

LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol 4 No. 6

July 15, 1981

Price Rs. 3/50



දමර විගේර ර දනියෙලා කර පළි බහිනි
කැරැල්ල ප්‍රජාතන්තර කැරැල්ල
ආයතන ආයතනවල

රි. උපුල් හේනා හේනා
 රි. ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ විපක්ෂයෙන්ම එහි නායකයා
 සිව්සිවසියර් කිසිවිදයක්ද සිදු වුවද එයට කලකට පෙර



ශ්‍රී ලංකා කායිකාව
අක්ෂර පරාජයක්

විකේත කායිකාව ප්‍රතික්ෂේපය
 විකේත කායිකාව ප්‍රතික්ෂේපය
 විකේත කායිකාව ප්‍රතික්ෂේපය

මුද්‍රාණ
මුද්‍රාණ
මුද්‍රාණ

මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ
 මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ
 මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ මුද්‍රාණ

මෙහි-අනුර පිලිව පත්

මෙහි-අනුර පිලිව පත්
 මෙහි-අනුර පිලිව පත්
 මෙහි-අනුර පිලිව පත්

SLFP's not - so BLOODY SUNDAY

- * Tamil issues after '77 — Sunil Bastian
- * Plantation Labour and the Left — Jayaratne Maliyagoda
- * Towards an Anti-nuclear Movement
- * SLFP and Monopoly Capital — Dayan Jayatilleka

You have everything to gain when you invest your savings with **MERCANTILE CREDIT LIMITED**

The assurance that your money is safe in the hands of
Sri Lanka's largest Finance Company with
GROSS ASSETS OVER Rs. 250 MILLION
Strongest Finance Company with
CAPITAL RESERVES & PROVISIONS EXCEEDING Rs. 30 MILLION.
Company enjoying the highest public confidence with
PUBLIC DEPOSITS OF OVER Rs. 150 MILLION
A choice of Deposit Schemes to suit your convenience
Attractive return paid monthly or on maturity

ONE YEAR DEPOSIT SCHEMES

Return payable monthly **20%** per annum Return payable on Maturity **22%** per annum

Minimum deposit Rs. 2,500/-

TWO YEAR DEPOSIT SCHEMES

Return payable monthly

Return payable on Maturity

From Rs. 2,500/- to under
Rs. 50,000/- **21%**
per annum

From Rs. 2,500/- to under
Rs. 50,000/- **24%**
per annum

From Rs. 50,000/- to under
Rs. 100,000/- **22%**
per annum

From Rs. 50,000/- to under
Rs. 100,000/- **25%**
per annum

From Rs. 100,000/-
and over **24%**
per annum

From Rs. 100,000/-
and over **27%**
per annum

MERCANTILE CREDIT LIMITED

the largest and strongest Finance Company in Sri Lanka.
51 - 53, Janadhipathi Mawatha, Colombo I. Telephone 26612-19

Branch Offices:-

JAFFNA: 11/8, Stanley Road, Telephone: 321

MATARA: 271/1, Dharmapala Mawatha, Telephone: 2466

ANURADHAPURA: 2, Harischandra Mawatha, Telephone: 534

KANDY: 901/A, Peradeniya Road, Telephone: 4196

Agents in all other important towns.



THE EMERGING ELITE

The Engineering Faculty has gradually replaced the Medical School as the University's elite faculty. Doctors are dime a dozen and if some of the new recruits to the provincial service go 'barefoot' it is because inflation (global and local) has tended to pauperize the public service.

At a time when Sri Lanka faces such an acute shortage of engineers that some of our "lead projects" have had to import expatriate Sri Lankan technicians at ten times the salary of their local counterparts, it seems strange that engineering students should boycott their exams. At least one university spokesman (CDN) has tried to hint at a sinister hand behind the strike. Political engineering? Nonsense.

The main grievances of university students today lie in material causes. A closer look at the problem reveals the deleterious effect of recent economic policies, specifically the steady contraction of budgetary allocations on education, health etc. In short, a cut in welfare in the name of growth—the philosophy of the World Bank and the IMF. So we produce less engineers and have in the end to import some. Import liberalisation.... of skills. That's development, indeed.

EXIT CWC?

The CMU and the UCMU, no comradely compatriots, are claiming a joint international victory, which is a major blow to the CWC. For several decades, Mr. S. Thondaman has been the most powerful union boss in Ceylon—the George Meany of the thottam. Mr. Thondaman's achievement has been all the more remarkable because during this period he also owned some large plantations and was therefore a big-time employer. Yet, so able an advocate was he of labour's cause that he held office in the highest representative bodies of the I. L. O.

And then he became a minister in the UNP government. In February in Sydney, the CMU and UCMU, supported by trade unions from Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Australia, introduced a resolution calling for the dis-affiliation of the C. W. C., from the International Union of Food Worker's Association. The reason given was the "conflict of interest resulting from S. Thondaman being a representative of a government which has shown itself to be anti-worker whilst at the same time being CWC president....".

The resolution was passed with only the CWC delegate voting against it. Now it has been adopted at a full congress in Munich.

TALKING POINTS

Nobody was surprised when a native of Sri Lanka, a nation of compulsive babblers, slipped into the Guinness Book for a record in non-stop talking. Many a Commonwealth parliamentarian, talking-shop experts themselves, thought we may be entitled to a far more impressive record. According to the **Sun**, we may have 2 no-confidence motions, and what's more, a Government-sponsored motion of no-faith in the Leader of the Opposition.

MASS COMM.

No regime has been more mass communications conscious than the present administration. Not a week passes without the Minister or his equally indefatigable Secretary addressing some local, regional or international seminar or workshop. A PTI/Lankapuwath report from Madras ends with the news that a video recording of the Jaffna events was shown to newsmen by the Opposition leader on his way back from the US and London. What price censorship?

DDC elections

It has been claimed that the UNP won a landslide victory at the recent elections to the D. D. Cs.

The plain fact is that the total votes polled at the DDC elections is less than 50%, whereas it was 87.3% in the 1977 General Elections. The UNP now received 33% of the votes as against nearly 51% it received in 1977. It will certainly be less once the Jaffna DDC elections results are taken into account. This represents nothing but a clear moral defeat for the Government.

As far as the Jaffna District is concerned it resorted to certain shabby tactics. Polling was scheduled to commence at 7 a.m. and close at 4 p.m. but the ballot boxes reached most polling stations only after 11 a.m.

LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. 4 No. 6 July 15, 1981 Price 3/50

Published fortnightly by Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 246, Union Palce,
Colombo-2.

Editor: **Mervyn de Silva**

Telephone: 3 7 5 8 4

CONTENTS

News Background	3
Foreign News	8
Miscellany	11
Tamil Grievances	12
Plantation Workers	15
SLFP and capitalist development	17
Is there a housing policy for urban poor?	21
JVP : Some Questions	23
CMU vs UNP	25
Reply to Carlo Fonseka	27

Printed by **Ananda Press**
82/5, Wolfendhal Street,
Colombo-13.

Telephone: 3 5 9 7 5

Letters . . .

or so and no ballot boxes were sent at all to a few polling stations. In some of them polling is understood to have been terminated by 1 p.m. or thereabout and that some boxes were not returned to the Kachcheri. And the staff originally detailed to man these polling stations were replaced. Untrained people were drawn from miscellaneous sources and brought to Jaffna in the early hours of June 4 and detailed to different polling stations. As a result of this gross bungling the election staff did not observe certain requirements of the law and the Returning Officer could not decide the results.

If the Govt. cannot ensure the proper conduct of elections it has no right to govern the country. What is more, the election staff were terrified by the Army personnel to hurry through their work. Elections under emergency regulations! And all this, mind you, side by side

with the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the introduction of Universal Franchise!

And now to cap it all the TULF is since reported to have agreed to the Jaffna elections results being announced after a count of the votes cast on June 4. Does this mean that the TULF too is capable of resorting to or, at least, condoning such practices? Unfortunately the TULF which should really have boycotted the elections did not or could not do so as it had unwittingly accepted the D.D.C. scheme and got trapped into the framework of the Constitution which of course they had earlier rejected.

As stated earlier the UNP secured nearly 51% of the votes in 1977. This time, let it be remembered, more than 50% did not vote at the elections in utter contempt of the mockery that was being made of elections through the DDC camouflage. And because only 33% (or even less) of the votes

have been secured by the UNP the Government is so desperate and jittery that it is trying to resort to unprecedented repression, the first dose of which was let loose in Jaffna recently. The deepening economic crisis of world capitalism on which this Government is depending for its survival would result in similar repression in the Sinhalese areas too in the months to come.

V. Thirunavukarasu

Jaffna.

Polls results

L.G. news background of 15th June is most refreshingly candid, in its analysis of the D.C. polls results and their reporting, by sections of the mass media.

If the S.L.B.C. does not pay "pooja" and try desperately, even through distortion, to boost any ruling party, woe-be unto its staff concerned. But, that "National paper" the **Daily News**, which the UNP and specially its leader, pledged to broadbase,

(Continued on page 23)

FOR WELL OVER A HALF A CENTURY

ARISTONS HAVE BUILT UP

GLOBAL REPUTATION IN THE FIELD OF EXPORTS AS WELL AS IMPORTS

**ARISTONS HAVE OPENED OUT NEW VISTAS IN NON-TRADITIONAL
EXPORTS IN AN ENDEAVOUR TO CONTRIBUTING FOR NATIONAL GROWTH**

HEAD OFFICE

ARISTONS LTD.

5, Gower Street,
Colombo 5.

ARISTONS TOURS
No. 5, Gower Street,
COLOMBO 5.

EXPORT DEPARTMENT
140, Front Street,
COLOMBO 11.

Phone : 88436, 82102, 81036

Cables: 'TURNTIDE'

Telex: 21302 RUWANI

The Darley Road - Show

— no family plot

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Mervyn de Silva

With yesterday's super-star and today's matinee idols, bit-players and playwrights, stage-managers and stage-hands, promoters and producers, Mafia-gangs and goons, doctored documents, forgeries, poison-pen letters and scurrilous leaflets, cheers, jeers and crackers, the Darley Road-Show (June 28) was pure theatre and B-grade movie. Even some Left-minded analysts, in fact, find inspiration in Hitchcock to offer the theory of a "Family Plot", with Anura, in the direct male line of succession, joining the "moderates" (CDN) and taking the right road (ideologically and otherwise?) and sister Chandrika, the Sorbonne-educated heiress to her ex-brother-in-law's Pol Pottist Janavegaya Thought, contributing some radical (CDN) chic. But Satan himself would shudder at such a diabolical design, and Hitchcock probably die of suspense. A carefully crafted charade simply does not accord with the known facts of the situation.

If the SLFP's latest venture in show-biz does not invite description in purely theatrical terms there are strong reasons for another approach.

After the DC polls, it does look as if the SLFP can be deprived of victory in 1983 only by the SLFP itself: unless, an electorate determined to defeat the UNP but disgusted with the unseemingly squabbles of the SLFP leadership does not allow its final political judgement to be vitiated by the second consideration, at all. Then the SLFP can win, despite the SLFP leadership.

The roots of the SLFP crisis — and it by no means over-lies in its extraordinary history. In order to capitalise on popular sentiment, the SLFP elders persuaded the assassinated founder's widow to assume command of the party. By doing this, they not only helped add a chapter to modern political history but sowed the seeds for future prob-

lems whose dimensions they could not possibly measure at that time.

Power Concept

Other nations have known great political families — monarchies, modern dictatorships, and democracies. What was exceptional was the personality which Mrs. B. brought into the drama of parliamentary politics. A non-professional politician a 42 year old widow she introduced into the SLFP, her own highly individual temperament and strong will, her mental make-up and values, especially of loyalty, inheritance and succession, and most significant of all, her attitude to power, leadership and decision-making.

The SLFP's peculiar pattern of growth these two decades (it is 30 this year) and the near-total identification of party with a name and a family, extended implicit support to a concept which, for want of a better known term, can be called 'the Divine

Right theory'. In their own total and timid acquiescence in this, the SLFP membership, from junior MP to senior Minister, contributed to the perpetuation of this concept and cult. In that sense, they are as much responsible for the SLFP's current trials as Mrs. B. herself.

A combination of circumstances has placed this concept under challenge. For Mrs. B who has no interest in and little respect for theory, practice is all. So the challenge to the idea is taken as a challenge to the individual i.e. herself.

For his part Anura has observed the fundamental distinction.

Fast Footwork

With some adroit political footwork (which his father would probably have admired), Anura has taken a stand which overtly repudiates an obsolete theory while safeguarding and strengthening his own political future. He has declared unswerving loyalty to the mother even as he rejected the notion that the SLFP is the property of the Bandaranaiques.

And that is the question that the chain of events and the pre-and post-election trends posed. (a) the criticism, if muted, of clan politics and 'invisible government' (Minister Subasinghe's description in his resignation letter) in the last days of the U.F. (b) the furious propaganda campaign launched by J.R. and his deputy from 1976 onwards (c) the SLFP's crushing defeat and (d) Mrs. B.'s loss of civic rights.

Sensing the strong groundswell of inner-party criticism and discontent, Mrs. B. ordered a new constitution in the name of "re-organisation" and "democratisation". **Whether she was conscious of it or not, she faced the classic dilemma of the potentate — to 'liberalise' and head-off the mounting dissatisfaction (a tactical retreat) or turn the screws tighter**

WHO DUNIT?

WHEN the draft constitution presented by Mrs. B. made its first, surprise appearance, its authors were identified as party secretary Ratnasiri Wickremarajane and 'some others'. Disinclined to accept that declaration in toto the Politburo members who backed the draft done by the Constitutional Affairs committee searched for hidden hands.

Anura, for instance, fingered a formidable figure of the recent past now playing a back-stage role. He named the Devil's Advocate, if not the Devil himself. "Who told you that?" Anura was challenged by the Chair at one PB meeting, "Nobody told me... he himself is going about claiming to be the author!"

As Colombo's regular picturegoers know, Anura's fashion in films is wildly catholic but his taste in fiction is distinctively modish, with John Le Carré at the top of the list. Anura may have been dipping into Le Carré's "Tinker, tailor, soldier, spy" because the controversial constitution was finally fathered on a Hultsdorp quartet code-named "Judge, jailor, Satan, Shan..."

and risk total disaster. She 'liberalised', and so, as the L.G. noted, the fresh winds of 'freedom' or democratic decision-making swept through the Freedom Party.

Old Order

But what did the 'new Democracy' produce? Alas, the Dirty Dozen! 12 members of the Polit-buro, the day-to-day decision-making body confronted Mrs. B.'s Gang of Four. From that moment onwards, there was only one possible objective: a restoration of the old order, all power to the President. That is what the crisis is all about, except that it gains urgency each month as 1983 gets closer.

FORCE OF LAW

IN the LSSP's heyday when a Workers' and Peasants' Government was the promised land, a Colombo columnist suggested that a seizure of power by the LSSP would actually lead to the advent of an Advocates and Proctors regime. Ironically, it was FDB, the LSSP's latter day bete noire who removed that class distinction and made them all attorneys at law.

From its inception the SLFP tried to be an exception in the lawyer-dominated Political Establishment. If in China it was "three-in-one" (PLA, workers and peasants), the SLFP (under MEP influence) made the *pancha maha balavegeya* (the five great forces) the advance guard — workers, peasants, teachers, monks and ayurvedic physicians. (Incidentally the UNP seems to be bent these days on treating ayurvedic-politicos to a particularly bitter decoction).

Under the draft constitution which was rejected, Trade Union and Youth representation in the Working Committee was to suffer a big percentage cut. But the lawyers, comparatively speaking, were okay. Strange!

The Bible says put not your trust in princes. One would have expected Mrs. Bandaranaike not to place so much faith in black coats after her post-77 experiences.

Recently, a verbal duel could have led to fisticuffs at Rosmead Place. Actually, it has resulted in a prominent Youth Leaguer asking for an inquiry into the conduct of a lawyer.

How was this objective to be achieved? "Surgery, Surgery" said the Master Mind, sharpening his carving knife.

It was the Polit-buro's bowels that were going to be cut up on the SLFP's "Bloody Sunday". The Wickremanayake Constitution or "W" constitution (let us call it that for convenience and want of space) had decided to throw the P.B. into the WPB. A new, slightly smaller Central Committee was to take its place.

But since the 17 member PB had to exist as an interim measure, 108 members of the 324 strong All-Island Working Committee had circulated a document calling for an amendment which sought to drop the P.B.'s non-office bearers and add the 5 Assistant Secretaries to the P.B. The eight non-office bearers are Hector Kobbekaduwe, Alavi Moulana, Mrs. Balasuriya, Mangala Moonesingha, Anura Bandaranaike, Dixon Silva, R. P. Wijesiri and J. R. P. Suriyapperuma. In short, seven of the Dirty Dozen. Of the 5 Assistant Secretaries that would have joined the caretaker PB, four supported the "W" constitution.

But such was the tug-o-war in the final week that nearly a dozen of the original 108 had 'withdrawn' their signatures or signed another amendment. In the initial stages of the battle, in fact, when the ultimate outcome was still uncertain, a fair number made commitments to both sides. That indeed is the SLFP style!

There was so much open resistance in the end to this chopping of heads and indiscriminate blood-letting that the question was never pressed. At the day's end, with the so-called moderates clearly in command, a minor concession was made. The 17 member PB would remain, with the 5 Assistant Secretaries as new members. In the new 22 member PB, Mrs. B. would feel less isolated, thus giving less cause for all those headline-making 'walk-outs' — a modest victory.

Central Issue

The debate really hinged on a far more important matter, the selection of 196 organisers

Bank on Grindlays in Sri Lanka

1981 is Grindlays centenary in Sri Lanka.

Grindlays has been closely involved in the Island's economic development over the past 100 years.

However, you get more than just local knowledge when you bank with Grindlays. You get the benefit of an international banking organisation with assets exceeding £ 3,300 million and over 200 branches in 38 countries around the world which help us provide the banking and financial services required in today's environment.

So whether you require trade, finance, eurocurrency loans, export finance or other specialist services you can bank on Grindlays in Sri Lanka.

Grindlays Bank Limited

Colombo 1.

at the district level. The number tells its own story.

There will be 196 members in the next Parliament which has 168 today. The "W" constitution would have the party president nominating 196

VIJAYA vs WIJE

VIJAYA, the teenage heart-throb of the silver screen, obviously found himself in the wrong role. Keener on showing that he was no Johnny-come-lately who had got to a room-at-the-top on a matrimonial ladder than on advocating the cause of the draft constitution, his speech was something of an ego-trip. His innuendos were too personal, and his forthright comments too damaging to his own side. He does not he said live on his father's fame or by his mother's name. Since the mother of the woman he had married did not possess even her civic rights she had a lesser status (adu thathvaya) than his own mother! Then he committed the terrible faux pax of lashing out at R. P. Wijesiri who though no glamour boy is a weather-beaten parliamentary "heavie".

Wijesiri, a boy from the other-side of the tracks himself, pushed his way to the platform like a fullback in the field, and let Vijaya have it in a scene that Gamini Fonseka might have relished. Wijesiri said that he had asked for SLFP nomination but had been refused. He had then won as an independent, defeating both the UNP and the SLFP. He had chosen to join the SLFP which had only 8 seats. And today he might well be in jail but for Dr. Colvin R. de Silva.

Said a film buff who had just read that Vijaya will soon be playing Jesus Christ in a new film by Sunil Ariyaratna: "Christ! At Darley Road, Vijaya was playing Robert Redford trying to play Marlon Brando playing Mark Antony in Julius Caesar rewritten by T. B. Illangaratne".

organisers who become ex-officio 'presidents' of the electoral **bala-mandalayas** after appointment by a Nomination Board of 5, nominated by the party president. Nominatednominated....right down the line. Those who opposed the draft wanted to introduce the **elective** principle. That was the central issue. And on that issue, majority support lay with those who opposed nomination. But could the debate on the 28th win over the 'floaters' to make the division a narrow one?

The Debate

Far from winning over the undecided, the manner in which Mrs. B. and her supporters conducted the debate lost even the committed voters. 108 may have been the highest number of committed supporters, but clever debating tactics and persuasive speeches may have helped them to grab another 20 or 30 and that would have made things quite dicey. **As it is Mrs. B., bold as ever, took the field only to find herself virtually alone, cannon to right and left of her. She was hopelessly isolated. Or let down.**

In the SLFP of old, whenever an important decision had to be made, the entire Cabinet turned to the Chief, the 'mathiniya', and once she made up her mind, it was a royal command. Whenever there was a debate (especially against the formidable foes of the UNP or the Left) or a quick solution needed to a tricky problem, everybody turned to the SLFP's maestro and whizz-kid, FDB. FDB's only contribution that day was a minor intervention — to deny a charge made by Maitripala Senanayake. But there were other capable speakers — Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, D. M. Jayaratne, Indrapala, etc. Nobody spoke. T. B. Illangaratne (see "DIRTY TRICKS"), the great compromiser tried to pour a bucket of water on a house on fire and waffled a bit, only to be verbally whipped by S. K. K. Sooriyaarachchi, an extremely able Sinhala speaker.

Mrs. B. had only one musketeer at her side, son-in-law, Vijay Kumaranatunge.

In her opening speech which was made for obvious psychological reasons from a 'position of strength' ("the doors are open for those who



Anura : Adroit political footwork

want to leave the party" etc), Mrs. B. stated her case for a new constitution. It was not, insiders said, one of her better speeches, but she did give her side of the story, her account of the crisis. It is based largely on a conspiracy theory — plotters inside and reactionaries outside, along with an international conspiracy which toppled such figures as Indira Gandhi, and Bhutto. In her second speech which was by all accounts one of the worst she has made, she mentioned the C.I.A.

At this point, an ex-MP shouted something about "Cheena money" just one of the many rude interjections and interruptions itself an act of defiance unprecedented in SLFP history.

The battle-plan of the other side had been far better laid. Maitripala Senanayake outlined the main events in the ongoing crisis — the Attanagalla controversy, the D. C. fiasco, the new constitution which was 'sprung' on him. The rest, Anura, Sooriyaarachchi, Wijesiri etc then struck with full force and perfect formation. In that atmosphere it was obviously wise not to take a vote.

After the battle

It is neither pleasant nor intelligent to expose the fresh wounds of war or recent battle scars. Understandably, the SLFP has tried to play down the significance of June 28. The party secretary and party press are accusing the "government and client press" (Lake House, Times, SUN) of much ado about nothing....or nothing much. Actually this is quite

unfair to the SUN group, and particularly to its political correspondent, the absent MIGARA, who in the somewhat odd company of some myopic Maoists and sundry Marxists, has been an ardent believer of 'Sirima-charisma'. Even the **CDN**, a few days before the event, estimated the balance as "roughly equal" and predicted a Sirima victory if an open vote was taken.

Migara, in fact, followed the official SLFP line in pooh-poohing the 48/47 vote in the SLFP's Working Committee in March by arguing that if Mrs. B. had voted it would have been 48/48, and her casting vote would have made it 49/48! The **L.G.** took a different view. **Our perspective was the SLFP's past, the singularity of its structure of command, and its decision-making process. To demand a secret ballot was unprecedented; to defeat the leader even by one vote was historic. In short, numbers did not matter; the trend was all important.**

The present effort at playing down June 28 is even more unconvincing. Just three days before the meeting, the DINAKARA paraded a banner headline which is probably unique in press history (**See cover**). Screaming that the scurrilous pamphleteers

DIRTY TRICKS

WHEN Mrs. B. referred to the CIA, TBI and S. D. Bandaranaike were seen clapping. But the CIA, KGB or even our local sleuths could not have produced those clumsy forgeries and doctored documents which embarrassed two senior SLFPers, Maithripala Senanayake and T. B. Ilangaratne. A scurrilous pamphlet about Anura carried Maithripala's parliamentary frank., while an undated letter by TBI protesting against the dictatorial order of Mrs. B. who had got his name dropped from the list of speakers at the Bandaranaike Commemoration Meeting had been circulated to Committee Members. The letter in fact had been written three years ago! The CIA's Dirty Tricks Department and the KGB's "agit-prop" would have hid their heads in shame.

were "possessed", it invoked the help of the printer's devil, so to say, to give an impressionistic illustration of the "possessed plotters". On the day after 'Bloody Sunday' Dinakara sheepishly tucked away the news at the bottom of page one proclaiming a defeat for the UNP. More noteworthy is a question-and-answer interview in the **NATION**, not only because it presents an intelligently argued case against any would-be UNP critic and makes some attempt to face up to the main question, but also because there is a remarkable stylistic affinity between the interviewer and the interviewee!

Each incident may be regarded as an episode or, to change the metaphor, a battle in a protracted war. But each time Mrs. B. goes into battle (or is pressed by her advisers to do) she returns (whether technically she wins or not) a little more bruised, slightly more exhausted, and now, one suspects, emotionally drained. In other words, despite the ups-and-downs at any given moment, there has been a steady decline from a position that was once impregnable.

Take the 7 point agreement of April 22, over which the **L.G.** earned an honourable mention in the SLFP PB's minutes for having "scooped" the news 6 days later! Was it an honest truce, a sincere compromise or, in the minds of the master strategists, a tactical retreat?

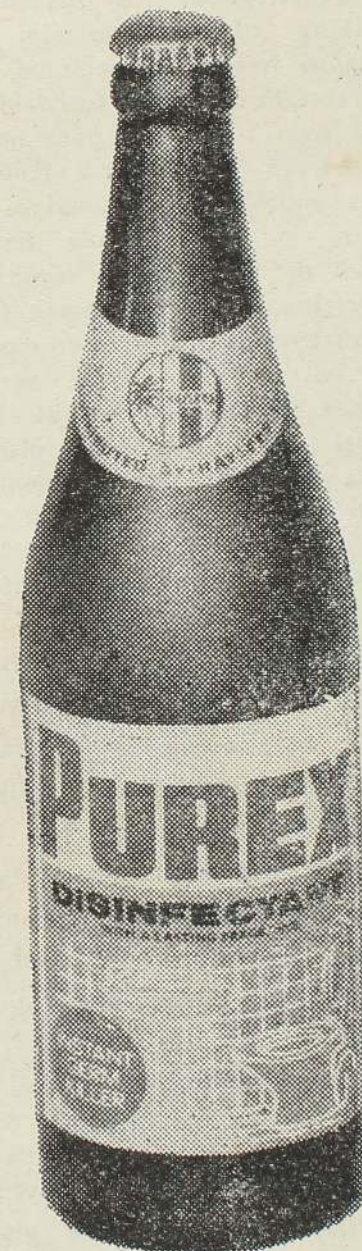
The advisers and managers may keep pushing Mrs. B. into the ring in the hope of recovering all the lost power and prestige of the unchallenged champion. They have nothing to lose. But the strategy of winner-take-all fights a losing battle with the law of the downward spiral.

"Sirima's Blitzkreig — Who Won?" was the challengingly sardonic title of a characteristically Colvin R. de Silva polemic in early 1977. If Mrs. B. asks herself the same question and faces up to the answer in the privacy of her mind, the future of the SLFP and its leader would look not so secure and bright.

The Housewife's Choice!

The instant germkiller with a lingering fragrance.

Purex contains euginol, a disinfectant effective against common household bacteria. Even repels insects.



Distributed by
HAYLEYS LTD.

Manufactured by

AITKEN SPENCE & CO., LTD

315, Vauxhall Street,
Colombo 2

Telephone: 24604-6, 20576, 34295

A WORD WITH HUANG HUA

Showing no signs of his recent illness, Chinese foreign Minister Huang Hua chatted freely without once turning to an interpreter or aide for the correct word or phrase. What did he think of the IOPZ proposal? China had always supported this Sri Lankan initiative to eliminate Big Power rivalry from this region. True enough. But what I had in mind was the Colombo conference, now postponed sine die.

Sri Lanka should continue its efforts at the diplomatic level to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. But the concept must be a balanced and fair one, he added. And what did he mean by that? All the countries of the Indian Ocean area, including the land-locked ones, should participate, because their interests too were part of the problem.

Ah, the sea/land debate which has been raging in the UN and in the ad hoc committee, I told myself. At the last meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee, chaired by Sri Lanka's Ambassador Ben Fonseka, it became abundantly clear (see L. G. July I) that the Colombo conference could not be held in August as scheduled on account of the negative attitude of the US and certain western powers. Any comments?

Expansionism and aggression should be resisted from whatever quarter it came, Mr. Hua replied.

How does China view the current build-up in the Indian Ocean — the new bases, the expansion of the old, the recent agreements for base facilities?

China, said Mr. Hua, stands for the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Before I could turn the conversation to naval bases and drop anchor at Diego Garcia, a persuasive press photographer had quietly dragged Mr. Hua by the arm. When I got back to him there was time for just one more shot.

What did he think of the Colombo meeting of seven South Asian nations and, in the light of that diplomatic exercise, Sri Lanka's application to ASEAN?

The Minister may not have heard the last part of my question. Or, he chose to ignore it.

"The South Asian countries should make every effort towards closer cooperation and they must

move forward from the Colombo talks, although progress may be slow. China sees such efforts as very positive... very helpful in strengthening peace and stability in the region".

— M. de S.

July Strike

ILO ticks off the Govt.

The UNP government is not faring too well on the 'foreign image' front. The crucial importance of 'image' to an administration whose economic policies are so heavily dependent on foreign aid can hardly be over-stated.

While the TULF has plainly mobilised its now extensive and well-organised propaganda agencies abroad, Sri Lanka's major trade unions have recently scored a succession of victories in the I. L. O. and elsewhere. (See **Trends**).

The propaganda war launched abroad by the unions has been a somewhat protracted struggle, but the adoption last month by the ILO's Governing body of a report by its Committee on Freedom of Association is no modest success.

The CFL complained to the ILO on many matters arising from the July strike. The WFTU and other international organisations of workers addressed the ILO on the same issue. The Sri Lanka govt., as a member of the ILO, was asked for their observations. An interim report was then submitted by the Committee and this report, approved by the Governing body at its 216th session in Geneva, has now been released.

"The Committee requests the Government to send its observations on the alleged death of the trade union leader, Mr. D. Somapala and other allegations concerning the mass dismissal of strikers and refusal to re-employ thousands of them, the withholding of wages and other benefits due and removal of the check-off facility.

"Regarding the Government's passage in July 1980 of state of emergency regulations prohibiting the recourse to strikes, the Committee, whilst noting that the stage of emergency was lifted in September 1980, wishes to recall that the right to strike is one of the essential means through which workers and their organisations may promote and defend their occupational interests, and would draw the Government's attention to the principle that restrictions as regards the right to strike in essential services should be limited to essential services in the strict sense of the term, i.e. those whose interruption would endanger the existence or well-being of the whole part of the population.

"As concerns the allegation of arrests of workers, in particular the trade union leaders, Messrs. Gunasena, Mahanama, Alavi Moulana Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Karunaratna Bandara, and I. G. D. Dhamasekera, in view of the conflicting nature of the reasons given for the arrests, the Commission would ask the government to inform it of the outcome of these court cases, providing copies of the judgements handed down.

"The Committee, noting that the right to protection of trade union property is one of those civil liberties which is essential for the normal exercise of trade union rights, would ask the Government to consider reopening the union offices previously housed in government premises for use by trade unions, in particular the 18

(Continued on page 10)

DOOMSDAY — Time for an anti-nuclear movement?

FOREIGN
NEWS

On the Doomsday Clock, it is three minutes to midnight. This edge-of-the-abyss warning comes from the independent and internationally reputed Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) which issued its 1981 Year-book recently. The enhanced accuracy of atomic weapons makes them likely to be "seen as suitable" says the report "for fighting rather than deterring war".

Describing President Reagan's decision to increase US military spending by 9% to some 32% of the

Hoodwink...? No chance

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, former IBM President and US Ambassador to Moscow under President Carter has urged the US to resume arms limitation talks. In a commencement address to Harvard University graduates, Mr. Watson said "by overwhelming odds, the result of any use of nuclear weapons would not be a victory. It will be an all out war and total destruction".

Pointing out that Mr. Reagan had promised to "negotiate as long as necessary to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons to a point where neither side threatens the survival of the other", Mr. Watson observed that "those negotiations have not yet started, and dangers escalate".

"It is not true that treaties are futile" he continued. The Russians do keep agreements provided each side has an interest in the other's keeping the agreement... I do not see the Soviet Union becoming more pro-American. I do not see a revolution around the corner. I do not foresee a demise of the rigid system or the rigid thinking that runs it. And I see no chance that the Soviet leaders will be hoodwinked by protracted negotiations while we try to jump ahead of nuclear arms".

(UPI report)

"We are currently facing the prospect of a dramatic change in nuclear weapons policy. I personally believe that the development of even more accurate atomic weapons indicates a very dangerous political shift. Instead of developing nuclear weapons as a deterrent our leaders are coming round to their theory that it is possible to fight a nuclear war and survive. A particularly worrying side is the decision by President Reagan to increase US military spending by 9% to some 32% of the Federal budget by 1984. I think I can safely predict this will result in a new and dangerous arms race between the superpowers as the Soviet Union will feel obliged to follow the American lead"

— Dr. Frank Barnaby,
SIPRI Director.

federal budget by 1984 (it adds up to 1.5 trillion dollars) as "a particularly worrying side" SIPRI's director, Dr. Frank Barnaby "safely predicts" that this will result in "a new and dangerous arms race".

THE NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE

Adequate words are lacking to express the full seriousness of our present situation. It is not just that the US is for the moment on a collision course politically with the Soviet Union, and that, the process of rational communication between the two governments seems to have broken down completely; it is also—and even more importantly—the fact that the ultimate sanction behind the conflicting policies of these two governments is a type and volume of weaponry which could not possibly be used without utter disaster for us all.

For over thirty years wise and farseeing people have been warning us about the futility of any war fought with nuclear weapons and about the dangers involved in their cultivation. Some of the first of these voices to be raised were those of great scientists, including outstandingly that of Albert Einstein himself. But there has been no lack of others. Every President of the United States from Dwight Eisenhower to Jimmy

Dr. Barnaby has no confidence in "our political leaders to do anything significant in the arms and disarmament field... the onus now lies upon public opinion to bring about a saner world".

In western Europe public opinion has produced a vigorous antinuclear movement which has launched a furious campaign against the attempt to deploy US Cruise missiles and Pershing II's on European soil. Ever since the USS **Midway** entered Japanese ports after manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean, there have been regular protest demonstrations in Japan. Although the Gulf and the Indian Ocean area is the focal point of the new military build-up, there is no organised anti-nuclear movement in this part of the world. Is it time for Sri Lanka to give the lead?

(Generally regarded as the architect of "Containment" — the policy of containing communism, George Kennan was US Ambassador in the Soviet Union in the last years of Stalin and later US Ambassador to Yugoslavia. He is now Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. These are excerpts from his acceptance speech on receiving The Albert Einstein Peace Prize.)

Carter, has tried to remind us that there could be no such thing as victory in a war fought with such weapons. So have a great many other eminent persons.

How have we got ourselves into this dangerous mess? Let us not confuse the question by blaming it all on our Soviet adversaries. They have of course, their share of the blame and not least in their cavalier dismissal of the **Baruch Plan** so many years ago. They too have made their mistakes, and I should be the last to deny it. But we must remember that it has been we

(Continued on page 10)

'The tendency is towards increased struggle'

A delegation of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) visited the PLO recently. The delegation consisted of Roberto Moreno, member of the Central Committee of MIR and Chief of the Exterior Work Commission; Luis Marcelo, member of the Exterior Work Commission responsible for Africa and the Arab Nation; and Luis Arriagada, member of Exterior Work Commission. The delegation visited various institutions of the PLO in Lebanon. They also met with leaders in the PLO. "Palestine" conducted the following interview with Comrade Moreno.

Q: Can you give us some background to the Chilean Struggle and the work of the MIR?

A: The struggle for freedom and democracy in our country is an old struggle. For more than 50 years the Chilean people have generated a democratic struggle which has increasingly developed. This was the way in which Chilean workers were able to form their own organizations, their own political parties and they have come to reach an important degree of unity. This makes it possible to think that under certain internal and international conditions the workers and the popular movement in Chile can take as its task the conquest of power and can effectively continue this process of developing democracy. In the case of these favourable conditions we think it was necessary to confront the army aggression supported by the dominant class and imperialism. We think that this is the way to daily make democracy more extensive.

Our part was created in 1965. Since this time we have been developing among the masses a concept of furthering the political and the military struggle. Before 1970, we engaged in many armed

operations. Some months before the elections in 1970 we stopped them because we thought at that time that it wasn't good to launch military operations given the expectations which all Chilean people had for the elections of 1970 and especially for the development of a truly popular movement. We stopped our armed actions, but we continued with our work among the masses. During the three years of the Popular Unity government, we had a large following among the workers, peasants, among the students and other popular sectors. There was a sector of the masses which had acquired with some influence the perception and organization to form a front against a military putsch. We didn't have the weapons. This sector of the masses did resist the military putsch and the other sector directed by the Popular Unity participated also, but defeat was inevitable. This is the religion and line which the MIR has maintained from this experience.

Q: Can you give an assessment of the current situation now in Chile?

A: We think that the past year has witnessed important changes in the national situation. All the changes favor the revolutionary struggle. The most important change was the change in the political line which the Popular Unity has maintained since 1973. They are now thinking in a new way about how to defeat the dictatorship in Chile. This has produced an important re-evaluation among all the parties of the Chilean Left. It promises more potential in the future for the popular struggle both politically and military. The reason for this change is first due to the development and strength of the popular resistance in Chile.

During the past three years, it was possible to form a configura-

tion of social, political and military forces which defined all their actions with the concept of defeating the dictatorship. In 1980, the dictatorship took a new step in deciding to hold onto power indefinitely.

In December of last year, the level of common understanding in the Popular Unity was raised. It was agreed that the dictatorship must be crushed — that there is no possibility of a gradual transformation of the dictatorship. Secondly, we agreed that Christian Democracy is not an alternative to the military regime and therefore, the Left must develop its own forces and become the alternative. The principle parties all agreed on these points. The accord was about the necessity of developing the political struggle with the military struggle. It was possible and necessary. From this, we think that the process of strengthening the popular resistance will be enhanced and also the comprehension of the vanguard sector of the mass movement. We must cut down the dictatorship by means of a generalized military and political struggle which will enable a rise in the level of military confrontation. We believe that there will be an increase in this kind of struggle this year.

Q: It appears that U.S. Imperialism is preparing a new reactionary offensive in Latin America. What happens in Chile is not isolated from the regional situation in the Southern Cone as a whole. What effect does the regional situation have on internal developments in the Chilean struggle?

A: We don't think that the election of Reagan represents a particularly new element in U.S. policy. The counter-offensive began some years ago. Reagan is only a better or worse representative of

this policy. We do not think that it is the problem of one man. We are confronting an offensive made by U.S. imperialism in its totality. The internal contradictions inherent to international imperialism and the correlation of world forces will not be affected by the election of Reagan. In other words, we are confronting a more aggressive policy of imperialism which requires a more serious and stronger answer. But in this confrontation, we have on our side strength and reason.

The aggressive attitude which imperialism is developing at this time also operates in our country. We can see that in the past few months the Pinochet dictatorship has hardened its internal policies. This is far from being a demonstration of the strength of the dictatorship. It is a demonstration of its weakness which will cause the internal resistance to increase. The unity of the Chilean popular movement will become closer. The revolutionary line will be strengthened within the mass movement.

It is necessary to state clearly that since 1975, there was a generalized rise in the level of the popular struggle in the Southern Cone — in every country with differences of degree, with a higher or lesser level of development of the vanguard — but in general, the tendency is towards increased struggle. Really, the counter-revolutionary offensive which began with the military coup in Brazil in 1964 and continues with the putsch against Torres in Bolivia and in Argentina and in Chile — this offensive has come to an end. A sign of this is the class struggle in the Southern Cone. It's not an equal process. We think that in Chile the struggle was more developed, but we see that the progress attained in Uruguay and the possibilities and potential in the Bolivian-Peruvian situation will all be interrelated with the advance in Chile or in any one of the other countries in a similar way to what's happening in Central America. We think that there is a general relationship of the popular offensive in the conjuncture of the Latin American countries. We don't think that increased struggle is an

immediate thing, but it's a process of two or three years or longer. But it is succinct and U.S. imperialism cannot resolve it and naturally will fight. We must be prepared to confront it in every way possible. We must raise the level of cooperation between the revolutionary forces on the whole continent. But we are assured that in this confrontation U.S. imperialism will suffer a most important defeat, a defeat which will change the correlation of forces internationally. The defeat will have the same importance as the defeat caused by the victory of the Vietnamese people in 1975. We think that after this, the world system of imperialism will not be the same. North American imperialism will suffer important changes. ●

The nuclear . . .

(Continued from page 8)

Americans who at almost every step of the road, have taken the lead in the development of this sort of weaponry. It was we who first produced and tested such a device, we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principle of "first use", and we alone, so help us God, who have used the weapon in anger against others, and against tens of thousand of helpless non-combatants at that.

We are confronted here with two courses. At the end of the one lies hope—faint hope, if you will—uncertain hope, hope surrounded with dangers, if you insist. At the end of the other lies, so far as I am able to see, no hope at all. Can there be—in the light of our duty not just to ourselves (for we are all going to die sooner or later) not of our duty to our own kind, our kind, our duty to the continuity of the generations, our duty to the great experiment of civilised life on this rare and rich and marvellous planet—

ILO ticks . . .

(Continued from page 7)

unions listed by one of the complainants which have been sealed since 18th July 1980.

"While noting the Government's statements that it will not negotiate with various employees because they vacated their posts during the general strike and were mostly public servants who are not covered by Convention No. 98 the Committee would ask the Government to reconsider its position in this respect, having regard both to the principle that the right to bargain freely with employers with respect to conditions of work constitutes an essential element in freedom of association and to the fact that Convention No. 98 does apply both to the private sector and to nationalised undertakings and public bodies, it being possible to exclude from such application only public servants engaged in the administration of the State, that is, those acting as agents of the public authority."

can there be, in the light of these claims on our loyalty, any question as to which course we should adopt?

In the final week of his life, Albert Einstein signed the last of the collective appeals against the development of nuclear weapons that he was ever to sign. He was dead before it appeared. It was an appeal drafted, I gather, by Bertrand Russell. I had my differences with Russell at the time, as I do now in retrospect; but I would like to quote one sentence from the final paragraph of the statement, not only because it was the last one Einstein ever signed, but because it sums up, I think, all that I have to say on the subject. It read as follows:

"We appeal, as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest."

THE MAN IS THE STYLE

"Gravitas....gravitas" repeated H. A. J. Hulugalle gravely as he singled out the quality that he admired most in Dudley Senanayake. We were at the Municipal grounds watching a Government vs Opposition cricket match in aid of some charitable cause or other which I have now quite forgotten. But the conversation I remember well. It was one of my rare encounters with the Grand Old Man of local journalism. As usual, he was working on a book — 100 years of the Colombo Municipal Council, I think, it was.

Many years later I spotted him at the Taprobane bar but did not dare to disturb his quiet and lonely meditations. A sandwich, a cup of tea, and the "Daily Telegraph". (I had expected the London Times, though). A study in gravitas?

The man was the style. All his journalistic writings were neat, orderly compositions. No purple patches, no striving for effect, no fuss at all. That's the way, I am told, of his going too. Peacefully in his sleep. 82. A full life, and a comforting conviction, I guess, of much fulfillment.

The "stylists" came to our Fleet Street with the next generation — Tarzie Vittachi, Jayantha Padmanabha, Reggie Siriwardene, Denzil Pieris, Tori de Souza and H. D. Jansz that frail ghost-like figure who haunted the corridors of Lake House and confounded young recruits by wielding a deadly quill.

Now all 'style', the sedate impersonality of the Hulugalles and the many-splendoured individuality of the others, has gone out of journalism. The Information Dept. has taken over the press, and another generation awaits its liberation from the press release. Death has laid such a heavy hand on the spirit of journalism that a hopelessly destitute 'Daily News'

got the dead to bury the dead by resurrecting a profile of H. A. J. written by the late D.B. Dhana-pala at least fifteen years before he died in 1971.

A Hulugalle anecdote may relieve us from such depressing thoughts. Accredited as our first Ambassador to Israel, he never made it. The 1956 MEP victory and the Suez crisis stopped him in his tracks. At Amman airport, in neighbouring Jordan, he asked the taxi driver to take him to Thomas Cooks. His Excellency (he was Ambassador to Italy) must have sat back to enjoy the landscape (or read his favourite paper) because half an hour later he was speeding on a desert road.... "Thomas Cooks" he told the driver, tapping him on the shoulder.... "Damas-Cus, Damas-Cus" nodded the man and drove on towards the Syrian border.....

Top Marks for Marcos

THERE is a case to be made after all for Sri Lanka's ardent, if somewhat gauche, wooing of ASEAN. In power 16 years, eleven under martial law, Marcos was so sure of his re-election as President that he fixed the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting for the day after the polls. He is a well-tested hand at holiding 'free' elections or the nationwide referendum with the easily predictable result. With all the major parties boycotting the contest, he was the "only real runner" said the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW "with his sole opponent barely campaigning". Marcos predicted he would get 85% of the vote. Though **Reuter** and other agencies reported a 50% turnout in Metro Manila, Marcos ended up with 88%!

"Questions are being asked about how democratic is the democracy he has established" wrote Kevin

Rafferty who covered the election for the F. T. His report from Manila said: "The major political parties in the end refused to fight an unequal presidential election. Even so there were allegations of ballot stuffing and other incidents."

Which goes to show that with some Filipino expertise channeled through ASEAN Sri Lankans inexperienced in ballot stuffing and allied (ASEAN) arts and crafts do not have to suffer the embarrassment of transporting ballot boxes to three-star hotels crowded with four star politicians, and two-star officials and servicemen.

Gift of the gab

THE PRESS is doing Anura proud. In the thick of the SLFP battle the triumphant Anura was given super-star treatment by all the English language Dailies while the "macho" Vijaya, the Charles Bronson of the Sinhala screen, only earned a passing mention. That's class (if not caste) discrimination for you.

Incidentally, Anura did not say that Sanjay had no sisters. The Dinakara where sister Chandrika is more or less in command had written about Sanjay and filial loyalty a few days before the crucial meeting. Anura's reply "but Sanjay had an advantage — he had no brothers-in-law". (He also reminded his mother that sons-in-law come and go).

The parliamentary Bandaranaiques have a reputation for wit and humour, often with a touch of the risky, the salacious and the obscene. FDB's latest is that the UNP has made "an A (R) SEAN of itself". At the YMBA Anura twitted a prominent politician who "cut his teeth in the SLFP but has now lost his dentures in the UNP".

— The Spectator

Tamil grievances since 1977

Sunil Bastian

Let us begin from 1972 when T. U. L. F. was formed. The grievances of the Tamil speaking people were mainly in the following areas: Land colonisation; Employment; Education and Language. What had happened to these grievances since 1977 — i. e. during the present regime? These should be considered in the context of the overall development model adopted by this regime. The main emphasis in this model, inspired by the advice of the IMF, is to cut down on consumption by reducing the resources allocated for welfare measures and subsidies, and to attempt economic growth through private initiatives, local and foreign. Development programmes are heavily dependent on foreign sources of finance, either in the form of direct investments or as aid. Foreign sources are also sought to overcome the balance of payments difficulties. How would these trends have influenced Tamil grievances?

Land Colonisation

Concerning Land colonisation, the major project is the Mahaveli. Data on the ethnic composition of the settlers in the H area for example, shows that **it is almost 100% Sinhalese**. These settlers had been drawn from different electorates and no attempts had been made to create new settlements comprised of people of the North and East which would have redressed some of the earlier discrimination against Tamil speaking people. One wonders whether the future settlements in the Eastern parts of the country covered by the Mahaveli programme will change the ethnic composition of the population in these areas, as it had happened in the past.

But the major question that arises from the present development efforts in agriculture is whether a process of land concentration in a few hands, will take place. Will the scale of the investments in Mahaveli, to get an adequate return within our capitalist system, the government has no option but to

encourage large scale capitalist farming which would mean a consolidation of land in few hands. Research shows that in earlier schemes like Gal Oya such a process of land transfer had taken place. In the already settled areas of the Mahaveli the same is happening albeit at a faster rate. In the H area land has been allotted to the **Ceylon Tobacco Company** and the idea of agricultural free trade zones is with involvement of foreign capital is already in the air. All this would mean that the amount of land available for distribution among the people will be less and the minority communities, always discriminated against when available resources are distributed, will have even a lesser chance of getting land.

The Jaffna farmer

The liberalised import policies of this government have also affected the Jaffna farmer. Jaffna had developed an intensive form of cultivation specially in subsidiary crops. The increase in prices of the inputs and the flooding of the market with imports has seriously affected the Jaffna farmer.

Employment

According to the Central Bank Report of 1980 the total employment generation during the past three years was as follows: 1978-145,000, 1979-115,000, 1980-18,035. **The decline in employment generation after an initial boom is significant.** This parallels the trends in economic activity. The total Middle East migration in 1978 was 8082 and 9423 in 1979. The sectors where employment generation took place consist of Construction (Mostly Mahaveli, IPZ, Housing construction and urban development, and Tourism), Plantations (69% of the total increase in 1979) and trade. **Geographically, this economic activity was not located in Tamil speaking areas except for some self employment in trade and few tourist construction sights. The Job Bank scheme through**

which most of the lower grade vacancies in the state sector are filled, excluded the electorates represented by MPs from the opposition parties, including the T. U. L. F. Thus it practically sealed off people from Tamil speaking areas from state employment. The leader of the Opposition in the course of the debate on the D. D. C. s stated that people from Tamil speaking areas did not even constitute 2% of those who got state employment between 1977 and 1980. With the steep reduction of the employment generation capacity of the entire economy, and with the state sector having to cut down the number employed in keeping up with the IMF enforced reduction in government expenditure, the competition for the few available jobs will rise. At the same time, within the existing capitalist framework, the reduction of 'hands' in the state sector is the only method available to make them economically viable. In such a situation of increased competition for the few jobs available, there is greater probability that the discriminatory policies, (already brought to our notice by the leader of the Opposition) will become worse.

The allegation of discrimination in education was in the field of entry into higher education. **In secondary education Mannar, Vavuniya and Batticaloa are least developed districts in terms of facilities.** This remains the same today. In higher education why did the introduction of admission formulae take place in the seventies? The government explanation was based on the media of instruction and the alleged overmarking by the Tamil examiners. The Commission appointed by the government did not find this to be true and that only Tamils will resort to this type of activities can be maintained only by a racist. But why did such allegations arise only in the seven-

ties? This should be explained because examinations in the mother tongue had been conducted in the Arts stream from the sixties, and no such accusations had been heard before.

The underlying reason for the introduction of these formulae was the increasing competition to enter into the universities where the available space was not expanding and the number of those aspiring for places was increasing. In the seventies the competition for the Science faculties became specially acute, and it was then that admission formulae were first introduced. The result of the standardised marks was the increase in the proportion of Sinhalese in Science faculties at the expense of the Tamils. In the Arts stream the situation was not affected in such a manner. The district quota system gave added advantage to the few Sinhalese students from privileged families who managed to come up to the grade 12 in the Science stream in the districts.

What had happened since 1977? Cut down on the welfare system makes it still more difficult to expand facilities in higher education. In fact the government is encouraging private initiative in higher education. In the meantime the education authorities are experimenting with formulae. The presently operating formula for admissions discriminate against students from Colombo and Jaffna districts. But these are districts where, in grade 12, we find students from relatively underprivileged sections of the society, since in these areas educational facilities are more developed and have spread to some extent. Rather than establishing an adequate base to facilitate the expansion of education to all communities, the present trends in education seem to aggravate the disparities and discrimination not only on an ethnic basis, but also on a class basis.

Language

Giving the status of a National Language to Tamil, was hailed by some as a step forward in finding a solution to the material question. But to what extent it really changed the situation? In their day to day

life, Tamil people were and are discriminated against because they did not know Sinhala in two important ways. First they had to satisfy certain language requirements to get government jobs and secondly they were put into difficulties when having dealings with the state because all communications were in the official language. The status of the Tamil language as a National Language has not done much to reduce this discrimination. Even now, a Tamil person serving even in a Tamil speaking area has to comply to the requirements of the Official Languages Act and Tamil people have to know Sinhalese if they are to deal with the government successfully. On the other hand the present economic policies are making the knowledge of English more important. This has a parallel implication with the present educational policies, in that it will supplement the discrimination and disparities on an ethnic basis with those on a class basis.

Added Grievances — Violation of Human Rights

From 1974 onwards Jaffna people had been subjected to outbursts of violence initiated by the so called forces of law and order of the state. These incidences could be summarised as follows; 1974 Shooting by the police at the International Tamil Research Conference; 1977 August Police on rampage in Jaffna followed by communal violence in the whole country; 1979 July—Emergency in Jaffna, arrests and six deaths reported; 1981 June—Police and Army on rampage again. What we notice is within the past four years major incidents of violence, had taken place in Jaffna within two year intervals. In between these outbursts, the rounding up of people, house to house searches, and other forms of harassment take place regularly. Such regulations like the Anti Terrorist Act give wide powers to the Police and Armed forces to carry out these deeds. The number of people arrested and kept in custody is not known. There had been allegations of torture being used widely. **Those of us who react to the situation in Jaffna only when there are large scale out-**

bursts of overt violence, fail to realise that violence practised by the organs of state security have become a part of every day reality of Jaffna. Oppressed more than any other section of our population by the injustices of our capitalist system, with its deepening crisis, Tamil people are standing up to this oppression with Jaffna peninsula as a centre of grim resistance. In this process they are already resorting to violent methods. The state is reacting to this with violence using the Police and the Armed forces. **Therefore in present day Sri Lanka, in the National (Tamil) question we have the main point of contradiction of our society.**

D. D. C. s — How far is it a solution?

Even the Presidential Commission that was appointed before the establishment of the D.D.C.s, did not think of it as a direct solution to the national question. But some expect D.D.C.s to be a step in the right direction because it is expected to bring about some sort of a devolution of power to the districts and facilitate the participation of people at the district level in the development programmes. But is this really possible?

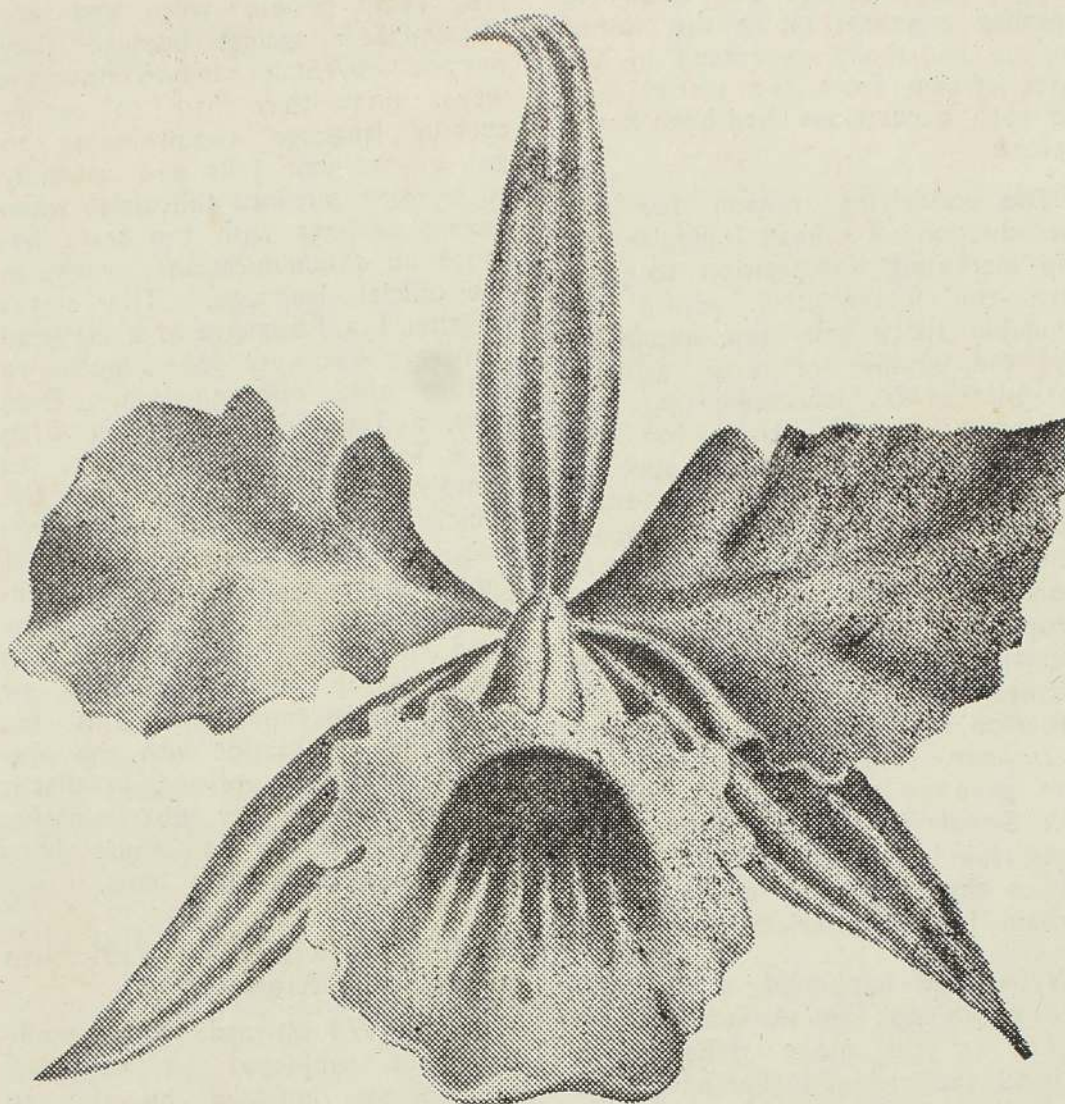
In the analysis of the structure and the composition of the D.D.C.s the overwhelming power of the Executive Committee headed by the District Minister has been pointed out. It is claimed that this is really an extension of the Presidential powers through the District Minister, who will be his appointee, at the district level. The Executive Committee is responsible for the implementation of the development plans at the district level. The function of the elected members of the D.D.C. is only to 'approve the plans' that originate from the appropriate Minister and presented and implemented by the Executive Committee. Therefore in the Executive Committee of the D.D.C.s, the President has a body that can effectively implement the plans originating from the centre and which can be controlled by him. The presence of powerless elected members gives an illusion that there is popular participation at the bottom

and through that device the government had sold the word "decentralisation" to those who for a long time in this country believed that a solution to the national question of this country could be found through some form of decentralisation.

Is decentralisation of economic development really possible in the context of the developmental model presently followed? All the major development programmes carried out at present (Mahaveli, IPZ, Housing development, Colombo Master Plan and Parliamentary complex, Master Plans for Tea and Rubber, Expansion of Sugar cultivation, Fisheries mechanisation, Fisheries harbour development and other part improvements, Large industrial projects like Urea factory and Prima, etc.) are of the type that need centralised planning and implementation. They are capital intensive and has a large component of foreign investment, either directly or as aid. **These will be directed by authorities at the Centre, in liaison with the sources from which foreign capital emanates.** Even the Integrated District Development Programme is one financed by the World Bank and implemented by the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

Government has not made any provision for true decentralisation through the D.D.C. bill and cannot do so due to the very nature of its development programmes. On the contrary, the trend is in the other direction—greater centralisation. The Constitution had created a strong executive (President) that can carry out much of the development activities with the help of a technocracy and a bureaucracy collected around it. It does not have to answer to the parliament nor can the parliament control it through funds. Parliament is also made stable by eliminating defections that can bring down a government. In the proportional representation system the party put forwards a list of candidates, who, after being elected, will be completely under party control. People are also expected to vote for the party and not to individuals during the elections. All this had created a political structure that can have stability

(Continued on page 16)



An invitation.

Whenever you want orchids ...
whether it is a solitary stalk,
a beautiful presentation basket,
or a gay profusion elegantly
arranged for an important occasion ...
come to the Fern & Flower
for orchids that are beyond words.



HOTEL TAPROBANE, FORT. TELEPHONE: 20391

The plantation workers and the Marxist movement

SELF — CRITICISM NEEDED

Jayaratne S. Maliyagoda

The plantation workers are the major section of the Sri Lankan working class, more than 750,000 in number. They are engaged in the country's large plantation industry, where they produce 58% of our national income. In other words their SWEAT and BLOOD contributes massively to our national income.

While this is true, are we treating them as human beings? The answer is that we neither consider them as human beings nor do we recognise them as an important section of the working class of this country. At the same time we do not appreciate the vital role they play where our economy is concerned.

We as Marxists, do we recognise and guarantee the right of plantation workers and other minority communities to equality in the political, economic, educational, linguistic, housing, health, social, cultural realms? Do we recognise and defend their right to live in this country without any discrimination? This is the question we must ask our (Marxist) selves. In actual fact, the answer is negative. **But one thing must be said. In tracing the history of our marxist movement, we see that prior to 1947 they adopted a correct policy in relation to the plantation workers and other minority communities and fought for their fundamental rights.**

In this regard I would like to quote the Resolution adopted by the Ceylon Trade Union Federation led by the Ceylon Communist Party on their Exco Meeting held

The author who was the Kandy District Secretary of Mr. Sanmugathan's Ceylon Communist Party during the years 1969/72, is presently the General Secretary of the Lanka General Services Union.

on the 22nd Sept. 1944 and overwhelmingly supported by the thousands of the working masses at the Public Meeting held on the 15th October in the same year at Colombo Town Hall premises. The contents of this resolution were included in the CTUF General Secretary's report for the period December 1944 which was ratified at the CTUF special sessions held on the 5th, 6th and 7th January 1945. The resolution read thus: "*This committee declares that Ceylon's future development will not be along the line of one-nation unitary state, with all except the Sinhalese people regarded as minorities living within this state. As in fact there are two distinct historically evolved nationalities in Ceylon — the Sinhalese and the Tamils each with their own contiguous territory as their homeland, their own language, economic life, culture and psychological make up, as well as interspersed minorities living in the territories of these nationalities, this committee declares that the constitution of a free Ceylon must be based on the following principles:*

(a) *Recognition of the equality and sovereignty of the people of Ceylon.*

(b) *Recognition that the nationalities (Sinhalese & Tamils) have the right to free self-determination including the right, if they so desire, to form their own separate independent state.*

(c) *Recognition that the interspersed minorities should have:—*

(i) *Statutory guarantees protecting their political, social, economic, cultural, educational, and linguistic rights and their freedom of religious worship.*

(ii) *Statutory abolition of privileges and discrimination based on caste, race or community.*

(iii) *making the infringement of the above a penal offence under the constitution.*

(d) *Recognition that the Indians, now in Ceylon, who wish to make Ceylon their permanent home and adopt Ceylon citizenship should be given the same rights and privileges as any other community in Ceylon.*

There is no doubt that one who read the above resolution would be surprised how our marxist movement had adopted correct policy positions and subsequently betrayed their own policy in relation to the plantation workers and other minority communities. It is not my intention to discuss the reasons for the occurrence of such drastic change in our marxist movement, but one thing I must emphatically say is that this fundamental change in their thinking with regards to the oppressed communities resulted in our marxist movement getting isolated not only among plantation workers, but from other minority communities as well. It is also a fact that the plantation workers and other minorities too lost the correct guidance and this eventually placed them in a position of political destitution.

However the present situation compels us to pay our immediate attention to the miserable plight of the plantation workers and other minority communities and it is high time for us to discuss how we should defend their fundamental rights.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the working masses including plantation workers (Tamils) were disinherited from political freedoms by the British Imperialists who ruled this country. When the Donoughmore Commission decided to grant voting right to the entire peoples in Sri Lanka, the Representatives in the Legislative Council who voiced the

interests of the landlord bourgeoisie and comprador class, vehemently opposed that such rights be given to the common peoples. It is obvious that they resolved to excommunicate the working masses from politics.

Since the recommendation of the Donoughmore Commission was that plantation workers (Tamil) too should have equal political freedom, there was no citizenship problem and they were treated as citizens of this country like others upto 1949. But after political Independence, the 1st Parliament under the hegemony of landlords and comprador class who opposed vehemently universal franchise in the Legislative Council, deprived the plantation Tamils of their inheritance to participate in politics. It was not accidental that by introducing the inhuman Citizenship Act in 1949, the same clique who happened to be the pioneers in the formation of the United National Party and gather political power into their hands, rendered the plantation Tamils Stateless. This barbarous action against the major section of the working class in this country by the UNP Government was not only a violation of fundamental human rights but it was tantamount to declaration of war against a section of the minority community in this country. **At that stage our marxist movement had a very strong position in the opposition and they should have used Extra-Parliamentary action to fight against the brutal provisions of the Citizenship Act of 1949. They could have defended not only the rights of the plantation Tamils, but in doing so, could have succeeded in changing the fate of entire working masses in this country.**

Once again we have an experience in 1964 when the SIRIMA-SHASTRI PACT was signed by two bourgeois governments. This closed the doors to the plantation Tamils who have been affected under that agreement. After this agreement the problems became worse. It is obvious that it was a definite motive of our bourgeoisie to further the political alienation of the plantation Tamils. Under these circumstances, planta-

tion workers are not only wage slaves in our society like the rest of the working class in general but they are living and working in conditions of semi-slavery.

At present, there are more than 500,000 stateless Tamils in the plantation area. Many workers have been deported against their will. Those who have been granted citizenship rights under Sirima-Shastri Pact do not have equal rights as other nationals of Sri Lanka. In short plantation workers do not have fundamental human and democratic rights as others in this bourgeois democratic system.

Therefore, the plantation workers also must prepare to take **direct action** in order to achieve equal status in every aspect of fundamental human rights, parallel with their struggle for economic rights.

We as Marxists must take a correct stand and prepare to fearlessly defend and fight for the rights of the plantation workers and other oppressed minorities.

In this context we must make the utmost effort to convince the the urban workers and rural poor, of the fact that without the solidarity, unity and mutual support between plantation workers and other oppressed minorities, we cannot achieve the Socialist Revolution. Marxists should guide the urban workers to stand up in defence of the fundamental human and democratic rights of those oppressed peoples, unconditionally.

For our part it is necessary that first we must rectify our own mistakes and the wrong attitudes we have adopted towards the plantation workers. While recognizing that plantation workers too have equal rights in every aspect as others in Sri Lanka, **we must make up our mind to fight for the restoration of the political and other democratic rights which they had exercised during 1931-1949.**

The plantation workers too must realize that it is high time for them to raise up their hands in collaboration with the urban workers and rural poor who are their true friends and must prepare to fight in order to achieve equal status in the areas of political, education, health, housing, employment, and cultural. Our object is to fight for scientific socialism in general; political freedom, fundamental human rights, and equal status for plantation Tamils; and national liberation for oppressed national minorities in particular. It is necessary for the adoption of a genuine marxist-leninist approach to their problems so that we could buildup our strength among all oppressed communities on the basis of true proletarian internationalism. Only then can we break the yoke of neo-colonialism and bourgeois rule and establish a socialist state in the land of Sri Lanka.

Tamil grievances . . .

(Continued from page 14)

when it has to carry out unpopular measures, in attempting to further capitalist growth. It helps to minimise the instability arising due to pressures from the bottom. In such a situation, decentralisation is contrary to what is required.

Social contradictions are bound to arise as a result of this form of 'development'. As noted earlier, the Tamil people being the hardest hit are already reacting violently. Workers and students are the other sensitive and organised sections who are also voicing their protest disapproval. State and other forms of violence had been used against them too. Laws have been formulated to control precisely these groups. All indicators seem to show that we are going through a critical period of our historical development when the contradictions of our society are being aggravated.

Monopoly capital — foreign and domestic

Dayan Jayatilleka

'Aid', a misnomer if ever there was one, is another form, together with debt, of the financial aspect of neo-colonial domination. Most of this is 'tied-aid', with conditions imposed in respect of how it is to be utilized. What goods should be purchased, from where, how they should be transported, in which markets should the end-products of this aid should be sold, etc are specified by the aid donors. The principal members of the Aid Ceylon Club set up in '65/'66 are the UK, US, West Germany and Japan, together with the IMF. The 1977 Budget revealed an 'aid' commitment from these sources totalling 630 million US dollars which is the highest figure in recent years, and also exceeds the 1976 total government revenue (which was around Rs. 6000 million).

Over the years the principal condition imposed on the mendicant-bourgeoisie of Sri Lanka has been to insist on a shift away from 'consumption' towards 'development' i. e. a cutback in social welfarism. The ruling bourgeoisie was always wary of this, following the spontaneous mass uprising of 1953, popularly known as the 'Hartal' (during which workers were shot dead). The Hartal was a direct response to cuts in the rice subsidy effected on World Bank advice. The bourgeoisie realizes that social welfarism is the scaffolding of bourgeois democracy. But the pressures have been unrelenting and the process inexorable, and all that the Sri Lankan bourgeoisies' remarkably astute perception of its self interest has been able to achieve, is to reduce somewhat, the pace of the cutbacks. Still for all, there has been steady shrinkage of social welfarism since the mid '60s—a process which sharply accelerated against the backdrop of the intensi-

fied crisis of world capitalism in the 1970s.

Sri Lankan capitalism is dependent in respect of its industrial sector too. As in other neo-colonies, the period of import substitution fuelled an industrial growth which in the final analysis, proved to be a dependent one. The import of goods was curtailed, but the manufacture of these goods by the 'national' bourgeoisie involved machinery and raw materials which were themselves imported from the metropolis. In fact the locally manufactured item sometimes cost more in foreign exchange than the imported item. It has been unofficially estimated that in the 1970's 72%—76% of the plant, equipment, raw materials and parts in the country's industrial sector were imported from the metropolis. An UNCTAD survey on **'The Transfer of Technology and Industrial Development in Sri Lanka'** summed up the process quite well. The report stated that "25 industries were set up as foreign subsidiaries in the 1960s. The local trading community also found that one of the answers to import restriction was to produce the same goods locally with the collaboration of forcing firms for capital goods and technology. Due to prevailing patterns of trade and commercial links, however, local traders neither had the incentive nor the technological capability to seek alternative sources, local as well as foreign in the selections of foreign collaborators and to choose and bargain for the maximum national advantage. The preference of local industries invariably to collaborate with foreign manufactures in making products which they were hitherto selling, raised the bargaining power of foreign technology suppliers to extract

terms favourable to themselves." The report stated further "a large number of industries established in the 1970s in import substitution lines, thus took the form of joint ventures in which foreign technology suppliers had an effective, if not the majority, share in the equity capital to exercise control. The restrictive condition of licence agreements for technology supplemented their power to exercise effective control over the local industry."

In summarizing its conclusions the report stated that 'in the private sector, the spurt in industrialization which took place in the period of import substitution encouraged the import of technologies from international corporations. In the wake of import restriction and tariff barriers, multinational corporations, which had been exporting their products to Sri Lanka found themselves cut off from a fairly lucrative though small export market, and to compensate for this set up manufacturing subsidiaries to supply the local market.' (The transfer and Development of Technology in Sri Lanka prepared by the UNCTAD on the invitation of the then Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs Mr. T. B. Subasinghe).

The protectionist effects of the policy of import substitution were thus steadily negated in many ways by the self-same 'national' bourgeoisie (albeit at a different stage of its evolution) which initiated this policy. Another example of this was the convertible Rupee Account scheme mooted by no less a person than Dr. N. M. Perera the Ex-Marxist, ex-Minister of Finance, under which the earnings from the export of certain non-traditional items such as Gems, Batiks, Fruits, industrial, and agricultural and fish products were

permitted to be retained in foreign exchange in private bank accounts. This foreign exchange was widely utilised for travel abroad, the education of children abroad the import of motor cars, refrigerators, tape-recorders and radios, wrist-watches and an array of items ranging from Tom Piper corned beef and Maraschino Cherries to San Miguel beer (value of CRA accounts totalled Rs. 317 million in May 1976, of which 215 million rupees was utilised for luxurious imports and over-consumption. The CRA scheme was introduced in 1972. Total value of CRA accountt in June 1973 was Rs. 17.9 million, in December '73 54.2 million in December '74 143.3 million, and in May '76 317.6 million which amounts to a 375% increase from the time of its introduction four years earlier. One notes that the facility was extended only to trade with capitalist countries countries and neo-colonies, and not socialist countries such as USSR, China etc. The plight of local manufacturers who are unable to compete with the newly imported item is but a reflection of the *compradorefication* that the former national bourgeoisie has undergone to the detriment not only of the working masses but also the petty bourgeoisie. The 1977 Budget abolished the C. R. A. scheme which was superfluous and obsolescent in the context of the Sadat-style 'Open door' policy overtly adopted in the Budget, a policy which is both consequence and further cause of this process of 'compradorefication.'

It is imperative to reject the revisionist theories that the phenomenon of dependence under the SLFP government was limited to the private sector. This, in effect is an aspect of the falacious 'dual economy' thesis and must be thoroughly criticized. Even though the plantation sector was in state hands, the economy was still subject to imperialism in trade (unequal exchange), since the prices were determined in the world capitalist market from which we have not delinked ourselves. In fact, trade ties with the E. E. C and Japan rapidly increased over the SLFP years. Then again, the bourgeois state was instrumental in further

ensnaring the national economy within the 'debt trap' set by the IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and other neo-colonialist agencies and countries. The state played the same role in binding down the economy with imperialist 'aid'. The state industrial sector was as dependent on neo-colonialism as the private sector. This was not solely in terms of plant equipment, and raw material, since neo-colonialist capital investment took place not only in the private sector, but increasingly in the so-called public sector too. The tie-up of the Japanese transnational Noritake with the Ceramics Corporation in the setting of three factories as joint ventures is but a single example of the tie ups between international monopoly capitalism and local state monopoly capitalism during the SLFP periods. This phenomena was evident not merely in the industrial sector. Two of the largest tourist hotels in Colombo, The Hotel Ceylon Intercontinental and The Oberoi were joint ventures between US and India monopoly capitalism respectively, and the Hotels Corporation, (while a 3rd hotel—the Alhambra/Holiday Inn was a tie-up between US capital and local private capital.)

Foreign capital remained entrenched in and continued to penetrate tourism, banking shipping, the manufacture of cigarettes, shoes, textiles, pharmaceuticals, agro-chemicals, electrial appliances, soap and toothpaste, soft drinks etc.

The Ceylon Tobacco Co. which accounts for 3% of the country,s GNP is a subsidiary of British Imperial Tobacco. Lever Brothers which manufactures soap, tooth paste and other household toiletries is subsidiary of the gigantic conglomerate Unilevers. Bata, the shoe manufacture is also a transnational subsidiary. Lankem Ceylon Ltd which manufactures fertilizers, and Agrochemicals is a joint venture with Shell, Haychem, C. I. C. and Bours, all 3 of which are involved in the manufacturs of chemicals have a large component of foreign capital. Glaxo-Allenbury's, Reckitt & Colmans, WarnerOHudnut which manufactures Vitamin pills, glucose and other pharmaceuticals (and also cosmetics) are subsidiaries of Anglo-American capital. Ceylon Nutritional Foods which manufactures

INVITE US TO CATER FOR YOUR PARTY

6
to
60
or
more

PAGODA

Catering is our speciality.

We cater for any
function large or small:
weddings, engagements,
cocktails, luncheons,
dinners.

PAGODA RESTAURANT too

is available for your party.

Phone: 23086, 29236.



PAGODA

105, Chatham Street,
Colombo 1.

Cyril Rodrigo Restaurant

infant milk foods is a subsidiary of the British based Nestle's. Diesel and Motor Company contains 60% local capital belonging to 3 Sri Lankans and 40% foreign (West German) capital invested by Benz. A branch of Union Carbide (U. S. based) provides automobile batteries for the transport sector. A large percent of transistor batteries in the local market are manufactured by a subsidiary of the British firm Berc. Most of the electric fans and sewing machines are manufactured by USHA a company which is dominated by Indian monopoly capital. The majority of aluminium and galvanized sheeting, electric bulbs etc used in most buildings are produced by firms such as Acme-Aluminium, Galvanised Iron industries, Ceylon Bulbs, Ceylon Stoves etc. Hayleys and Ceylon Oxygen are two other subsidiaries operating in Sri Lanka. One notes that in 1969 there were over 43 branches of British, US and West European based MNC's operating in Sri Lanka. The figure considerably increased in the 1970's. This is but a short list of the transnationals' penetration in the economy, during the SLFP's term a penetration which the local bourgeoisie seeks to identify greatly as was indicated by the White Paper on Foreign Investment (1972), the Foreign Investment Guarantee law mooted (unsuccessfully) by the SLFP in 1975 and the Free Trade Zones now established by the UNP.

Neo-Colonialist penetration in the industrial sector is most pronounced in the export oriented industries and in particular the garment manufacturing industries. Japanese monopoly capital played a major role in this sphere, which was the fastest growing sector of Sri Lanka Industry, already employing over 20,000 workers by 1971. The garments thus manufactured were exported for the most part to the EEC countries thus further intensifying the economic dependence on the metropolises. The total value of output of the export-oriented manufacturing industries was over Rs. 300 million in 1973.

The expansion of export oriented capitalist manufacturing in Sri Lanka in recent years and the intensification of this process via the FTZ should be seen against the backdrop of neocolonialism's new strategy of promoting a dependent industrial-

ization at the periphery of the world capitalist economy. Since wage rates are very low in the periphery, the rate of surplus expropriation is consequently higher than in the metropolises, thus making it much more profitable for transnational corporations to invest in the 'Third World and locate their industries here than in the developed West. This path of industrial growth which is really dependent on the West for virtually all factors of production with the exception of labour, is profitable not only for neocolonialism but also for domestic big business, which, after having matured under import substitutionism and protectionism now seeks increased access to foreign capital, technology and markets. All in all, this model of growth integrates the peripheral economies even further into the world capitalist system under the hegemony of the metropolitan bourgeoisie, while sharply increasing the drain of surplus from our countries, thus leading to further disaccumulation and resulting therefore in perpetuating capitalist underdevelopment. *It is the earlier-mentioned convergence in the economic interests of international and 'national' monopoly capital that found expression in the U.F. Government's White Paper on Foreign Investment (1972), the proposed Foreign Investment Guarantee Law (1975) and finally reached fruition in the UNP's Free Trade Zones.*

The operation of foreign owned banks in the country is another mechanism of dependency. Apart from the four fully Sri Lankan owned banks, i. e. The Central Bank, The Peoples Bank, The Bank of Ceylon and the National Savings Bank, the ten other banks functioning during the SLFP period were either foreign subsidiaries or had sizeable foreign components. These are National and Grindlays Bank. Chartered Bank, Eastern Bank, Habib Bank, Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, State Bank of India, Indian Overseas Banks, Indian Bank, Mercantile Bank and the Hatton National Bank. Towards the tail end of its term of office, the SLFP regime made a token attempt to nationalise with compensation the 3 British Branch Banks, while simultaneously opening negotiations with the First National

City Bank inviting it to commence operations in the country. These negotiations reached successful completion under the present UNP regime. (The Hatton National Bank by the way is partly owned by First National City Bank while the shareholder locally is also the owner of one of the largest business combines in the Island — the Browns Group. This individual who has been a financier of both the UNP and SLFP has also been a major shareholder of the country's then privately owned 2nd largest newspaper group, The Times Group.)

Criticising the 'Dual-economy' thesis, we stated in the first part of this short essay that the hegemony of capitalist production relations extended to the agrarian sphere too. To this we must add that the feature of **dependence** on neo-colonialism is also present in Sri Lanka's **agrarian capitalist**. The majority of inputs required for the type of agricultural production introduced with the 'Green Revolution' in the '60s (under World Bank auspices) and subsequent 'Production Wars' needed to be imported. Chemical fertilisers, pesticides and weedicides, tractors etc are imported from Japan, West Germany and Britain. During the SLFP days West Germany in particular channeled considerable capital to the rural sector vis-a-socalled rural development agencies. The UF Govt's emphasis on the export of 'non-traditional' items including fruits and other agricultural produce and handicrafts meant further integration of the rural sector into the world capitalist market. This feature of dependence in respect of inputs and markets was not limited to privately owned agricultural plots, but also embraced co-operatives and state owned agriculture.

Not only is the Sri Lankan economy basically capitalist, and not only this capitalism basically dependent, but it has also reached the stage of monopoly and state-monopoly. The former Minister of Finance Dr. N. M. Perera made an extremely belated discovery of this last feature in 1973. In his budget speech that year, he disclosed that (Rs. 273 million) 51.24% of the total capital invested in the private

industrial sector was in the hands of 40 family groups and of this capital 80% (Rs. 205 million) was concentrated in the hands of 11 family groups. A brief survey further revealed to us that of the 154 firms that comprised the food, beverage and tobacco industries, 95.8% of the production was carried out by a mere 22 firms which had a production value of over 2 lakhs. The clothing and leather products industry comprised 634 firms of which only 36 produced over 2 lakhs worth of goods which in turn accounted for 86% of total production. In the paper producing industry there were 65 firms of which 6 firms which produced over 2 lakhs worth accounted for. In the wood products and furniture industry one single firm producing over 2 lakhs, accounted for over 93% of the output. In the chemical products sector there were 206 firms, 26 of which were above the 8 lakhs 'line' and accounted for over 87.9% of total production. In the metal products industry one firm accounted for over 100% of the output. In the non-metal mineral products industry, of the 67 firms 8 were above the 2 lakhs 'line' and accounted for 86.9% of the output. Of the total number of firms 140 had an output of over 20 million rupees and accounted for 90% of total output. 72% of the inputs of these firms were from foreign sources. This is a rough outline of the monopolistic structure of Sri Lanka's capitalism under the SLFP.

The 140 monopolistic firms, which we spoke of, were and are concentrated in the hands of a handful of family groups which are inter-connected through a web of inter-locking directorates and inter-marriages and these devices tie-up the state monopoly sector with the private sector too, which results in an even higher degree of monopoly. (1423 Sri Lankan persons belonging to these monopolistic family groups hold Swiss Bank Accounts, a fact which was revealed by Mr. K. Kanagasabapathy former Deputy Governor of the Central Bank in a court of law).

State monopoly capitalism plays a major, almost pre-eminent role in the Sri Lankan economy. Come

1977, 61% of total capital investment in the entire economy belonged to the state. Rail and road transport, shipping and airlines, almost 50% of import export trade and large percentage of the banking sector, over half a million acres of plantation and agricultural land, most basic industries and 80% of textile production were in state hands. Thus a large section of the commanding heights of the economy and the socio-economic infrastructure were state monopoly capitalist, while medium scale and light industry and a portion of the service sector was reserved for private capitalism which was fostered under state aegis and is largely monopolistic in character. This was the pattern of capitalist development under the SLFP.

The fostering of private enterprise by the state during the SLFP rule was achieved in various ways, such as the granting of contracts, allocation of foreign exchange, the lease of properties, the granting of commissions on foreign business dealings, the granting of tenders and large scale loans, tax exemption and granting the state of sole distributorships of the products of state corporations. Private enterprise in Sri Lanka, after having matured under import substitution and state aegis, now exhibits a marked tendency to shuffle off those selfsame statist forms, gain access to foreign capital, technology and markets, while simultaneously encroaching on some sectors previously reserved for state-monopoly capitalism. This tendency which has manifested itself in most peripheral societies (eg. Peru, Egypt in recent years, characterises the **second phase of the development of dependent capitalism in the neo-colonies**. This feature of monopoly (and state monopoly) leads to a conclusion which contradicts or more correctly, **invalidates** the thesis that the **present** phase of socio-historical transition in Sri Lanka is that of 'National Democracy', 'New Democracy' or) 'non-capitalist development'. Lenin said that monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism and Sri Lanka seems to have reached this stage.

(Concluded)

HUNAS FALLS HOTEL ELKADUWA

**WHERE EVERY
PROSPECT
PLEASES**

RESERVATIONS

PHONE: 31894

121, SIR JAMES PEIRIS MAWATHA,
COLOMBO 2.

Has Sri Lanka a housing policy for the urban poor?

Florian Steinberg

The quality and even the quantity of housing for different social classes has ever been an evident expression of class relations and the respective differences in Sri Lanka. In this context we find the poor farmer's / peasant's house, the estate cooly lines, the urban tenement 'gardens' (slums!) and the shanty-squatter settlements in sharp contrast to the premises of rural landlords, estate managers or the urban elite and even the urban middle classess.

An overview of housing and policies

If we investigate Sri Lanka's housing policy since independence in 1948 we see the governments strong commitment to promote the housing needs of the middle classes and the bourgeoisie itself. Although there has been a repetitive recognition of housing in the National Development Plans as an economic sector deserving high priority (i. e. 20% of public investment in the Ten Year Plan and 28% in the later Five Year Plan), because sufficient housing like health, education, nutrition, family planning etc. determines the attitude towards work in the prospect of a modernizing yet underdeveloped country, housing policy up to the 70s did not change a dent of the eminent housing problems of the rural and urban poor. Rather obviously the congested, narrow estate housing units showed in a scandalous way how Sri Lanka's economically most important surplus earning labour forces was housed in degradation and squalor, while the tea companies and the government were hardly scared.

The rural housing sector has not to provide any more flourishing aspects. But nevertheless are the

climatic and environmental conditions a certain relief in regards to the lack of basic amenities which pose a more serious problem on the rural population than the actual quality, i. e. the non-permanent character of the rural dwellings.

The urban situation has the manyfold appearance of congestion, lack of sanitarian amenities, and acute housing shortage (even for middle classess), the rapid deterioration of old tenements "gardens" (the habitat of industrial and commercial workers since the end of last century) reducing them to slum neighbourhoods, the increasing numbers of non-permanent shanty structures on squatted state or private land—with the most pressing demand for sanitarian and other facilities.

The growth of the shanty settlements has to be seen with—although in Sri Lanka slow!—migration to the cities, with lack of alternative housing and the economic situation of the dwellers not allowing a participation in the (official) housing market thus being forced to squat in order to have a living in rather proximity to work or employment possibilities (casual labour, small scale industries, petty commodity production or to petty trade).

The slums came into being as their owners did not care for the proper maintenance being interested only in rent collection to have the highest possible valuation of their capital. The private housing construction being rather small in extent since the middle of this century did not go far beyond the investors own direct needs, thus, leaving only few units to the open market. Even the public housing schemes, fairly subsidized and for the use of the so called "low income groups", were small in extent compared to the demand

of the middle classes who only could afford the monthly rents (which were even subsidized).

Although the United Front government's Housing Ministry formulated a rather progressive approach to solve the housing problems of the masses step by step through very "low cost housing" (which was still a rather expensive high rise construction) and by improving the infrastructural conditions of slum areas with more basic amenities (implemented by the Common Amenities Board) and by a social housing legislation ("restricting exploitative landlordism and encouraging the homeowner and the developer"), the large number of most needy "lower income groups" did not benefit from this policy either. These housing schemes of the high rise flat type which were designated to be really low cost, had to be subsidized to a large extent and were even in rent terms too expensive for those families with an average income below Rs. 400/-. While on the other hand the Aided Self Help housing schemes were regarded for semi-urban and rural areas they did not relieve the pressure of the urban masses dwelling in the Colombo Municipal Area and being dependant on proximity to access to work which is for many of them (ca. 20%) small scale trading, petty commodity production, services, et al., i. e. selfemployment or casual labour.

Thus in the 70s Colombo faced at least a general housing situation of ca. 20.000 tenement slums, 8.500 old houses (turned in to slums and 25.000 to 30.000 shanty units these being the accomodation for workers, self-employed or casual labour etc. The most of these households are earning Rs. 400/- and less, but at the same time upper social strata can be found in these areas as there are small entrepreneurs and shop-keepers

The author is working at the Technical University Berlin and undertook some research on the problems of slums and shanties in Colombo.

who can sometimes earn the double or three fold income than the average people. The living conditions of 350,000 to 400,000 slum and shanty dwellers (50-60% of Colombo's population) give evidence of their social marginalization and their low standard of subsistence.

Housing policy since 1977

Since 1977 Sri Lanka's housing policy is posed into the context of the new grandiose development schemes: the accelerated Mahaveli Project, the Export Processing Zones and Investment Promotion Zones of a capitalist orientated path to copy Singapore, the idea of a new capital and the program of 100,000 houses.

This housing program consisting of 50,000 Aided Self Help units in the rural and semi-urban areas, 36,000 units in a Direct Construction Program (i. e. high rise flats) for the "low income groups" and construction loans for 14,000 units declares the goal to settle the the major housing problems in the near future as it is even expected that — following an imaginative 1:4 ratio — the private sector can be stimulated to contribute some other 400,000 units. In the context of the above described seriously bad housing situation for the low income earning workers and the disintegrated groups, being thus marginalized in relation to the dominating capitalistic mode of production, we find this grand housing development scheme being rather ignorant of Colombo's main housing problems. Instead of this the emphasis in the field of housing is rural/semi-urban and middle class housing provision for those families which can pay Rs. 1000/- and more for monthly rent.

Major development projects of commercial and banking premises in the central urban areas of Colombo are prepared by the newly set up Urban Development Authority (which constituted out of the former Colombo Master Plan Project) and a lot of money is spent on the so called "beautification" of the City and, not to to forget, for Sri Jayewardena Pura as the most ambiguous and

costly urban project — all this to round up the range of grand development schemes.

Nevertheless the present government has not attempted — along with other approaches to cut down the living standards through reductions in subsidies — to abolish even the Common Amenities Board which was inaugurated under the last government to provide some infrastructural facilities to slums and shanties. Actually, the activities of the Common Amenities Board have increased following the political and financial incentives of UNICEF who wanted the health of children to be secured.

Slum and shanty upgrading

Since more than two years the Urban Development Authority has launched several small scale slum and shanty improvement schemes which reflect the internationally far more advanced discussion of practical approaches to the massive housing problems of the slums and to the "spontaneous" unauthorized settlements. The philosophy behind these testing schemes is to upgrade housing situations by either not touching or destroying the already existing housing structures by giving an infrastructural upgrading of these areas or by improving housing repairs and minor physical renovations or at least by launching very low cost but self-financing housing schemes which are based on the self help and financial participation of the dwellers thus giving the opportunity to improve the average housing environmental conditions if existing funds were allocated in this way. According to the Urban Development Authority 50% of all slums and shanties in Colombo could be upgraded in schemes following the described principle.

Besides the physical aspects these schemes follow the objective to stimulate an integration in urban life — which can only at least mean the integration in the capitalist production process, — but do not cope with the most urgent social problem, the lack of employment opportunities, which together with sanitarian facilities, with nutrition, schooling of children, clothing etc. ranges in importance before housing

in the view of slum and shanty dwellers!

Nevertheless the improvement-upgrading-approach to slums and shanties being ideologically connected with the so called "basic needs strategy" of western strategies to cope with the structural problems of underdevelopment was actually strongly recommended by foreign lecturers and experts from the early 70s onwards. But although it had some ideological backing from the Ministry of Housing and Construction (up to 1979) — as it is a housing concept which encourages 'income distribution, through wide spread socialization of housing funds — it did not get off the ground and at least would not have been started if not foreign grants were provided by the Netherlands to stage the first pilot schemes in Steuart Street (Slave Island), Kollonawa and Henamulla. Following an interdepartmental quarrel the Urban Development Authority had from its very beginning received the authority to implement these improvement pilot schemes in a open contradiction to the National Housing Development Authority which propagates the destructive and expensive policy of 'rehousing', which means demolishing slums or shanty residential areas. While not being in a position to provide new houses, it leads to the damaging effect of deprivation and the necessary hardship of new settlement of the rehoused in other slum and shanty areas. This administrative-political contradiction was further accompanied by a rather unprecedented official ignorance of the slum and shanty improvement approach which is excluded in festive speeches like budget proposals in favour of projects to beautify the modernizing city centre.

By the way in 1980 the National Housing Development Authority's objection to those upgrading schemes has changed a bit and it is the National Housing Development Authority that has to monitor all further self help house construction, as the Urban Development Authority is short in the relevant and experienced manpower needed.

(Continued on page 28)

JVP : Some questions and thoughts

J. Uyangoda

These series of articles was aimed at a critical examination of some of the views expressed by various commentators on the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the April insurrection.

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna came to the limelight because of the April Insurrection of 1971. **The insurrection, considered to be the first and only attempt so far to appear in Sri Lanka for the overthrow of the established political system through an armed uprising, still remains the dominant single political, event in our post-war history.** Since the Insurrection was masterminded and carried out by the JVP, it (the JVP) became the most controversial political organization in the Lankan political scene.

The contemporary Lankan history, of such magnitudes that it shook the whole of society — economic, social and political — to its very foundations. This episode, with its bloody challenge to the legitimacy of the existing order of things, forced everyone in politics, whether in the right or the left, to re-think and re-examine the wisdom of their own thoughts, policies and programmes etc. Those in power had to re-adjust their policies with a view to preventing the occurrence of such an event in the future. Every political party, both bourgeois and leftist, had to regret their indirect responsibility for allowing such a tragedy to happen. Every one looked around to find explanations as to why it so happened. The politicians debated and blamed each other, Marxists re-read their texts, intellectuals set about giving long discourse and, the layman remained bewildered. After what has been called a temporary setback, those who fathered the insurrection continue to profess the Gospel of social liberation which is supposedly

to be achieved this time by some other means. Meanwhile life still goes on more perilously than before. The sickness of the entire body — political becomes more and more critical, multiplying and aggravating those same conditions that gave birth to the insurrection. Another breakout of insurrection? History has its own cunning of repeating itself.

Naturally the insurrection aroused a great deal of interest among politicians, scholars and the mass of people alike. Everyone was interested in looking for the answers to such questions as who was behind the insurrection? Why did it occur? Couldn't it have been prevented? and so on and so forth. The burden of finding answers was one that scholars too volunteered to bear.

That is how the insurrection produced a considerably large body of writings by various scholars and commentators. Many writings are yet to come. Initially, it was mainly journalists and a-political scholars who produced such writings. Now, those who were in the insurrectionary movement itself have also begun to contribute to that body of writing thereby coming out with hitherto unknown facts and information. Nevertheless, irrespective of this proliferation of writings, there has still not appeared a comprehensive study of the JVP and the insurrection. Undoubtedly, a study, drawing correct political lessons of the experience of the JVP and the insurrection, will necessarily be a prologue to the Lankan revolution.

Our main objective in the present series of articles was to raise some important questions arising out of the JVP and the insurrection, that have not been raised so far. For this purpose we set out to critically examine the views expressed in a set of writings selected at random. The hitherto published writings

— books, articles, pamphlets etc. may well exceed three hundred in number. Our intention was not to examine all these writings, but to survey a selected body of writings that were fairly representative as far as the generally shared views on the JVP and the insurrection are concerned. Reference was made only to that limited number of writings in so far as they were considered relevant to the questions we intend to raise, and give our own explanations. The questions we intended to raise and examine were also confined to five main aspects of the subject under study, namely: i. Factors that led to the emergence of the JVP. ii. The origin and evolution of the JVP. iii. Nature and class basis of the JVP. iv. Theory and ideology of the JVP. v. The insurrection and its strategy.

Further our study was limited to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna that existed before 1971.

Although the insurrection is now part of history, we are still living under the shadow of that tremendous event. The shock waves generated by the traumatic experience of 1971 are still resonant in our minds. If the JVP and the insurrection were the creations of certain objective and subjective factors, are we not witnessing the same factors continuing to exist and becoming more stronger than ever? Our economy — under the blessings from Washington to Tokyo — crawls towards its pre-destined goal of ultimate collapse. This inevitably results in massive dislocations in the whole system. Once erupted, who can say that the volcano will remain forever stilled?

Meanwhile, the JVP which was immediately responsible for the insurrection, has resumed its activities after a lapse of several years. Its present leaders claim, with confidence, that what they have now is a

new and reformed party "having learnt the necessary lessons from the past". Has the JVP changed at all? Yes, there are changes. An electoral strategy appears to have replaced the strategy of insurrection. Apart from that, the same class basis, the same ideology, the same political psychology, continues to exist as they were some ten years ago. The present JVP, in its more substantial aspects, is nothing but a continuation of the same old one. Therefore, a study of the pre-71 JVP will necessarily be an introduction to the post-71 JVP.

In the course of these articles, we made the point that it was the inability of the entire left to mobilize politically the vast sections of the radicalized and potentially radical petty bourgeoisie that prepared the immediate and crucial background for the emergence of the JVP. Even today, the same situation goes on. In the absence of a genuine working class revolutionary party that can project the radicalism of the petty bourgeoisie towards true socialist consciousness, the JVP even today finds its *raison d'être*. What guarantees existence of the JVP, with all its perverted revolutionism, as a political movement, is not only the ever worsening socio-economic crisis that continuously pauperises the mass of the petty bourgeoisie, but also the tragic absence of a real working class party.

Secondly we expressed the view that even if there were a correct proletarian party in authentic Marxist sense, so long as vast petty bourgeois sections exposed to radicalism exists, the emergence of a movement like the JVP cannot be avoided. The birth and growth of radical petty bourgeois movements has become the rule, rather than the exception, in all over the world today. Therefore, the emergence and existence of movements in the nature of the JVP are not unnatural at all. But what is harmful, dangerous and detrimental to the course of revolution, is to allow a void to remain unfilled when a correct revolutionary leadership emerging from the working class itself becomes the order of the day. Only such a working class movement and a revolutionary leadership can project

the rebellious emotions and revolutionary sentiments of the radical petty bourgeoisie towards the constructive goal of achieving revolution. Only under this condition that the occurrence of April insurrection could have been avoided.

We also traced the evolution of the JVP, periodizing its history in to two main phases, and we examined how the movement failed to reconcile the contradictions that arose through the logic of its own evolution. During the first phase, from 1967 to July 1970, the entire phenomenon of the JVP had been moulded in a particular atmosphere of secrecy and clandestinity. But when it began to be exposed to the fresh winds of semi-open political activities, it was still a prisoner of its own formative past. Tailing to reconcile the contradictions arising out of this transitional period, the JVP traversed its own tragic course that culminated in the April insurrection.

Furthermore, we examined three main views expressed on the social nature of the JVP. With regard to the youth character of the movement, our conclusion is that the theory of generational conflict does not provide a satisfactory explanation. Youth nature of the JVP must be explained in terms of both sociology and I-politics. The entering of the Youth into radical and revolutionary politics has assumed such a vital importance that the role of youth demands serious consideration even when it comes to the working class politics. This becomes all the more important since the composition of the working class has undergone dramatic changes, absorbing more and more young elements to its ranks. Under the conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka, these young people necessarily retain their rural petty bourgeois class roots even after they are physically absorbed to the urban working class. New entrants to radical politics they differ from the older generations of the working class in that they are not exposed to trade unionist and reformist politics. And it is these young and new elements of the working class still, not having been liberated from rural petty bourgeois prejudices who may provide the approximation

of a working class base for movements like the JVP. This self-deception has already appeared within the JVP. Therefore, the role of the youth, both within the working class and outside it, in the radical and working class politics, has to be re-examined against this background.

With regard to the petty bourgeois nature of the JVP we expressed the view that it is essential to examine which particular strata and sections of that particular class that rallied behind the JVP. Since the petty bourgeoisie is a inherently heterogeneous class, it is wrong to assume that the whole class — becomes radical or revolutionary. Some sections of that class who had already rallied around the JVP might well go to the camp of reactionary politics, if they believe that the latter would provide solutions for their problems (which arise out of the crisis in petty commodity production.) Because of its essentially petty bourgeois class nature, the JVP contained and continues to contain both elements of revolution and reaction. To understand correctly this dual nature of the JVP, it is necessary to identify separately the various elements of the petty bourgeoisie who found their voice in that political movement.

Examining the theory and ideology of the JVP we concluded that it is a radical projection of the false-consciousness of the petty bourgeoisie. The radicalism of the JVP ideology is not product of a socialist consciousness, although it contained some elements of socialist ideology. And this radical projection of the false consciousness has its own limitations. It will remain radical only in so far as the emotions and sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie remain directed against capitalism can generate a progressive political consciousness.

Surveying the April insurrection in the light of its background factors, our conclusion was that by launching the insurrection, the JVP fell victim to a self nurtured and inescapable dilemma. It was a necessary outcome of the rejection of working class political practice.

(Continued on page 28)

CMU versus the UNP

A reply to

H. N. Fernando

May Wickramasuriya (*Joint Secretary, CMU*)

I REFER to Mr. H. N. Fernando's article in your issue of June 1, 1981 — "The JVP-Then and Now".

It is amusing to note that Mr. Fernando just couldn't resist taking a swipe at that favourite target of many petit-bourgeois "leftists", namely, Bala Tampoe — although he has to strain hard to make it appear relevant to the theme of his article.

He has stated that "we" (whoever that means) are "not shocked that Tampoe turned traitor in the largest strike that sprang up under the present UNP regime "because "in 65-70 era too he refused to participate in all the struggles against the then UNP Government".

For the benefit of those who may assume that H. N. Fernando's word in print is the gospel truth, it is necessary to set out the facts.

As far as I am aware the following important struggles took place in that period:—

(1) **CMU boycott in the Port of Colombo** on demand for the state take-over of the port Tally & Protective services — December 1964 to 1st September, 1965. Demand won.

(2) **Post & Telecommunications strikes** of five unions — September 1965, against transfers.

(3) **CMU strike in 19 companies** in the tea and rubber export trade in support of strike at Whittall Bousteads — December 1965/January 1966.

(4) **Plantation strike** on the demand for the Special Living Allowance of Rs. 17/50, called by the Democratic Workers' Congress — June/July 1966. This was the **biggest strike of plantation workers in this country's history, involving over 2½ lakhs of workers**, supported by other United Committee of Ceylon Trade Unions (UCCTU) unions, i.e. the CMU, Ceylon Bank Employees' Union and the Ceylon Estates Staff's Union. The UCCTU Unions organi-

sed a 'motorcade' in which representatives of these unions travelled through the strike-bound plantation areas, over several days, from Yatiyantota to Badulla. Scores of meetings were addressed by Com. Bala Tampoe and others from morning till about midnight each day. No other unions supported this strike in any way.

(5) **Ceylon Bank Employees' Union-General Strike** — July 1966

(6) **CMU General Strike in Employers' Federation companies** and CMU Port boycott in the Port, for revision of Collective Agreement — November 1966 — 23 days.

(7) **Ceylon Bank Employees, Union-General Strike** — February 1967

(8) **CMU strike in Insurance Corporation of Ceylon** — 82 days commencing in March 1967. Resulted in the Sansoni Commission recommendations on terms and conditions of employment.

(9) **CMU strikes in Trincomalee Port** and boycott action in Colombo Port on demand for **nationalisation of Trincomalee port** — 13th September to 29th October 1967. Demand for nationalisation won despite threat by Federal Party to break its alliance with the Government if the port was nationalised.

(10) **CMU strikes in Ports of Colombo and Trincomalee** against improper recruitment — 47 days — March/April 1968.

(11) **CMU General Strike** of 30 days — April 1968, in support of above-mentioned strikes. (During this strike an unprecedented event in the history of the Left movement in Ceylon took place when the LSSP held a public meeting to denounce the CMU strike).

(12) **General Strike by GCSU and other Government service unions (CONCOM)** on pay demands — December 1968.

(13) **CMU strike of Tally & Protective Services** in ports of Colombo and Trincomalee — 41 days — August/September 1969.

(14) **CMU strike in State Engineering Corp.** — 2 months — 1969

(15) **CMU strike in Paranthan Chemicals Corp.** — 2 months — 1969

(16) **Joint strike in Mineral Sands Corporation**, Pulmoddai, CMU with MEP and ITTK-controlled unions — 1969. (By this strike the 42-day leave entitlement for manual worker categories was won in this Corporation and later extended to all other state corporations.)

(17) **Joint strike in Petroleum Corporation** — LSSP, SLFP unions and CMU — 13th September to 11th October 1969. (In view of the use of the armed services for black legging, a decision for a general stoppage of work on 12th October 1969 was taken, in which the whole CMU and several trade union federations were to participate. On the day before the stoppage the LSSP and SLFP unions together with the executives' union entered into a backstairs agreement with the Minister of Nationalised Services and returned to work on 11th October, without the knowledge of the CMU. The CMU learnt a bitter lesson regarding joint action, particularly with the LSSP unions).

(18) **Joint strike against Oils & Fats Corporation** — CMU with SLFP, CP (M), UNP and MEP — controlled unions — 1969 — one month.

(19) **Joint struggle at Fisheries Corporation** — CMU with SLFP and CP unions, and staff officers union — 1969. (This was unique struggle in which the workers; united from top to bottom, refused to allow the Board of Directors to enter the premises of the Corporation and ran the Corporation for **six weeks**, sending trawlers out to sea, marketing the catch etc.)

(20) **CMU strikes in Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation** — February 1970 — 4 months (which inspired the play *Dunna Dunu Gamuwe*, the author of which took part in the strike.)

(21) **Joint strike in Ports of Colombo, Trincomalee and Galle**, by joint front of seven unions — CMU, CP (M), MEP, CP (P) and SLFP — controlled unions, Independent Harbour Workers' Union and United Launch Workers' Union on demand for monthly wage for manual categories and pay revision — 62 days commencing 12th December 1969 (The LSSP and UNP — controlled union called upon all port workers to ignore the strike call.)

(22) **CMU general strike** in support of above-mentioned port strikes — 10 days — February 1970. (After the port strikes had gone on for over a month all port unions decided to call upon their 'parent' unions and federations for

solidarity action, but only the CMU responded.) In a historic victory, the long outstanding demand for monthly pay in the ports was won and also a pay revision.

One strike that I have not listed above, since I do not regard it as a struggle, is the shameful one-day strike of January 8, 1966, against the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Bill, which sought to grant some concessions for the use of the Tamil language. The CMU not only did not support this strike but denounced it.

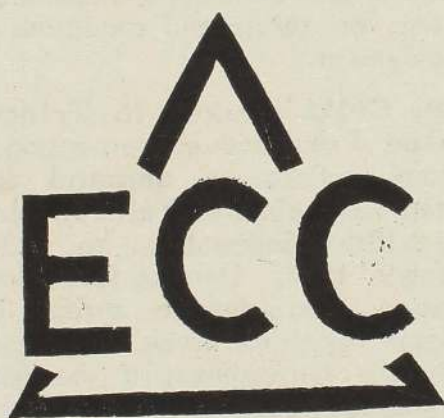
It will be noted that the only strikes in which unions controlled by the LSSP (which included at that time Mr. Fernando's new-found friends in the NSSP) participated or supported were the one-day strike of January 8, 1966, mentioned above, the Petroleum Corporation strike and the government servants strike of 1968.

It is ironic that Mr. Fernando should have selected the 1965-1970 period

as one in which BalaTampoe "refused to participate in all the struggles against the then UNP Government," since this was the very period in which the CMU launched its most historic struggles, **mainly in the state sector** putting forward serious political demands, and won such major victories as the nationalisation of the Trincomalee port, the state take-over of the Tally and Protective Services in all ports and the monthly wage for port workers. I have not listed all the CMU strikes which took place in that period, since there were 75 CMU strikes which went beyond one month.

Thus, it will be seen that several strikes took place in the period in question, most of them being strikes called by the CMU, or joint strikes, in which the CMU participated. Therefore, it would be helpful to the understanding and education of all concerned if Mr. Fernando will state what struggles he referred to in his article.

(Continued on page 28)



**EX-STOCK SUPPLIERS
FOR ALL**

**TUNNELING, MINING, MARINE,
WATER SUPPLY, AGRICULTURAL,
CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT & ACCESSORIES**

EQUIPMENT & CONSTRUCTION Co. LTD.

**7, CANAL ROW, P. O. BOX 818
COLOMBO I.**

PHONE: 3 2 1 1 3 - 2 3 0 5 4

TELEX: 21385 GOPAL

A reply to Dr. Carlo Fonseka

Dr. S. C. Fernando

DR. CARLO FONSEKA seems to get very irritated everytime someone reminds him of the class collaborationist politics of the LSSP and CP. In politics it is only an adult who has not grown out of the childhood mentality can dispute this fact. It is at the peak of this class-collaboration, the revisionists utilized the bourgeois state apparatus to massacre thousands of youthful revolutionaries in 1971. It is at this point that the revisionists were completely exposed. But the revisionists devised new means to deceive the proletariat in order to continue to serve the bourgeoisie. This is where Dr. Fonseka makes his contribution to reactionary politics. He utilizes a new method, while acting as a 'progressive' and a 'materialist' (who propagates religion!) he misinterprets and misrepresents the facts concerning the JVP and the April uprising. His collaborators are those enemies of the JVP who went before the CJC on their knees and pleaded guilty to the charge of waging war against the Queen. No wonder these local agents of the Queen like the LSSP leaders (representing primarily the class interests of the upper petty bourgeoisie) cannot see anything beyond the bourgeois parliament. Dr. Fonseka's attempt to usher in socialism via the bourgeois parliament will be as futile as his attempt to reconcile Buddhism with Marxism. His attempt to utilize religion to cover up the most heinous crimes of the LSSP leaders will also be futile because there is a whole generation of revolutionaries who witnessed and experienced the April massacre. These primitive theories are nothing new but more than 150 years old. These anti-marxist theories have been developed by all known revisionists in history and have served only the reactionary ruling classes.

The class-roots of revisionism lies in the petty bourgeoisie of modern capitalist society. This is the class the LSSP and CP primarily represented from their inception. The unscientific thoughts in the fields of political economy, philosophy and

political theory that prevailed in the pre-marxism schools of thought, though defeated in the main by Marx and Engels, raised its head as a trend hostile to Marxism from within Marxism itself. Lenin identified this as revisionism and carried out a relentless struggle against it and it is because of this struggle that he was able to lead the Bolshevik Revolution successfully. It is these revisionist theories that the LSSP and CP practised over the past 40 years. Dr. Fonseka once again tries to resurrect these naive theories which have repeatedly failed in practice. What we see behind these attempts is the naked class interests of a bourgeois ideologist. Dr. Fonseka's political mentor that Fabian Socialist-Dr. N M. Perera who, when kicked out of the coalition with Sirima said it is a tragedy that the LSSP united with the SLFP. (Yes UNP would have been a better ally!)

Now once more the faithful pupil Dr. Fonseka clings on to Sirima's "osari pota". This time history repeats itself not as a tragedy but as a comedy and a farce.

Neither Marx nor the JVP maintained that violence begets the new society. Marxists do not preach violence and they know too well the destruction caused by violence. Marxists predict the possibility of the occurrence of violence in the course of sociohistorical development. For Marx, the essential content of the socialist revolution was the transfer of the ownership of means of production, distribution and exchange from private to a public ownership. In arriving at this it is essential to "smash" the bourgeois state apparatus and establish the new state the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the kernel of Marxism which Lenin understood and practised successfully. The LSSP wants to usher in socialism via bourgeois parliament while the bourgeois state apparatus remain intact. This is where Dr. Fonseka vulgarises and prostitutes Marxism in order to mislead the proletariat once again. The form in which



Handmade cotton,
Silks, Cheese cloth,
Tartan, Fancy
Fabrics & Ready
mades, Household
linen furnishings...

LakLooms

72, CHATHAM STREET
COLOMBO 1.

Telephone: 25521 /
22862 / 24679

the bourgeois state apparatus is destroyed—by peaceful or by violent means—according to Marx, will depend on the conditions of the given situation Marxists know too well that it is the bourgeoisie and their henchmen the revisionists that depend on organized violence to perpetrate class rule. The main prop of the bourgeoisie is the armed power and the Marxists will always defend the interests of the exploited people irrespective of the consequences. In 1971 thousands of revolutionaries rose up in arms in self defence at the height of violent bourgeois repression. "There are moments in history where desperate struggles of the masses even for a hopeless cause are essential for further schooling of the masses and their training for the next struggles" (Lenin) Because of the experiences of the 1971 uprising the JVP has been able to train the masses for further struggles, and the JVP took a revolutionary leap forward in the proletarian movements. "Marx regarded world history from the stand point of those who make it without being in a position to calculate the chances infallibly before hand, and not from the stand point of an intellectual philistine who moralises... it was easy to foresee..... they should not have taken up arms... (Lenin) Herein lies the answer to revisionists like Dr. Fonseka who misinterprets and misrepresents the facts concerning the April uprising. This is the greatest uprising in the history of Sri Lanka because the revolutionaries who fought and died possessed an **elemental socialist consciousness**,

As far as left politics in Sri Lanka is concerned the LSSP is dead. CP still survives because of its international connections, We attribute the cause of death of the LSSP to revisionist politics. It is the JVP that dealt the final death blow to the LSSP and CP. Dr. Fonseka's borrowed illusions from religion might interpret the failure of the LSSP differently, because this is the only way by which he can justify the holy attachment of the LSSP to 'Sirima's osari-pota.' As Lenin said it is the socially downtrodden conditions of

the oppressed masses and their apparently complete helplessness in the face of blind forces of capitalism that maintain religious beliefs. It is this helplessness and desperation that people like Dr. Fonseka exploit to maintain the material basis of capitalism. The JVP, while raising high the banner of militant atheism has launched a struggle against the material conditions that maintain religion and the success of this struggle in the future will force people like Dr. Fonseka to shed the mystical veil behind which they hide to hoodwink the masses in order to serve the bourgeoisie. ●

Has Sri Lanka . . .

(Continued from page 22)

Nevertheless the main question we have to consider is **why** the slum and shanty housing problem publically and politically has been so much underrepresented that only foreign aid is sought to implement minor pilot schemes which give a relief only for a small fraction of the deprived urban population? That the present UNP government is not aiming at a socialization of national resources being allocated is not secret if we consider economic policies since 1977 being most favourable to the big capitalists and medium entrepreneurs while only for the sake of stability the subsidies and social consumption goods for the poor are not yet completely abolished.

But as the Urban Development Authority has stated in various documents that the slum and shanty problem in Colombo can be more easily managed than in other underdeveloped countries and as the costs for the provision of a minimal housing and environmental standard would be small in comparison to other huge development projects (the Marga Institute found in its housing study that the whole sum for housing being actually spent would have been sufficient to provide these basic needs), the issue can not be a mere financial or technical one.

JVP : some . . .

(Continued from page 24)

Since it kept aloof from the working class movement, the JVP never had an opportunity to develop any viable form of mass political and revolutionary struggle. Its only form of struggle was armed struggle. Had the JVP had any organic links with the working class, it could have avoided itself being dragged into an armed insurrection. Even today, in 1980, the movement continues to reject the practice of working class politics, having placed its faith in the electoral struggle. In 1971, the strategy failed, but it generated a mass sympathy. In the 1980's will the JVP at least be able to try out its new electoral strategy?

CMU versus . . .

(Continued from page 26)

With regard to Mr. Fernando's statements regarding the July strikes, comment by me is not necessary. The CMU has published two statements: "The CMU and the July Strikes" and "The July Strikes and their Aftermath", which provide sufficient facts for anybody to judge why even the overwhelming majority of members of Mr. Fernando's own union (Ceylon Teachers' Union) like the overwhelming majority of the members of the other twelve trade union organisations that made a joint call for a "general strike" last July, did not participate in the strike. These facts have not been disputed by anybody, including Mr. Fernando himself.

Letters . . .

(Continued from page 2)

"render fiercely independant" etc, seems to eat its own words in successive issues, mince words etc in an attempt to present the DC Polls results, in a favourable light to the ruling party.

Except for a few hangers-on and propagandists, parasites, no intelligent Sri Lankan can fail to recognise what these results mean in terms of the UNP's mass image and the popularity it enjoyed in July '77.

F. Bertil Ranasinghe.

Voluntary Sterilization For All

Incentives by Government

1. **A Minimum of Rs. 200 will be paid to both males and females — whether employed or unemployed**

(This Payment is made to meet incidental expenses)

2. **3 days full-pay leave for male employees
7 days full pay-leave for female employees**


(This in addition to the full pay leave for which the employee is entitled)

Contact

**your nearest Government
Hospital or the AGA**

**FOR HEALTH AND PROSPERITY
PLAN A SMALL FAMILY NOW**

(Issued by the Ministry of Plan Implementation)



WE NOW BRING A TASTE OF PARADISE TO 16 COUNTRIES.

We now offer more than 60 flights weekly between our Paradise Isle of Sri Lanka and the world. And our network stretches to London, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich and Rome in the West; Dubai, Bahrain and Kuwait in the Middle East; Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Trivandrum, Trichy, Male, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, Singapore. And wherever you fly with us, in Tristar or Boeing comfort, you'll be served in a warm and gentle style that can belong only to those who live in Paradise. **AIRLANKA**



A taste of Paradise