

EXCLUSIVE H. W. Jayewardene on  
his nine-nation tour

— Interview with Mervyn de Silva



**LANKA**

# **GUARDIAN**

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## **SHAN ACCUSES T. U. L. F.**



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BEEN LEFT  
LEADERLESS”**

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## WAGES OF VIOLENCE

With Sri Lanka's import bill twice as large as its foreign exchange earnings, the "open economy" runs by the grace of the IMF and the World Bank, and those other commercial banks who are ready to bankroll us in the form of syndication loans etc. Thus Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel not only had talks recently with Mr. Clausen, the Bank Boss and Mr. de Larosiere, the IMF chief but with Wall Street giants like CITIBANK, Morgan Guaranty, and American Express.

While the IMF has offered a standby loan of 100 million dollars, the IBRD will lend us 210 million dollars as a "structural adjustment loan".

The World Bank package is a familiar one — changes in tax and tariff structures, incentives to agricultural producers, export development and so on. High on the priority list however is the rehabilitation of and improvements in the plantation sector. Dr. Goh, Singapore's miracle man also placed the same emphasis on this sector, for despite tourism (now in deep trouble after July violence) and foreign remittances, Sri Lanka is still heavily dependent on tea and rubber.

Meanwhile the ISLAND reported: "Over 100,000 plantation workers, citizens as well as non-citizens, who were displaced by the recent disturbances in the hill-country are ready with packed bags to find a new home in India before the Talaimannar — Rameshwaram ferry service is suspended on Oct. 22".

Thus the economics of ethnic violence thrust itself forcefully and advocates of facile, final solutions are made to face realities.

## SECOND SCAPEGOAT

First it was the foreign correspondent who did his job but not to our liking. Next the Sri Lankan diplomat who didn't do his job. Between the two, the island's image was terribly tarnished — a current over-worked phrase.

At long last however some guns have been turned in the defence of these heavily battered media targets. In a lengthy article, the WEEKEND's Don Mithuna argued that most of our career diplomats "are not responsible or culpable of any misdemeanours or neglect of duty . . . they are victims of fortuitous circumstances".

And then Gamini Navaratne, a veteran journalist, used his own experience with successive regimes, to describe the trials and tribulations of the foreign correspondent, especially the local stringer, and of haughty politicians and inept bureaucrats.

## C. W. C. (2)

The C.W.C had made "some interesting moves recently", the L.G. (Trends Oct. 1) noted. The CWC continues to do so. What these moves indicate is the CWC's growing tendency to act independently of the UNP government of which it is a constituent member — indeed the coalition's only other member.

Last week the CWC President Mr. Thondaman its general secretary, Mr. Sellasamy and two other officials were in Delhi for talks with the Indian premier.

Significantly the Indian High Commissioner had also been summoned to Delhi. It is inconceivable that the Delhi authorities will not use this opportunity to discuss the fate of several hundred thousand Indian citizens awaiting repatriation under the two Indo-Sri Lanka pacts and of a very large number of 'stateless' persons. This problem is of direct concern to Delhi.

As for Mr. Thondaman, his position can be put briefly as "Let my people go. . .". Unless, of course, the government can guarantee the safety of person and property in the plantation areas, as he explained to the L. G.

He is **not** prepared to accept that the police and army can do so. He wants his own home guards and the right of self-defence. Otherwise, he will ask that every village in Tamilnadu offer sanctuary for one year to a family of repatriates from Sri Lanka.

## TRENDS + LETTERS

### Karlo

"Karlo" of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was of special significance to us of the new generation of Sama Samajists. Not only was he an important member of the BLPI, the forefather of revolutionary Marxism in the Indian sub-continent, but also the only leading member of the old generation of Sama Samajists associated with the birth in late 60's of the new wave of Marxism in Sri Lanka.

He broke with the old leadership for betrayal of Trotskyism and wrote "Politics of the coalition" in 1963. Then he exposed the ultra leftism of Edmund and Bala when their group voted with the UNP to defeat the first United Front government, (Continued on page 3)

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# INTERNATIONALISING THE TAMIL ISSUE

NEWS  
BACKGROUND

**A**gitated by Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's two hour visit to Colombo, the Tamilnadu leader Mr. Karunanidhi (DMK) protests that Sri Lanka is trying to "internationalise" the Tamil issue. The Sri Lanka government will certainly not relish this irony for its own fear is that the Tamils have already internationalised it. Hence the hue and cry about adverse publicity, the political and media blasts at some of our diplomats and diplomatic missions, and the fevered galvanising of those Sri Lankan groups abroad, official, semi-official and unofficial, in order to launch, hopefully, a global counter-attack.

The government's anxieties and the exasperation and agitation in UNP circles, among businessmen and in sections of the media are all quite understandable. Colombo is peculiarly vulnerable because the most active (and most successful) Tamil expatriate lobbies are located in those very countries on which this regime, given its post 1977 economic strategy, is most dependent for aid, investment, and to a significant extent, tourism. In the main, these are

U. S. and Canada, Western Europe (principally U. K., FRG and France) the Scandinavia group (mostly, Norway, Denmark and Sweden) and Australia. (India of course is a very special case, with its own peculiarities). The only country unaffected either by Tamil propaganda or by the media blitz of July — August, is Japan.

Many of those who comment on this question, including policy-makers, misperceive the problem. They think of it as an 'image problem' and therefore a creation of the media. Trapped by this logic, they proceed to advance solutions which have much to do with public relations, closer contact with the mass media in the metropolitan centres.

In fact it goes much deeper. It is a political and a policy problem — political because it touches on the fundamental question of relations between two ethnic groups in a unitary state, and a policy issue because it now concerns the UNP's communication breakdown with the TULF, and thus the present impasse.

On both, the ruling party seems paralysed by pressure and counter-pressure, with various conflicting groups, group interests and influential personalities pulling in different directions. Unable to break the communication deadlock on its own, it did look as Delhi and Mrs. Gandhi would help as honest broker, or mediator. By the end of August, however, the pressure against any active Indian mediation, perceived by hardline groups as 'interference', was so acute that the door was slowly closed. It is now Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Thondaman who shuttle between Colombo, Madras and Delhi. On the government's side, the flimsiest hope rests on the Parathasarthi mission. (Mrs. Gandhi's envoy is expected in Colombo next week but this is by no means certain).

The reason for the government's apparent lack of will and loss of initiative reaches the core issue — what is its attitude to the Tamils (not just the TULF) and the known grievances of the Tamil community as explicitly recognised in the UNP manifesto.

Unable to find a common, clear and categorical answer to this critically important question, the UNP speaks with many voices. There are those who speak of the nature of our society; that is, a multi-religious society, and the character of the **United National** party, and thus argue for equality and mutual respect between different communities. And there are those who advocate the cause of Sinhala or Sinhala-Buddhist rights.

The stalemate, the impasse, the paralysis expose finally a nation caught in a crisis for which the power elite has no solution beyond advancing its sectarian interests, preserving and protecting its vested interests and perpetuating its own imperilled authority — almost wilfully blind to the gray clouds gathering on the economic horizon.

## Karlo. . .

(Continued from page 1)

by writing "**Senile leftism**". Young workers and students of the Sama Samaja Movement were with him during this time and expected a new leap.

It was not entirely the generation gap that kept him back. He was unable to break from the English speaking middle class radicals, the social layer that brought into the LSSP the pressure of bourgeoisie liberalism. As Vama Sama Samajists, we met him later many a time and sat before him expecting him to open up the debate anew. However he sat silent, while his eyes conveyed the message that there is a lot to be discussed

though he chose to be silent. In the end he reduced himself to a mere apologist of opportunism.

Still there is a lot for us to learn from him particularly for those young Tamil radicals who are groping towards Marxism. Karlo came from a family which broke conclusively from the traditions of conservative Jaffna society. Even at school at Ananda, he was known not as a Tamil but as the "great" brother of Thanabalasingam who introduced us, to the elements of Marxism. Let there be more Tamil intellectuals who will follow the early steps of V. Karalasingham.

— B



# SPECIAL MISSION

## H. W. Jayewardene Q. C. comments on his 9-nation tour in an exclusive interview with Mervyn de Silva

*Q. It is quite evident that the assignment you undertook on behalf of President Jayewardene and the government was by any standard unusual, even unprecedented, and also that it was prompted by the crisis which confronted the country in late July and after.*

*In the first instance, you went to India and met the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi. Then you visited South Korea, Japan, China and the ASEAN countries and held talks with these governments at the highest levels. After you returned from India and during your visit to South-East Asia and East Asia you did speak to the press in various capitals. But now that the whole assignment is over, it would be helpful if you summed it up.*

*In the first place, could you spell out the objectives of your mission to India, and then the other nations.*

**A.** It is correct that the assignment I undertook was unusual and prompted by a crisis which confronted our country. The added fact was that His Excellency was not aware of the nature and the extent to which the adverse, and in some instances malicious propaganda, may have affected foreign governments.

My journey to South Korea, Japan, Philippines and Hong Kong was in an itinerary I had planned early this year as a holiday combined with attendance at LAWASIA Conference in Manila and the Commonwealth Law Conference in Hong Kong both scheduled for September 1983. When H. E. became aware that I intended going to these countries he indicated that he would appreciate it, if I re-route my itinerary and visit the

several capitals of South East and East Asia. I agreed to this suggestion in the interests of our country, and the visit to India, though earlier in time, was actually fixed up after the decision to go to the East and South East Asian countries.

My visits were to the following capitals :

Seoul, Tokyo, Djakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Peking, Rangoon, Bangkok, Singapore.

The timing of the visits had to be arranged to suit the convenience of the Heads of various governments, all of whom I met and with whom I had frank discussions. Now, to the objectives of my Indian visit.

Mrs. Gandhi was quite perturbed with the events that had taken place in Sri Lanka in July. She had been in communication with H. E. on more than one occasion and had already sent her Foreign Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, to Colombo. She was quite disturbed by the agitation in the Lok Sabha and particularly demonstrations and actions of the South Indian MP's as well as politicians in Madras such as Karunanidhi. In these circumstances, she had once again communicated with President Jayewardene who thought that since I was going to the South and South East Asian countries he might persuade me to go to Delhi too.

The objective of my visit was to clarify the Sri Lanka Government's position on the problem of the Tamils and obtain from Mrs. Gandhi a clarification of India's attitude to the communal problems in Sri Lanka. Mrs. Gandhi's position as regards Sri Lanka was

accordingly set out in her statement to the Lok Sabha made when I was still in Delhi. It was to the effect that India supported the unity and independence of Sri Lanka, and India did not wish to interfere with internal affairs of Sri Lanka. The latter statement was a clarification on India's position consequent on the questions raised by the Indian Foreign Ministry about the Emergency Legislation passed in Sri Lanka for the disposal of the bodies of persons killed by the armed forces without Magisterial proceedings. The Sri Lanka press had reacted very strongly against India in this regard, and it was generally believed in Delhi that the part of the attack on the Indian High Commission officers may have been due to the Sri Lankans' reaction to the unfortunate step taken by the Indian Foreign Ministry in this matter.

Sri Lanka, in turn, stated its position as regards its proposal for the settlement of the Tamil issue in Sri Lanka and on Mrs. Gandhi indicating that President Jayewardene's proposal may not go far enough in view of what had happened recently, President Jayewardene agreed to consider any further proposals put forward by the TULF, but only on the basis of a united Sri Lanka.

In this event Mrs. Gandhi offered her good offices to assist in bringing about a settlement. It was not 'mediation' as asserted in certain quarters, but more correctly an offer to assist in "helping to break the deadlock" as Mrs. Bandaranaike envisaged (Note in this connection Mervyn de Silva's interview as quoted in the 'Island' of 10th October 1983).



My visits to the several capitals in East and South East Asia were to apprise the Heads of States as to the position in Sri Lanka both by reference to the events antecedent to the rioting in late July 1983 and the effects on the economy and communal harmony consequent to these happenings. These statements to the Asian Leaders included reference to the offers of Indian assistance and the statements of Mrs. Gandhi in the Lok Sabha.

My aim was to achieve a consensus of opinion amongst Asian Leaders on the question of the claim to a separate state made by the TULF, and terrorists. For my part, I cannot disassociate one from the other especially since TULF appeared regularly for terrorists in Court, and the TULF nominated a convicted terrorist (Kutimani) to fill a vacant seat in Parliament as a TULF member. These acts of the TULF and its leaders had been regarded as calculated and pre-meditated insults to the legislature of Sri Lanka and also provocatively directed against the Sinhalese. The responses I received from all Heads of States have been that they were not in favour of the separation of Sri Lanka and any interference with its internal affairs was in accordance with Mrs. Gandhi's statement. I felt that this response in Asia should deter any attempt of TULF members to pursue their policy for separation. It is obvious that the TULF has also received a rebuff in this respect from countries in Western Europe.

*Q. If you hold the view that Sri Lanka's foreign policy has been and should remain nonaligned, you may also agree that within the broad framework of nonalignment, each of the 100 member states sees its own foreign relations influenced by many variables — economics, geo-politics etc. Often such variables influence the identification of foreign policy priorities by each nonaligned regime, and that in turn gives a nuance to the nonalignment of each state.*

*What in your opinion should be our priorities? To be more spe-*

*cific — should our primary concern be friendship and cooperation with our immediate neighbours? What should be our relations with the superpowers?*

*A.* It is my view that we should continue our friendship and co-operation with our immediate neighbours, that we should continue to remain non-aligned. However, friendship has its degrees and the influence of the several variables such as economics, geo-politics referred to may determine the degree of friendship. This however, does not affect non-alignment, for friendship in whatever degree is not the same as alignment. Agreements as regards foreign assistance, particularly military assistance would constitute a departure from a policy of non-alignment and go beyond mere friendship. Friendship and co-operation with our immediate neighbours is a *sine qua non* for safety and peace in Sri Lanka. Our relations however should not go beyond close friendship and mutual understanding.

*Q. During your talks on this extensive tour did you encounter any serious misunderstandings about the situation here, and if so what were they? Were you able to clear up such misunderstandings.*

*A.* During my tour I was able to clarify some doubts that existed about Sri Lanka, but in most instances, Foreign Ministry officials of each country had done their home-work and by mid-September there was a greater awareness of the true position as regards the happenings in Sri Lanka.

*Q. Can India help us in any way to overcome the problems we now face? If so, what sort of role, do you envisage for India?*

*A.* India can help us to overcome our problems if it remembers that the ethnic connection of

India with Sri Lanka is not confined to that between the South Indian Tamils and Tamils in Sri Lanka alone. South Indians have over-stated their position and if Mrs. Gandhi and those in Delhi have an impartial approach to the problem there is a greater chance of it being resolved. South India to achieve its own end is seeking to rub salt on a sore wound. It may serve its own purposes in so far as its relations with the centre is concerned, but it is increasing the tensions and anxiety in Sri Lanka as regards intentions of the centre in India. Therefore Delhi must endeavour to keep aloof from the South Indian approach and its antics and remember that what happened in late July in the south in Sri Lanka was the explosion of pent-up feelings generated by the determined policy of the terrorists to achieve a separation of Sri Lanka by resort to violence. The claims of the TULF that they were disassociating themselves from the terrorists were generally regarded as empty assertions, not seriously made.

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# BACKGROUND OF BLACK JULY

## International Commission of Jurists view

*"The tension between the ethnic communities creates an extremely dangerous situation in Sri Lanka which may escalate into major violence in the Island and negate all efforts to develop the Island economically. Despite long-standing tension, grievances and insecurities, the leaders of both communities should be prepared*

*to undertake major efforts to resolve the ethnic conflict.*

*The long-term solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in the interests of the entire population can only be achieved on the basis of respect for the rule of law and relevant human rights standards."*

The outburst of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka at the end of July 1983, far the worst to have occurred since independence, did not come as a surprise to those who have been following events in the country.

On June 11 Gamini Navaratne, a Sinhalese journalist wrote in the *Saturday Review*, an English language weekly published in Jaffna.

"After six years of United National Party rule, Sri Lanka is once again near the incendiary situation of 1958. Let's hope to God that no one, from any side, will provide that little spark that is necessary to set the country aflame. The politicians of all parties, should be especially careful about their utterances in this grave situation".

Unfortunately the spark was provided on 23 July when 13 soldiers were killed in an ambush by members of the small Tamil terrorist organisation, styling themselves as the Tigers. According to a report published in the *London Times* on 27 July, the soldiers were killed in reaction to the abduction and rape of three Tamil girls by a group of soldiers. In addition, about 3 days before the attack by the Tigers two suspected terrorists were shot by army soldiers at Meesali Chavakacheri, 15 miles from Jaffna. As the government had suspended the Tamil language newspapers at the beginning of July, and as this expla-

nation was not published in the Sinhalese language press, the public were not aware of these earlier incidents, and the killing of the soldiers became the signal for unleashing widespread racial violence.

### Professor Virginia Leary's mission

In July and August 1981, Virginia Leary, Professor of International Law at the State University of New York at Buffalo, undertook a mission on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists to study the human rights aspects of the Terrorism Act and events related to its adoption and application. Her report, entitled "Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka" was published by the ICJ. The conclusions of her report read as follows:

"Recent events particularly relating to ethnic conflict between the majority Sinhalese population and the minority Tamil population have created concern about the status of human rights in Sri Lanka. This is unfortunate since Sri Lanka has had one of the better records in Asia in the field of human rights. Democratic elections have been held and democratic parliamentary institutions maintained since independence in 1948. The country recently celebrated 50 years of universal adult suffrage, has had a proud tradition of adherence to the Rule of Law and a distinguished judiciary. The present government has made explicit commitments to human rights. It has adopted a Constitution

which includes articles on fundamental rights and has ratified International Human Rights Covenants. Although the government has made efforts to meet certain demands of the minority Tamil community, the basic inter-ethnic conflict remains unresolved, violence is escalating and the government has taken measures with regard to terrorism which are in violation of international human rights norms.

"Violence resulting from racial conflict between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil communities has reached alarming proportions recently. The violence includes communal violence directed against Tamils and violence by security forces primarily against the Tamil community as well as political terrorism by a small group of Tamil youths directed primarily against the police. In June 1981 the police engaged in widespread arson in the Tamil area of Jaffna in the North of Sri Lanka and in August 1981 there was a major outbreak of communal violence again directed against Tamils. The communal violence in August had international repercussions since Indian Tamil passport holders were killed, their residences burned and many were forced to seek refuge. President Jayewardene has admitted that some members of his political party have stimulated racial intolerance and violence and has promised to purge these elements from the party and government.

"The sources of racial conflict in Sri Lanka are historical, economic, cultural and religious. Separate Sinhalese and Tamil communities existed on the Island from the precolonial era until the administrative unification of the Island by the British in 1833. The early history of Sri Lanka is replete with stories of conflicts



between Sinhalese and Tamil kings. During the colonial period the Tamils had a disproportionately high percentage of high governmental posts and admission to prestigious faculties in higher education.

"Upon independence, the majority Sinhalese population imposed certain policies relating to language, religion, education and government service which were perceived by Tamils as discriminatory but by the Sinhalese as compensating for the prior inferior status of Buddhism and the Sinhalese language as well as the proportionately low percentage of Sinhalese in higher education and government service. The Tamils consider these policies as intended to maintain them in an inferior status in the country.

"They point to the fact that Indian Tamils were disenfranchised and rendered stateless at the time of independence, cutting down the Tamil vote to less than one-third in Parliament. The Tamils are thus unable to exercise any effective Parliamentary control over policies that discriminate against them. The 1964 agreement between India and Sri Lanka to repatriate a certain number of Indian Tamils and grant citizenship to the rest has not been fully carried out and Indian Tamils continue to live and work on plantations in conditions of poverty and misery. Sinhala is the official language required for government service; civil service employees are not required to learn Tamil. Buddhism is the official religion; equal status is not given to Hinduism, the religion of the majority of the Tamils. Repression by the police and army in the Tamil areas has been a constant cause of concern and appears to be growing. Tamils are unable to compete for admission to university faculties on the basis of merit alone; an implicit racial quota limits the Tamils to a certain percentage of places.

"The 1958, 1977 and 1981 communal violence against Tamils by the Sinhalese population coupled with the measures relating to language, religion, education, and government service resulted in a pervasive sense of insecurity among Tamils, a demand

for greater autonomy in Tamil areas and eventually the adoption by the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main Tamil political party, of a policy of separation of the Tamil area from Sri Lanka and the creation of a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

"The Sinhalese regard the Tamil demand for a separate state as unrealistic since they believe that such a state would not be viable economically and politically. They cite the unhappy record of divided countries in support of their point of view. They also consider the demand for a separate state as dangerous since it creates antagonism against Tamils among Sinhalese and polarizes the ethnic dispute. It has been claimed that the Sinhalese have a minority complex since, although a majority within Sri Lanka, they are a minority within Asia. There are more than 50 million Tamils in India and other parts of Asia.

A small terrorist group known as the Liberation Tigers has developed among Tamil youth in the north of Jaffna. This group has allegedly been responsible for a bank robbery, an attack on a police station, and a number of killings within the last six months. The development of terrorism among Tamil youth has been linked to frustration concerning opportunities for higher education and government service and assaults against Tamils by police. To cope with the terrorist threat the government has adopted the Terrorism Act. This Act violates norms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified by Sri Lanka, as well as other generally accepted international standards of criminal procedure by permitting prolonged detention on administrative order without access to lawyers and the use of evidence possibly obtained under duress. The Court of Appeal has found in three of four cases brought before it concerning detainees under the Act that violence was used against the detainer during detention. The definition of an offence under the act is unduly vague."

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# Civil Rights Movement on communal violence — July '83

**T**he shock and horror of recent events when many Sri Lankans were hunted out, assaulted, killed their homes and possessions destroyed, and places of business burnt for no other reason than that they belonged to the Tamil community permeate our lives today and will continue to do so for a long time to come. CRM expresses grief and concern at the suffering which so many have undergone. The breakdown of law and order on certain days when armed mobs roamed the city entering houses in search of Tamils, stopping cars and forcibly extracting petrol with which to set alight buildings, and commandeering vehicles, imperilled the safety and shook to the core citizens of all communities.

## Background

An analysis of the recent disturbances and their background will take time; it will necessarily have to take into account the deterioration of relations between the Sinhala and Tamil ethnic groups to the point where it exploded in violence of a hitherto unprecedented degree. In recent years violence has been used by extremist elements on both sides. Such elements; among the Sinhalese, have, several times since 1958, resorted to generalised violence against the Tamil community resulting in great loss of life and property. Extremist elements among the Tamil people have, since the 1970s, resorted to various acts of terrorism primarily against the security forces and state institutions and property.

The present government has made certain attempts to meet the demands of the Tamil people. Tamil was declared a national language in the Constitution of 1978. District Development Councils were established in 1980 with the avowed intention of devolving power in certain areas

of activity to the district level. However, it was unfortunate that for one reason or another none of these measures were effectively implemented.

In this context, the hands of those who maintained that the aspirations of the Tamil people could be achieved only by violence were strengthened and acts of violence escalated. The state, then, armed itself with extraordinary powers in the form of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and set out to repress the violence by military force. Since the political and other causes for the growth of violence remained unsolved, the efforts of the state to stamp it out were unsuccessful; in fact, it is probable that even more Tamil people were embittered as a result of retaliation by some elements in the army and other security forces against the civilian population.

CRM has on numerous occasions drawn the attention of the government and the country to this deteriorating situation.

The continued existence of armed groups has contributed to an increasing state of irritation in the Sinhala community; encouraged by anti-Tamil racist propaganda which has been freely disseminated, it began to see the Tamil desire for self-determination as a threat to itself and to the country. The fact that violence has been used to meet criticism and political dissent in the country as a whole, including the Sinhala areas, may well have encouraged the belief among certain sections of the population that the ethnic problem could be dealt with in a similar manner. However, CRM does not propose, at this stage, to embark on a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for this present outbreak of violence,

which might to some extent explain but certainly not justify it.

## CRM's concerns

CRM will concentrate on some specific human rights issues — issues which relate directly to the responsibility of the state in protecting the basic rights of all persons within its territory without discrimination on the grounds of religion race or political opinion.

### A. Welikade Prison

CRM is outraged at the massacre of the 57 Tamil prisoners and detainees who had been held at the Welikade Prison under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, in two separate incidents, the first on 25 July 1983, and the other two days later. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the safety of persons in the custody of the State is a paramount responsibility of any government.

CRM urges the government to expedite the police investigations of the 57 killings; in view of the larger issues involved, CRM urges the government also to order a comprehensive inquiry into these two alleged prison riots.

### B. Security Forces

Allegations have been made of retaliation by the security forces against civilian persons and property both in the North and the East in the recent disturbances. A government spokesman has reportedly admitted the killing of 20 civilians by troops "on the rampage" in the Jaffna peninsula shortly after the ambush in which 13 soldiers were killed. CRM understands that no inquests were held in respect of these 20 deaths, the usual legal requirement being suspended under a recent emergency regulation.



CRM has always been conscious of the problems of law and order faced by the Government in the North and does not deny the responsibility of government to bring to book those responsible for violence against the state, including the killing of police and army personnel and civilians. It is equally conscious of the frustrations that may be felt by security forces called upon to face the results of unresolved problems that have their basis in the political sphere. CRM however, as any civil liberties organization must necessarily do, stresses that it is precisely at times when the security forces are faced with such difficulties and provocations that a government has a special responsibility to see that its forces act with discipline, that they do not retaliate against the civilian population, that even suspected "terrorists" are dealt with according to law and are not tortured or killed in custody, and that members of the minority community in other parts of the country are promptly and effectively protected against senseless and vicious "retaliatory" acts.

### C. Encouragement to lawlessness

CRM stresses that in assessing the reasons behind the recent holocaust, the alarming trend in recent years of a rapid erosion of respect for the law and for the rights of persons, often manifested in a resort to violence, should be seriously considered. An atmosphere has been created wherein persons who believe they have political protection feel they can break the law with impunity. As the government controlled newspaper the *Daily News* stated in its editorial of 20 August 1983: "we have seen men enjoying positions of responsibility conniving with hoodlums and rowdies, in some cases actively inciting violence.....The law, to be respected, must be enforced without fear or favour. There are people probably, who fancy that they have the wit to flirt with thugs and thuggery, take what they want out of them, as one might of people of easy virtue, and then maintain a firm hand over them. To be so deluded is to ignore the lessons of history."

This phenomenon was certainly not unknown under previous governments — for instance, the earlier instances of post-election violence, the then ruling party's resort to thuggery at the Dedigama by-election in September 1973, and the Attanagalla events of May 1974. However, after 1977, it has assumed increasing proportions and a new dimension.

The above-cited editorial makes a similar point: "It is a known truth that people, who have used devious methods to discredit the law and its institutions, staged massive attacks on men and houses under cover of curfew. Either we admit to these facts and correct them, or we will deceive ourselves again until there is another breakdown of law and order."

### D. Ban on Parties, Press

The Government has alleged complicity, at least in some part of the events, of certain left parties, has taken the extreme step of proscribing them, is holding a number of their leaders in detention incommunicado without access to relatives or families, banned opposition papers and sealed presses (including the *Dinakara* press of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party against which it has NOT alleged any complicity), and has also suggested the involvement of an (unnamed) foreign power. However, the Government itself did not feel it necessary to make a prompt public condemnation of the anti-Tamil riots and appeal for the maintenance of law and order and for protection for the Tamil community, a circumstance which CRM finds extremely puzzling.

CRM at this stage makes no comment on the Government's allegations or on the justifiability of the banning of the three opposition parties, just as it made no comment at the time on the credibility of the alleged "Naxalite plot" which in November 1982 was given as the reason for extending the life of Parliament by means of a Referendum.

CRM does, however, point out that the steps taken are extreme,

that banning of political parties without revealing the reasons to the public is a very serious matter, which practice could lead in the future to a one-party State being created by emergency regulations; that no person should be detained a day longer than strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, and that detainees should be permitted access to relatives and lawyers and to proper and effective review of their detention by an impartial advisory board. In a situation of stringent censorship under the Emergency providing for the pre-censorship of a material for publication as well as imposing penalties for unauthorised publications or publication detrimental to national security, the banning of newspapers and sealing of presses appears excessive. These censorship powers appear more than sufficient to meet the needs of national security.

### Conclusion

In view of the constitutional ban on the promotion of separatism, by word or deed, it is perhaps even more urgent and necessary to enact legislation to prevent the public utterance or publication of material likely to incite hatred against the Tamil minority.

## BURNING MAN

*This man never thought he'd be  
a TV star*

*He was not star material. An  
ordinary man*

*With no ambition to improve the  
world.*

*He was preoccupied that day as he  
walked along*

*Smiling to himself, when they  
came at him.*

*A rock as large as a cricket ball  
between the eyes*

*And he did not even feel the  
swordstroke on his ribs.*

*Then the patrol over his clothes  
and the match.*

*He was no tiger but he burned  
bright on the roadside*

*And like a canna on the TV screens  
of the world.*

V.P.V.



# C. L. D. for talks without conditions

(A statement issued by  
Asitha Perera, Jt. Sec.)

**T**he Council for Liberal Democracy wishes to express its deep concern & regret at the recent tragic events that have occurred in this country. The C.L.D. deplores the barbarism & inhumanity which resulted in several hundred Sri Lankan Tamils experiencing intense suffering & hardship; and extends its deepest sympathy to all those who suffered as a result.

The C.L.D. notes with deep concern the fact that the Government was unable to fulfil its primary responsibility that of maintaining law and order, thereby losing the confidence of peace-loving citizens of this country. The situation was such that even the Hon. Thondaman who is a cabinet minister has stated in parliament that "In a unitary state there must be protection. The Government must give protection. It has completely failed this time..... we have suffered in 1977, 79, 81, 83....."

This calamity was caused by the failure of successive governments since Independence to solve this problem & by political opportunism & lack of statesmanship on the part of political leaders when in opposition as stated in "statesment on National Unity" issued by the council for Liberal Democracy 1981.

"We urge immediate action because history has taught us that delay & inaction have only enacerbated the problem".

One wonders whether the problem could be worse than it is today. The council notes that after six years in office, whatever liberal measures introduced to alleviate the hardships facing the Tamil Citizens have been inadequate.

Although the C.L.D. have opposed the government on several issues, most notably in it is various machinations to devalue parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka, it wishes to extend its support to his excellency the president in his efforts to achieve a longterm solution to this vexed problem. He has the power sagacity & stature to do this, though it is most regrettable that this was not done earlier. it is now obvious that the admirable

strides made to improve economy of Sri Lanka will be of no avail, until this crucial issue is resolved.

1. The council therefore calls upon the government to even now fulfil the promise in its 1977 General Election manifesto—to summon an All-party Round Table Conference without any preconditions. The C. L. D. feels strongly that the main opposition leader, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike should actively participate at such a conference as this would facilitate an effective and practicable solution to the Problem. The restoration of Mrs. Bandaranaike's civic rights would therefore be a most constructive development at this stage.

2. To adopt a tolerant approach to the T. U. L. F., in sympathising with a party that is trapped in the dilemmas of their own making, & agreeing to begin negotiations for a modus vivendi in a **united Sri Lanka**—without insistence on categorical positions.

3. Since a pattern has been seen in the recent violence, the Council feels that it is imperative that an independant Commission of Inquiry constituting, five persons of eminence, including three former supreme Court Judges of the three major communities be appointed in order to find out who was responsible, so that these persons or groups could be prosecuted in a court of law. The full force of the law should be used & those found guilty should be severely punished, so that this will have a deterrent effect for the future.

On conclusion of its inquiries, the members of the above mentioned Commission should be appointed to a "Commission for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination", to which representation for redress could be made by any person or organisation that considers himself to have been racially discriminated against. This commission could also be empowered to make recommendations regarding the compensation payable to the victims of racial riots with retrospective effect as well.

The Council notes with deep concern the development of "**mob rule**" and "**mobocracy**" and calls upon government to deal severely

with all forms of thuggery and intimidation which reached new heights during the Referendum and since then was illustrated by the demonstrations in front of the residences of Supreme Court Judges. The council expresses its regret that to date no effective steps have been taken to look into this matter and punish those responsible.

4. The council repeats its request made in 1981 that the government (a) make Sinhala, Tamil, & English the co-official languages for all purposes throughout the island.

The present policy allowing for the use of Tamil in the Northern & Eastern province in counter-productive because it is thereby implied that it is only in these areas that Tamil citizens enjoy equal rights with Sinhalese.

National unity implies that All citizens of Sri Lanka irrespective of race, language or creed, live free from discrimination, in ALL parts of the island. The council is aware of some of the cogent arguments put forward against the re-emphasis on English, but feels that the merits far outweigh the demerits, especially as a long term aid to reconciliation between the Communities.

A comprehensive & concentrated effort to teach English especially in the rural areas should be carried out immediately with assistance from various foreign governments & international institutions, so that the knowledge of English is not restricted to a small elite.

b) Ensures that educational institutions & classes within them are not based on race & language & that as far as possible, student of different communities in the secondary schools follow classes together.

(c) makes the medium of Education at least at the Advanced Level & University level optional.

(d) The gradual reopening of all communities.

(e) Strengthens the powers of the District Development councils by granting them further autonomy by permitting them inter alia spend a uniform block grant voted by



parliament as they wish. Furthermore, members of parliament should be prohibited from being District ministers & the leadership of the majority party in the D.D.C. & the position of District ministers should be unified by law.

(5) The council urges the government to take effective measures to prevent its members from making statements or indulging in activities that may jeopardize racial amity & to expel all ministers, M.P.s' and party members who are proved to have incited racial violence or participated in the recent disturbances.

(6) The C. L. D. also calls for the amendment of the prevention of Terrorism Act with the expunging of certain provisions which violate the Rule of Law & International norms of justice & human rights. Once the obnoxious provisions of the P.T.A are amended we suggest that government announce the declaration of a amnesty for all persons who were involved in terrorism occur for a period of six months.

These activities occurred under special circumstances, partly as result of years of unchecked indoctrination and the breakdown of normal law and order in the country. Such a step would pave the way for the elements involved in these acts to enter the mainstream of life in the country. However, very severe punishments should be meted out in the case of future offences the C. L. D. suggests a piecemeal withdrawal of the armed forces from Jaffna, throughout a period of 12 months.

(7) A reasonable grace period should be given to the Tamil politicians to take the oath of anti-separatism.

(8) the C. L. D. also urges the government to establish president's bound for the furtherance of Racial Harmony-contributions to which could be tax free which could finance and foster cultural, religious, educational and other social activities and which would encourage greater multi

religious participation wherever possible.

(9) The C. L. D. urges the T.U.L.F. and all other Sri Lankan Tamils who wish to live as equal citizens in a liberal democratic Sri Lanka'.

(a) to abandon the demand for a separate state.

(b) unequivocally disassociate itself from and condemn all extremist and Marxist groups indulging in terrorist activities.

(c) to actively assist the government in countering anti-national propaganda abroad.

The time is now; the time for understanding, tolerance, mutual concessions, statesmanship and vision. Delay can only cause more bloodshed, hatred and perhaps the end of a democratic and peaceful Sri Lanka.

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TEAM

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# A WORD OF ADVICE TO THE TAMIL PEOPLE

N. Sanmugathan

**N**ever before in the history of the Tamils in Sri Lanka have they been in a worse situation. Over 40,000 Tamils who had been living in the south among the Sinhalese have had to be uprooted because of the communal violence produced against them by the chauvinist sections of the Sinhalese and have returned to the Jaffna peninsula by ship or train or plane. Many of them have lost their houses as well as all their other possessions — in many cases, their entire life's savings — in the communal flames that engulfed South Ceylon in July — August, 1983. Their plight is really tragic. They have no homes to go back to. The government seems in no position to offer them security in the south. Many of them have lost their sources of employment and income.

In Jaffna itself repression and harassment have taken a heavy toll. The Tamils in Trincomalee have taken a terrific beating by the destruction of lives and property.

It is pro-UNP forces that have been responsible for all these disasters. Every right-thinking man knows it. But what did the TULF do to protect the Tamil people? At the time of writing this, most of the TULF M. P.s are safe in India. Undoubtedly, one or two of them **should** go abroad to place the case of the Tamil people and the injustices they have suffered before the bar of international opinion. But why should almost all of them run away, leaving the Tamil people leaderless?

At present, the sole tactic of the TULF leadership seems to be rely exclusively on India and Mrs.

Gandhi to pull them out of the mire into which they have fallen. It is perfectly alright to solicit Indian help but not to place **exclusive** reliance on it.

Instead, the TULF should place its faith on the Tamil people in Sri Lanka and mobilise them to the full. Secondly, it should seek allies among the progressive Sinhalese and prevent the attempts by the UNP and the right-wing of the SLFP to gang-up the entire Sinhalese against the Tamils. It is in carrying out this strategy that the TULF has failed and thereby brought about the present deadlock.

The TULF could never distinguish who the friends of Tamils among the Sinhalese were! We, Marxists-Leninists of the Ceylon Communist Party have always urged the TULF to make common cause with the anti-UNP forces. In the middle of 1980, after the failure of the general strike and the increase of repression, by the State, we did succeed in getting together an alliance — ad hoc, even if it be, of the SLFP, the TULF, the LSSP, the CCP and the MEP. The CPSL, the NSSP and JVP refused to join.

Under the auspices of this alliance, whose common aim was opposition to the UNP, we did some good anti-UNP propaganda. The huge Colombo Rally, addressed by these five parties was followed by the fantastically huge rally at the Jaffna esplanade when, for the first time, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, N. Sanmugathan and Dinesh Gunawardene appeared and spoke on the same platform with TULF leaders

Mr. N. Shanmugathan a founder member of the C. P. was General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation. In the early '60s he led a breakaway faction from the CP over the Sino-Soviet dispute. As leader of the Ceylon Communist Party he had the closest relations with the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party including Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lai. He was jailed after the 1971 insurrection. He is critical of post-Mao Chinese and Albanian policies.

A. Amirthalingam and M. Sivasithamparam. As I stated at that rally, "we have not come here, abandoning our separate policies but to oppose our common enemy, the UNP". It was a historic meeting.

It was this unity that led in mid — 1981, when the election to the District Development Council elections took place, for the SLFP, for the first time ever in its history, to support the TULF candidates in the Eastern Province and thus ensure their victory. The TULF should have grasped this development with both hands and built on it and developed it into a long term alliance. The UNP was jittery of such a possibility and made modest overtures to the TULF. The latter fell for these blandishments and quite foolishly started discussions with the UNP.

It foolishly refused to participate at the huge Trincomalee rally held thereafter by the same forces — but without the TULF. The talks with the UNP proved ineffective as the TULF leader explains in his letter to the President on 10. 8. 83. None of the 10 points said to have been discussed between the two parties are of any importance. Certainly, there was no mention of Eelam, federalism or regional autonomy.

During the 1977 general elections, it was suspected that the TULF had advised the Tamils in the Western province to vote for the UNP. In any



event, it is a fact that the Tamils in this province voted in droves for the UNP. **Most of them thought they were voting for law and order. They got their reward in July 1983.**

The only tactic that could have avoided the disasters of the recent past would have been if the Tamils had made common cause with the rest of the anti-UNP movement on the basis of a common programme which should have included a solution to the minority problem. But the TULF leadership was always too opportunist to take up a firm and consistent position.

It is the activities of the Tamil militant youth — and not those of the TULF — that have kept the problem of the Tamil people before the people and the government. If today, the Tamil question has been internationalised, if the Indian premier is willing to mediate, if the UNP government is willy —

nilly forced to negotiate — the credit must go to the Tamil militant youth, who resorted to extra-parliamentarism.

### **Peoples Movement**

But now, they must build up a people's movement of resistance. They must base themselves on the people, who as Mao pointed, are the motive force in the making of world history. They must avoid closed-door organisation, with excessive secrecy. They have correctly understood the futility of the bourgeois parliamentary path and they seem to have mastered the technique of underground work.

**Now**, they must involve the whole people and, at the same time, link up with the progressive forces in the South. There is no revolutionary movement in the south. **But, this situation will change along with the rapid deterioration of the economic crisis.** On the unity of

the progressive forces depends the future of Sri Lanka.

The entire strategy and tactics of the TULF stand exposed. Their refusal to unite with the anti-UNP forces, and their pathetic belief in the good sense of the UNP has today brought more Tamils to their worst disaster. Let the Tamils at least now understand that it was the TULF's "friends" with whom they engaged in constant dialogue that were responsible for July — August 1983.

The TULF is impotent. The youth must take over. But they must close their ranks and stop their internecine warfare. Otherwise, they would only help the enemy.

Out of the flames that engulfed the Tamils in south Sri Lanka, let a new proletarianised (most Tamils have literally nothing to lose) and finer youth leadership emerge!

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# MASS MEDIA AND ELITE DOMINATION

Gunnar Garbo

According to an old popular misconception Norwegians don't talk much.

There is a little story about communication between three Norwegian **trolls**—traditional folk tale giants—living in some far away hills.

One day one of the trolls grunts from his hill: "The weather is fine this year".

Thirty years later a response emanates from one of the other hills: "Now it is a lot worse".

After thirty more years the third troll joins in: "I have to move away if there continues to be so much noise in this valley".

In the modern world the noise level is certainly a lot higher. Human beings are exposed to an increasing bombardment of spectacular messages transmitted through audio-visual and print media. It seems that people in the Nordic countries on an average are now spending more than five hours of their daily free time looking at TV or video, listening to radio or records and reading newspapers, books or magazines.

Political commentators and leaders often refer to the watchdog function of the mass media and their role in providing the basis for an informed public debate. And this is certainly a crucial aspect. But if we analyze the factual content of modern mass communication, we easily see that the fostering of public discussion is one of its minor functions. The mass media are disseminating an enormous amount of data, messages and advertisements which people make use of to orientate themselves in their everyday world. Sometimes they are a means for the promotion of culture and education. But a considerable part of the time used for media consumption is passed away in devouring stories about crime, sport and

social gossip, or other kinds of commercialized entertainment with little or no relevance to the tasks confronting people in this world.

A five to six hours daily exposure to messages of this kind evidently has a tremendous impact for good or for bad on the development of political awareness, social cohesion and patterns of behaviour.

This is of course the reason why governments in countries with centrally planned economies generally maintain control over the operation of the mass media, making sure that their content is supportive of established national policies. It is likewise the reason why progressive groups in the Nordic countries have come to doubt the wisdom of letting market forces determine the use of information technology. Instead these groups have started groping for another media policy, envisaging the role of communication as a social service and looking for a media structure which promotes such values as access, participation and meaningful debate. Well now, this refers to the rather ambiguous state of mass communication in countries which are economically well off.

What is, however, the role of industrialized nations when it comes to the development of communication in the formerly colonized countries? Are we in a position to interfere? Should we not rather leave it to the nations of Africa, Asia and South America to create indigenous media structures to the best of their own abilities?

I should like to be able to answer these questions in the affirmative. But the basic fact is that the industrialized nations **are already there**; they are already dominating the flow of information to and from and within all the regions of this world.

*International Seminar on Mass Media Development in Oslo 23-25 September 1983. General introduction by Gunnar Garbo, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), UNESCO.*

It seems that in this context we have to distinguish between two strata in the developing countries.

On the one hand we find the elites and related groups, which are essentially based in metropolitan areas, which have access to TV, radio and newspapers, and which in most cases receive the same stuff that is produced by media organizations in the industrialized countries for the markets of those countries. To give you just one example: More than half of all programmes shown on television in Chile, 34 per cent of those in Colombia, 62 per cent of those in Uruguay and 84 per cent in Guatemala are imported from the United States.

I don't imply that this overwhelming reliance upon news and programmes from transnational companies is necessarily forced upon the developing countries from the outside. The ruling elites frequently prefer to buy them because they are relatively cheap and very attractive to the markets.

Recently my wife and I were visited by a group of university scholars from Zimbabwe. They insisted that they had to look at that evening's transmission of the high life American TV series "the Dynasty". This gave them a chance to catch up with what was being broadcast in Harare while they were away.

On the other hand we find the immense masses of poor people in Africa, Asia and Southern America who are deprived of all means of modern communication. A recent survey in India revealed that barely 8 per cent of the population had access to newspapers. Sound broadcasting has a greater potential, but in Africa there was recently only one radio set for every 18 inhabitants and in Asia one for 13.



And even if there is a radio receiver in a village, there may be no battery to make it work.

When Norway started to develop into a modern industrialized society more than 150 years ago, we were a poor people. But we were masters in our own land. Foreign capital did not control our economy. Neither did transnational mass media control our minds.

Developing Countries to-day have to cope with a situation of dominance and dependence resulting from the expansion of the industrialized world: firstly the gap between themselves and those countries which are producing the international flow of information and secondly the gap in their own countries between the elites which have become addicted to the thrill of this flow and the poor masses which are unaware of it.

So whether we in the rich countries intend it or not – we are interfering.

No country gives easily away an advantage. I have no doubt that the developing nations themselves have to bear the brunt of the battle to satisfy the basic communication needs of the their own people and to redress the grave imbalance in the global exchange of information.

But with very good reason they have asked us to cooperate with them in their effort to develop their communication capacities.

This appeal has been met with a considerable amount of reluctance and reticence by the representatives of the rich countries. However, they declared that they had no objection to the developing nations acquiring their own media as long as outside media organizations were allowed to operate as before. Provided that there was no question of meddling with the principle of the free flow of information, the Western countries assured that they stood ready to support the efforts of the developing nations to build up their own communications skills and means. The International Programme for the Development of Communication was indeed the result of a United States initiative. By unanimous decisions the Uni-

ted Nations General Assembly hailed the IPDC as "a significant step towards the establishment of a new world information and communication order" and called upon Member States to make contributions to the Programme.

One might think that the industrialized nations could not reasonably do less than follow this call and honour their own proclamations.

But the annual budget of the IPDC is in the order of two million dollars, which is incomparably less than what is necessary to meet realistic requests for aid. This amount could be compared f. i. to the world advertising expenditures, which are variously estimated at between 35 and 106 thousand million dollars per year, or the data processing revenue of a single corporation, estimated five years ago at 17 thousand million dollars.

The industrialized countries have not matched their words with deeds.

Two factors seem to be at work here.

Firstly the development of communication continues to be accorded a very low priority in the international development effort.

Secondly, to the very limited extent that aid is being allocated to media development, donor countries prefer to handle this on a bilateral basis, retaining control with the use of the money. They don't want to strengthen an international institution based on the principle of equal voting rights for rich and poor Member States.

For my own part I got my first journalistic practice in the printing of a small illegal newspaper during the German occupation of Norway forty years ago. I would hate to live in a society where I could not speak my mind freely.

At same time I know that the freedom of information is not only a question of legal forms. There are a lot of countries in this world – rich ones as well as poor ones – where the government does not trust the people with the right to free speech. People are only allowed to look at and listen to information which is authorized by the government itself. However, in

other countries where means of free expression abound, information is often treated as merchandise to be sold in the market. The result is a preference for sensations which increase the sale, to the detriment of socially relevant information. And in addition to that we have to acknowledge the grave problem of the developing nations, who often lack even the basic material and social conditions for media structures like the Nordic ones.

We will have a possibility to treat these questions in greater depth when we deal with the specific themes on our agenda. In giving this general introduction I want however to emphasize one special aspect which I think deserves very serious consideration. It seems to me that nobody can press individual freedom upon another nation. This freedom is a social condition and a human value which has to be realized and preserved by each people through its own inner struggle and within its own historic setting. To force freedom upon somebody is a contradiction in items. The future world be bleak indeed if we could not in the last resort have faith in the will to freedom inherent in the human being and if we could not reasonably expect that in any country new means of expression and increased communication skills will strengthen the claims for a free and meaningful exchange of views and expressions.

It seems however that the insistence of a number of Western countries on retaining direct control with means allocated to communication project in developing nations expresses exactly this distrusts in other people's ability to create political freedom. Of course I see that bilateral cooperation may also be beneficial. Norway is contributing to several excellent development projects in the field of communication. But bilateral aid may even be a means of keeping others dependent, a way of pronouncing them unfit to manage their own affairs. That is no good basis for genuine development. The rich nations might to both: enter into bilateral agreements in addition to international cooperation for the

(Continued on page 24)



# NIEO and the world capitalist economy

Philip McMichael

**T**his paper seeks to examine the relationship between the 'New International Economic Order' (NIEO) as a political programme of Third World states, and the changing global division of labour. Specifically, I want to focus on the industrialization strategy proposed by NIEO, which proclaims:

"The developed countries should encourage investors to finance industrial production projects, particularly export-oriented production, in developing countries, in agreement with the latter and within the context of their laws and regulations".

And, since the goal of NIEO is to effect ".....a new international economic structure which should increase the share of the developing countries in world industrial production.....", an analysis of the political-economic forces presently shaping global division of labour allows us to evaluate the efficacy of such a political demand.

My point of departure is a reconsideration of the so-called 'new international division of labour' (NIDL) insofar as its origins lie not in a **social** division of labour among states in the world market, but in a **technical** division of labour within the organization of the transnational corporation (TNC). Where the TNC is increasingly the structuring agent of international productive capital, and in particular of export-manufacturing, then the relationship of NIEO to this process of transformation of global division of labour becomes problematic. What is at issue is the extent to which a global system of production and exchange is altering the framework of interstate politics; that is, whether and to what extent it is undermining the historic role of state in the regulation of **national** economies. And this proposition of course raises the question of the political organization of capitalist

world economy, in the aftermath of a decline in U.S. global hegemony. that is, where the structured hierarchy of states associated with the **Pax Americana** has broken down, to what extent is transnational capital (the **legacy** of U.S. hegemony) responsible for the shaping of global economy, and what kind of role do the states play in this process?

My intention is to consider the process of creation, and breakdown, of global unity in the capitalist world-economy, with the changing fortunes of U.S. hegemony — at the same time examining the expressions of these 'moments' of unity and disunity in the structure of transnational enterprise, and its relation to Third World industry. In so doing I hope to emphasize the contradictory impact of transnational capital on the political unity of the Third World proponents of the NIEO, and thereby to raise questions about the contradictory role of the NIEO in demanding a more substantial participation in the international division of labour.

## International, or Global, Division of Labour?

The concept of division of labour **presumes** a social or economic unity comprised of an existing set of relations. Insofar as we apply the concept to the world market, then, we must necessarily define the social structure of that market since we know international market relations are political constructions, usually mediated, or anchored in, states. The division of labour in the world market is fundamentally a product of political relations among states — or so we have defined it for the original international division of labour which we associate with metropolitan-colonial relationships

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prior to the twentieth century. And the process of constitution, or reproduction, of the world market by the international division of labour obtained its classic form under the laissez-faire regime in capitalist world economy established under British hegemony. (The subsequent break-up of the international division of labour was at the same time the process of decline of British hegemony, at the turn of the century).

My point is this: if we are going to talk of a "new international division of labour," what constitutes our socio-economic unity? If we argue the world-system, with its three-tiered political structure of core, periphery and semi-periphery.....i.e., we presume permanent geo-political categories into which different states may fall, then we shall conclude, as Frobel, Heinrichs and the Kreye do in their study **The New International Division of Labour**, that

.....world market oriented industrialisation of the underdeveloped countries through the establishment of free production zones and world market factories.....has not meant any change in the historical process of underdevelopment, but in fact in its deepening. (p. 403)

That is, the **content** of dependency is changing. But this analytical perspective, in spite of its empirical comprehensiveness, abstracts too much from the political structures, or lack of them, in capitalist world economy. Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye identify the economic preconditions for the division of labour that they observe, i.e.,

- (1) a practically inexhaustible reservoir of disposable labour;
- (2) the decomposition of production processes by capitalist technology such that unskilled labour in the Third World can be utilized;



(3) the development of transport, communications and organizational technology rendering geographical distances increasingly insignificant (p. 34-36). These clearly are the elements of a system of global production, but the global unity constituted by "the new international division of labour" (concretely represented by ".....a world market for labour and a real world industrial reserve army of workers, together with a world market for production sides", p. 13) is apparently constructed out of "(t)he coincidence of these three preconditions" (p.13), which "..... have given further impetus to the development of an international capital market, the function of which is the global mobilisation of capital and, more generally, the creation of an international capitalist superstructure" (p. 36).

What I am questioning is the lack of a political dimension in the creation of, say, a "world market for production sites" — what Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye are doing is describing the emerging dimensions of this world labour division without a corresponding discussion of the unifying social and political forces as a prior step in their argument. They assume a political unity in world economy, and give priority to the elements of this NIDL in structuring world capitalism with a determinist theory concerning the logic of the valorisation of capital (related to the Babbage principle of deskilling and cheapening labour). This kind of determinism is quite appropriate to the dependency assumptions of the core-periphery model of world capitalist structure, which can encourage an economic approach to world capitalist relations. This approach is exemplified where Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye declare :

This now international division of labour is an 'institutional' innovation of capital itself necessitated by changed conditions, and not the result of changed development strategies by individual countries or options freely decided upon by so-called multinational companies. It is a consequence and not a cause of these new conditions that various countries and companies have to tailor their policies and profit-maximizing strategies to these now conditions that is, to

the requirements of the world market for industrial sites (p. 46).

What is of course happening in this approach is that 'countries' are being considered as actors, and 'capital' loses its class locations.

In my opinion, the redivision of world labour is more adequately considered by asking : what is the content of the global unity in which a 'new international division of labour' is emerging? This question requires a juxtaposition of the historical and the current processes within capitalist world-economy. We need to characterise the unity constructed by an hegemonic U.S., specify the contradictions this hegemony leading to its downfall, and account for subsequent tendencies in the global system of political-economy. It is my contention that these three movements/periods of world capitalism have been both constituted, and altered, by transformations in technical and social division of labour associated with transnational enterprise. At the same time it is necessary to stress that the international division of labour that we associate with specialization in production for the world market between metropolitan and peripheral societies continues to exist (Petras, 1981), and to exert a profound influence on world political-economy. This of course reverberates through the history of the making of the NIEO, since Bandung in 1955.

In effect, then, we have a continuing primary producing/manufacturing international social division of labour among geo-political regions, and superimposed upon this historic pattern an emerging redivision of world labour corresponding to the requirements of trans-national production as the internationalization of productive capital proceeds, or, rather, to the extent that it proceeds. The principles of this trans-national corporate division of labour are essentially, as Stephen Hymer put it :

To maintain the separation between work and control, capital has erected elaborate corporate superstructures to unite labor in production, but divide it in power" (p. 102-3).

### U. S. Hegemony and Unity in World Capitalism

The construction of U. S. hegemony in the post-WWII capitalist world had two primary goals :

(i) the reduction, or elimination, of barriers to international free trade and enterprise, which involved the dismantling of preferential colonial or neo-colonial blocs, and the forestalling of European mercantilist policy — as Fred Block has argued :

"American policy-makers were more concerned about national capitalism in Western Europe than they were with a possible invasion by the Red Army or successful socialist revolution" (Block, 1977, 10) ;

(ii) the guarantee of a liberal unity in capitalist world-economy through the establishment of supra-national economic and political structures, which at the same time institutionalized U. S. global political and economic power (note the coincidence of the U. N. and Bretton Woods agreements). As we know, the **internationalism** of the American state managers (in particular those representing Roosevelt in the State Department and the Treasury), was eventually compromised with the nationalist interests in American government and society — especially with the growing 'security' concerns in the late 1940s, and subsequent elaboration of the Truman Doctrine into a 'containment policy'. The latter divided the world — with an aggressive Western stance towards the Soviet Union, but institutionalised the Atlantic system, dominated by American ideological and economic requirements for global capitalist unity (Schurmann, 1974). There were the ingredients of an hierarchical structure in the inter-state system.

While the struggle to free world trade continued into the 1950s, the reconstructed world economy re-established the international division of labour in its classic form (Picciotto, 1978 : 231), and developed American multi-national capital. U. S. political hegemony in Europe facilitated its reconstruction with military and economic aid, such that the Common Market emerged as a sphere of U. S. investment. The global expansion of American capital was not simply the product of the law of capital accumulation — it was advanced precisely by the political reconstruction of Western Europe and Japan under U. S. hegemony, and it was spurred in part



by the very recovery of European and Japanese capital (Hymer, 1972: 97). Indeed, the combination of the Atlantic rearmament programme and continuing European tariffs, was the engine of American multinational corporate investment in Western Europe (Block, 1977; Calleo and Rowland, 1973: 166, 169).

In the period of the 1950s and 1960s, transnational capital investment patterns revealed three trends significant for this discussion:

1) American foreign direct investment shifted from petroleum and other extractive industries into manufacturing as the most rapidly growing site of productive capital investment.

"In 1950 American direct investment abroad was about equally divided between petroleum, manufacturing and other industries. By the end of 1970, out of a total book value of \$ 78 billion of direct foreign investments in all industries, \$ 32 billion was in manufacturing, \$ 22 billion in petroleum, and only \$ 6 billion in mining and smelting." (Calleo and Rowland, 1973: 164)

Not only was this trend indicative of the growth of the TNC, but also it showed in the increasing penetration of Third World manufacturing sectors — even though direct investment in Third World economies fell proportionately to total foreign direct investment. (Muto, 1977: 14)

2) American foreign direct investment at the same time relocated

from Third World to metropolitan economies.

"... in 1950 (America's) largest direct investment was in Latin America, with Canada second and Europe far behind. At the end of 1970, the order was strikingly reversed. Europe led with Canada close and Latin America far behind. While sizeable investments had also grown up in white Commonwealth countries other than Canada, and in parts of the developing world other than Latin America, Europe's relative share had double in two decades — from roughly one-sixth to roughly one-third the total". (Calleo & Rowland, 1973: 165)

3) At the same time as these integrating trends in the center of capitalist world economy were taking place — precisely the expression of the success of U.S. hegemony in projecting a unity into the world market — European and Japanese capital adopted the multi-national mode of expansion as a competitive phenomenon. This is shown clearly in **Table 1**, and evidences the imprinting of **substantive U.S. hegemony** in world economy, as non-U.S. capital has increasingly adopted the TNC model of accumulation which of course accounts for the internationalization of productive capital. (Arrighi, 1981)

Recent data from the UN shows an equivalent rate of increase of foreign investment stocks and the GNP of the metropolitan states, with TNC's consolidating their accounts in strong currencies, "which indicates the strength of the trend towards greater internationalization of large-scale firms." (UN, 1978: 38)

This process of the internationalization of productive capital has several aspects that need attention:

(1) The movement of European and Japanese private capital into the Third World followed the pattern of U.S. capital investment in manufacturing industries producing primarily for local markets (one estimate, in 1975, was that 97% of European subsidiaries were located thus; Franko, cited in Tharaban, 1979: 99).

(2) This decentralization of European and Japanese private capital followed public aid from parent states which accelerated in the mid-1960's (Nukhovich, 1980, p. 89-113). And indeed in the above table a majority of the flows of capital to the Third World were in the form of export credits — 60% for the EEC and 75% for Japan. There, we see, also the adoption of the American 'Keynesian' strategy of decentralization of liquidity to the Third World, as a condition of world market expansion for trade and investment. At the same time this phenomenon, of the overwhelming proportion of aid taking bilateral, rather than multilateral form, indicates the growing rivalry to American hegemony in this period. (Pearson, 1970: 21; Rymalov, 1972: 16)

(3) In spite of the global spread of TNC's, the concentration of TNC capital has been in the metropolitan countries and Barratt Brown comments that: "If we were to add to the flows of direct investment the movements of short-term and

**Table 1**  
**Private Capital Flows from Industrial Countries**  
**1957-1970**

(Annual Averages: gross figures in \$ millions)

Source of Capital	A. Direct Investment to All Countries			B. Private Capital Movements to Underdeveloped Countries		
	1957-1960	1961-1964	1967-1968	1956-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969
EEC Total	360	610	1005	972	1085	2053
- W. Germany	120	220	320	271	223	743
- France	10	100	200	430	455	652
- Netherlands	170	120	215	147	112	161
Japan	50	90	170	31	111	248
U. S.	2830	3210	3090	1333	889	1722
U. K.	510	670	820	500	394	448
U. S. % of Total	77	71	61	47	36	39

(Barratt Brown, 1972: 133)



medium-term capital (i. e., the Euro-dollar market PMCM.) ...the concentration would be more obvious still." Barratt Brown, 1972: 134) And the recent U. N. report on TNC's notes the consolidation of TNC focus on high-income markets, with a decline in TNC share of investment stock in the Third World for U.S., U.K., FRG & Japan, between 1967-1977. The conclusion: "...the global phenomenon of TNC's has been and apparently remains a phenomenon of developed markets" (U.N., 1978: 40). As we shall see later, the significance of the TNC focus on high-income markets, has also been to generate the Eurocurrency system, which has become very consequential in contemporary global economy.

(4) The other side of the 'decentralization' in Third World manufacturing, was the policy of import-substitution industrialization pursued by Third World states and bourgeoisies in the two decades following World War II. The context for this development was the growth of nationalist politics in the Third World in the era of decolonization. And, through the logic of such politics — legitimating 'national' independence from Western colonialism — nation-building implied the strategy of industrialization. As Abdel-Malek reminds us:

"The various peripheries — Asia, Africa, Latin America — could only 'develop' along the lines suggested and

imposed by the schools of thought of the hegemonic West". (Abdel-Malek, 1979: 39)

And of course the international institutions of the post-war U. S. hegemonic order (IBRD, IMF) reproduced this nationalist-industrial logic in their financial strategy. Indeed, "...only 81% of World Bank lending through 1962 was for agricultural purposes" (Hudson, 1969, p. 283). And of course one of the World Bank's goals was to provide long-term project loans to encourage the inflow of private foreign capital. (Hayter, 1971: 47)

As we know, the mounting foreign exchange bill resulting from capital inflow encouraged by the import-substitution industrialization policy, in addition to the growing industrial capacity of a select number of Third World states in the 1960's, encouraged a policy shift towards promoting export manufacturing (Landsberg, 1979; Muto, 1977). This trend is illustrated in Table 2.

The shift in policy from import-substitution to export oriented industrial growth in the Third World indicated the coincidence of two related developments. On the one hand it represented growing industrial maturity in some Third World states as their industrial classes sought to expand their markets on a regional or world scale. This began with

traditional labour-intensive manufactures — textiles, footwear, etc., as well as processing of local primary goods such as foodstuffs, tobacco and wood — in the early 1960s these items constituted 2/3 of Third World exports. (Nayyar, 1976: 125) On the other hand, with the exposure to global markets, Third World capitalists and their states imported modern technology to remain competitive — especially in the growing export trade in machinery and equipment. In the 1960's this was the case particularly with Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, India, (Pakistan), Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. (World Bank, 1980: 399) And indeed, over the last quarter of a century, in the Third World as a whole, growth rates of heavy industry have exceeded those in light industry. (Warren, 1980: 182)

In this context foreign capital involved itself increasingly in the Third World export trade in manufactures — marking the transition in organization of the TNC. That is, in the 1960s for U. S. capital (and of course subsequently for European and Japanese capital) TNC operations moved into a new stage of internal division of labour, where production stages were sub-divided among different geographical locations, and world-wide sourcing emerged as a growing competitive device by large corporations. Such practices were initiated by U. S. corporations in the EEC in automobile and computer industries (U. N., 1978: 42), and in the context of the maturing of capitalist production relations in certain Third World states they have increasingly characterized TNC activities there. That is, rather than primarily supplying the host country's markets, TNC's increasingly exported "... to third countries and to the country which the parent companies used to call their home". (Adam, 1975: 90) in other words, Third World industrial production for export obtained in new dimension whereby some manufactured export (one estimate for the early 1970s being 15% of total export; Warren, 1980: 194) were absorbed into the internal division of Labour of TNCs.

(To be continued)

Table 2

### Trends and Characteristics of World Trade In Manufactures

World Trade in Manufactures	World Total	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
(1) Percentage Share in world Exports 1960	100	83.9	3.8
1969	100	84.6	5.1
(2) Cumulative Annual growth rates 1960-1969			
Manufactures	10.8	10.9	14.3
Primary Commodities	5.7	5.9	5.8
(3) Percentage share of exports of manufactures total exports of goods 1960	51.3	64.4	9.2
1969	60.5	72.3	16.8

(Landsberg, 1979: 51)



# ART, MEDIA COMMUNICATION

Feggie Siriwardena

Most of us take for granted that some human products are art and others are not, and that the difference between these two categories corresponds to some intrinsic difference in the properties of the two types of subjects. Beethoven is art and *baila* is not; *Kaliyugaya* is art and *Kavuda Raja* is not — these and other such oppositions would be accepted by a great many people without questioning. It's when we try to infer from these pairs of opposites a coherent theory about just what is believed to make the difference between art and non-art that we find ourselves in trouble.

To take another such pair: a Chinese porcelain vase in the drawing-room is, presumably, art and a clay pot from Kelaniya in the kitchen isn't. That would suggest that the line of distinction is between the utilitarian function of one and the ornamental but useless character of the other. But apart from the ticklish questions this differentiation might provoke (is a Richard Pieris rubber vase a work of art or not?), the same kind of pot that a suburban Sri Lankan housewife relegates to the kitchen might be picked up by an American tourist and taken back home to adorn his living-room. This seems to point to the fact that the difference between what is taken to be 'art' and what isn't has to do, not with intrinsic properties of objects, but with different social practices and different uses to which people put things. The same object, as we have seen, may be treated as 'art' or as non-art' in different social contexts.

I want to support this point from another set of examples. Many of the objects created in the past that are admired as 'great art' today wouldn't have been looked on, at the time they were produced, with detached aesthetic pleasure but put to active social

use. The Gal Vihara Buddhas and the Sistine Chapel frescos were accessories to acts of worship in the communities in which they belonged. There is no reason to think that in the courts where the *Mahabharata* and the *Iliad* were chanted, they were listened to as expressions of literary sensibility rather than as celebrations of the heroic deeds of the ancestors of the ruling class who constituted their first audiences.

In fact, the construction of a separate realm of 'aesthetic experience' in which to situate a special category of objects marked out as 'works of art' is no older than the nineteenth century. It arose in a particular phase of European bourgeois civilisation, and has been disseminated globally, together with the spread of the social relations and world-view generated by that civilisation. In other words, the opposition between 'art' and 'non-art' is the product not only of specific social practices but also of practices originating in a specific ideology. Pre-bourgeois societies did have a concept of art — but art as technique or skill — a concept which applies equally to carving a stone image for worship or a wooden spoon for the kitchen. Ironically, the spoons made by Kandyan craftsmen in the pre-colonial period are admired as 'objects of art' in the museums of today.

It's quite easy to see why the opposition between 'art' and 'non-art' should have been constructed in a bourgeois industrial civilisation. The opposition was between objects produced by alienated human labour as commodities to be exchanged for private profit and those produced by the devoted labour of the artists for no purpose other than self-expression: that, anyway, is how the ideological construct represented it. It was a construct that could accommodate both the

tired businessman sweetening his leisure with a little culture and the rebel artists shutting the doors of the studio, music-room or writer's study on the noises of the factory sirens and the steam-engines. This opposition between the production of art and that of non-art could be sustained with some plausibility in the nineteenth century; even Marx could share it to the extent of making an economic distinction between piano-makers and piano-players. But it has grown increasingly out of tune with twentieth-century reality. Nowhere is the divergence between myth and reality in this field more evident than in the differentiation commonly made between 'art' and 'media', in the face of the fact that both categories consist of cultural commodities entering into the prevailing relations of production, distribution and exchange.

Attempts might be made to claim an 'objective' basis for this distinction: novels, plays, poems, paintings, works of music are 'art'; newspapers, radio, cinema and TV; are 'media'. But this won't do: clearly, in critical usage, some novels, some films, some pieces of music, are claimed to be art and some aren't. There are, of course, discernible differences between, say, the novels of Virginia Woolf and those of Rosemary Rogers, and they are connected with the fact that many more people read the latter than the former. That doesn't, however necessarily put Virginia Woolf in a class superior to that of Rosemary Rogers, as the 'mass civilisation vs. minority culture' thesis of the Leavisites would suggest. Bestsellers, advertisements, the popular press, cinema and TV are, according to this thesis, debasing and destructive of the finer human values, which are sustained by minority art. This position ignores the fact that some of the most admired minority art



can be a vehicle of retrogressive values — the snobbery and anti-semitism in T. S. Eliot's poetry, or the fascist leader-cult and ideology of male dominance in D. H. Lawrence's novels. Nor can Leavis's simple equation between artistic and moral discrimination stand up to the test of experience. It's possible to find people who thrill to channel 2 of the SLBC or TV soap opera but behaved humanely or courageously in the last week of July, and people of superior aesthetic cultivation who didn't (I know some particular cases).

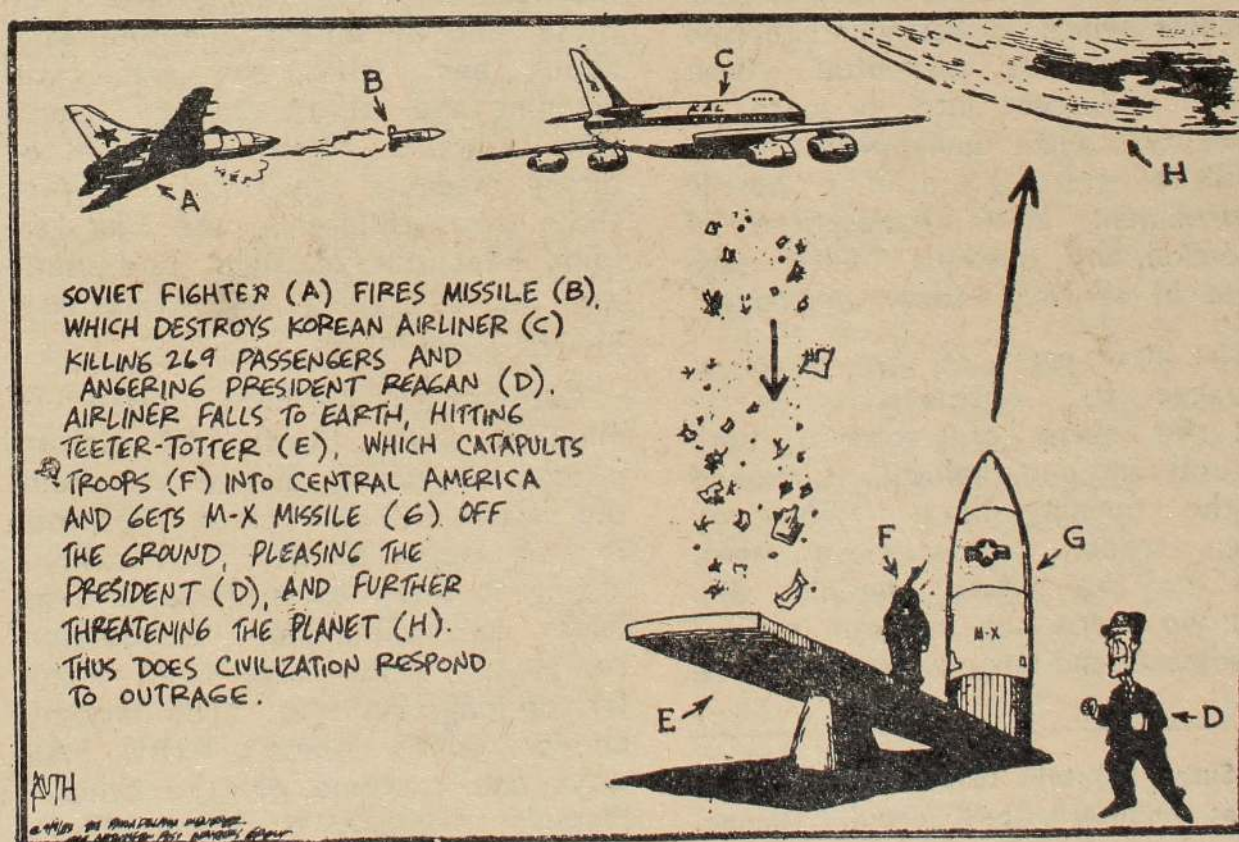
I suppose some reader will say at this point: 'But surely the distinction between art and non-art is a simple one; art belongs to the realm of the fictional the imaginative; non-art to the scientific, the informative, the recording of actuality. 'However, it's impossible to draw this line between the factual and the imaginative with any consistency. One reader may read Marx's **Capital** as a work of economic theory and economic history, and therefore as 'scientific' another may read it as a work of literary art (essays have been written on the stylistic power and metaphorical imagination of **Capital**). On the other hand, the 'actuality' presented by the morning newspaper and the TV news programme is often just as much a fictional construct, a piece of myth-making produced by devices of selection, juxtaposition, emphasis and exaggeration, which produce the 'reality' they seem to mirror. The most extreme example in the history of documentary cinema is Leni Riefenstahl's film of one of Hitler's Nuremberg rallies, **Triumph of the will**, where the rally itself was staged to suit the camera set-ups.

The Russian Formalists and the Prague structural linguists in the first half of this century made an attempt to distinguish art and non art from each other on the basis of formal criteria; actually, they were concerned with literature, and especially with poetry, but the approach is potentially applicable to other forms. Using the Saussurean distinction between signifier and signified (the word and the concept with which it is linked), these theorists found the essentially poetic element in the foregrounding

of signifiers: in a poem a word isn't a merely transparent vehicle of meaning, a counter to be exchanged for the signified. The material reality of the word — its phonic shape and texture — and the criss-crossing between the metrical, rhythmic, syntactic and semantic structures in a poem are what the Formalists and their successors found to be intrinsic to the poetic level of language. It would be easy to construct a general theory of art by extending these principles to other sign-systems in visual and auditory media. But once again, we are dealing not with inherent properties of an artistic object but with particular ways of reading, viewing or listening that we may adopt or not, depending on the social practice we are engaged in. Moreover, these possibilities present themselves to us quite often even in the case of objects that are not normally called 'art'. For instance, one viewer of a Singapore Airlines commercial may find a pure visual pleasure in the composition and editing of images in the filmlet, so that in his experience of it the signifiers are indeed foregrounded. Another may respond to the surface message by picking up the telephone and booking his next flight on this airline. A third may penetrate beneath the visual appearances to the myth they project and see the commercial as an exploitation of the image of femininity. We confront again here the fact of the

varying uses to which cultural artefacts can be put in the social process. This goes not only for Singapore Airlines commercials but also for Shakespeare. The American researcher who, some years ago, scanned some seventy copies of the First Folio, page by page, in order to establish how the book was printed and proof-read, wasn't approaching the plays as 'art'.

We should, therefore, stop talking about 'art' and 'non-art' as mutually exclusive categories and instead speak of modes of communication, between which we can establish relations and distinctions of various kinds, depending on the activity in which we are engaged and the purposes for which we are dealing with one cultural product or another. We must remember, too, that a product created and used in one social context can be put to very different uses when transposed into another: a ballad sung by Scottish peasants at harvesting-time centuries ago might be dissected on the printed page as an exercise in practical criticism by students in a Peradeniya classroom. Of course, academic establishments which put literature in one department, fine arts in another and mass communication in a third, find it essential to maintain these distinctions as if they were objectively real. But we must recognise this too as an ideological construction which serves the practices of particular social institutions.





# THE CARIBBEAN CONNECTION

*Jean Rhys and Jane Eyre*

Susan Eckstein

*The maniac bellowed: she parted her shaggy locks from her visage, and gazed wildly at her visitors. I recognized well that purple face — those bloated features.... the lunatic sprang.... it grovelled like some strange wild animal; but it was covered with clothing and a quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane, hid its head and face.*

— Jane Eyre

No one who has read Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* could forget the "mad" wife in the attic. Emitting wild shrieks of manic laughter, clawing at intruders' faces, tearing Jane's wedding veil, gliding sinisterly through the dark passages of Thornfield Hall holding a flickering candle, the images of this demented creature remain clear in the reader's mind long after the novel has ended and Jane and Mr Rochester are freed from this beast and united at last.

Jean Rhys never forgot the "mad" wife of *Jane Eyre* and the novel, as Francis Wyndham noted, "provided the initial inspiration for an imaginative feat almost uncanny in its vivid intensity." *Wide Sargasso Sea* is Jean Rhys' story of Antoinette Cosway, Mr Rochester's first wife. It is a highly sensitive and subtle study of a woman's journey into madness. It is not, however, a madness which is easily categorized as hereditary or congenital. It is rather a descent into a sense of unreality and unhappiness — the result of growing up in a hostile environment, in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, with each place of safety gradually destroyed.

The first part of the novel is narrated by Antoinette Cosway and the sense of isolation, both cultural and geographical, is evoked in the opening lines: "They say when trouble comes close ranks, and so the white people did. But we were not in their ranks." Antoinette and her mother, Annette,

are "white cockroaches" to the Negroes, and the sound of their mocking laughter is never very far away. They are "marooned" on their estate at Coulibri. Antoinette realizes that her "father, visitors, horses, feeling safe in bed all belonged to the past." She sees her mother changing: "Suddenly, not gradually. She grew thin and silent, and at last refused to leave the house at all." Whatever feeling she retained is reserved for her young mentally retarded son, Pierre, and she ceases to be a source of security for Antoinette.

Antoinette had "got used to a solitary life" and when visitors do arrive, she is reluctant to force herself out of her isolation and meet them. Her mother's spirits revive temporarily and she seems happy when she marries Mr Mason in Spanish Town. Antoinette, however, is aware of the malicious undercurrents: "I heard what all these smooth smiling people said about her when she was not listening and they did not guess who I was". Rumours of hereditary madness are rife: "As for those two children — the boy an idiot kept out of sight and mind and the girl going the same way in my opinion."

Antoinette's mother's peace of mind is short lived. Mr Mason, instead of taking her away from the Island and the terror it inspires in her, laughs at her fear, rationalizing it away to hysteria or at least an unfounded persecution complex: "You have lived alone far too long, Annette. You imagine enmity which doesn't exist. Always one extreme or the other." Mason's promise to take Pierre

Jean Rhys' last novel, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, appeared in 1966, after a literary silence of 27 years. It tells the story of Mrs. Rochester, the "mad" Creole wife in *Jane Eyre*. As Francis Wyndham wrote in his introduction to the Penguin edition, "From her personal knowledge of the West Indies and her reading of their history, Miss Rhys knew about the mad Creole heiresses in the early nineteenth century whose dowries were an additional burden to them: products of an inbred, decadent, expatriate society, resented by the recently freed slaves whose superstitions they shared, they languished uneasily in the oppressive beauty of their tropical surroundings, ripe for exploitation. It is one of these that she has chosen for her latest heroine: and Antoinette Cosway seems a logical development of Marya, Julia, Anna and Sasha, (of her earlier novels) who were also alienated, menaced, at odds with life."

to England where he will be "made exactly like other people" is never realized, as one night their house is burned down by their neighbours. As it burns, Annette screams "I told you what would happen again and again... You would not listen, you sneered at me, you grinning hypocrite, you ought not to live either..."

Antoinette wakes after a six week illness to the news of her brother's death and the awareness of her mother's mental disturbance. She is reassured that her mother is in the country "resting. Getting well again." But Antoinette has been awake before and heard her mother's frenzied screams of anger and hatred, and when she is allowed to visit her she is flung aside. Later, Antoinette is able to understand her mother's state of mind. "She was so lonely that she grew away from other people. That happened to me but it was easier for me because I hardly remembered anything else. For her it was strange and frightening." Christophene, Antoinette's black maid, can also comprehend her behaviour and speak of it with compassion. "When she loses her son she loses herself for a while and they shut

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her away. They tell her she is mad; they act like she is mad. Question, question. But no kind word, no friends and her husband he go off, he leave her . . . They won't let Antoinette see her. In the end — mad I don't know — she give up, she care for nothing." But news travels fast in the West Indies, especially news of insanity. On her way to her first day at a convent school, Antoinette is taunted by a small girl in the street: "Look crazy girl, you crazy like your mother . . . Your mother walk about with no shoes and stockings on her feet, she sans culottes. She try to kill her husband and she try to kill you too that day you go to see her. She have eyes like zombie and you have eyes like zombie too."

The convent is Antoinette's 'refuge', but a refuge from life as well as from the fear of the outside world. "But what about happiness, I thought at first, is there no happiness? There must be . . . but I soon forgot about happiness."

When she turns seventeen, her step-father announces the imminent arrival of some English friends, and hints at one man in particular. Instead of being filled with that elusive happiness at the prospect of company, "a feeling of dismay, sadness, loss almost choked me." For the second time, she dreams she is walking through a forest, following a man: "I follow him, sick with fear but I make no effort to save myself; if anyone were to try to save me, I would refuse. This must happen. Now we have reached the forest . . . 'Here?' He turns and looks at me, his face black with hatred, and when I see this I begin to cry. He smiles slyly. 'Not here, not yet,' he says, and I follow him, weeping."

The second part of the novel is narrated by Mr Rochester who has come to Jamaica to marry Antoinette who is "a stranger", but one who will bring with her a dowry of 30,000 and leave him financially solvent and independent of his family. The reader, who up till now has viewed Antoinette's life, fears and unhappiness through

her own eyes, now watches her through Rochester's critical eyes and her growing "madness" can now be seen on two levels.

After the wedding, Rochester thinks he sees expressions of curiosity, pity, and ridicule on the faces of the guests but he ignores them, at first satisfied with his lucrative match. He promises Antoinette "peace, happiness, safety", yet he cannot even begin to understand her or the mystery of the Windward Island where they go for their honeymoon. When she voices her fear of having "slept too long in the moonlight" he rocks her like a child and sings to her. Only a short while later he will stare horrified at her "blank hating moonstruck face". Her temperament is as alien to Rochester as the Island is. "She was undecided, uncertain about facts — any fact." She confides in Rochester, admitting that "I never wished to live before I knew you . . . I am not used to happiness . . . It makes me afraid," "Never be afraid" replies Rochester. "Or if you are, tell no one."

A letter is sent to Rochester, telling him of the madness that was in Antoinette's mother and in "all these white Creoles". The news does not come as a surprise to Rochester, but he feels disgusted and deceived. "It was as if I'd expected it, been waiting for it". He ceases even the pretence of loving his wife, and Antoinette feels his hatred gradually poisoning her. He refuses to call her Antoinette which reminds him of her "mad" mother, despite her pleadings: "Bertha is not my name. You are trying to make me into someone else, calling me by another name. I know, that's obeah too". Antoinette's desperate attempt at using obeah (voodoo spells) to make him love her fail, and Rochester makes love to one of the coloured servants knowing, and not caring, that his wife will be able to hear everything. When he sees her the next morning, she has some of Charlotte Brontë's mad woman's looks. "Her hair hung uncombed and dull in her eyes which were inflamed and staring. Her face was very flushed and looked swollen." She had had her last place of safety and happiness destroyed:

"Do you know what you've done to me? It's not the girl, not the girl. But I loved loved this place and you have made it into a place I hate. I used to think that if everything else went out of my life, I would still have this and now you have spoilt it. It's just somewhere else where I have been unhappy, and all the other things are nothing to what has happened here."

Rochester now interprets all her words and actions in terms of insanity; When she laughs, it is "a crazy laugh". He feels he is the one who deserves sympathy. "Pity. Is there none for me? Tied to a lunatic for life — a drunken lying lunatic — gone her mother's way."

As they leave the place she once loved, Rochester watches for "one tear, one human tear." If she "smiles or weeps or both, for me" he will take her in his arms. "My lunatic. She's mad, but mine, mine." But Antoinette is by now beyond tears, her face is a mask of "blank indifference" and Rochester's hatred springs up to meet hers. "You hate me and I hate you. We'll see who hates best. But first, first I will destroy your hatred. Now. My hate is colder, stronger, and you'll have no hate to warm yourself. You will have nothing."

Rochester, who had for so long forced himself to smother his emotions, is exhausted. "All the mad conflicting emotions had gone and left me wearied and empty. Sane." Yet he has paid for his own sanity with his wife's madness.

So Rochester is sane, and returns to the reality of England, escaping from the magic, loveliness and mystery of the island. The reality does not exist for Antoinette. "Their world . . . is made of cardboard." She feels they lost their course on the way to England, and only once on a rare outing from her attic room in Thornfield Hall does she encounter her England: "There was grass and olive-green water and tall trees looking into the water. This, I thought, is England. If I could be here I could be well again and the sound in my head would stop."

(Continued of page 24)



## POEMS BY HIMANI BANNERJI

Himani Bannerji was born in Calcutta in 1942. She has been in Canada since 1969. These poems are from the volume 'A Separate Sky'.

### A BIRTHDAY

Thirteen years ago  
today  
my little girl came  
rushing out of me  
with a scream  
determined to live in this world  
in this world  
choked with pain and oppression  
she came like my claim  
on life.

"It is irresponsible intoned  
the hopeless  
"to bring another life  
on this sidewalk  
cracking under ever pressing feet"

But I carried her  
like a standard in my arms  
like red banner  
borne aloft by the people  
in their anger and hunger march.  
She grew through my days  
of joys and sorrows  
and today  
she still grows  
and subversion shines  
in every part of her.

### CHILE '73

your voice falls on our comfort  
and tears to pieces its rotten fibres  
underneath  
other voices, broken faces  
hairs billow  
order and pleas  
loud and strangled  
smoke to sky  
wind brings dust  
scatters ashes  
on our books and songs  
colours turn grey  
in failing light  
and death creeps in through the  
geraniums

## MASS MEDIA...

(Continued from page 15)

development of communication. By neglecting multilateral forms of cooperation they are to-day undermining the work to promote human rights and individual freedoms through common international action.

Indeed, the United Nations system has never been passive in the field of freedom of information. Over the years a number of international conventions and decisions have reinforced and promoted this principle. The basic one is of course the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims the right of everyone to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information. Worth special mention is also the Constitution of UNESCO, which expresses the Member States' belief in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge. Though we know that these rights are being violated every day, we know also that their international recognition gives them increased prestige and legitimacy. They are daily being used and invoked by groups who are fighting for human freedom.

But the United Nations system does not confine itself to normative action. The aims and objectives which the community of nations have worked out in common is even the basis for a wide-ranging practical work to promote freedom in concrete and real terms. Planning and training in mass communication has been a constant feature of the programme of UNESCO since the early 1950s and systematic work has been done by the organization to help establish regional and national institutions for this purpose. The IPDC is an instrument for the strengthening and expansion of a communication development which started long ago,

During these years the basic philosophy has been amplified repeatedly. The idea of redressing existing imbalances is today being seen as a necessary complement to the freedom concept. But this fundamental concept is still there as one of the guiding principles for practical planning.

Of course I don't imply that there is no divergence among the

Member States of the organization about how to translate the international declarations about freedom of information into practical action. The battle goes on every time plans and budgets are being prepared. Here it is necessary to participate. But the conflict is managed within a framework which is governed by commonly adopted principles. And what is more: it amounts to a form of debate and decision-making where all nations take part, where they are all to some extent committed, and where the outcome is morally and politically binding on them all. I am for my part a strong proponent of local community projects conducive to a pluralistic media structure. But it is a dubious undertaking for a rich donor country to try to press such choices upon a recipient nation. The effort has a much greater chance of succeeding if it is promoted by an organization in which the recipient state is a full member and inspired by objectives and priorities adopted by a consensus of which that Member State were a part. This is simply the differences between paternalism and agreement among equals.

International cooperation for the development of communication has to be based on professional competence, on projects which have a realistic chance of leading towards self-reliance. But is of no small importance how this cooperation takes place. I doubt that we will succeed if we don't put emphasis on forms of debate, cooperation and decision-making where all participating nations share responsibility and exercise influence on an equal footing. After all a better order can hardly be accomplished but by a common endeavour.

## THE CARIBBEAN...

(Continued from page 23)

But she is not allowed to stay. Back in her room, guarded by Grace Poole, she returns to Coulibri in her dream, to the colours, smells and flames.

"Now I know at last why I was brought here and what I have to do. There must have been a draught for the flickered and I thought it was out. But I shielded it with my hand and it burned up again to light me along the dark passage."



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