories are put up to extract and process the wealth of the land. Under the label of 'development aid' the economies of the underdeveloped countries are bent to the requirements of the developed hegemonic nations, continuing the process begun under colonialism. Foreign aid, in conjunction with foreign loans, foreign investment, and transfer of technology, is just the handwork of imperialism. However, in the way that we are familiar with it, it is **the 'public relations' of Imperialism.**

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

There has been much criticism of the fact that so much aid is tied, is given on condition that it must be spent on goods and services from the donor country. Despite this criticism, despite pledges from the rich countries to untie aid, the amount of tied aid has increased, from 35% in 1972 to 53% in 1977. To be more specific: 75% of American aid is tied, 80% of Canadian aid, 66% of British aid. (*New Internationalist*, Dec. 1979) Tied aid is really government subsidy to exporters in the donor country. American exports financed under the US aid programme are, as of 1978, soaring to the tune of $ 1 billion a year. (**Africa** June 1979) There is also a wider function in that markets for American products are created. Thus according to the General Accounting office in Washington, for every aid dollar that leaves the US, two or three dollars flow back. (*New Internationalist* oc) This is aid but to whom?

Eugene Black, former president of the World Bank, puts it in this way: '....our foreign aid programs constitute a distinct benefit to American business. The three major benefits are: (1) Foreign aid provides a substantial and immediate market for United States goods and services (2) Foreign aid stimulates the development of new overseas markets for US companies. (3) Foreign aid orients national economies towards a free enterprise system in which US firms can prosper. '(Jalee, 110)

Aid is business. This is clear enough in the case of bilateral aid. **But how about multilateral aid, given by the UN agencies, the World Bank and so on?** The multilateral aid agencies cooperate closely with multinational corporations and the largest commercial banks, in capital, expertise and management. We often see directorships shifting between the international agencies and the large private

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firms. Aid funds are provided pending project approval, experts from consultancy bureaus or multinationals make their feasibility studies, and often a multinational is contracted to execute the project. **Thus, in practice, a part of multilateral aid is also tied.** Development is business.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

Commercial motives do not seem to be the main reason behind aid. The pressures of monopolistic firms seeking to control the entire chain of a product, from raw material to end product, are more important than just trade. **There is no such thing as capitalism in one country.** Even so it is clear that direct economic interests do not fully explain aid. According to President Kannedy: 'Foreign aid is a method by which the United States maintains a position of influence and power around the world, and sustains a good many countries which would definitely collapse, or pass into the Communist bloc.' Indeed we would expect economic and political interests to interlock. America has oil interests in the Middle East, Egypt is the new cornerstone in American Middle East policy and thus we can appreciate the massive US aid going to Egypt (almost $ 3 billion in 1977). Then there are the immediate political interests. Mobuto and Pinochet, Presidents of Zaire and Chile, declare that they are boycotting the Moscow Olympics, in the name of human rights? (*Guardian* 2 Mar. 80) **Aid flows, it flows as the gear-oil of diplomacy, as a way to grease the palms of the powers that happen to be.**

FOOD AID

Food aid is widely regarded as an innocent, humanitarian form of aid. It does represent an interesting admixture of economic and political interests. Most foods aid comes from the US (63%). 'The underlying economic principle is simple. As Senator McGovern has it: The people we assist today will become our customers tomorrow.' There is food-shortage in Upper Volta. You send them wheat, people eat bread and they love it. Next time they buy it, in hard currency. There is no wheat growing in Upper Volta. Ghana is now receiving food aid, rice, from Japan. It may be noted that Japan has a big problem getting rid of its rice surplus.

The pattern of 'food aid' has been established by the US. It has also been established that food aid has a very negative impact on development. Quoting from a US Government report: food aid to India had 'restricted agricultural growth by allowing the Indian government to: (1) Postpone essential agricultural reforms. (2) Fail to give agricultural investment sufficient priority. (3) Maintain a pricing system which gave farmers an inadequate incentive to increase production'. (General Accounting Office, 1975 in *New Internationalist* oc) Food aid makes people more dependent, and that is what it is designed to do in the first place.

Hubert Humphrey: 'Food is a new form of power. Food is wealth. Food is an extra dimension in our diplomacy.' (George, 152) The food business is economically crucial to the US. Agribusiness is booming, food exports from the US have risen to some $ 22 bn a year. Food exports and weapon sales are major pillars of American foreign trade. Agribusiness firms get information on other nations' potential harvests — probably before the nations in question know themselves — through commercial satellite data firms' that provide paying customers with 'instantaneous data around the globe'. The commercial prospects are fantastic. Weather no longer exists for the food traders. 'In the World market, there **is** no climate when every variation can be used to turn a profit and to consolidate the system.' (George, 145) But there is more to it than that. Former agricultural Secretary Early Butz said: 'Food is a weapon. It is now one of the principal tools in our negotiating kit.' President Ford threatened OPEC countries with the use of food as weapon ('food for crude'). President Carter used it against Iran and is using it against the Soviet Union with his embargo on grain sales.

He may have had at the back of his mind a secret CIA report of 1974 that concluded that grain shortages were likely to increase in the near future and that this 'could give the United States a measure of power it never had before; possibly an economic and political dominance greater than that of the immediate Post World War II years'. In years of bad harvests, 'Washington would acquire virtual life and death power over the fate of the multitudes of the needy'. (George, Ch 8)

This is the real danger, it's not just a matter of wasting your money but of ending up in the stranglehold of superpower number one. The strategy of food aid is the key in this development. The same CIA report states: 'Twenty years ago North America exported mainly to Western Europe; most other regions were basically self-sufficient. Now, the whole world has become dependent on North America for grain. . . 'Food aid has brought us right to dreams of superpower. As they say in America, there's no such thing as a free lunch.

IMPACT OF FOREIGN AID

How are we to assess the impact of foreign aid on the receiving countries? Opinions, of cource, diverge, but the overall trend is not very positive. If ten, twenty years ago a sociologist said, 'aid is neocolonialism', it was considered an extreme statement. But now, after two Development Decades with nothing much to show for it, the climate of opinion is gradualy shifiting.

Here is the view of one economist, Keith Griffin, who concludes that aid does not promote faster growth but may in fact retard it; that aid is supposed to supplement domestic savings but in fact substitutes for them; and that aid is often used for consumption purposes. (Abbot, 9) Sociologists have observed that aid programmes instead of contributing to the radical social changes that development entails, tend to rigidify the existing social structure, tend to strengthen existing inequalities.

During the past Development Decades there have been various fads of aid. In the late fifties there was 'Community Development', now resurfacing under the heading 'Integrated Rural Development', Then there was the so-called 'Green Revolution', consisting of the use of 'miracle seeds;' 'high yielding varieties'. To obtain these high yields, large quan-

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tities of fertilizer had to be applied as well as intensive irrigation. Without it, the miracle seeds produced lesser yields than normal seeds. Those who could afford the inputs were the farmers who were well-off already. Thanks to development aid they became better-off, they could expand, acquire more land, at the expense of poor farmers. Who also profited were the agribusinesses, the multinationals selling fertilizer and irrigation equipment. And must serious of all, the Green Revolution contributed to the decline of local varieties of seeds and to the presently emerging seed-monopoly in the hands of the multinationals. Similar tales can be told of other development aid schemes. Local inequalities were reinforced, the rich became richer, the poor became poorer, village networks of power and influence hardened, opportunities for development were reduced in that resistance to change was strengthened.

This is not to say that **all** aid has a negative impact. There is no argument here with emergency aid, such as food relief. **Excluded from this discussion is also aid from the East bloc which distinguishes itself in several ways from the pattern of aid from the West.** (Cf *World Development* III, 5) Exception is to be made for aid that contributes to economic independence, to selfreliance, aid that supports (rather than replaces) local initiative, using suitable technology.

Yet as this exception is made it must be emphasized at the same time that this is not the general trend of aid, that such rare kind of aid constitutes only a minute fraction of total aid Total annual aid flows in the world from all sources amount to some $20 bn (according to an UNCTAD estimate reported in *New Internationalist* oc) Over half of that is tied aid. This leaves us with $10 bn. A big chunk of that is recycled into the Western economies through contracts to multinationals, salaries of foreign experts, debt services etc. Which would leave us, according to a very generous estimate, with an amount of may be $5 bn in relatively 'clean aid'. To put this figure in perspective it may be noted that annual world expenditure on armaments is $450 bn, and annual export earnings of third world countries are $300 bn (1977). Thus when talking about foreign aid we are talking about peanuts, about something that is quantitatively comparatively insignificant from the outset. However, that is not to say that it is insignificant qualitatively. Its impact as the image building of the system, as the PR of imperialism, is most significant.

Aid is expensive, first of all, in economic terms. **As with food aid so it is with all aid: the underlying principle is not to make for development, but to make for dependence.** Aid induces expensive habits. **The gifts of aid are like the gifts of the dope dealer: the first doses are free, and by the time you have acquired the taste, by the time you're hooked, the man is there to sell you more.** Aid introduces foreign equipment and has people think that they cannot manage without it. Here is one computer free of charge: you are bound to come for more. Aid provides companies from the donor countries with splendid advertising opportunities, for free. Aid is a method of economic infiltration.

But aid is much more expensive in moral, political terms. Aid is to provide a semblance of progress to a stagnant system. Aid serves the purpose of keeping the credibility of the capitalist world system intact. Aid is the magic lie that sets the system in a gilded frame. To the baffled masses in the developed countries it conveys the impression that something serious is being done about the crisis of underdevelopment. Aid is the claim to justice and mercy of a system that gives the peoples of the neocolonized world the choice between starvation and semi-slavery. To the frustrated masses in the underdeveloped countries, aid conveys the impression that the system that preserves their helplessness is really trying to help them. A tiny little bit of foreign aid is enough to keep rebellion, revolution out of the door. Aid is **the** antidote to revolution. To accept aid is to accept the package of which it is a part. Why, then, is foreign aid accepted?

WHY IS FOREIGN AID ACCEPTED?

At present the aid market is tightening. Aid flows are declining because of the economic recession. At the same time the demand for aid, the tendency on the part of third world governments to seek aid, is on the increase. Most third world governments are experiencing severe balance of payments problems because of the same economic recession and high oil prices. Interest rates on the commercial capital market are high. They are seeking aid basically because they find themselves with their back against the wall. Yet they know that aid is not a solution to their problems. And moreover, aid was sought also before this period of economic crisis. Thus we must look for another, an additional motive for accepting aid. It may well be that foreign aid is accepted for basically the same reason as it is given: because it is a substitute for development. Most third world elites who have taken over from the colonial masters are primarily interested in maintaining the status quo. Far be it from them to undertake anything that might endanger their newly won privileges. **Development when it means radical social and political changes is just not in their interest. But development through foreign assistance, foreign investment, foreign technology, that kind of development is cool. Development as it emerges from the decimals and small print in the calculations of economists and technocrats, that is clean development. It is the**

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kind of development that can be monitored risk-free from airconditioned offices. And this is exactly where ruling classes in the third world and in the first world are in perfect agreement.

In third world countries, association with the countries is, at face value, assumed to be enriching — and in fact for a minority it is. Dependent development — dependent on foreign aid, foreign loans, foreign enterprise etc. — results in a continous extraction of surplus, through debt services, profit remittances, superfluous imports, and thus it keeps the nation in a state of bankruptcy; yet for the happy few it does carry benefits. For them the foreign connection means foreign consumption goods, foreign travel, foreign education, foreign currency, and these are so many tickets to dreamland. Political colonialism has come to an end but the colonialism of the mind persists, and continues to reflect, as in a laugh mirror, the distribution of power and wealth in the world. Obviously, neocolonialism is not a force that operates just from the outside. Third World ruling elites (with exceptions!), while giving lipservice to the ideals of independence and selfreliance, seek dependence. They want neocolonialism as much as they want an easy ride. While the masses are forever running after essential commodities that remain out of reach, the elite is negotiating development as an import article, carried in small briefcases by experts from abroad. For handouts and bribes, the many are sold by the few.

There's just one thing that the elite needs and that is an alibi. An ideology that justifies their position and that, somehow, rhymes their own private needs with the economic needs of the nation. This alibi is 'development', like a precious panacea. The elites that are running the show of the capitalist world economy, likewise, require an ideology that rationalizes their continued domination. This ideology is the Western development model, by courtesy of 'the three world'. Foreign aid is a choice part of that ideology. IMF, World Bank are embodiments of that ideology. Meanwhile, everybody knows that foreign aid is not serious.

Foreign aid is not serious because if the aim really was to promote development, there would be other, effective ways of doing it: (1) An increase in the price of third world commodities. A ten percent increase in raw materials prices would more than cover the total aid flow. Materially and morally, that would really promote development. (2) Lower tariffs on third world processed goods. (3) Writing off third world debts. Total annual debt payments of $36.6bn (1977) exceed all incoming aid by over a hundred per cent. Trade not aid would make for real development. But everybody knows that this is not how the Wall Street cash register operates.

The development of a nation is essentially a mass effort. Development, not according to the development experts but according to the historical record, is a mass movement. This is how it was achieved in China, the Soviet Union, in Vietnam, Cuba. The key to development is mass mobilization. Third world elites usually want anything but to mobilize the masses. The masses are looked down upon as mere recipients of 'development' distributed as political favour. Selfreliance as a strategy of development implies a massive overhauling of society ('the first shall be the last' etc) and that carries far too much political risk. The elite and all their claims to status might be wiped out in the process. Isn't it nice to be boss, for a while? Real development, power to the people, then, is a danger, not something to be sought. Development is revolution, and revolution is tricky.

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AN IMPENDING CATASTROPHE?

A Short fuse

Dayan Jayatilleka

"The next twelve to eighteen months are likely to be the most dangerous that I can remember in my thirty-old years in the banking business. We have learned to live in the shadow of international violence. During the last twelve months we have witnessed the drama of the hostages in Iran and the murder of Anwar Sadat. Poland seems on the verge of disintegration and the Middle East is a tinder box waiting for a match. And yet we resolutely chose to ignore the possibility that a national economic emergency, which has long been threatening, might soon be upon us, with its inevitable social implications. If this were to happen, it should not be the subject of partisan gloating; such an emergency would have distinctly bi-partisan origins".

These are the words of Felix Rohatyn, writing in the January 21st issue of *The New York Review of Books*. Mr. Rohatyn is no ordinary banker. Not only is he a senior partner with the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres and Co., but he is also the one who is most often credited with rescuing New York City from its fiscal crisis of a few years ago, functioning in the capacity of Chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation for New York (MAC) and Special Economics Adviser to the Governor of New York.

Writing a month earlier in the December 1981 issue of *Monthly Review*, Paul Sweezy traced the contours of the economic crisis in the U. S., and from a perspective radically contrary to Rohatyn's, arrived at very similar conclusions. Sweezy says that:

"As the U. S. economy moves into what is officially admitted to be the second recession in less than two years, the prospects facing the country could hardly be gloomier. Inflation continues at or close to a double digit rate. Interest rates gyrate around a level unprecedentally high by historical standards. Real-estate prices, after rising faster than the general rate of inflation for decades, are turning down. Mortgage delinquency and bankruptcy rates are soaring. The solvency of the savings banks and loan associations becomes everyday more problemetic, Giant corporations like Chrysler and International Harvester hover on the brink of failure. And internationally matters are no better".

Sweezy goes on to quote Flora Lewis, Foreign Affairs columnist of the *New York Times*, in order to underline his last point. Ms Lewis wrote in the *NYT* (Oct 23rd 1981) that, "the world debt structure is building up to giddy, absurd proportions. It could lead to a crash, broader than 1929.

Consequences for the Periphery

(1) A more intensive 'cultivation' of the existing field of exploitation, ie. intensifying the rate of expropriation of surplus value.

(2) Extending the field of exploitation itself, i. e., opening up new markets for capital and commodities, by the dispossession of small peasants and artisans.

In the context of the present crisis, international capitalism is resorting to both methods, but with differential effects in the three 'zones' of the capitalist world economy, i. e., core, semi-periphery and periphery. Both methods encounter severe limitations in the core countries. In the very first place, virtually no significant layers of small producers exist to be proletarianized in an expansion in these countries themselves. In the second place, the strength of labour organizations (Social Democratic and Communist) imposes constraints on an increase in the rate of expropriation of surplus value, ie., the second method of intensifying the exploitation within the existing 'field'. Though Reaganism and Thatcherism demonstrate attempts to curb harshly the metropolitan proletariats class organizations, the imperialist bourgeoisie does not yet seek to totally smash these defensive organizations of the working class because this involves nothing less than a transition to open class warfare, and the ruling circles are not certain of what the outcome of such a confrontation would be.

No such considerations exist when it comes to the periphery, or as the case of Turkey shows, even the semi-periphery. Here a mix of both intensive and extensive methods are used. The process of depeasantization/full or partial proletarianizatlon/marginalization taking place through multinational agribusiness and the AEPZ strategy is a mode of extension of the field of imperialist exploitation. Simultaneously, the cheapening of labour power and the consequent 'deepening' of the existing field of exploitation also takes place in these countries. In sum, the main burden of the crisis is transferred from the core onto the periphery and to a somewhat lesser extent, the semi-periphery. The Iranian Fedayeen guerrillas (Minority Wing), whose ideology is an exemplary combination of orthodox Marxism-Leninism, Dependency theory, anti-Revisionism and pro-Sovietism, sets this out succintly in one of its party documents.

"The transfer of crises is possible because dependent countries are part of the world capitalist system and within the framework of the international division of labour in the world capitalist market. As part of the world economy, these countries have their own speciali-

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zations in production. The imperialists, in order to reduce their internal crises, attempt to transfer them to dominated and dependent countries. By increasing the plunder and exploitation of these countries they alleviate their own crises".

Political Implications, Left misconceptions

In a particular phase of the economic cycle, ie., in the phase of economic expansion, it is well known that the bourgeoisie rules mainly through reformism and consensual politics, "still hiding its teeth of steel", as the Italian comrades put it. But in the present phase of economic crisis–restructuration–internationalization of capital (expressed in the 'redeployment strategy' of the Multinationals), the bourgeoisie is forced to shift from hegemony to domination. The repressive function of the capitalist state becomes operational not in the last instance, but in the first, and outright 'coercive-control' becomes the order of the day. The need to freeze or depress wage rates and engage in massive lay-offs means that the bourgeoisie has to inflict nothing less than a defeat of historic proportions on the working class, while also outlawing or repressing with harshness all autonomous extra–parliamentary protests from sources such as the student movement, the peasantry, national minorities etc. The imperatives of capital accumulation in the context of deep crisis necessitate a shift in the state form of the bourgeoisie's (class) rule.

Many Marxists suffer from the misconception that in the absence of a revolutionary threat to bourgeois society the capitalist class will not move to facism thereby totally militarizing the State/Civil Society relationship. These comrades are mistaken in that they cannot comprehend the dialetics of the present crisis and the phenomenon we witness in the periphery of **'preventive counter-revolution'** or **'pre-emptive fascism'.** Andre Gunder Frank analysed it best a few years ago when, in a discussion on Chile, he said that:

"The problem of Chile or of other Chiles, is not that of a response of imperialism and reactionaries to a Left-wing threat but rather that we are facing a general crisis of capital accumulation similar to that which occured in the 1870-80's or the 1930's and which seems to be leading us not to New Deals and popular Fronts, but rather to 1984 in the developed countries, to sub-imperialism in certain underdeveloped countries and to facism/corporatism in countries like Chile. The whole Chilean experience is part of the response to the necessities of the accumulation crisis.....Chile did not threaten capitalism — it threatened certain solutions capitalism needs to solve the accumulation crisis (solutions such as the present depression of wage rates in Chile)".

Frank goes on to speak of the global project of imperialism and of local capitalism which seeks to

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confront the accumulation crisis and jack up the rate of profits which had declined since 1967, by means of super-exploitation and the implantation of military corporatism or neofacism. In other words, super-repression **to make way for** super-exploitation. Frank notes that in countries like Chile that cannot realistically aspire to go up a rung in the hierarchy of the international division of labour thereby achieving sub-imperialist position and status, the degree of repression will necessarily be greater. In the sub-imperialist states (e. g. Brazil), class alliance will be somewhat broader, but will still leave no room for popular movements.

Two further misconceptions on the part of the Left are that the shift to fascism always come in a drastic form by means of a sharp rupture (a military coup) and that such coups are always directed against a leftist or anti-imperialist (though not necessarily revolutionary) incumbent. This latter misconception can be dealt with very easily through a single illustration. The 1976 military coup in Thailand was not directed against the Social-Democrat Kukrit Pramoj, but against the regime of his conservative-moderate brother Seni Pramoj! As for the idea of a 'leap' to fascism, this results from the neglect of Dimitrov's cautioning that the specific and variegated **forms of transition** to fascism be studied. If we do this we would note that the military coup is only one such mode of transition. Apart from this 'Chilean path', which is the one most frequently traversed, we can discern a second mode of transition to fascism, which we may term the 'Uruguayan path'. This latter is the path of **gradual fascistization,** or **'creeping counter-revolution'.** Here the shift from bourgeois democracy to fascist forms of rule is not so much a single event or episode, but rather, a **process** or a set of inter-related **processes.** It is more a cancer (spreading through the body politic) than a car accident both having the same lethal result. This process of fascistization is characterized by two key phenomena, namely:

(1) **The gradual displacement of parliamentary power and the rigid centralization of state structurers under the control of the Executive.** In the period of comparative economic prosperity, parliament is the institutional area where the differential particular interests of bourgeois fractions is asserted (through the competition of polititical parties that articulate them) and a synthesis arrived at. But in the present context of crisis, parliamentary politics is too 'unruly' for imperialism and the local bourgeoisie. Parliament as a mirror, however distorted, of the correlation of political forces within society, is now deemed too 'ungovernable'. The ruling class and its foreign backers now need an instrument that is more efficient and directly controllable. Thus we find the reinforcement of Executive power and the gathering up into its hands of the chief centres (administrative, party-institutional, repressive) of the State and civil society. As Guillermo A. O'Donnell notes, the tendency towards economic **'privatization',** through which some institutional areas of the State are opened up to certain powerful interests groups, is paral leled paradoxically, by the tendency of **"statization'** which implies a movement from the State towards the civil society through which the former penetrates, conquers or subordinates organizations and institutions of the latter.

(2) The bringing into play and maintenance over time of "fascist and proto-fascist forces of a para-military character. This mobilization 'from below' is most marked in societies with a significant small-holding peasantry and/or a severe National Question. (e.g., Spain, Turkey). Such mobilization is absent in many peripheral societies and is in fact a characteristic of classical European fascism rather than dependent (neo) fascism which has a very narrow social base. In the latter case the predominant tendency is one of fascistization 'from above'

(To be continued...)

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How Yugoslavia, . . .

(*Continued from page 15*)

It was at the Belgrade Conference that the Pol Pot delegation proposed that Vietnam be expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement. This move did not get a single supporting vote, despite intensive lobbying by Chinese diplomats and journalists. At the closing session as the protocol congratulatory speeches were being made to the Chairman for the success of the conference, the Pol Pot delegation ostentatiously stalked out. Ieng Sary, who headed the delegation and whom I had met several times refused my request for an interview and glared at me as we passed in the corridor, as if he regretted not having an axe or short-handled spade to deal with me as he had done with so many of his closest "comrades".

IMF keeps . . .

(*Continued from page 16*)

years of the new regime tea production in 1981 was still 210m kg while belated replanting resulted in a rubber crop last year of only 120m kg.

Meanwhile in the rice sector, which is admittedly much easier to turn round, a liberalisation of the market has had a notably beneficial effect. The new mobility of fertiliser and access to good seed strains means that the rice crop will probably be 110m–115m bushels in 1982. In 1977 a crop of 80m bushels was considered an alltime record.

With his position bolstered by a shift to proportional representation, by disarray in the opposition and by the undoubted sense of liveliness that his policies have injected into the economy, President Jayewardene has a solid chance of continuing with his revolution into the late 1980s.

But the momentum already established will take some controlling and suggests that the IMF's foot will stay hovering anxiously over the brake.

(Financial Times)

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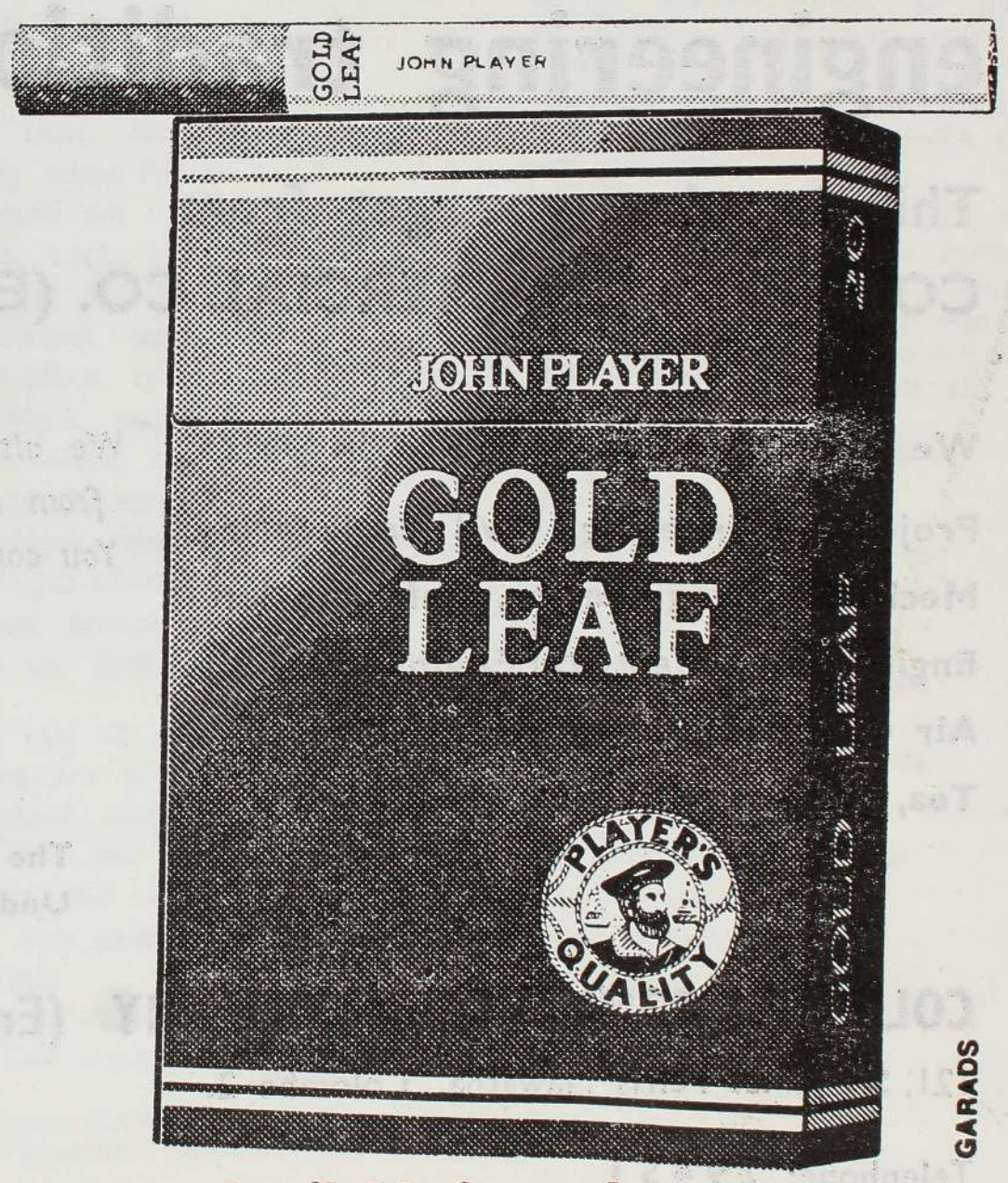

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Poetry beyond the Coffee–table

Tom Fawthrop

Tom Fawthrop of the Irish Times takes a look at one of Asia's best-known poets — CECIL RAJENDRA

Cecil Rajendra, Malaysia's most internationally acclaimed poet, is far from being universally popular among the elite circles of Asian poetry. In fact his Malaysian peers have launched vituperous attacks on his works name and character, because Rajendra's style is committed to illuminating the sea of injustice in the world today, and unlike other poets who seek safe sanctuary on some remote island to be applauded for their rythmic pleasantries and "art for art's sake", — Rajendra's poetry is in the thick of the traumas of our times. In a country governed by an all-pervading emergency powers of the Internal Security Act like Malaysia, and a tightly-censored press, who else will dare criticise the establishment if not the impassioned voice of the poet?

Rajendra who was born in Penang, and studied as a law student in England, was initially a product of a colonial mentality, part of the legacy of British rule in his country. Ironically in London where he experienced racial discrimination, he decided to cast his lot in with the 'wogs' rather than aspire to be accepted by the British (as so many Third World students try to do with humiliating results). His decision is reflected by his pearly poem 'A song for Fanon' (Frantz Fanon the Algerian writer and psychologist famous for his 'the Wretched Of The Earth').

At first
I was a stranger
to myself
I ate my curry
in a bowler & a brolly
thought it indecent
to laugh too loudly
I drank their Bitter
hoping it would
coat my accent
All my culture
was Shakespeare
Bach & Beethoven
I feigned innocence
of my native customs
Ran after their women
Made believe my colour
was some rich
Mediterranan tan
This deception
went on and on
till I lost myself

And then...and then...
along came Fanon
to send me catapulting
back, back, back
on that boot-black, soot-black,
sloe-black, sable-black,
coal-black, crow-black,
pit-black, pitch-black,
Tamil-black, tunnel-black,
tar-black, earth-black,
ink-black, ebony-black,
Midnight-black,
joyous, tortuous journey
into my dark, dark self

And now no longer
obsequious or afraid
ashamed, apologetic
you can see me on that road
raging and screaming
but also celebrating
ecstatic
I think I am begining
to find myself

(From 'Bones & Feathers' published by Heinemann Books 1978)

In 1972 Rajendra, helped organise the Black Voices Forum in the old coffee-house cum Folk Club, called the Troubadour in London's Brompton Rd. — where African, Asian, and Latin American poets, musicians and activists were able to develop a militant Third World consciousness as well as a meeting place and forum. Rajendra unlike the conventional poet, recited his works to the accompaniment of guitar or drums. After four years of creative blossoming Rajendra decided the time had come to challenge oppression more directly — he decided to return home.

He soon turned his pen with devestating effect on the concrete 'Gods' of the new technological age which are so quickly swamping pro-west nations of Asia, his poem Kali & the Caves says it all:

KALI & THE CAVES

(for Gurmit Singh)

So much for the old gods
So much for their ancient
caves, reverence of land,
respect for faith, heritage
history, beauty, ecology.....
So much for the old gods.

Hail the new God!
Hail the mutant of Kali!
Our new God
eats mountains, forests
regurgitates quarries
spits motorways, mortar
supermarkets, factories.
Our new God's
chariot is a bulldozer.

Ministers of this new
God's ministry do not
wear saffron robes
or clerical collars
but bushjackets
and sport briefcases.

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They are all power-
ful and always right.

So, the new God's voice
booming fire & dynamite
prevails over the old gods
and four-hundred & forty
million years of history
of scalactite & stalagmite
are blasted into obscurity.....
Hail the new God!
Hail mutant of Kali!

(From 'Refugees & other Despairs' Choice Books, Singapore 1980)

Rajendra's works have been published all over the world, he is the only Malaysian poet listed in the London Poetry Secretariat and regularly invited to international conferences and yet he is barely recognised in his own country as a 'true Malaysian poet'! His concern to liberate poetry from the effete world of the litterati, the coffee-table cliques, out of the sheltered cubicle and onto the streets does not endear him to the snobbish ambience of the average poet's secluded corner. Rajendra is not seeking a cliquish supporters club of so called connoisseurs — but a dialogue with the masses. His poetry is designed to be heard out aloud, as part of ordinary people's lives. And when he dwells on development priorities he focuses right on target with ordinary peoples gripes: No Celebratory Song:

NO CELEBRATORY SONG

So long
as car-parks take
precedence over hospitals
Multi-storeyed hotels
over homes for people
Irrelevant factories
over the paddy-fields
of our daily sustenance

I shall
sing no celebratory song
no matter
how many suns go down
This tongue
will be of thistle & thorn
until they right the wrong

So long
as Law comes before Justice
the edifice before service
the payment before treatment
and appearance before essence
I shall sing no celebratory song

So long
as the poet is debased
and the businessman praised
the realist rewarded
and the idealist denigrated

I shall
sing no celebratory song
no matter
how many suns go down
This tongue
will be of thistle & thorn
until they right the wrong

So long
as foreign investors
devastate our estate
and the voice of Capital
speaks louder than
the pleas of fishermen

So long
as blind bulldozers
are allowed unchecked
to gouge our landscape
and Multinationals
licenced to run
amuck across this land

I shall
sing no celebratory song

So long
as our rivers & streams
our beaches, our air
our oceans & trees
our birds, our fish
our butterflies & bees
are strangled, stifled
polluted, poisoned
crushed, condemned....
by lop-sided development

I shall
sing no celebratory song
no matter
how many suns go down
This tongue
will be of thistle & thorn
until they right the wrong

Both Kali & the Caves, and 'No celebratory song' is pointedly aimed at his own Malaysia, where famous caves near Kuala Lumpur are threatened by 'development plans', the forests are fast vanishing thanks to the greed of the timber barons, the rivers of pollution become everyday a barometer of the country's technological progress (sic) along the predetermined multinational path.

Rajendra once told this writer, 'do you know the most difficult place to get copies of my books — right here in my own country'. Indirect attempts by the authorities restrict the circulation of his books, and on one occasion Malaysia's ultra-tough and paranoid security forces detained him for a short interrogation under their notorious Internal Security Act. (This in part inspired him to write the Orwellian parody, 'The Animal and Insect Act 1984).

His critics accuse him of having lived too long outside the country to be regarded as truly Malaysian in spirit — rather they imply he belongs to the genre of the 'Angry Black' culture of the 'sixties, and his solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Latin America is citied as evidence that he has adopted the militant cultural style of another continent. This has a racist undertone that has always tended to infect Asian intellectuals who tend to identify far more with the West than with their fellow Third World brothers and sisters. If Rajendra is Afro-influenced what's wrong with that; much of other Malaysian poetry displays strong British influence. The criticism also implies that whereas South Korea, the Philippines, and Indonesia have produced brilliant dissident poets who have held high the torch of democratic rights during the darkest days of repression in their country, for some reason Malaysian poetry does not need any champion of the oppressed. The reports of the Amnesty International on Malaysia suggest otherwise.

Since 1976 he has been a practising lawyer in Penang, he writes a weekly column for the Penang daily the '*Star*', and remains a 'poet by compulsion'. Although he has written more traditional love poems he makes it clear, in his forward

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to 'Bones and feathers' that, "I do not believe in playing safe." As far as Cecil is concerned, "the artist who is not willing to take risks would be better off selling insurance!"

THE ANIMAL & INSECT ACT 1984

Finally, in order to ensure absolute national security they passed the Animal & Insect Emergency Control & Discipline Act.

Under this new Act, buffaloes cows and goats were prohibited from grazing in herds or more than three. Neither could birds flock, nor bees swarm..... This constituted unlawful assembly.

As they had not obtained prior planning permission, mud-wasps and swallows were issued with summary Notices to Quit. Their homes were declared subervise extensions to private property. Monkeys and Mynahs were warned to stop relaying their noisy morning orisons until an official Broadcasting Licence was issued by the appropriate Ministry.

Unmonitored publications & broadcasts posed the gravest threats in times of a National Emergency.

Similarly, woodpeckers had to stop tapping their morse-code messages from coconut tree-top to chempaka tree. All messages were subject to a thorough pre-scrutiny by the relevant authorities.

Java sparrows were arrested in droves for rumour-mongering. Cats (suspected of conspirarcy) had to be indoors by 9 o'clock Cicadas and crickets received notification to turn their amplifiers down. Ducks could not quack nor turkeys gobble during restricted hours. Need I say, all dogs — alsatians, daschunds, terriers, pointers and even little chihuahuas — were muzzled.

In the interests of security penguins and zebras were ordered to discard their non-regulation uniforms.

The deer had to surrender their dangerous antlers. Tigers and all carnivores with retracted claws were sent directly to prison for concealing lethal weapons.

And by virtue of Article Four, paragraph 2 (b) sub-Subsection sixteen, under no circumstances were elephants allowed to break wind between the hours of six and six. Their farts could easily be interpreted as gunshot. Might spark off a riot....

A month after the Act was properly gazetted the birds and insects started migrating south the animals went north and an eerie silence handcuffed the forests.

There was now Total Security.

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Sinhala Film and the Family

N. M. M. I. Hussain

It was nice to see the appreciative remarks with which Reggie Siriwardene began his comments (*L. G.* of 15/2/82 and 1/3/82). I am now writing to clarify what looks like a misconception about what I wrote.

As argued by Mr. Siriwardena the term "solidarity" can be used in connection with what happens at the end of Lester James Pieris' **Delovak Athara,** but it does not seem to me to provide an instance of the sort of solidarity I wrote about in my article: the social support available to the members of a society, which can vary greatly between one society and another, and which in some situations can be very meagre or practically non-existent. In Pieris' film a guilty master confesses to the police to prevent the conviction of an innocent servant who had been framed. This situation is essentially different from that of Sa achchandra's Professor in **"Curfew and a full Moon"** who is in no way guilty and yet knowingly endangers himself through an act of solidarity in a society seen to be alarmingly deficient in it. In the film there would have been an exemplification of solidarity, in the sense of my article, if the plot had allowed the other members of the society to be shown intervening to save the servant against the machination of the two families who were seen to be both affluent and powerful. Or if an individual such as Sarachchandra's professor had intervened.

Mr. Siriwardena correctly points out that in two of Pathiraja's films the family is viewed critically and realistically, In analyzing Pathiraja's **'Soldadu Unnahe'** I myself referred to the significance of the lack of "wholesome family relationships" in that film, showing an awarencess that Pathiraja does not idealize the family. For the purpose of my article it suffices to analyze a few films only; it was not necessary to provide "an account of the work" of Pathiraja or of any other director. The fact that the family is not idealized in some Sinhala films makes no difference to the argument pursued in my article, the purpose which was not to deal comprehensively with the treatment of the family in the Sinhala cinema but to suggest that the obsessive concern with the family arises out of a sense that the society in which the family dramas take place is very deficient in solidarity. A recognition of this deficiency seems to be implicit in some films — in Pathiraja's **'Soldadu Unnahe'** as in another of his films mentioned by Mr. Siriwardena but as far I am aware the problem of weak solidarity does not seem to be brought to full critical consciousness in the Sinhala cinema.

My notions of right and wrong do not stem from an "inchoate liberal humanism", nor do I view the human conscience as a supra — historical entity. My notions on these matters are grounded empirically on what is known about man in all societies, at all times and in all places. Every known society makes distinctions between right and wrong, and the moral sense has to be regarded as inherent in the condition of being human. Even the most primitive societies are "rule-bound" — as the anthropologists put it — but rules relating to social arrangements that do not seem morally significant to the outsider, as for instance the rules of exogamy, are seen by primitives as involving their deepest moral compulsions. Consequently one can agree with Toynbee that the sense of the distinction between right and wrong and the connection that one ought to support the right against the wrong "Is something innate in human nature". The quotation from Toynbee in my article can lead to the kind of question posed by Mr. Siriwardena, "whose right and whose wrong?" It is known that what is right in one society may be wrong in another and even within the same society, particularly when it is highly structured into class and other divisions, what is regarded as right by one group may be felt as wrong by another, even though all groups and classes ostensibily accept an identical ethical system. The important point, in connection with my article, is that a group may not support the right even when it is perceived as being right for itself, because it lacks solidarity.

This point can be illustrated by Silone's Fontamara, in which the writer shows an anguished consciousness of the peasants which deters their getting together to assert what they see as right for themselves against the "right" of their Fascist oppressors. The novel ends rather unconvincingly, minor masterpiece though it is, with affirmation of solidarity — the term itself is used in the English translation — seen as the only way in which the peasants can get justice for themselves.

I agree with Mr. Siriwardena that my final paragraph raises complicated and controversial issues, and would like to make some clarifications in this connection even at the risk of seeming to be pretentious. As I see it any writing on a society, except at the most rudimentary and obvious level, will prove to be controversial if it is worthwhile, and all such writing has to be regarded as heuristic in intent even when the tone one uses may be categorical. There has not been up to now a single important social theory that has not proved to be controversial. The test of its worth is whether it gets some measure of agreement, and provokes questions after the manner,

(Continued on page 31)

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Trends . . .

(Continued from page 1)

After a conference held in early April at the Devesaranaramava, Ibbagamuwa, a book on **"Religion, Ideology, and Development"** *has been published by the Devesarana Development Centre By an interesting coincidence, Dr. Sarachchandra has also authored a hard-hitting pamphlet on present cultural-political trends.*

Introducing the collection of speeches articles and other material included in **"RELIGION, IDEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT"** *YOHAN DEVANANDA, the Director of the Centre, writes "Rightist critics usually accuse us of being Che Guevarist while Leftist critics us of being C. I. A".*

Letters . . .

(Continued from page 2)

to have assumed the proportions of a nation-wide middle-class recreation) and other ills, in India at the centre there is deadly seriousness of purpose aimed at swift scientific and technological advancement and economic achievement. India has 4 (four) public holidays-Republic Day (26 Jan.) Independence Day (15 Aug) Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday (2 Oct.) and Christmas Day.

In Sri Lanka we have not less than 24 (twenty-four) public holidays, (not counting 4 poya days which occur on a Saturday or a Sunday). This record is, I think, unmatched by any other country in the world. But we still have a lot of leeway to make up. Even counting annual leave, casual leave, paid medical leave and all Saturdays and Sundays our public servants still have to work as many as 174 (one hundred and seveny four) days in the year or 14 1/2 (fourteen and a half) days each month. It is only those two-hour lunch intervals, those protracted tea-breaks, and those frequent "short leaves" that keep conditions barely tolerable.

Boyd Almeida.

Dematagoda.

Writing of . . .

(Continued from page 7)

lesser stature and the project of little significance, the *L. G.*'s response would have been wholly different.

K. M. de Silva needs no testimonials. His claims as a scholar and his past academic achievements were never in dispute.

It is for the reader to judge what value to place on Roberts' character certificates, affidavits, alibis, pleas in mitigation etc.

Secondly, the project of the excercise is best explained by a hypothetical situation. We are presented with what looks like circumtantial evidence for which many explanations are possible, one of them being kidnapping or theft or murder. We attempt to assemble together judges, lawyers, criminologists — in short experts — to discuss the matter.

Is this a case of theft? All we do is to pose many questions, several possibilities. Roberts says that in doing so we are indulging in muckraking, mudslinging, character assassination and so on. What we should have done, says he, is to sponsor a symposium on the problems of writing history, analysis and interpretation.

We ask the reader to reflect on the "correspondence" between John Ferguson and K. M. de Silva. Is this merely the "wizard of Peradeniya" at work? Or can this "wizardry" be explained only through the thaumaturgic powers of Merlin the Magician? — and the allusion is **not** to poor Pieris of Peradeniya!

TAMIL. . .

(Continued from page 9)

letter has been signed by Mr. DEEPTHI LAMAHEWA, the President of the Students' Assembly.

The Student's Assembly in this letter, informs the President that it has passed a resolution on 24.02.82 demanding that the Tamil medium students be admitted to the Arts Faculty.

Arts courses in Tamil medium had been conducted in the Colombo University till the academic year 1979/80. But, the letter says, the UGC has scrapped the Tamil medium Arts stream beginning from the academic year 1980/81. The Student's Assembly alleges that this decision of the UGC is discriminatory against both Tamil and Muslim Students.

The Student's Assembly is waiting for a reply from the Minister of Higher Education, to discuss the matters.

Sinhala Film . . .

(Continued from page 30)

for instance, of Turner's classic article on the significance of the frontier experience for American civilization or Max Weber's great monograph on the Puritan dynamic behind the growth of capitalism. It has seemed worthwhile provoking questions about the Sinhala cinema's obesession with the family.

Should space permit I would like to conclude with some observations on the most interesting of the recent Sinhala films seen by me, Tissa Abeysekera's *'Mahagedera'*, as it is very relevant to the theme of my article. We are shown a traditional social order in collapse, and significantly we are shown this through a break-down of family relationships. Outside the family is the social chaos of the 1971 uprising. At the end elder brother comes together with his wife, an unsatisfactory conclusion because it seems a non-sequitur in the context of the wider issues raised by the film. But how convincing it seems emotionally, the sense of renewal shown through an elder brother on whom so mush depends in the traditional family — coming together with a wife who is seen as traditionally virtuous in her submissiveness, after the elder brother is released from his obsessions through his vision of the revered dead reappearing in the tradtional form of the serpent-revenant! This is emotionally convincing because of the sense that outside the family there is nothing really worthwhile in our society.

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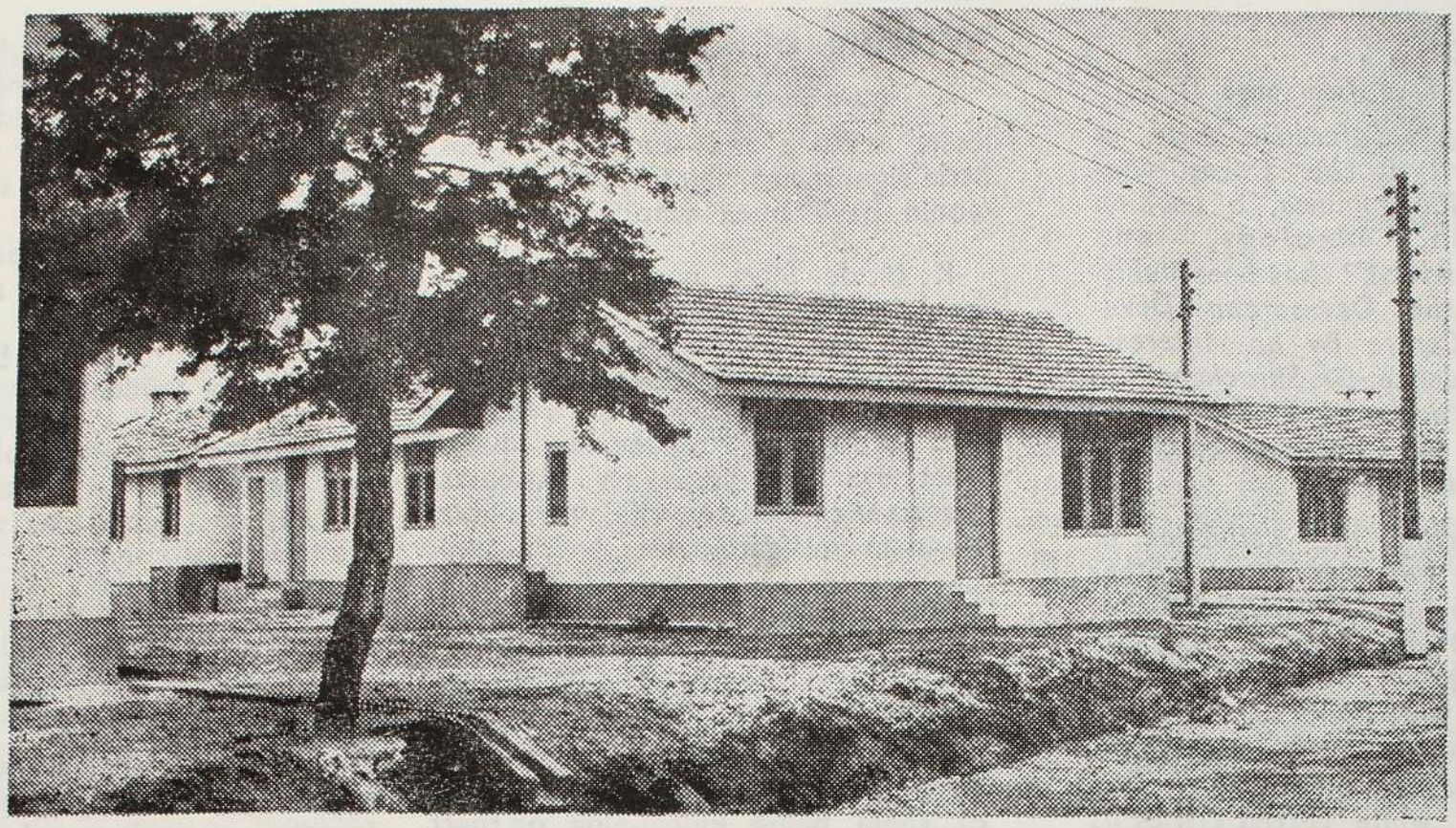

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