

LANKA

# GUARDIAN

Vol. 3

No. 1

May 1, 1980

Price Rs. 3/50

## 'Sinhalaisation' : The origins

*Susantha Goonetilleke*

## Bandung Anniversary

*Mervyn de Silva*

## Population planning

*Paul Caspersz*

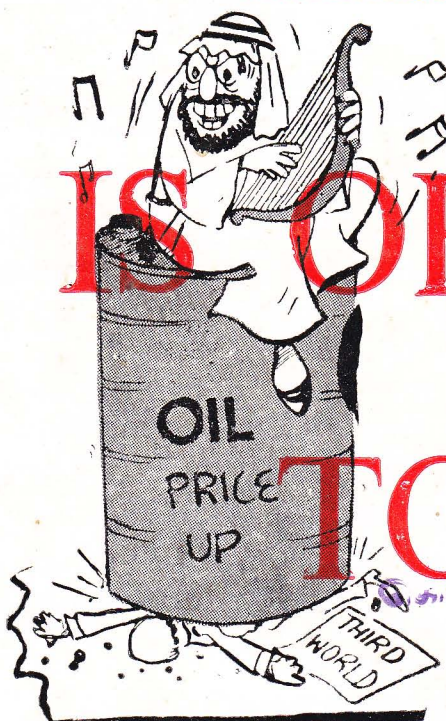
## Lenin : biography

*G. B. Keerawella*

## Pushkin

*Reggie Siriwardene*

## INFLATION



காழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

## BLAME?

Government considers petrol price reduction

Lower consumption of petrol and consequent saving of storage space has prompted Government to consider a proposal to reduce the price.

If this build up continues, by June the tanks would be filled to capacity causing the situation to worsen.

ALSO:



Nationality



Tamil Drama



Sinhala Literature

# Another specialised service from the People's Bank Safe Deposit Lockers

Protect your valuable jewellery, documents, etc., in a People's Bank SAFE DEPOSIT LOCKER.

The People's Bank offers you separate safe deposit locker units in three different sizes and with specialised staff for prompt individual attention.

This unit is situated at the fully air-conditioned second floor of the People's Bank, Head Office.

Rent a Safe Deposit Locker and keep your valuables really safe.

Contact:

The Manager,

**People's Bank.**

Headquarters Branch,

Sir Chittampalam Gardiner Mawatha,  
Colombo 2.



**PEOPLE'S BANK**

HEAD OFFICE COLOMBO 2. TEL: 27841-9

Grant K & E 3040



## A little bit of

The unity of opposites is a fundamental principle of dialectics.

Not so long ago Kumar Rupasinghe, founder of the pro-Peking radical group styled the 'Jana-vegaya', was pitted against Felix 'Satan' Bandaranaike, chief spokesman of the SLFP Right, whose motto was 'a little bit of totalitarianism.'

If FDB's closest comrade in arms, ex-Judge Jaya Pathirana makes regular appearances in such fora as the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation which reflect the Moscow view, Kumar was so pro-China that a famous press photo showed him greeting peasants and baby-kissing in Attanagalla in the company of Khieu Samphan, whose great leader Pol Pot was busy massacring them in his own Kampuchea.

Now all of them are in a new organisation called the National Democratic Committee, a body heavily loaded with barristers, advocates and lawyers who were all styled 'attorneys at law' under FDB's reign of.....at Hulftsdrop.

A source close to the Committee said its purpose was to "draw the SLFP into a mass struggle in defence of rapidly disappearing civil liberties."

Asked to explain this bizarre combination of men and ideas, a veteran dialectician said: "Obviously Felix thinks that the time has come for a little bit of democracy...."

## Willie, or won't he?

"Will Willie sign the Tennekoon report or, like Neelan, submit his own?"

Willie, here, is of course Professor A. J. Wilson, now back in

his Canadian haven, New Brunswick. The question was posed by a young Peradeniya don at a recent discussion on Devolution.

SJV's son-in-law, Dr. Wilson has played an important backstage role in all sensitive negotiations on this vexed question from 1957 right up to the present day.

Dr. Wilson's dilemma, if it is that, could mirror the TULF's difficulties. A top TULF source told the L.G.: "The report does not in any way claim to solve ethnic issues....so your journal was right when it said that we do not look upon this as an attempt at a political settlement....our views on devolution are represented by our nominee, Dr. Tiruchelvam.... his report sets out our minimum negotiating position.... anything less than that it would be impossible to convince the majority of our supporters to accept."

## Janatha Sangamaya's self-criticism

'Self criticism' is a ritual of the left, but rarely is it pursued  
(Continued on page 2)

## P. L. 480

I refer to U. Karunatilake's incisive article: 'Aid an efficient instrument of Neo-Colonialism' in L. G. of 1.3.80. The Managing Director of a leading Sri Lankan firm told me he urgently needed a crane but had to find a million rupees to buy it. So it is not only the slaves in the plantations and the peasants and workers in Sri Lanka who are being hit but also our capitalists.

There is one aspect of Aid not generally known. Under P.L. 480 the USA sells grain and accepts payment in local currency, ostensibly as a magnanimous gesture to help the recipient government. The USA has the local currency in the country with the stipulation: no questions to be asked as to how it is used.

I do not know what the terms of sale under P. L. 480

LANKA

# GUARDIAN

Vol. 3 No. 1 May 1, 1980 Price 3/50

Published fortnightly by Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd. First Floor, 88, N. H. M. Abdul Cader Road, (Reclamation Road) Colombo 11.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva

Telephone: 21009.

## CONTENTS

Letters	2
News background	3
Foreign news	10
Bandung anniversary	12
Questions for Trotsky	15
Population planning	17

OPEC	19
'Sinhalaisation'	22
Debate	26
Erich Fromm	29
Lenin	30
Sinhala literature	35
Tamil Drama	37
Pushkin	38
As I like it	40

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

Telephone: 35975

now are but some time ago the 'Blitz' magazine of India revealed that 60% of the entire Indian currency was in American hands.

It will be interesting to know what the position is in Sri Lanka.

Colombo 5

Kumar.

### The rise of the Banana

With the elevation of Charles Banana as first President of Zimbabwe semanticists should note that the homely banana will never be the same again in the English language.

Patrick Jayasuriya  
Peradeniya

### Utumaneni

While associating myself with the opinion expressed by Mr. H. A. Seneviratne on "Utumaneni" (LG 01.04.80), I should say that your journal too must be equally guilty of giving an added value by publicity—front page disposition of the film director and sensationally worded headlines like "Crime, Punishment & Society", "Trials of move-maker" etc. to a crude film. To a dispassionate mind unmoved by such tendencies, the opinions expressed in appraisal and suggesting it as something marvellous are nothing but those that should fall within the pale of extolling virtues and suppressing defects. Whatever the critics may say the film has no artistic value worthy of such treatment. In content and depth it deserves no serious consideration. As to its alleged element of protest in fairness it must be stated that it is incapable, artistically or otherwise, of posing any serious threat to the system either.

Mr. Gamini Fonseka's views as appeared in two successive issues of the LG (15.03.80 & 01.04.80) in the form of an interview is a real exposure of his confused state of mind. Finally, in the context of the statements made by Mr. Fon-

seka in his exclusive interview with the LG one can easily conclude that the reason for his failure to make a fruitful contribution to the Sinhala Cinema is not unconnected with his limitation to grasp and evaluate factual and social situations in a broader and artistic perspectives.

Chandra Seneviratne  
Nugegoda

### Filling a vacuum

As a free-lance journalist, I have watched with admiration how the Lanka Guardian grew from issue to issue.

Within a short span of two years, it has grown to fill a vacuum, which would otherwise have existed in the field of mass media in this country.

Panadura V. K. Wijeratne

### Trends...

(Continued from page 1)

with rigorous honesty of purpose. Though the CPSL's recent exercise in self-criticism was a genuine, if muted, effort, it is the JVP breakaway group 'Janatha Sangamaya' (Peoples League) which has produced the most thorough-going selfcriticism ever undertaken in the history of this country's Left movement. A 168 page book released last month is the first of a two-part survey of the JVP and the 1971 Insurrection. Divided into 3 main sections the first volume covers the socio-economic background of the JVP, the JVP's ideology and its methods or organization. The second volume, still in print, promises to analyse the April struggle, the CJC trials and the nature of the JVP today. Since it is the 'Janatha Sangamaya' rather than the JVP that contains the majority of the JVP's original militants still in left politics, this organisation is well qualified to reassess the 1971 uprising and the movement that led it. Despite its Maoist orientation and unfair criticisms of Guevara and Debray, the book is very Leninist in content.

## CONSOLEXP

(PREMIER GOVERNMENT  
EXPORT ORGANIZATION)

EXPORTERS OF TEA, RUBBER,  
COCONUT PRODUCTS AND ALL  
OTHER PRODUCTS  
MANUFACTURED, GROWN,  
AND MINED IN SRI LANKA.

Sri Lanka State Trading  
(Consolidated Exports)  
Corporation

68/70, York Street,  
P. O. Box 263,  
Colombo 01.  
Sri Lanka.

Cable : 'CONSOLEXP'

Telex : 1164 & 1280-Consolexpo,  
Colombo.

1367 TE CONCE

T'phone : 25167/8  
26981/3



# May Day 1980: a sense of deja vu?

NEWS  
BACKGROUND

**M**ay Day, and to a lesser extent the annual Hartal Day commemorations, provide a fairly clear reflection of the trends and configurations within the country's opposition forces—particularly those on the Left. This year's May Day celebrations reveal a new lineup, not only on the Left, but also within the broad opposition ranks as well as the ranks of the organised working class. But then again, this statement is not entirely accurate, since this year's configuration is not so much a new one, but rather, one that will fill many with a strong sense of *deja vu*. This of course refers to the SLFP-LSSP combination, a hardy perennial for a decade, until it went offstage with the LSSP's ouster from the UF government in 1975.

The reappearance of the SLFP and LSSP leaders together in the public eye, marks the end-phase of a process that began with the formation of the ULF prior to the 1977 General Elections. The ULF was a troika of the LSSP, the CPSL, and the PDP (a group of leftwingers who broke away from the SLFP over the late 1976 railway strike). Assorted radical leftists such as G. I. D. Dharmasekera and Mahinda Wijeysekera gathered round the ULF as the best alternative to the UNP and SLFP. The relationship between these forces was never a comfortable one with the LSSP viewing the 'New' Left elements with suspicion. May Day 1978 was a turning point with the PDP dropping out to join 9 other radical left groups (Vasudeva, Shan etc) which the LSSP refused to allow into the ambit of the ULF. The ULF troika was abridged into a duo, the LSSP and CPSL, the CPSL, which was not very happy with, the LSSP's sectarian behaviour went along however with their senior partner while the 10 new left groups staged a joint May Day and the JVP produced a magnificent spectacle all on its own.

The next year too (1979), the CPSL went along with the LSSP but it was clearly the last time they would knuckle under the older party's whims and fancies and narrow prejudices. Already the process of self-criticism underway in the CPSL and the increasing ascendancy of the radical line had resulted in their efforts to strive for a broader left unity, but at the last moment, the CPSL's vacillation turned into capitulation in the face of the LSSP's ultimatum. While the JVP outdid its previous performance, the non JVP New left was weakened by a split. The trade union affiliates of these new left organisations, who comprise the radical wing of the JCTUO, held a united rally.

The process of the abridgement of left unity, the LSSP's isolation and reorientation towards the SLFP reached the point of no return with the collapse of the 5 party bloc (LSSP-JVP-CPSL-NSSP-RMP) formed early last October. The disintegration of this Left 'action bloc' came about when the JVP and LSSP fought it out bitterly at the Galle by-elections and the younger party bested the older. The LSSP, its morale shattered, sought a scapegoat in the CPSL which had remained neutral in the internecine conflict. This virtually ended the LSSP-CPSL alliance. The JVP meanwhile had returned to its fierce isolationism and sectarianism, leaving the CPSL, Vasudeva's NSSP and Tampoe's RMP to pick up the pieces. Presently these three parties continue their discussions hoping to reconstitute themselves as a nucleus around which the Left could gather. The CPSL, however, lays the main emphasis (perhaps for the first time in three decades) on the task of independent **party building** among the working class.

In January this year the issue concerning arrangements for May Day, accelerated the process of polarization and realignment within

the Left and the opposition at large. Vasudeva Nanayakkara's trade union federation, the CPSL's CFTU and newly formed Maoist blocs T.U. arm the CTUF (N. Shan) called for a united working class May Day grouping all trade unions and spearheaded by the JCTUO Action Committee's 18 big T. U. federations. Then came the LSSP's counter-proposal of an anti-UNP May Day of opposition political parties including the SLFP, but excluding the TULF. The LSSP invited the CPSL, JVP, NSSP, RMP (its partners in the ill-fated 5 party bloc) plus Sanmugathasan's CCP and Dinesh Gunawardena's MEP, in addition, of course, to the SLFP.

While the SLFP responded coolly at the outset, the re-activation of the Presidential Commission gave rise it would appear, to second thoughts and the SLFP proceeded to inform the LSSP that its proposal was under "active consideration". A while later, the SLFP let it be known that the LSSP idea had been "accepted in principle". A joint SLFP-LSSP committee comprising three representatives from each party and chaired by T. B. Ilangaratne worked out the arrangements concerning the main slogans, the procession and the representation on the platform.

The responses from the LSSP's erstwhile partners in the Left bloc were, on the whole, negative though an element of equivocation was not absent. The CPSL sent the LSSP a strongly worded letter rejecting the proposal completely and basing their rejection on an analysis of the reactionary class character of the SLFP. Interestingly enough, the LSSP did not publish this CPSL note. Both Vasudeva Nanayakkara's NSSP and Mr. Tampoe's RMP joined the CPSL in turning down the LSSP Plan. Vasu's NSSP, however, expressed the view that the SLFP, TULF and other political parties to which the

JCTUAC unions are affiliated should be permitted to participate provided that the slogans, the demonstration and the platform were controlled by the JCTUAC. In other words, so long as JCTUAC hegemony and SLFP subalternity were assured, the SLFP could be included. This caveat amounted to a rejection by the NSSP of the LSSP idea.

Somewhat surprisingly, Mr. San-mugathasan's Ceylon Communist Party sent along a positive loosely worded response to the LSSP and agreed to a discussion on the matter. Shan's proposal made on behalf of the Maoist 5 party bloc, was that May Day should be a "political parties-cum-trade unions affair. This amounted to a nod of assent to SLFP participation and was close to the Vasudeva formula though the leading role of the JCTUAC was not stressed by Shan, in contrast to Vasudeva. It is only the JVP, which sent the LSSP an abusive reply, and the CPSL, that showed to vacillation or ambiguities on this question.

Dinesh Gunawardena's MEP agreed outright to the LSSP idea, having broken ranks with the Left earlier by taking a strong 'law and order' line in support of the Emergency in the North. The MEP is thus very close to the SLFP and the Anil Moonesinghe tendency of the LSSP on the National (Tamil) Question.

The SLFP's insistence on a position of pre-eminence in the May Day proceedings (Mrs. B. will be in the chair) resolved the dilemma of Shan and to a lesser extent Vasudeva. They will stick to the original formula of the JCTUAC May Day rally. The SLFP's inclination to disregard the MEP totally has left the LSSP making an effort to get Dinesh in.

At the time of writing, the line up then, is as follows: The pro-

JVP Ceylon Teachers' Union led by the talented and dynamic H. N. Fernando has already left the JCTUAC and will take part in the JVP's May Day celebrations. The MEP affiliated T. U. federation has also quit the JCTUAC. The SLFP's and LSSP's T. U. federations (2 each) though they remain in the JCTUAC, will break ranks to stage a joint show. Thus the JCTUAC loses 6 of its 18 major T. U. organisations this May Day, but the bulk of the JCTUAC comprising the 12 other T. U's (linked to the CPSL, NSSP, RMP and CCP/NJP) will stage their demonstration and mass meeting together.

## Cultivating the brass

ASIaweek carried the following item in its column "FRONTLINES"

Superpower programmes aimed at winning friends and influencing people in the ruling elites of the Third World countries are nothing new. But initiating governments have traditionally remained reticent, if not secretive, about their links with police and military establishments in developing nations. Now there are bemused inquiries in the Delegates' Lounge at the U.N. about whether the United States has decided to go public with its schemes.

The giggles have been caused by the Pentagon's latest annual report, released last month. In one section, it states blandly: "In South Asia, we have a small training programme for India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka to help maintain professional contacts with current and future military leaders." Underlining the reference to would-be military chiefs, one delegate cracked that it was the Pentagon's way of saying, "Be nice to future coup leaders."

**YOUR SELECTION FOR  
A PROTEIN RICH MEAL**

**ATTA FLOUR**

*IT IS MOST NOURISHING  
AND  
HEALTHY*

*PREPARE A PALATABLE  
MEAL WITH*

**ATTA FLOUR**

Rs. 229/- PER BAG OF 50 Kg.

**RULANG (Semolina)**

**FOR SWEETS  
MAKE OUT OF HIGH  
QUALITY WHEAT**

Rs. 376/- PER BAG OF 55 Kg.

*Please Contact*

**Sri Lanka State  
Flour Milling  
Corporation**

No. 7, Station Road,  
Colombo - 3.

Telephone: 21300, 23152, 28008

# Lanka and the Indian Ocean

Speaking to a distinguished audience at Los Angeles, GCEC boss Upali Wijewardene has reminded US opinion-cum-policy makers that Sri Lanka has assumed great strategic importance after the conclusion of the Vietnam war.

Writing speculatively about big power rivalries and the Indian Ocean (ex - Ambassador Fernando, by the way, was the Chairman of the UN Ad Hoc Committee which will sponsor next year's important Colombo conference) the Editor of the WEEKEND has made several references to Trinco.

Now, Professor Ulrich Schweinfurth of the world famous Heidelberg University's South Asia Institute has also produced a thought-provoking article on the same subject.

"The Island of Ceylon, (Sri Lanka) has a central position in the South Asian area. It would be incorrect to regard this coun-

try, as many do, as a mere appendage of the Indian subcontinent. The importance of the sea areas — one need only mention the Law of the Sea Conference — means that Ceylon, as an island, has a vital role, as indeed it did in the days of the British Empire, when it was a geographical point of intersection between East and West."

This is the view expressed by Professor Ulrich Schweinfurth, head of the Geography Department of Heidelberg University's South Asia Institute and a student of Sri Lankan affairs for over twenty years, in an article published recently in **Aussen Politik** the West German Foreign Affairs Review, which has on its editorial advisory committee such luminaries as Helmut Schmidt, Walter Scheel, Kurt Georg Kiesinger and Walter Hallstein. The article entitled 'Jayewardene — a new era for Sri Lanka?' identifies the government's eco-

inomic strategy as one designed to encourage financial investment from abroad, attract industry, stimulate exports and improve trade relations." A precondition for this has been constitutional and governmental reform, the main result of which is "the strong leadership of the state". The 1978 constitution "gives the President wide ranging executive powers: he is head of state, head of government, supreme commander of the army and elected by the people for six years."

Prof. Schweingurth points out what he considers the most important economic problems the island faces: "the question of land shortage, overpopulation and thus of basic food requirements affects the man on the street... directly. Population growth, land shortage and hunger remain major problems in Ceylon and are directly connected with under-employment and unemployment, especially in the countryside."

USE

**ORANGE PILOT**

FOR

REAL WRITING PLEASURE

MANUFACTURED BY: **PENPALS LIMITED**

(Member of the K. G. Group)

DISTRIBUTED BY: **SHAW WALLACE & HEDGES LTD.**



# SLFP — towards democracy?

"It's a compromise" snorted an ex-Minister as he strode out of the SLFP headquarters in a high state of dejection. Once a party personality of Kissingerian proportions, he had failed in every bid to get himself elected to a post. As the news reached **Sri Kotha** a UNP cynic summed up the results: "FDB out, JR wins; Ratne out, JR and Moscow win..!"

What was meant by compromise, of course, was the impression shared by some observers that the "clan" had patched up differences with the amorphous but quite broad-based and vocal anti-clan "faction." Symbolising this was the creation of a new post of Deputy President, the election unopposed of Maitripala Senanayaka (proposed by Anura Bandaranaike) and a cheerful Maitripala's reported remark: "No more differences...."

But there are two other views. The first is that this was a genuine attempt, as far as it was possible in the SLFP, at 'democratisation'; that in short, the office-bearers and the PB are far more representative of party opinion than ever before.

This judgement is fiercely contested by a minority within the party, and by the SLFP's critics outside — the critics ranging from the UNP to the CPSL, and the JVP. The LSSP leadership once anti-Sirima, is doing a tactical shift.

When the party constitution was first made public a cartoonist in a leftwing daily showed the new SLFP structure in the form of an inverted pyramid doing a precarious balancing act on Mrs. Bandaranaike's broad palm! The fact that the long-delayed party conference will be held two months after the election of office-bearers gives a cutting edge to that sardonic illustration.

Those observers who subscribe to this view argue that the kith-and-kin are still widely distributed in the party's other decision-making

bodies, such as the National Executive, and that even the April 4th election was a highly skilled exercise in backstage manipulation. "Lee Kuan Yew would have been proud of Sirima" said a top UNP'er who has close SLFP contacts.

The fate of two "key" personalities dramatises this point. Professor Rohanadeera, one of the chief architects of the new constitution was one of its first casualties. He is nowhere on the scene, and sulks in his pedagogic tent, drawing some solace from Kautilya and Machiavelli. Sources sympathetic to him ask: "Where was the Electoral Commission, an independent body that was to supervise these elections?" The Electoral Commission, manned by party members who did not contest any post, never functioned, and the poor Professor, a man from Matara, found "his" District Committees go "unrecognised" by the leadership while he himself fell victim to provincial, tribal and factional intrigues, these sources say.

The other was Ratne Deshapriya Senanayaka, the most prominent Peking-liner or Sirimaist (i. e. a former Maoist who has faithfully followed Peking in abandoning Maoism but remained loyal to Sirimavo.) In the inner-party fight, the Sirimaists were identified with the inner (family) circle. The Peking radicals disagree with the Left by claiming that Sri Lanka is in the stage of 'the new democratic revolution' and that the SLFP is the natural leader of the Sri Lankan revolution in this phase.

"Poor fellow, Ratne was victim of his own theory.... the first casualty of the Sri Lanka Freedom

Party's new democratic revolution" remarked an ex-Ambassador as he and some others who have drifted away from the SLFP enjoyed themselves at a cafe well-known for its Chinese cuisine.

The SLFP election is in fact the culmination of a process which started even before the 1977 poll when disgruntled Ministers were heard to speak of 'an invisible government', a powerful coterie at court, linked mainly by family ties.

It is an outcome of pressures both internal and external. The post-election re-appraisal (looking for reasons, alibis, scapegoats) was strongly influenced by the shrewd manner in which J.R. had made "family bandyism" a major platform issue. The attack on Mrs. B. and the family from all sides (JR, Premadasa, LSSP, CP, and JVP) found ready echoes inside the party. Although it may have taken the distorted form of a succession-issue (Anura as the next party leader) it was too strongly felt at every level of the SLFP for the leadership to ignore it.

Even more than the UNP, the SLFP has grown under the shade of a family tree. The death of Dudley and the explosion of Rukman led the way to the de-Senanayakisisation of the UNP. What of the SLFP? Mrs. Bandaranaike sensing the situation, took all power into her own hands, in order to make organisational changes that would meet the challenge.

The challenge was made more urgent by the summons served on her. The uncertainty of her own immediate future (will she be deprived of her civic rights?) explains the new moves. How much of it is tactical? How much tokenism? The report of the Commission, the action which the NSA may or may not take, and the precise results of the 1983 polls are some of the calculable factors that would decide the answers.

# 1971 in pop art

by A Staff writer

The exhibition which the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna held at the New Town Hall in Colombo to commemorate the first, second and third of April was an illuminating affair. There was extensive poster-publicity of the type that the JVP has now specialised in. It must have been very successful because the exhibition drew large crowds in spite of the inclement weather and the two rupee gate. We spent a good two hours in the queue before we got in, and this was late in the evening.

The exhibition was both political and historical. In addition to posters and charts depicting the impact of imperialism on the developing countries, the exhibition also had crude but effective cartoons directed against the traditional 'enemies' of the JVP — Mrs. Bandaranaike and the leadership of the LSSP and CP. J. R. Jayewardene and the present regime also had unkind things said about them, but with no where near the venom reserved for Mrs. Bandaranaike, Dr. N. M. Perera and Pieter Keuneman.

Posters, pictures and slogans pertaining to the international situation emphasised an independent line. The Chinese were conspicuous by their absence. The only living leader whose portrait was saluted was that of Fidel Castro.

The history and development of the JVP was briefly sketched. There was no attempt to play up Wijeweera. But the policies and the internal struggles of the JVP which are crucial to an assessment of the Party were not adequately dealt with.

The ambitions of the rivals, particularly Dharmasekera were detailed as a prelude to the crucial event — the April attack. To claim, as the JVP does in retrospect, that their own central committee took a decision to

attack on April 5th, knowing well that they were plunging the country into civil war and jeopardising their own lives, merely to 'destroy' Wijeweera and the JVP, seems a tall order.

The exhibition was also a memorial to the dead. An honour guard in slow-step circled the hall. A flower-decked tribute to the dead was up on the stage. Bowed cadres, funeral music, dipped flags and flickering candles gave an atmosphere of awe and pathos.

Within the hall were individual pictures and write-ups on the slain. Posters and mock-ups told the story of state brutality and repression. Among them was a working model of a saw mill in Baddegama where JVP cadres were fed, instead of logs, to the blades. The JVP had taken great pains to educate a new generation to whom the 1971 insurrection was history.

## Noteworthy

Unless there was a social calamity in the country, land values would continue to rise, a leading Chartered Valuer has said. Addressing a luncheon meeting of the Rotary Club, Mr. N. Nadarajah said that in Sri Lanka today gold was No. 1 and land No. 2.

He said that in the agricultural sector as well, land values were rising. This sector was now largely state-owned but still the value of land was high. In this sector, rubber prices were on the way up and coconut prices had reached an all-time high. With so much buoyancy, there was no prospect of a setback in land values unless this country ceased to be a democracy. — (CDN report)

*Packaging*

*is our*

*profession*

**MULTI-PACKS  
(CEYLON)  
LIMITED**

RATMALANA.

# GARMENTS CRISIS

**T**he local garments industry, widely regarded as the fastest growing industry, faces a serious threat from the "new protectionism." The challenge is particularly severe for the factories in the Free Trade Zone which are now operating on a single shift at less than 40 percent capacity. Of the less than 50 factories now operational as many as 14 are manufacturing ready-made garments for western markets.

Last year Sri Lanka earned more than a billion rupees on the export of textiles. More than half this sum was made in the US.

But the US now wants to impose new restrictions on Sri Lankan exports. For almost two weeks there was tough bargaining between a US delegation and Sri Lankan officials. The US delegation, led by officials from the State Department and Commerce Department, consisted of representatives of the US textile industry and trade unions.

The talks were held within the ambit of the M.F.A., an agreement to which both countries are signatories. Sri Lanka argued that the US had failed to meet one of its basic obligations—to prove with sufficient evidence that Sri Lankan exports had caused a disruption in the U.S. market. The fact is that the US, which preaches "free trade" "free flow of goods" and "interdependence" has been hit by inflation and is therefore practising protectionism.

Besides earning foreign exchange, the FTZ claims that unemployment is one of its central objectives.

A dejected FTZ spokesman told the CDN that in 1980 the textile industry was planning to absorb another 20,000 workers who would "help feed 100,000 persons."

The same paper quoted a puzzled local entrepreneur: "The World Bank, the IMF and the US have all enthusiastically supported these employment-generating projects but now the US is trying to restrict quotas."

A top Sri Lankan delegation led by two Cabinet Ministers is in Washington trying to solve the problem "at a political level."

## EEC, China

**Rhys David** (Financial Times) reports on the coming battle over Third World Textile exports: The battle-lines which will be drawn up when the developed and developing countries meet next year for negotiations on renewal of the GATT Multi-fibre arrangement (MFA) should become clear at a major international conference on textiles in Brussels in May.

The conference, which is being organised by the Paris-based International Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the Trade Policy Research Centre in London, will be addressed by a number of senior figures in world textile negotiations. These include Mr. Reiter Webb, the chief textile negotiator for the U.S. and Mr. Peter Tsao, director of trade in the Hong Kong Government. There will also be speakers representing Third World interests and industrial and consumer organisations in the developed countries.

The next round of the MFA, which is the agreement regulating world trade in textiles, is due to come into force in 1982. A process of reviewing the workings of the present agreement will be starting soon within GATT prior to next year's negotiations. The trade associations and the EEC countries have already begun to lobby member Governments and the EEC Commission for major changes in the next agreement to further tighten current restrictions on imports.

The three major UK trade associations, the British Textile Confederation, the Clothing Industry Council for Europe and the Knitting Industries Federation, are calling for the growth in imports to be tied to growth in the market for textiles, and for much more rigid implementation

(Continued on page 9)

## VASA OPTICIANS

207 - 2nd CROSS STREET,

COLOMBO - II.

PHONE - 21631

*For Appointments*



# On the Trotskyist front

In Britain today, the Trotskyists are very much in the news, thanks largely to the success of Ted Grant's "Militant" group which has made so many inroads into the Labour party that even so prominent a figure as Tony Benn has come to its defence. As a result, the influential pro-Tory press has been giving front page treatment to the activities of this group in a 'Reds under the Bed' campaign aimed at Leftist activists in the trade union movement.

Closely linked with the 'Militant' group is the Vasu-Vikramabahu N. S. S. P. here.

## Garments . . .

*(Continued from page 8)*

of the rules contained in any bilateral agreements made by the EEC with supplying countries under the next MFA.

However, a major challenge to these calls is likely to come from Third World suppliers. A further complication has been added by the need to accommodate likely growth in China's exports.

The conference from May 27-29 in the Brussels Sheraton Hotel, is likely to provide some indication of how difficult negotiations will be. A major study of trade in textiles and clothing under the MFA by Dr. Martin Wolf, of Nuffield College, Oxford and Dr. Donald Keesing of the World Bank in Washington will be published at the conference.

In most countries, of course the Trotskyists are not regarded as a serious political force. In Nicaragua, the scene of the last successful revolution, the Sandinista leaders deported several hundred Trotskyists and jailed many, when Jaime Wheelock and Victor Tirado were interviewed by the US press after they had spoken at Columbia University, they were asked why the FSLN jailed Leftists. The reply was "That is a complete misconception.... we have not jailed any leftists.... those are not Leftists, those are Trotskyists...!"

But wherever Trotskyist groups or groupuscules gather, Sri Lanka is a major preoccupation. The reason of course is the choice of Trotskyism as its ideology by the island's first Marxist party, a choice which represents an Asian aberration. Thus, almost every Trotskyist group here has connections to some Trotskyist group in Paris, London or New York. Likewise every split in the Trotskyist movement is reflected locally.

A recent issue of 'SPARTACIST' (No. 27-28), the organ of a US-based Trotskyist organisation which has affiliates in West Germany and Australia, has devoted a lengthy article to Edmund Samarakkody, with many allusions to the LSSP, Bala Tampoe's RMP and the JVP.

In the course of it, the SPARTACIST refers to material published in the 'Lanka Guardian', which it describes as "Ceylon's leading English-language journal of radical opinion..".

FOR

TEXTILES

GARMENTS

FURNISHINGS

ELECTRICAL GOODS

FORD SUIT CASES

REMEMBER

**KUNDANMALS LTD.**

MAIN STREET,  
COLOMBO - 11.

# War against the church

by Jayantha Somasunderam

FOREIGN  
NEWS

In a country where eighty-five percent of the people are Catholic, the Church in the Philippines is an institution of immense significance. The anti-Marcos opposition claims that martial law was declared in 1972 to counter the growing tide of the opposition. US and Japanese capital have been able to operate freely in the intervening eight years. In addition, the position of the Marcos family has been deliberately entrenched. Mrs. Marcos holds a portfolio, the son is now a Governor, Mrs. Marcos' family control the media, and so on. "There are two types of stooges here" claims a Filipino journalist who was jailed in 1972, "the 'yes sir!' and the 'yes ma'am!' groups."

Manila bears the stamp of development of sorts. Impressive buildings, broad fly-overs and flashy shops speak of facilities that have grown in response to the needs of the wealthy. Efforts at housing don't seem to have made much of a dent in the problem of urban slums though. Nor can the poor protect living standards when inflation is growing at 30 percent.

Yet the most telling indictment against the Marcos regime is the fact that the Armed Forces have been increased from 62,000 in 1972 to 260,000 in 1980. The opposition claims that 60,000 victims are currently in detention camps whilst 40,000 have been killed in military search-and-destroy missions.

Far from winning confidence for the regime, the local elections which were held on January 30th only helped to emphasise the precarious nature of the US-backed regime in this South East Asian Domino. Marcos' party polled 93 percent of the vote. His victory is nowhere near as 'total' as Lee's electoral exercises in Singapore.

*The author recently visited the Philippines*

And this despite the opposition's boycott of the whole affair. Former Senator Aquino, Marcos' main rival, still in jail, damned the elections and refused to have any part in them. Conscious of public skepticism about the election, the tame-media itself came out with editorials confirming that the election was rigged.

## TIME BOMB

Ticketing like a bomb beneath the Marcos edifice is the Catholic Church. Cardinal Sin, remains uncommitted—but as more and more bishops and priests keep coming out against the regime, Church as a whole takes on an oppositional and subversive character. In reply, the Marcos regime is at war with the Church.

In many areas, priests are the target of the regime, since they are often the rallying point for opposition. Last December two Redemptorist priests who led a human-rights rally in Cebu, were arrested.

One of these priests, Fr. Rudy Romano is a chairman of the Protestant-Catholic organisation—Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace.

International pressure for the release of Fr. Edico Torre who has been in jail for five years may result in his being sent into exile in Rome.

Each Lenten period, the Catholic Church launches a campaign to create awareness, encourage sacrifice and raise funds. This year's Lenten campaign in the Philippines advanced the slogan "Towards total human liberation," citing the Biblical command used by God in defence of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt: Set my people free.

The Church waxes eloquent on violation of human rights. "Salvaging—a form of arrest where persons are not brought to detention camps but to remote places where they are eventually killed—has been resorted to reportedly

by some members of the military in a number of instances."

## STARVATION WAGES

"Businessmen say that the economic system under which the country operates is one of a free market. But the free market claim workers, is only freedom to take or leave starvation wages," continues the Church moving from political to economic criticism.

"Repression exists on a scale that is wide in scope and deep in intensity" concludes the recent statement, "It is the experience of workers and peasants, tribal Filipinos, students and professionals who have dared to speak out their minds and protect their legitimate interests".

The US is plainly worried. Iran, Nicaragua, and now another ally cornered—the domino teeters—the Philippines. When human rights in the Philippines was the topic of discussion recently at the US Congress, Richard Holbrooke decided to take a holiday.

But the State Department is not dumb. "The refugee problem is the number one problem of South East Asia," insisted Michael Armacost, Deputy Secretary East Asian and Pacific Affairs, before Congress, "We must keep the World's attention focused on the Indochinese refugees".

His colleague, Patricia Derian told Congress, that in the Philippines there have been improvements, and cited the recent local government elections as an example. But she also qualified the Carter Administration's human rights posture by saying that the State Department "advances our concern for human rights in the context of our strategic concerns."

Testifying before Congress, Dr. Edwin Luidens, director of the office for East Asia and the Pacific—National Council of Churches, summed up the crisis of

*(Continued on page 11)*

# VIETNAM'S VICTORY

— 5th anniversary

**A**pril 30th marks the 5th anniversary of the resounding victory scored by the Vietnamese people over US imperialism and its repressive puppet regime in the South. Their long and heroic armed struggle was crowned with victory that glorious spring day "in the beautiful land of Vietnam,

## War against...

*(Continued from page 10)*

the US image in the Third World: "When military aid to a country in Asia is doubled and redoubled after the declaration of martial law the US can only be seen to be clearly supportive of oppressive autocratic rule. When our economic aid is used for projects that displace, and therefore destroy ethnic minority communities against their will, the US cannot be perceived as supporting human rights." ●

From Lang Son to the Cape of La Mau, from now on completely independent and free, and independent and free forever" — as Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party put it in his victory speech 'Forward to the Future'.

The great victory bore out the prediction of President Ho Chi Minh that "today the grasshopper fights the elephant/ tomorrow the elephant's guts will be ripped out", and in doing so, **shattered the hegemony of U. S. imperialism over the post war world.** The Vietnamese people's triumph thus reaffirmed Uncle Ho's statement that "In the conditions favourable to the revolutionary movement in this

era, any nation, even a small one, provided it is closely united and resolutely struggles according to a correct political and military line, can, with the active assistance and support of the socialist camp and of the revolutionary peoples of the world, defeat any imperialist aggressors including their ringleader, — the U. S. Imperialists.

Today, the Vietnamese people led by their Communist Party headed by Le Duan, are following the course and fulfilling the behests of President Ho Chi Minh:

"Our mountains will always be,  
our rivers will always be,  
Our people will always be,

"The American invaders defeated,  
we will rebuild our land,  
ten times more beautiful."

## EVEN A WINDOW IS ENOUGH FOR DAME FORTUNE!

Who can tell? Dame Fortune may be knocking on your door next.

She can enter only with your help. Open the door to her, or a window at the very least, by buying even just one National Lottery sweep ticket. How can she come in otherwise?

Remember, even if your time is good, you cannot win a sweep, without buying a ticket. What's more, since the National Lotteries Board contributes millions of rupees each year to the Government's Consolidated Fund for use in Development Projects, you are helping to develop your country, when you buy a National Lottery sweep ticket.

With NLB sweeps — WIN or LOSE, its YOU who gain!

## NATIONAL LOTTERIES BOARD



# Bandung : After 25 years

by Mervyn de Silva

**T**rade Minister Lalith Athulathmudali who often plays the role of government spokesman in the NSA told the Ceylon Institute of World Affairs recently that Sri Lanka now had a bi-partisan foreign policy. In the course of a well-publicised lecture he also said that foreign policy had ceased to be an issue in the domestic political debate. All the major parties, he added, support nonalignment.

The Minister's categorical statement is a logical extension of a more general observation made recently by the UNP leader, President J. R. Jayewardene.

There are no fundamental differences, he said, between the UNP and the SLFP; the differences, if any, related to personalities. J. R. also told 'BUSINESS WEEK' that in the unlikely event of the SLFP defeating the UNP at the next polls, there would be no serious change in the general direction of Sri Lanka's economic policies; policies introduced by the UNP on assuming office in July 1977.

Paradoxically, J. R.'s view on the close similarity, if not complete identification, of UNP and SLFP thinking will receive the unequivocal endorsement of many of the Left parties, from the CPSL and NLSSP to the JVP.

The CPSL for instance made that abundantly clear at its recent Congress, thus making a significant break from its own past strategies and tactics. The latter were founded, of course, on the 'class characterisation' of the UNP and the SLFP was regarded by the Established Left as the party of the national bourgeoisie as against the UNP, the authentic agent of the comprador. From this central position, it was natural that the 'progressive potential' of the SLFP should be recognised. This, finally, would invite and justify the Left's alignments and alliances, although

the correctness of each such relationship in given circumstances, was open to debate—a debate that is, on tactics.

At the first post-election party congresses, both the LSSP and the CP conducted a predictable exercise in selfcriticism. After 40 years, the two Left parties had been vanquished so savagely that the Left was voiceless in parliament. An agonising re-appraisal was plainly the first item on the agenda.

The CP's essay in self-criticism seemed more deep-searching in content and sharper in tone. The evolution and maturation of the national bourgeoisie had gradually altered the character of the SLFP and there was today no fundamental difference between the interests served by the UNP and SLFP. (See L. G. Vol 2 No 16 Dec 15th 1979)

Indicative of a shift in the tactical line, the LSSP's current (May Day) moves re-opens this issue. How would it characterise the two parties, where in lies the difference and how significant is it?

The intimate and integral connexion between domestic politics, the interests of dominant and ruling groups within each country and the foreign policy pursued by each government is now part of the primer of every student of international affairs. Thus, a Sri Lankan perspective on Bandung, an assessment of its meaning then and now, must necessarily base itself on these considerations.

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali is perhaps perfectly right in saying that Sri Lanka today has a bipartisan foreign policy. But he is wrong on the past.

Just before the 77 polls, it was the UNP that challenged the SLFP's self-declared claims on exclusive rights over nonalignment. Since the UNP was attacking the

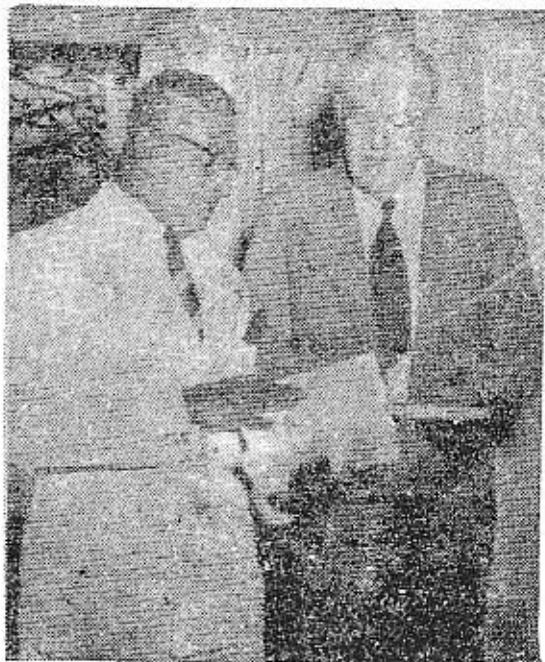
SLFP on every policy front, such an assault on foreign policy was all the more compulsive because the 1976 Colombo conference at least in Sri Lankan eyes, had given the SLFP's and Mrs. Bandaranaike's personal claims the stamp of international recognition.

The UNP had traditionally treated foreign policy with a lordly indifference in the parochial belief that it was too expensive a habit for small nations. Foreign affairs was best left to foreigners. So, Ceylon's foreign policy post-1947 was, intellectually speaking, the lost luggage of departing British civil servants. Ceylon's defence and foreign policies were as much decided upon in Whitehall as Ceylon's economic condition was determined in Mincing Lane.

The British were our trusted friends. So these things are best ordered in London. This attitude springs from a deep-seated intellectual inferiority. It is the natural self-expression of a made-to-order native elite, nurtured and processed mentally by its white master; the products of the ideological assembly lines of the metropolitan centres. To grasp and comprehend this psychological condition in all its fascinating intricacies one must of course turn to the illuminating work of Fanon, Cabral and Sartre.

As the mind sweeps over quarter of a century, we can see all this as the dominant features of our foreign policy in the Senanayake era.

With Sir John came a new activism. Let's give the man his historical due. Like Mrs. Bandaranaike, in a way, the prospect of an internationalist role seems to have held him in thrall. It appealed to all his known vanities, and most of all to his almost childish passion for the camera eye and the limelight, his irresistible desire to strut, even for a moment, on the world's stage.



*Sir John Kotalawela and  
John Foster Dulles*

Playing on these all-too human attributes, Sir John's advisers were able to inject a new activism into Ceylon's foreign policy and give it a new direction.

Sir John's foreign policy posture may have been reactionary but it was more real. Far more closely, was it attuned to the realities of a post-war world where British power was already a vanished supremacy and the American century had commenced.

This was the period of the Cold War, of America's unassailable economic and military might, of McCarthy and Dulles, of regional pacts and worldwide propaganda—the battleground and armour in the crusade against godless communism. It was indeed a time for warriors and Sir John was a soldier to the fibre of his being and nothing became him more than his Colonel's uniform. And here, appropriately, he was more the gaseous, peacock Patton than the blustering Blimp. Besides the matter of temperament, there was also the question of ideological banner and cause. Again, he was tailor-made. He was a fervent if somewhat juvenile anti-communist.

So there he was—the man for this Cold War season, ideally

malleable material for his advisers: the recruiting agents for Mr. Dulles' dubious international brigade, which got itself disastrously bogged down and then wiped out 20 years later in the paddy-fields of Vietnam.

And it was Sir John who led us to Bandung.

#### 1956

The formal adoption of non-alignment as Ceylon's foreign policy came in 1956. In the same year, the British were asked to quit the bases. A new chapter was opened in our diplomatic relations with socialist countries. Bandaranaike addressed the U. N. General assembly as spokesman for the Asian group at the end of a year in which Suez and Hungarian crises dominated the political debate.

Bandaranaike was the articulate spokesman of those social forces which helped the SLFP-led MEP to defeat the UNP. Ceylon's official and public identification with certain ideas and forces in the external environment and its several responses to particular issues and events (the pith and substance of foreign policy) represented the natural expression of the content of those domestic

forces which had thrust themselves forward in 1956. Looking back at both national and international developments during these 25 years, it is not difficult to recognise the progressive aspect of the socio-political changes affected by 1956.

In a period marked by many changes of government, the SLFP and nonalignment became almost synonymous. So much so that the SLFP leadership gradually acquired a proprietorial manner when speaking about nonalignment, a fact which embarrassed and annoyed the pro-UNP intelligentsia.

This is the genesis of the Bandung-Belgrade debate which keeps cropping up in the pages of the mainstream press.

Although the UNP was certain of victory and certainly knew that foreign policy is rarely convertible to votes, the UNP 'think-tank' realised that this was the party's exposed flank. The advisers who drafted the 1977 manifesto and masterminded the propaganda effort wanted to present a perfect policy profile.

#### Bandung 1955

Bandung was their answer. Nonalignment started at Bandung. The decision to hold such a conference was made in Colombo at a meeting attended by Nehru, U. Nu, Ali Sastramidjojo, Mohammed Ali, and Kotalawela.

It was Prime Minister Kotalawela, president of the UNP, who led the Ceylonese delegation to Bandung. So nonalignment was the UNP's achievement.

Here is a classic example of how a general proposition can be perfectly logical and yet its specific use to advance a particular point can be demonstrably untenable.

Bandung was an Afro-Asian gathering and by definition continental in concept and character. The nonalignment conference was in Belgrade six years later. Nonetheless, it is a commonplace and indisputable fact of contemporary history that both Bandung and Belgrade are part of the same historical process.

But this process had two prominent tendencies. Both before and during Bandung these were quite easily identifiable although one's precise mode of description will of course depend on one's political standpoint. Since history has already made its own judgment, it is possible to be dispassionate in one's choice of categories.

What we might call "the forward force" carried the slowly emerging movement to Belgrade and beyond. The movement has grown and grown but that is not the sole reason why it is heterogeneous. The diversity is sourced in the varying social character of regimes and ruling groups in each member-nation, their interests and outlook, and the degree of actual independence or dependence of 'national' economies on the West.

In "Afro-Asia and Nonalignment", the first extensive study of the movement and its evolution, G. H Jansen identified the two tendencies in terms of the role played by the active participants. And for him the test was each participant's public response to the vital issue. Jansen wrote:

"It was in this debate on colonialism that the conference grappled with its real task and its real purpose the justifying by the aligned and the nonaligned of the differing foreign policies adopted by them...."

Now where did Sir John's Ceylon belong? Far from been non-aligned, he was aligned. More. He was the aggressive advocate of the aligned. Worse. He was a deliberately disruptive agent and the disruption of this movement has remained as we all know one of the major objectives of the West.

"Sir John Kotelawela led this famous debate away at a tangent..." notes Jansen, commenting on how Ceylon's prime minister suddenly aimed his blunderbuss at the USSR and the "colonies" of Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia etc.

What was his contribution? "It shattered," observes the same writer, "the atmosphere of conciliation that had begun to prevail in the committee room."

The reaction of Mr. Nehru, a founding father of the movement whose name is invoked by all sides in this ongoing local debate, is on record. His "irritated comment" was:

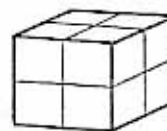
"The Prime Minister of Ceylon referred to Eastern Europe. Let him put down precisely what he is going to discuss and not talk about the sun and moon."

Mercifully, Sir John's "cracker ultimately fizzled out like a damp squib." And this finally is the measured opinion of the scholar on Sir John and the 'aligned' (not non-aligned) regiment he had tried to lead into such dubious battle at Bandung:

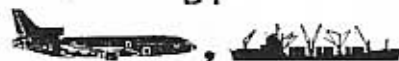
"They talked a great deal about ideological domination but their Eurocentric arguments in this deflected debate were themselves excellent examples of mental tutelage."

**Next: Bandung's significance**

## GUARDIAN OF YOUR



BY



AND



AROUND THE



AROUND THE



FROM FACTORY FLOOR  
TO SELLING DOOR

WEEKLY CONSOLIDATIONS

SPLIT/FULL CHARTER SERVICE


COMPREHENSIVE  
IMPORT/EXPORT SERVICE

INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
NETWORK

FREE TELEX ADVICE

AND  
HANGING GARMENTS



**ACE AIR**  **CARGO**

INTERNATIONAL FREIGHT FORWARDERS  
P. O. BOX 5 COLOMBO 1 SRI LANKA  
CABLE: "AITKEN COLOMBO" TELEX 1142  
\* TELEPHONE 27881-8, 32776 (DIRECT)

ADSEL



# Three questions for Trotsky

by V. P. Vittachi

In June 1933 Georges Simenon, who was then 30, asked for and, to his surprise was granted (for others had been turned down), an interview with Trotsky who was living in what was then called Constantinople. He was required to submit his questions in writing, in advance and at the interview Trotsky would give his answers, also in writing, one copy of which Simenon would have to sign and hand back to Trotsky. This procedure was necessary, Trotsky's secretary explained to Simenon, because he had been badly misreported by earlier interviewers. Simenon wrote a piece called *Chez Trotsky* about this interview but the article was never published until, as belatedly as 1975, it appeared in a book about Simenon published in French in which it was reproduced in a section entitled 'Unpublished Texts of Simenon'. I have not translated the entire article—it is too long—but only the questions and answers. As far as I know, they have not been translated into English before.

## Race

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that race will be the predominant issue in the process of evolution out of the present state of fermentation? Or will it be the social question? Or the economic question? Or the military?

**ANSWER:** No, I am far from believing that race will be a decisive factor in the evolution of the coming epoch. 'Race' is a crude anthropological material—heterogeneous, impure, mixed—from which historical development has created 'semifabricated' products which are the nations. It is classes and social groupings and the political currents that flow from them that will decide the fate of the new era. I, of course, do not deny the significance of the qualities and distinctive traits of the different races. But in the process of evolution recede into the background before labour techniques and the techni-

que of thought. Race is an element that is static and passive; history is dynamic. How can an element relatively immobile, by itself determine movement and development? All distinctive racial traits disappear before the internal combustion engine—not to speak of the machine-gun: Hitler, preparing himself to establish an etatist regime to suit the pure Germano-Nordic race, finds he can do no better than to plagiarise the Latin race of the South. In his time, Mussolini, struggling to achieve power, used (although by turning it upside down) the social doctrine of a German, or rather a German Jew, Marx, whom he had called, a year or two previously, 'the immoral father of us all'. If today, in the 20th century, the nazis propose to turn their back on history, on the social dynamic, civilisation itself, to return to 'race' why should they not go back even further? Isn't anthropology only a part of zoology? Who knows, it is perhaps in the kingdom of pithecanthropus that the racists will find the most lofty and most indisputable inspiration for their creative activity?

## Dictatorships and Democracies

**QUESTION:** Can we consider the group of dictatorships as the embryo of a regroupment of peoples or is it only a passing, accidental phase?

**ANSWER:** I do not believe that the grouping of states will be between dictatorships on the one side and democracies on the other. Excluding a narrow class of professional politicians, nations, peoples and classes do not live on politics. In the face of certain fixed objectives, particularly economic forms of government are only a means. Of course, a certain similarity between etatist states may predispose some of them to get together. But in the end it is material considerations that will decide—economic interests and military calculations. Do I think that the group of fascist dictatorships (Italy,

Germany) and quasi-Bonapartism, states (Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria) episodic and transitory? Alas! I cannot make so optimistic a prognosis. Fascism has been brought about not by psychosis and hysteria (as the parlour theoreticians of the genre of Count Sforza console themselves) but by a profound economic and social crisis which has pitilessly gnawed, more than anywhere else, at the body of Europe. The present cyclical crisis will inevitably give way to a revival of outlook, although to a smaller degree than people may expect, but the general European situation will not improve much. After each crisis the smaller and weaker enterprises will become more feeble or die off altogether. The strong enterprises will become even stronger. Divided Europe represents a combination of small enterprises hostile to each other by the side of the economic giants of the United States. America's present situation is difficult—the dollar itself has given at the knees. Nevertheless, following the present crisis, world forces will change in favour of America to the detriment of Europe. The fact that the old continent as a whole has lost the privileged position it had in the past will lead to enormous exacerbation of the antagonisms between the European states and between classes within those states. Certainly this process will differ in degree between states, but I am speaking of a general historical tendency. The growth of social and national contradictions explains, in my view, the origin and relative stability of the dictatorships.

To explain my thinking, let me quote something I wrote a few years ago on the question: Why are democracies giving place to dictatorships, and is it for long? (From an article written on 25 February 1929). "It is sometimes said that on this question we have to deal with undeveloped nations or those lacking in maturity. This explanation hardly fits Italy. But even

in cases where the explanation fits, it clarifies nothing. In the 19th century it was considered that backward countries were gradually climbing up towards democracy. Why then, in the 20th century, do they move towards dictatorship? Democratic institutions show that they cannot withstand the pressures of contemporary contradictions, sometimes international, sometimes internal, most often both international and internal simultaneously. Is it good? Is it bad? In any case it is a fact. By analogy with electrotechnics, democracy can be defined as a system of commutators and insulators against currents that are too strong, in the national or social struggle. No epoch in human history was more saturated with antagonisms than ours. An excess voltage of current makes itself felt more and more at different points of the European network. Under a great excess voltage of the contradictions of classes and of nations, the commutators of democracy dissolve or burst into pieces. Of course, the weakest fuses give way first."

When I wrote these lines, Germany still had its social-democratic government. It is clear that the subsequent march of events in Germany—a country no one would call backward—cannot in any way shake my evaluation. It is true that during this time the revolutionary movement in Spain swept away not merely the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera but also the monarchy. Some contrary currents of this nature are inevitable in the historical processes but internal equilibrium is far from having been realised in the peninsula beyond the Pyrenees. The new Spanish regime has not yet demonstrated its stability.

#### Peace or War?

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that evolution is possible smoothly, or do you believe a violent shake-up necessary? How long do you think the present drifting will last?

**ANSWER:** Fascism, in particular Germany's national socialism indisputably brings to Europe the dangers of war. Being away from things, I may perhaps be mistaken, but it seems to me that people

are not paying sufficient attention to the full extent of the danger. Viewing it from a perspective not of months but of years—but, in any event not of decades—I consider an outbreak of war caused by fascist Germany absolutely inevitable. It is precisely this question which can become decisive for the fate of Europe. I expect to express my views on this subject in the press shortly. You perhaps think I paint too dark a picture? However, I have drawn my conclusions from facts, being guided not by predilections and prejudices but by the logic of objective processes. That our epoch is not one of peaceful prosperity and political well-being is not, I hope, something I have to prove. But my assessment can appear overly pessimistic only to those who view the march of history with too short a perspective. From close, all great epochs appeared very dark. The mechanism of progress, it is necessary to recognise, is quite imperfect. But there is no reason to suppose that Hitler or a series of Hitlers would succeed for always, or more strictly for even a decade in holding back this mechanism. They will break many cogs of its gearing, they will twist its levers out of shape. They can make Europe go backward for a few years. But I do not doubt that finally humanity will find the way. The whole of history guarantees it.

To me these answers are enormously interesting because they show, for all Trotsky's commitment to Marxist dogma, the brilliant empirical perspicacity of the man. At a time when even people like Shaw were saying kind things about Hitler, Trotsky was certain Hitlerism would bring about a world war in just a few years. At a time when the Spanish revolution was triumphant having got rid of Rivera and the monarchy Trotsky was doubtful of its ability to survive. At a time when the American economy was in the throes of economic crisis Trotsky sees America emerging as an economic giant vis-a-vis Europe. Today with the benefit of hindsight we can see the sure grasp Trotsky had of the trend of forces and events of his day.

*For Electrical*

*Installations*

*designed to meet*

*your exact needs*

*Please contact:*

## LIGHT ENGINEERING ENTERPRISES

(ENGINEERS & CONTRACTORS)

REGD No. 96805

8th Floor, Paul VI Centre,  
Front Street, Colombo II.

Telephone: 36657

# POPULATION PLANNING

## — another view

by Paul Caspersz

**I**t is largely a question of

(i) the relative emphasis of the two terms involved;

(ii) the relationship between the two terms.

### (i) Relative Emphasis

If the emphasis is on population planning, then you seek by every means at your command to manipulate population and check its rate of growth; if, as the prestigious Joan Robinson and the even more prestigious Gunnar Myrdal have argued with little attempt at concealment, you give aid to Asia, earmark the greater part of it for the manufacture, purchase and distribution of condoms, loops, pills etc., and for the salaries of highly paid experts and FP advisers around the world.

If the emphasis is on development—as I argue it should be—then examine development, the stultification of the World Bank and UNCTAD development plans for the 80s (with again, scandalously overpaid consultants hustling along marbled corridors in Geneva and New York), study available resources, see development as liberation (also from FP) and humanization, and asked for the vigorous, dynamic, egalitarian population as both the chief means and the final goal of development.

### (ii) The Relationship

If your emphasis is the first one, then you see the relationship between growth of population and economic growth as a hostile, mutually exclusive one; at best, you see population control as a pre-requisite of economic growth.

If your emphasis is the second, you begin to see economic growth as a pre-requisite for successful population planning; you may even

succeed in seeing a young, vigorous, dynamic and disciplined population as an actual propeller of economic growth.

I am not arguing that there are no population problems in Asia, still less that there is no need for a population policy. But I am arguing that

(i) the population problem is part of the larger problem of uneven, undirected, laissez-faire development of the imperialist-capitalist phase and cannot be solved in isolation from that problem;

(ii) that a population policy should be a dependent part of an economic policy which in its turn implies far-reaching and radical changes both in the concepts and in the strategies of development.

To seek to limit population without an assault on existing social inequalities—in the style of the FPAs—merely plays Asia into the hands of the forces that have satisfied its growth during the whole of the colonial or equi-colonial period. It is to weaken the moral fibre of a nation. Its symbol becomes the loop, not the sickle. Its ideal, depicted on colour pictures, is the small, selfish, bourgeois family. It is not what an awakening Asia most needs today.

### The case of Sri Lanka

Lanka is a society in transition and will continue to be so for the rest of this century. No argument in support is more convincing than the demographic. Up to the early 1920s high birth rates and high death rates ensured a slow growth of population. Until the mid-40s the rate of growth was faster with birth rates remaining high and death rates

beginning to climb down. From then on, perhaps largely due to the conquest of malaria, the population began to grow very rapidly, with birth rates sticking at the former high levels and the death rate tumbling to the level of 8 or less per 1000. In very recent years the further phase of the population cycle with a narrowing of the difference birth and death rates has begun to appear. But even with rapid declines of the fertility rate, in the year 2000 Lanka will have a population of 20 million, or one and a half times her present population.

To accommodate such an increase in two decades will be impossible unless social change occurs on a vast scale. Today one out of every three households does not have toilet facilities of any kind. Among Asian countries Lanka is one of the best for health care. Yet her figures of 6000 inhabitants per physician and 330 inhabitants per hospital bed compare unfavourably with several developed countries. It has been estimated that Lanka will need at least 100 fully equipped schools every year, or 2 every week, to deal with her increasing school population for the rest of the century. Probably 20 per cent of the workforce is currently unemployed or severely underemployed.

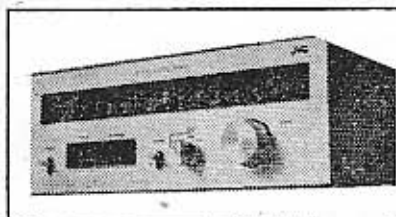
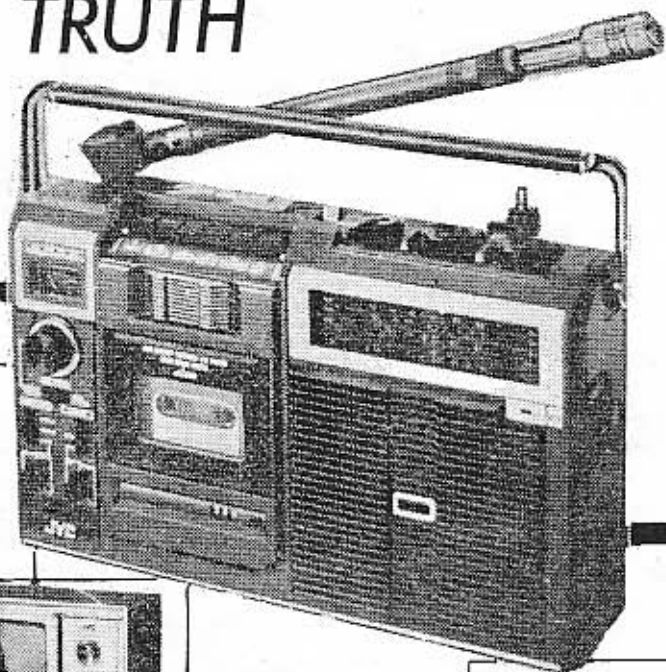
On all matters of growth, while western experts, such as those in the International Planned Parenthood Federation, have an open sesame for Lanka: birth control. In August 1972, in Sydney, their experts recommended that Sri Lanka should legalize and liberalize abortion. In March this year a five-member team of so-called population experts—among them the Executive Director of the International Fertility Research Programme and a former Secretary

(Continued on page 21)





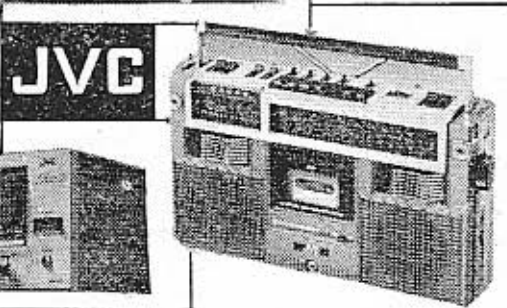
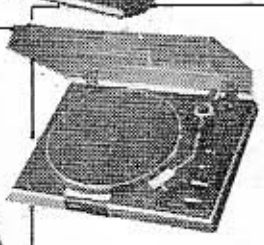
# CLOSER TO THE MUSICAL TRUTH



JVC is in the forefront with 50 years experience in Electronic Technology and is world renowned for its electronic device that reduces distortion to the minimum possible.

A SHEER DELIGHT  
TO YOUR EARS AND EYES

JVC products now come to you in many models and are backed by one year guarantee certificate and a reliable after sales service



IMPORTERS



## Imitiaz brothers

Distributors:- **GADIT INDUSTRIES and ENTERPRISES**  
122, 2nd CROSS STREET COLOMBO 11  
Telephone 22932.

# OPEC — villain or scapegoat?

ECONOMICS

by Shanta de Alwis

*"In Sri Lanka, no one is so daft or uninformed not to know that we owe our plight to OPEC's repeated price hikes" ("Daily News" editorial of 1-3-1980).*

*"It is drastically increasing oil prices which is the major threat to the western economies." ("Chanaky" "Sunday Observer" 2-3-1980).*

**A**pologists for the government, are fond of blaming OPEC for our economic ills and indeed for the ills of the whole world capitalist system. The whole propaganda machinery of the government has been geared to this campaign which has but one object; to convince the people that the recent price increases have been forced on a reluctant government by this evil conspiratorial organisation of greedy Arabs. I am told that even Buddhist monks give the example of OPEC to illustrate "chanha".

The Trade Minister **Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali** claimed in an article published in the 'Sunday Observer', that "apart from the direct impact of OPEC decisions, in the form of increasing of fuel costs, in our economy, there are indirect ones as well. The reason we have to pay more for other imports is the effect that rising oil prices have on the countries we import their goods from". In other words we see the uncontrollable inflation that the world capitalist system faces today, as being caused primarily by OPEC.

*Shanta de Alwis who is a central committee member of the Nava Samasamaja Party which is affiliated to Ted Grant's 'Militant' tendency in Britain, is Professor of Mathematics at the University of Sri Jayawardenepura. He holds a Fellowship at the University TRIESTE, and has been a lecturer and consultant abroad.*

It is not just a matter of finding in OPEC a convenient scapegoat for the inflationary crisis.

They really **do** believe what they say. For this is the line that is handed down by the leaders of world imperialism (Carter, Thatcher etc.) and propagated around the world by the mass media. One finds most Western agency reports on economic matters biased towards this view. Journals such as **Time** and **Newsweek**, which have an inordinate influence on our bourgeois intelligentsia, subscribe to this view (at least most of the time). In fact, **Time Magazine's** reports on the OPEC decisions last year had distinctly racist overtones. All this is part of an enormous effort by western leaders and the bourgeois media to blame the ills of the increasingly crisis-ridden world capitalist system on OPEC and thus direct the wrath of the organised working class (which is enormously powerful today) against the "greedy Arabs." Unfortunately for them as shown for example by the recent confrontations in Britain these attempts will fail. For the UNP intellectuals on the other hand anything that is churned out by the Western mass media is gospel truth. The irony of it in the present case is that **hardly any serious bourgeois economist puts forward the view that the root causes of inflation are the OPEC decisions. This absurd and naive view is dished out purely for mass consumption.** The strategists of imperialism certainly know better. For them OPEC is a convenient scapegoat.

Let us look at some of the comments that were made after the first "Oil Shock" of late 1973. While the New York Times ranted and raved about the "Oil Cartel"

and its policies causing "Sky-rocketing prices" "breakdown of trade and payments, the major causes of inflation and balance of payments instability," the **Tri-lateral commission commented that "increasing oil prices speeded up trends already visible"**! For the UN Secretary-General "It was clear that the world monetary system was suffering from malfunctioning even before the recent sequence of events."

It is only in the past few years that rising cost of primary commodities and fuels became significant elements in the inflationary trend—a slowing down of economic expansion in most industrial countries was already in progress in the course of '73." (Quoted by Geoffrey Barraclough in the New York Review of Books January 23 1975).

After the 1979 oil price increases too, the Western leaders and mass media, shrieked hysterically that, the world economy is being destroyed by the avarice of the OPEC countries. What they forgot to mention was that the **real** price of oil had actually **fallen** between '74 and '78. In other words the nominal price of other goods especially the industrial products were rising faster than the nominal price of oil. In fact as the "**Economist**" pointed out in its economic review of the past decade," by 1978, consumer energy prices in industrial economies were actually **lower**, relative to other prices, in Japan, Switzerland and Australia, than before Yom Kippur, 1973, and no more than 15% higher in the United States, Britain and Germany. Sitting ducks for another OPEC fusillade. Which they duly got." In other words the real price that OPEC was getting in 1978

was not much better than what they had got even before the four-fold increase in 1974 and in fact some calculations have estimated that it was no higher than the real price in 1968!

The point is that cheap oil was one of the factors that maintained the long post-war capitalist upswing. It was certainly not the major factor, but availability of virtually unlimited quantities of oil and prices which were about a factor of 4 to 5 cheaper than the next cheapest substitute, provided a significant boost to the growth of western industry. Cheap oil was wastefully consumed for decades especially in the US where in the 1950's cost of oil in industry was only 5% of value added. "Gas-guzzling" cars were another example of wasteful consumption.

This free flow of cheap oil was maintained by the huge multinational oligopolistic oil companies backed by the American and British governments. As G. Barraclough points out in the article quoted earlier, at that time Mid-East oil was available at 16 cents (American) a barrel the price was set by the oil companies at \$ 1.75 per barrel. OPEC's aim was to increase the oil producing countries share of the take, from the profits of the oil companies. When in October 1973 OPEC (which had already taken over production) decided to raise its price, the oil companies could have easily absorbed the extra cost and they would have been still left with a good margin of profit. Instead the oil companies grasped at the opportunity to increase their profits enormously. Thus Aramco increased its profits from 80 cents a barrel in early 1973 to \$4.50 in March 1974. There was a repeat performance of this in 1979, which even led to demands for the nationalisation of the big oil corporations in the United States!

The point is that for decades this precious (and for many OPEC countries the only) natural resource was being extracted at a negligible price while the populace of these countries lived in abject poverty. The dirt cheap wages paid to the

Arab oil workers and the small taxes paid to pliant mid-eastern governments meant enormous profits for the oil companies. **The oil producers in fact subsidized the whole of the capitalist industry in the advanced countries.** The worst of it was that these countries along with all other primary producers were being increasingly exploited by the imperialist centres through declining terms of trade. (For all primary commodities declined from an index number of 126 in 1953 to 84 in 1972 — taking 1963 as 100).

Of course oil producers were in a position to reverse this trend by forming a cartel because of the strategic nature of their commodity and because of its high income elasticity of demand. So far other primary producers (except rubber to some extent) have failed to get similar results. But if the government is serious about trying to get producers agreement for primary commodities and about the so-called "New International Economic Order", it is downright silly to blame another group of primary producers who have succeeded in improving their positions in the world market. Even the famous oil petition is a ludicrous display of ignorance about the realities of the confrontation between imperialism and the underdeveloped countries. If the government is serious about the petition it should have at least recognised that the source of the problem is the imperialist-dominated structure of world trade in which OPEC has succeeded in making a small dent. It has to recognise the progressive nature (however limited) of this action. On the basis of this recognition it is at least meaningful to petition OPEC for special concessions to Third World countries. In any case the whole exercise was meant to divert attention from policies of wealth redistribution in favour of the rich, from subsidies to development.

The above does not mean that I expect such special concessions to be given if the right approach is made — even though the Iranian foreign minister has apparently made such a suggestion. In any

case even if the Third World countries get oil at concessionary rates that is certainly not going to solve any of their basic problems. The point is that if one believes that concessions may be given and oil price rises are our main problem, and the government apparently does so, the way the government sets about its task is singularly inept. One cannot expect concessions from Iran for example by repeating the nonsense that is purveyed by its enemies, the Imperialists.

What then are the basic causes of inflation in the world capitalist system? Firstly they are the result of the longterm secular tendency towards increasing domination of the market (as predicted by Marx) by huge monopolies, which the "price setters" rather than the "price takers" of the ideal perfect competitive system of text books of bourgeois micro-economics. This is a trend that has been in evidence since at least the first world war.

This so-called downward rigidity of prices is a monopolistic (or

## LANKA GUARDIAN

*Subscription rates with effect from 1st May 1980.*

(Inclusive of postage)

	One year	Six months
Local	Rs. 95/-	Rs. 50/-
Asia	Rs. 300/-	Rs. 150/-
	US \$ 20.	US \$ 10.
	£ 10.	£ 5.
Foreign	Rs. 450/-	Rs. 300/-
	US \$ 30	US \$ 20
	£ 15	£ 10

Cheques and money orders to be made out in favour of  
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

The Commercial Manager,  
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.  
No. 88, N. H. M. Abdul Cader Road  
(Reclamation Road), Colombo 11.



oligopolistic) market is well-recognised even by bourgeois economists and is an important characteristic of capitalism in its senile period. On top of this long term trend one has to take into account the set of policies which were followed by capitalist governments during the post-2nd war period, the Bretton Woods system which gave the US dollar a hegemonic role as a reserve currency and enabled the US to run up enormous balance of payments deficits (and thus create fictitious capital in the form of eurodollars, for example, which total about 800 billion dollars today) in order to finance its overseas investments, and military adventures abroad and the enormous budget deficits run up by imperialist states to subsidize moribund capitalist industry, pay for armaments and maintain class through welfare-spending.

The role of the state and especially the public debt has increased enormously in all the major capitalist economies. The reasons for this are well understood by Marxists but even bourgeois economists recognise the fact and they quite correctly (especially the monetarists) point out that this is the main cause of the present uncontrollable inflation. However they forget that the advanced capitalist state had no other option. The political conditions for the post-war boom were created by the compromise between labour and capital and was put into effect through the class-collaborationist policies of social democracy and the communist parties, in France and Italy, in the immediate post-war period. In the US this role was played by the leaders of the organised labour, such as George Meany.

In order to maintain this compromise the state had to keep increasing welfare expenditure and prevent firms on the verge of collapse from going under. However when the factors that kept the upswing going were exhausted these policies became so many mill-stones around the neck of capitalism.

The Friedmans and Hayeks advocate the drastic cutting down of State expenditure. The former

especially keeps harping on the need to curb monetary growth and calls for "political courage" (Pinochet style no doubt) to enact such policies. What these gentlemen don't reckon with is the power of the organised working class in the advanced capitalist countries. The savage deflationary policies which they recommend (and which Thatcher for example is attempting to follow) will lead to enormous confrontations with the working class. Fortunately for capitalism most bourgeois leaders are a little more sensible. As the **Economist** reports.

"Even when the dangers of over-expansion had been spelt out in 1971-73, OECD countries responded to slump with a good old-fashioned Keynesian widening of budget deficits in 1974-75. And went on doing so, separately or together, throughout this apparently monetarist decade, whenever, growth looked like flagging."

However these inflationary policies cannot buy the bourgeois very much time.

Such briefly are the causes of world inflation. The rise in oil prices because it is done by a cartel appears to a superficial observer to be a purely voluntary act stimulated by greed. But OPEC itself is reacting to world inflationary conditions whose root cause lies else-where. I must repeat that this is well recognised by several bourgeois analysts. Even "Newsweek" could claim (July 9th 1970) only that the 1979 increase of the ceiling on oil prices to \$23.50 would add 2 points to US inflation which was then running at an annual rate about 12 percent! In other words they have to admit implicitly at least that most of the inflation has nothing to do with OPEC!

Inflation must be seen as an organic characteristic of world capitalism in its present stage of decline and decay. Workers' states such as the Soviet Union and China which have eliminated capitalism and set up a planned economic order are big and largely free of inflation. However as the western press is quick to point out these countries are not free

of economic difficulties and smaller ones such as Poland and Yugoslavia have experienced even a certain decree of inflation. This is due to the 'Stalinist bureaucracies' stranglehold on the planned economy i.e. the lack of workers' democracy, and (as a consequence) the increasing reliance these countries have had to place on the capitalist world market for advanced technology. In spite of this it remains the case that certainly as far as the basic necessities of life are concerned inflation is negligible and this applies even to the relatively underdeveloped countries such as China or Cuba. Inflation as well as unemployment and slumps can be eliminated only by the socialist revolution and not by breaking up OPEC.

## Population . . .

(Continued from page 17)

General of the IPPF—were again lavish in preaching contraceptives and sterilization to the people of this country. (Would the five members disclose what the rewards were for their ministry, not counting travel tickets and all the perks of going round the world to tell the natives that there are too many of them around?)

It is difficult for Asians to keep their tempers cool when foreigners make such brash inroads into the most intimate sectors of their lives, telling their women how few Asian children they must produce and advising their governments to kill the children their women have conceived. Should they not rather direct their research and advice to the conditions of foreign trade in their own countries, to the neo-colonialist economic exploitation of the Third World and to the achievement of world justice?

Asia's vast populations may well be Asia's strongest weapon in the power politics of a jungle world during the next hundred years.

# 'Sinhalsation': migration or cultural colonialism ?

by Susantha Goonetillake

*The paper presented at the Seminar on Nationalities by the author appears in Ancient Ceylon, Vol IV under the title "The formation of Sri Lankan Culture. Reinterpretation of chronical and archaeological material."*

*Here in a fresh draft written for the "Guardian" he pushes his ideas to their logical conclusion. The ideas in this short article are now being worked by the author into a larger essay on the topic. Some of the other papers presented at this Social Scientists' seminar by Dr. Siriweera, Dr. K. Sivathamby and Prof. Kailasapathy have already been published in this journal.*

**E**thnic self identities of peoples have been created by endogenous socio-economic and cultural processes within a population, by migrations or by imposition of a new culture. The process by which a self-identity was acquired by the Sinhalese nation has been traditionally attributed primarily to Aryan migration either from the North-West coast or the North-East coast of India,

However, the process of Aryanisation in India has been shown by recent archaeological evidence as well as critical studies of religious texts from a sociological perspective to have been largely due to cultural processes rather than large scale migration. (Thus Vange Eastern India from which the Sinhalese allegedly came was one such area subject to Aryanisation by culture and not migration). The purpose of this paper is to examine in the hindsight of the Indian findings whether the Sri Lankan Sinhalsation process has to be viewed as a cultural colonisation process or a migration process.

In the discussion here, I will examine the Sinhalsation process under three broad headings: (1) The experience of Aryanisation in Eastern India and the Deccan without massive migration (2) The available evidence on the Sri Lan-

kan Sinhalsation process in literary, archaeological and epigraphical sources. (3) An explanatory system that would encompass the available (reliable) evidence.

## India and "Aryanisation without Aryans"

Recent Indian work (specially the work of Romila Thapar) based on archaeology and the reinterpretation of classical literature suggests strongly that "Aryanisation" whereby inhabitants of different parts of India assumed an Aryan self-identity was accomplished largely by processes of cultural diffusion and not by massive migration. The spread of Aryan culture from the initial point of Aryan contact with the sub-continent by migration to the Indus valley and the Panjab to the rest of India, namely the Gangetic plain and the Deccan region was accompanied by the spread of the Sanskrit language, the horse and iron technology; a process which took several centuries. After the end of the process, regions which were hitherto considered barbarous (mlechcha) gradually entered into the category of the ritually pure land of Aryans — Aryavartta.

The presence of an Indo Aryan language in **Sapta Sindhava** (the area, between the Kabul river

and Saraswathy river) is attributed to invasion as suggested also by the **RigVeda**. However, "the archaeological evidence does not suggest a massive invasion or massive migration" (Thapar 1978 p.215) in the Aryanisation that occurred outside this area. If there was a migration it was only of small groups possessing the Sanskrit language (ibid).

The Indian Aryanisation process without migration occurred with the association of iron technology, the horse and the horse carriage with Aryan speakers; the horse and iron constituting a higher technology to the prior ox and copper technology. This control of an advanced technology by speakers of Indo Aryan facilitated the acceptance of the Indo Aryan language independent of any physical conquest. (ibid p. 217) A study of the introduction of iron into various parts of India gives supporting evidence to this proposition. Carbon 14 Analyses have indicated that iron was introduced to North India in roughly 1100 B.C. and in the case of South India the archaeological evidence indicates that iron technology was introduced circa 500 B.C. to A.D. 150 and was associated with the South Indian 'magalithic' culture. (ibid p. 19) in both cases of the introduction of iron to the North, as well as to the South the introduction was from the Western end of the Indian ocean. (ibid)

The spread of this iron technology in Northern India was accompanied by the diffusion of Indo Aryan and facilitated the expansion of the village economy (ibid p. 222). "Indo-Aryan therefore would not be widely accepted in those areas where iron technology was already known. In the peninsula the area covered

by the iron-using Megalithic culture roughly coincides with the area of the widespread use of Dravidian language." (ibid p. 222) Thus Aryavarta and the Dravida lands divide themselves neatly on technological grounds on how and when Iron technology was introduced.

The spread of Aryanisation from the Indus region to the East and South was also accompanied by a process by which groups considered barbarian (**Mlechcha**) earlier were later absorbed as constituents of (**Aryavarta**). In the RigVeda, the focus of activity was the Indus valley and the Punjab, with Saraswathy as the sacred river; but a few centuries later "Aryavarta is located in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab with the Ganges becoming the sacred river." (ibid p. 159) As Aryanisation occurs by culture processes across the North Indian mainland, lands which were considered **mlechcha** are now considered ritually pure and are absorbed into Aryavarta (ibid pp. 152-192)

The above summary of recent work on the Indian Aryanisation indicates that apart from the Indus-Panjab region where a massive invasion possibly could have occurred, cultural diffusion was the key element in Aryanisation.

#### Evidence for Sinhalisation

The traditional evidence for Sinhalisation as given in virtually all scholarly works in Sri Lanka varying from the University of Ceylon History to popular works assume the Mahavamsa inspired view of migration. This classical model of Sinhalisation often assumes a complete or partial genocide by invading North Indians of the existing population (the Vijaya-Kuveni story) and the demographic replacement by the invaders. The model may also be considered to subsume the view that Sri Lanka at that time was under-populated and also that the invaders established settlements (Anuradhapura, Upatusagama, Uijen, Uruvela, Vijitha etc. Mhv Chapter 7 43-45) on virtually a land empty save for a few tribals.

This traditional model has to be re-examined in view of the

new Indian interpretations of Aryanisation by a fresh view on the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The archaeological evidence has to be considered the most trustworthy and hard, the literary evidence the least so, being largely an ideological product with epigraphy probably falling in between in reliability, epigraphy being possibly as hard as archaeological evidence.

#### (a) Literary Sources

The early literary sources namely, the Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa date from the 5th or 6th century AD nearly a 1000 years after the presumed invasion of Sri Lanka by Aryan brigands expelled from Aryavarta for their anti-social acts. As these works were meant to serve an ideological function being compiled (as the Mahavamsa puts it) "for the serene joy and emotion of the pious" it is essential that an attempt be made to distinguish in these works fact from ideology.

Examination of the structure of the Mahavamsa reveals a geographical and historical bifurcation from the time of Devanampiyatissa. The material covered in the Mahavamsa prior to Devanampiyatissa relates to events in India connected with Buddhism and where there are references to Sri Lanka it is in the context of this Indian connection. From the time of Devanampiyatissa onwards, the events described take place primarily in Sri Lanka. The relevance of this broad structural demarcation will be discussed later but at this stage it is essential to examine some of the material and key figures before Devanampiyatissa described in the Mahavamsa. In this endeavour too, I am strongly influenced by the work of Romila Thapar specially her two papers on "Historical Writing in Early India" and "Origin Myths and Historical Tradition."

The two main pre-Devanampiyatissa stories are those relating to Vijaya and Pandukabhaya respectively, and it is interesting to examine these two myths critically as has been done by Thapar. The elements of the Vijaya story

are: the marriage of a princess to a lion whose son Sinhabahu, subsequently kills the lion; the incestuous marriage of the two children of the lion giving rise to sixteen pairs of twin sons, the eldest of whom was Vijaya; Vijaya's evil deeds; his banishment and arrival in Sri Lanka on the day of Buddha's death after a circuitous route which takes him from East Indian Vanga to West India and then by ship to Sri Lanka. This myth of origin written from the vantage point of writers nearly 1000 years after the alleged event places the arrival of the Sinhalese in a context that combines North East India, as well as the death of the Buddha with the Vijayan story.

However, some of the important events narrated in this myth appear to be stereotypes already existing in origin myths of Northern India as described in other Buddhist literature, specially the **Mahavamsa**. The sixteen pairs of twins and the incest theme are common to many of these myths of origin. Special mention should be made of the fact that a similar myth describes the origin of the Sakyans, Buddha's tribe (ibid p. 283) which clearly indicates the ideological intent of the Mahavamsa writers of relating the Sakyan origin myth to the Vijaya origin myth: which together with Vijaya's alleged arrival in Sri Lanka on Buddha's day of death, help legitimise Vijaya vis-a-vis Buddha and Buddhism. The Vijaya myth should therefore be seen not only as a fictional myth of origin but also a myth of legitimisation vis-a-vis Buddhism, the religion of the writers of this history.

The second important story in the early period is that of Pandukabhaya and again Thapar has pointed out (p. 283) that the story very much approximates the birth and life of the Hindu god Krishna — Vasudeva.

Thapar has attempted to explain the ideological need for these myths specially the Vijaya one. The Sakyan origin myth combines Vijaya with Buddhism and therefore legitimises the Sri Lankan inhabitants vis-a-vis Buddhism.



The fact that the geographical area covered by the story was very wide (Vijaya travelling from Eastern India to Western India and then to Ceylon) is explained by the fact that "at the time of the compilation of the text both Eastern and Western India were in close contact with Ceylon" (p. 319). The pro-buddhist literary evidence on the alleged Aryan migration is therefore clearly mythological whilst the factual period of the Mahavamsa begins with the era after the introduction of Buddhism. The pre-buddhist material in the Mahavamsa provides therefore, mythological legitimisation for the postbuddhist era and helps associate it with the Gangetic plains and the Buddhist order. "This structure makes therefore the narrative more purposive and strengthens the notion of the mission of Buddha to Ceylon". (p. 320)

### Archaeological Sources

Archaeological evidence for the early period is largely in the surface ruins of Buddhist monuments that are attributed to the time of Devanampiyatissa. These include the Kantaka Cetiya at Mihintale, Thuparama, Vessagiriya and Isurumuniya at Anuradhapura. These however, are not the earliest archaeological evidence of human settlements in Sri Lanka. Settlements at the site of Bellan Bodi Pellasa have been dated by thermoluminescent testing of associated artefacts to circa 4500 B. C. (Wintle & Oakley 1972). Excavation on a carefully stratified basis by Deraniyagala (1972) at the Gedige area has also identified artefacts associated with this culture at Anuradhapura.

The earliest archaeological evidence of settled agriculture in Sri Lanka are those associated with the "megalithic" sites which are a well known type in South India. These sites are found at Pomparippu, Gurugalhinna, Kathiravely, Padavigampola and the Walawe Basin and are largely in the red brown earth soil region of the country's dry zone. A carefully stratified excavation in the Gedige area in Anuradha-

Pura by Deraniyagala (1972 p. 150) indicated the existence of artificial reservoirs of water at Anuradhapura "which had the closest cultural correlatives in the early iron age megalithic culture of peninsular India which is datable to 800 to 100 B. C." (ibid). This layer was earlier than a Mauryan layer also identified by Deraniyagala. This megalithic culture in common with parallel South Indian ones had black and red type pottery and settlements consisting of four distinct areas, the habitation area, the cemetery, the tank and the field (Senaratne 1958 p. 30).

The megalithic evidence points to an important fact that the economy and technology of Sri Lanka in the early phase was not different from the South Indian one. This fact is also corroborated by present evidence of the Sri Lankan kinship system which is largely of South Indian type. The kinship system it should be noted has an intimate association with the production system and so is conditioned by it.

The existence of a South Indian economy and technological pattern immediately raises the major paradox of early Sri Lankan history namely the presence of an economy and technology common to South India but a language and religion of North Indian origin, in Marxist terminology—as it were a South Indian infrastructure with a North Indian superstructure. In the case of India, the Sanskrit language was transmitted and Aryanisation occurred with the introduction of iron technology, a process which initially stopped at the boundaries of the megalithic system which had iron technology from a different source. Explanations for Aryanisation (Sinhala-isation) in the case of Sri Lanka has to be sought elsewhere than that provided by the Indian experience.

### (c) Epigraphical Evidence

The earliest hard physical evidence of a language spoken by Sri Lankan (or at least a part of the Sri Lankan population) is in the epigraphic data. The

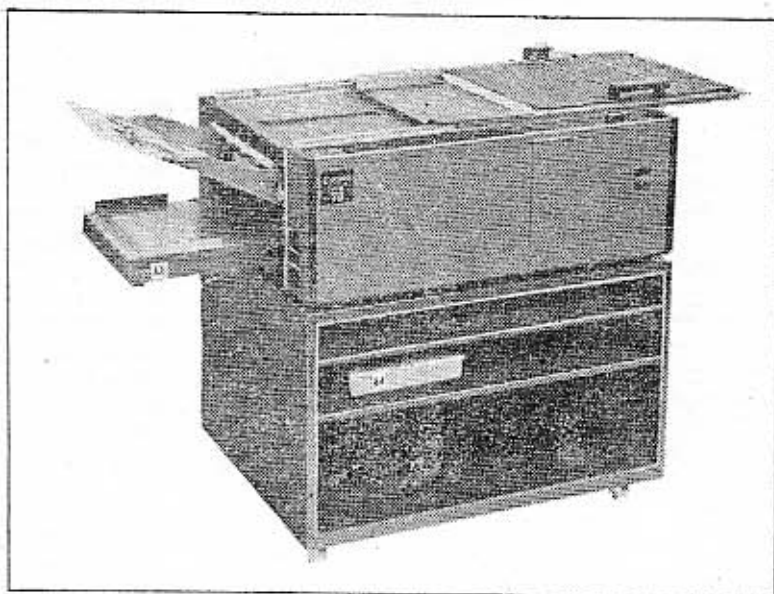
oldest of these inscriptions are either in cave or rock inscriptions found all over the island. The earliest inscriptions correlate broadly with the red soil dry zone area namely the tank country. The cave inscriptions possess a similar style and are those that describe donations of caves to monks. Rock inscriptions are generally found near tanks and describe generally the dedication of the tank to the priesthood.

The earliest inscriptions date from about 200 B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D. Although there seems to be some statistical variation in the direction of writing compared with the Asokan inscriptions in that there are more inscriptions in Sri Lanka written from right to left than those in the Asokan edicts (Paranavitana 1969 p. 5) the language is indistinguishable largely from the Prakrit. This has been termed the "Sinhalese Prakrit" by Geiger, the language of these early Brahmi inscriptions according to Geiger "is of the same type and model of Indian Prakrit both in phonology and morphology". (Geiger 1938 p. 3) "The edicts of Emperor Asoka...are in the same script." (Paranavitane 1969 p. 4) During this early period of six to seven centuries the language was hardly distinguishable from the Prakrit and the Mauryan inscriptions and suggest strongly that the language was basically a continuation of a Mauryan implant. (ibid)

The Sinhala language gets an identity of its own from the period 4th century to the 8th century, the era Geiger calls the "Proto-Sinhalese" era. The change from the early period is so sharp that Geiger names it "a period of a radical linguistic revolution." The Proto Sinhalese inscriptions "differ so much from the Brahmi inscriptions that it looks nearly like a break" (ibid P. 4.)

The extant evidence of the "Sinhala" language development is of a script closely associated with the monks and monastic

(Continued on page 29)



# Announcing the Canon copier trade-in scheme.

If you own a copier you should read this.

GARADS

**Are you stuck with an out-dated copier which requires sensitised or hard-to-get paper?**

**Are you saddled with an old copier that has outlived its economically viable age?**

**Is it the back-up service that is worrying you?**

**Or are you one of those people who wish they had bought a Canon in the first instance and nothing else?**

Whatever your problem, here is the answer.

By arrangement with our principals we are in a position to trade-in any make of copier with a Canon.



Contact

46-1/1, Ward Place, Colombo 7. Telephone 96183, 93459, 91467

# China and Mao: Another view

by Chintaka

**N** Sanmugathan, by his fairly stale interpretation of USSR's and China's contemporary history, insults not only the intelligence of his readers, but also the memory of Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet Communist party, under Stalin's leadership, eradicated the capitalist and landlord classes, and built socialism in the USSR. As Stalin makes clear in numerous writings (such as the introduction to the Soviet Constitution as well as his essay on the 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR') there was no longer any objective possibility for capitalist restoration engendered by endogenous forces. As for external forces, the Soviet Union had broken through the imperialist encirclement and extended the socialist revolution to the heart of Europe, thus creating a socialist camp.

Was Stalin's achievement so ephemeral and his contribution so puny, that Soviet socialism could be 'subverted' so easily? The bourgeois state, which is representative of only an oppressive minority, needs an armed revolution to be 'smashed'. Was the state of proletarian dictatorship in the USSR so fragile that it could be subverted merely by a change of personnel and policy lines? How could the proletarian state which represented the overwhelming majority of Soviet people and moreover had proved its strength in combat against domestic reaction as well as Fascism, be 'subverted' peacefully? We look to comrade Shan for an answer....

For too long has comrade Shan, (and Maoists in general) been characterized as 'Stalinists'. In reality, they diminish Stalin's historic achievement by speaking of his so-called mistakes, precisely in order to inflate Mao Tse-tung's stature at Stalin's expense. Maoists like Shan wave the banner of Stalin, but, by their advocacy of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" they actually oppose and besmirch the banner of Stalin. This was first pointed out by the Indian Commu-

nist leader (now of the CPI-M) B. T. Ranadive, followed by Wang Ming writing from exile in the USSR. Lately, Albania's Enver Hoxha has also upheld Stalin's contribution to Marxism-Leninism as distinct from, and opposed to, 'Mao-tse Tung Thought'. ('Imperialism and Revolution') in his critique of Maoism. Hoxha agrees with Stalin that there are no antagonistic classes (and struggle between such classes) under socialism. Is Enver Hoxha also a "modern revisionist"? The Vietnamese CP has, for its part, long defended Stalin and the Comintern while criticising the Cultural Revolution, the theory of class antagonisms after socialism has been built, and the ideological construct "Mao Tse-tung Thought".

Shan's Maoism not only denigrates (objectively) Stalin's achievement, but it also verges on Trotskyism. The world Trotskyist movement acclaimed the Cultural Revolution because it saw the GPCR as an attempt at "political revolution against the bureaucracy" utilizing the youth-Trotsky's "barometer of the revolution." Thus the GPCR certainly smacked of Trotskyism in action. As Enver Hoxha points out in his recently published 'Reflections on China', the revisionist forces in the Party certainly have to be combatted, but not by deploying non-party (and even non-proletarian) youth. The Trotskyist echoes of Mao's GPCR had previously been subjected to criticism by the Vietnamese revolutionary leadership. In fact all the parties which quite correctly "leaned towards" China during the Great Debate, have repudiated the Cultural Revolution. Though they are antagonistic on other issues, the CPSU, the Chinese CP's present leadership, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Vietnamese CP agree that the GPCR was basically negative. There is presently not a single ruling CP which acclaims the Cultural Revolution or adheres to Mao Tse-tung

Thought. Poor Shan is quite alone in the world and has really been orphaned this time....!

Shan's assertion that "unless the World Revolution takes place, imperialism will corrupt the socialist states which have a relatively isolated existence", is not different in any qualitative sense from Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. If there is such a difference, Shan should spell it out clearly. Until then, he has only succeeded in providing us with a second point of coincidence (apart from the GPCR) between Maoism and Trotskyism! As for the Stalinist view, in 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR' Stalin traces out the path from socialism to communist construction, and world revolution is not mentioned as a vital prerequisite. Just in case this is to be shrugged off by some as a "Stalinist aberration from Leninism," permit me to quote the most uncompromising internationalist revolutionary of our time, Che Guevara who said: "A socialist society could develop in a single isolated country, even under the most terrible imperialist siege such as the one Soviet Union had to face."

—(speech 'On party Militancy'- March 24th 1963)

Fidel Castro went further and said "I believe that socialism, and to a certain extent, even Communism, can be built in one country." (May Day speech-Havana -1966).

It is heartening that Shan criticizes China's foreign policy since 1971—a policy of which he himself was a casualty. But his attempt to shift the responsibility and blame onto the shoulders of Chou En Lai is unacceptable. Henry Kissinger's memoirs 'The White House Years' is the most recent confirmation of the fact that the foreign policy shift was initiated, or at least had the

DEBATE



explicit sanction, of Mao himself. Indeed Kissinger states that it was precisely this knowledge that gave him and Nixon the confidence to go ahead with their China policy. Mao's conversations with Nixon and Kissinger leave no doubt as to his role in the CCP's foreign policy shift.

After all, this was the hub of the debate with Lin Piao, who wanted to continue a two-front struggle and opposed an opening towards the USA. (Mao mentioned this to Kissinger and Nixon). Mao and Chou had a different view. Following the Tet offensive (1968) and the US intention to wind down the war (as set out by the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine, also known as the Guam Doctrine, in 1969), Mao and Chou concluded that the USA was no longer China's main external enemy, but that the USSR, was. Doubtless the Sino-Soviet border clashes, the 1968 Czech intervention and the Soviet troop buildup also contributed to Mao's changed perception. Based on the same data (Tet offensive, border clashes etc), Lin Piao had come to different conclusions — very similar, incidentally, to those expressed now by comrade Shan.

The foreign policy reorientation of the 1970's was the logical followup of this changed perception, on the part of Mao and Chou. Since 1935, Chou had been the administrator par excellence, the brilliant executor of Mao's will. This was his role in the 1970's too. As for his personal policy predilections, Albanian, Soviet, as well as Vietnamese material indicates to us that he would have preferred to normalize inter-state relations with the USSR, and would probably have done so had he lived long enough to take over the reins after Mao's demise. Some analysts predict that China's new leaders will, after strengthening the country economically and militarily, take this course of action in the not too distant future.

Shan's criticisms of China's foreign policy are, in a sense,

unfair. If the USSR is social-imperialist, it is bound to be the chief source of world war and the more aggressive of the two superpowers — since the 'younger', 'newer' imperialism is always the one that wants to redivide the globe. Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan are cases in point. So, if one does accept the thesis that the USSR is imperialist, then one should go along with the Chinese attempts to 'unite the many' and defeat the main enemy. The Chinese are consistent in this. Their conclusions derive logically from their main premises. Shan, however, tries to have the cake and eat it.

The final irony is that comrade Sanmugathasan, like Prof. Charles Bettelheim and his ilk, while seeking to diminish the achievement of Stalin in order to enhance that of Mao, finally succeeded in diminishing the contribution of Mao himself! After all, what is this theory of "capitalist restoration in China under Teng Hsiao-Peng," but a denigration of the scale, scope, depth and impact of the Chinese Revolution? The colossal social achievements of the Chinese Revolution led by Mao and the CCP, cannot be written off that easily. I strongly suggest that we adopt a balanced view of Mao, such as that held by India's Marxist Communist Party (CPI-M) which differs from the CPSU and pro-Soviet ideologues in recognizing Mao's positive achievement until 1956 (and again in the 1963 polemic with Khrushchev) while rejecting the Great Leap, the Cultural Revolution and the category of 'Mao tse-Tung Thought'. Though the CPI-M clearly rejects China's foreign policy, it refuses to adhere to the thesis of "capitalist restoration under Teng." Indeed the CPI-M considers China's new economic thinking (best articulated by Yeh Chien Yeng) as regards the internal model (not the external linkages) as a welcome return to Stalin's emphasis of the objective laws of socialism, the role of commodity production etc—quite the contrary of voluntarist and utopian Maoist economics.

In conclusion we may state that no one who considers Stalin's achievement and lifework to have been negated by capitalist restoration, can be a true Stalinist. Similarly no one who is anti-Stalin, can be a true defender of the Soviet Union. (This goes for the JVP). A true defender of the Soviet Union is one who also defends the builder and protector of the Soviet system, Joseph Stalin. A true Stalinist is one who defends the Soviet Union, not one who reviles it like Shan. Mao, somewhat like Rosa Luxemburg, was a great revolutionary who, despite his grave political mistakes, remains a great revolutionary. A true follower of his, cannot denigrate his life work by calling into question the legitimacy of socialist construction in China — which is just what Shan does today.

The errors of the USSR and PRC are located on the political and theoretical-ideological levels rather than the social or economic. To deduce from the erroneous policy lines of these ruling parties, that a qualitative change has occurred in social relations and the mode of production, is to fall prey to a mechanistic error of 'sociological' and/or 'economistic' reductionism. ('Sociologism'/'Economism')

True Marxist-Leninists (Stalinists) must defend and uphold the legitimacy of real socialism as it exists in the USSR and is being built in China. So let Shan et al make the choice, not between Stalin and Mao, but rather, between Stalin and 'Maoism'....

Comrade Shan is at present however, in a position less envious than that of the Trotskyists. Both Trotskyism and purist Maoism are now ideologies without a home in the socialist camp. Trotskyism has on its hands the tasks of world revolution as well as political revolution in the 'workers states'. Comrade Shan and his fellow Maoists have even more interesting tasks—world revolution and social (not merely political) revolution in the USSR, China, Vietnam, Cuba, Laos etc etc..... Let us wish them luck.

**If you want  
HIGHEST  
MONTHLY  
INTEREST  
and  
HIGHEST  
SECURITY  
ON TWO YEAR  
FIXED DEPOSITS**

**UP TO  
24%  
PER ANNUM  
PAYABLE MONTHLY  
ON TWO YEAR  
DEPOSITS**

Then the place to go to is

## **MERCANTILE CREDIT LIMITED**

The largest and strongest Finance Company in Sri Lanka

GROSS ASSETS OVER Rs. 150 MILLION

CAPITAL AND RESERVES OVER Rs. 12 MILLION

PUBLIC DEPOSITS OVER Rs. 100, MILLION



AMOUNT OF DEPOSIT	ANNUAL RATE OF INTEREST PLUS BONUS PAYABLE MONTHLY
Rs. 2,500 to under Rs. 25,000	18%
Rs. 25,000 to under Rs. 50,000	19%
Rs. 50,000 to under Rs. 100,000	22%
Rs. 100,000 and above	24%

For details, please contact:-

### **MERCANTILE CREDIT LIMITED**

(FINANCE DIVISION)

51-53 Janadhipathi Mawatha, Colombo 1.

Telephone: 26611-19

Branch Offices:

JAFFNA: 11/B, Stanley Road,

Telephone: 321

MATARA: 27 1/1, Dharmapala Mawatha,

Telephone: 2466

ANURADHAPURA: 2, Harischandra Mawatha,

Telephone: 534

KANDY: 901/A, Peradeniya Road,

Telephone: 4196

Agents in all other important towns.

MASTERS

# ERICH FROMM — a note

by J. Uyangoda

On the 20th of March, the BBC announced the death of Erich Fromm — a distinguished philosopher — thinker and writer of the present century. Fromm belonged to a milieu of critical thinkers which influenced and shaped, to a certain extent, the pattern of thinking of more than one generation of the Western world, especially in the Post-world war I and post-Fascist era. Among his contemporaries and fellow thinkers were Horkheimer, Adorno, Mannheim, Reich, Walter Benjamin and Mavaise.

I vividly remember the thought-provoking experience of reading Fromm for the first time. It was when I was a prisoner. Ironically enough, the particular title was "Escape From Freedom."

Erich Fromm was born in 1900 in Frankfurt to a Jewish family. First he studied sociology and psychology at the Universities of Heidelberg, Frankfurt and Munich. He was trained as a psychoanalyst too. His joining with the Frankfurt Institute of Sociology, in the 1920's, really marked the beginning of his brilliant career as an original thinker and social critic. Fromm started as an admirer of Freudian Psychology. But exhibiting his critical and independent intellect, he abandoned, in the forties both the Frankfurt Institute and Orthodox Freudianism. Since then his was an endless search for a philosophical framework for the attainment of perfections of the human being.

Fromm's attempt to synthesize the Freudian psychoanalysis with Marxian materialism makes him an original thinker. His "Marx's Concept of Man" is a clear evidence of his immense respect for Marx's ability as a psychoanalyst. In his autobiography — written in 1962, Fromm acknowledged that he was more influenced by Marx — "a figure of world historical significance" — than Freud.

In his attempt to synthesize Marx and Freud, Fromm made an effort to spell-out the basic ground rules for a social psychology. Quite correctly he was critical of the notion that psychology is applied only to the individual. In this respect, he agreed with Wilhelm Reich — another contemporary Marxist psychoanalyst. Fromm believed that individuals were never entirely from their social situation. He understood the validity of Marxism to formulate a scientific approach towards such a new social psychology. The real task, he wrote, was to supplement and enrich the basic Marxist framework. For Fromm, Marxism needed additional psychological insights. Psychoanalysis could provide the missing link between the ideological superstructure and socio economic basis.

Throughout the intellectual development of Fromm, it was the influence of Freud and Marx. One may trace it again and again. It was not for nothing that Fromm himself sub-titled his autobiography written in 1962 as "My Encounter with Marx and Freud".

The oft recurring theme in almost all the writings of Fromm is the necessity to achieve perfection of the human being. Combining psychoanalysis with socioanalysis, he came out with a severe criticism of the Western industrial society. In his works such as "The Sane Society", "May Man Prevail?" and "The Heart of Man", he examines the plight of man in a Society whose main function is to mould and channel human energy for the purpose of the continued functioning of the society, not to help man to attain a humanistic Culture with enjoyment of "freedom". Employing Marxian concept of alienation Fromm, in "The Sane Society", diagnoses, like a psychopathologist, the very sickness of the

capitalist / industrial society and also presents an optimistic prescription too. "Man can protect himself from the consequences of his own madness only by creating a sane society which conforms with the needs of man, needs which are rooted in the very conditions of his existence."

A dream about an Utopia? May be. But what is important is Fromm in his courageous, uncompromising and unflinching indictment of the contemporary insane society, and his attempt to develop an undeveloped area of Marxist thought — i. e. psychology — deserves a critical and serious examination.

---

## 'Sinhalisation' :

(Continued from page 24)

establishment gradually unfolding into a new identity after a period of several centuries. Thus the available epigraphical evidence suggests then not a transfer of populations for Sinhalisation but the growth of the language associated with institutions connected with the temple and of royalty from a language virtually indistinguishable from the Mauryan Prakrit. In short the evidence suggests the linguistic apparatus that was to become the Sinhala language was introduced in association with Buddhism and developed over the centuries in the new cultural milieu. "A study of the language of the records in the caves in Ceylon, enables one to conclude that it has by gradual changes, following natural phonological laws, given rise to the Sinhala that is spoken today." (Paranavitana 1969 p. 5) Only after a period of nearly seven centuries had it developed to make a clean break from its Prakrit/Mauryan origins and to become after development in the new (largely monastic) milieu in Sri Lanka "Sinhala" a language distinguishable from Prakrit.

Next : Cultural Processes.



# WHAT IS LENINISM ?

by J. V. S.

**S**ome say that Leninism is the application of Marxism to the conditions that were peculiar to Russia. This definition contains a particle of truth but not the whole truth by any means. Lenin indeed applied Marxism to Russian conditions and applied it in a masterly way. But if Leninism were only the application of Marxism to the conditions that are peculiar to Russia, it would be purely a Russian phenomenon. However, Leninism is not merely a Russian, but an **international** phenomenon, **rooted in the whole of international development.**

Others say that Leninism is the revival of the revolutionary elements of Marxism of the 40's of the 19th century, as distinct from the Marxism of subsequent years when it was allegedly moderate and nonrevolutionary. However the whole truth about Leninism is that it not only 'restored Marxism' but also took a step forward, developing Marxism further under the new conditions of capitalism and of the class struggle. What were these new conditions?

Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period, when developed imperialism did not yet exist; in the period of the preparation for revolution; in the period when proletarian revolution was not yet an immediate practical inevitability. But Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism — when the contradictions of capitalism had reached an extreme point; in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution — that is to say when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution had come up and passed over to a new period of direct assault on a capitalism which had become moribund. This was the period when the proletariat had already succeeded

in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets.

This is why Leninism is the further development of Marxism. What then, in the last analysis, is Leninism?

**Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.** To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

Lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism' because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their extreme limits, beyond which revolution begins. Of these contradictions Lenin identified three as the most important. The first of these is the contradiction between labour and capital. The second contradiction is that among the various financial groups and imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory. The third contradiction is the one between the handful of dominant powers and the hundreds of millions of people in the colonial, and dependent world. Such in general are the principal contradictions of imperialism which had converted the old 'flourishing' capitalism into moribund capitalism.

In his study of imperialism Lenin arrived at the law of the **uneven economic (and political) development** of the capitalist countries according to which the development of enterprises, branches of industry and individual countries itself does not proceed evenly according to an established sequence, but spasmodically, **with interruptions in the development of some countries and leaps ahead in the develo-**

*The 110th anniversary  
of Lenin's birth fell on  
April 22*

**pment of others. This was the foundation for the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, and it was precisely this that Trotsky failed to comprehend.**

Lenin identified the five chief economic features of imperialism as follows:

- (1) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
- (2) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation on this basis of finance capital, of a financial oligarchy.
- (3) The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquired exceptional importance.
- (4) The formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves.
- (5) The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is complete and the struggle for its redivision commences.

In his theory of proletarian revolution, Lenin effected a decisive rupture from the dominant revisionistic theses of the second International. The first such dogma was that the proletariat cannot and should not seize power unless it constituted an arithmetical majority in the country. The second such thesis was that without a large number of cadres who were cultured and trained in administration for a long period under capitalist conditions, the proletariat could not retain state power.

Counterposed to these theses Lenin asserted that if the proletariat succeeded in rallying round itself the mass of the oppressed populace, especially the peasantry, then, **even if itself comprised only a minority of the population it should and could seize state power.** Furthermore, the conditions of raising the cultural level of the masses and training the necessary administrative cadres could be ensured **after** the seizure of power by the proletariat. Lenin also rejected the thesis that the working class could gain socialist consciousness through their day to day trade unionist struggles for partial economic demands. He said that such a struggle could only result in an 'economistic consciousness' and argued that socialist consciousness could be brought to the proletariat only **from without**, by a vanguard party composed of intellectuals and advanced workers

**who were full time professional revolutionaries.** This was the cornerstone of the Leninist conception of the vanguard proletarian revolutionary party.

Leninism further rejected the theory of permanent revolution which asserted the impossibility of the building up of socialism in a single country.

In addition to his theory of proletarian socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, Lenin, basing himself on Marx's and Engel's writings particularly on the Irish Question, articulated **the theory of colonial revolution which would radically sap the position of world capitalism** by converting the colonies from 'reserves' of imperialism into 'reserves' of the proletarian revolution. The main features of this theory is that the colonial revolution would commence as a democratic revo-

lution which has national liberation as its objective and agrarian revolution as its main axis. This revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and having the worker-peasant alliance as its basis, would move **uninterruptedly** from the democratic to the socialist stage. Leninism thus ushered in a new era — one of liberating revolutions in the colonies which are being carried out under the leadership of an awakened proletariat.

Leninism therefore, resolved the fundamental problems not only of the socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the imperialist 'centres', **but also of revolutions at the 'periphery' of imperialism.**

In this sense, Leninism is indeed (in the words of his worthy successor at the helm of the Soviet party and state) "the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution."

# Union — a standard to measure precision by.

Union Platform Weighing Machines,  
Counter Scales and Spring Balances  
are manufactured to the highest  
international standards — your  
guarantee of absolute quality.

Manufactured by



**SAMUEL SONS & COMPANY LIMITED**

371, Old Moor Street, Colombo 12. Tel: 32341 - 4.

# LENIN : a short political biography

by G. B. Keerawella (*Assistant Lecturer in History, Peradeniya University*)

The founder of the first socialist state in the world, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) was born to a middle class family on April 22nd 1870 in Simbirsk on the Volga. His father, Ilya Nikolayevich, served first as school Inspector and later as Director of Elementary Schools in the Simbirsk Gubernia. He was the typical representative of the cultured, progressive Russian, who devoted himself entirely to the cause of popular education. Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna Blank, was the daughter of a physician. She was a woman of outstanding ability, well-educated, highly cultured, had fine intellect, and was distinguished for her strength of will and firmness of character. Lenin had two brothers: Alexander, Dimitri and three sisters: Anna, Maria and Olga.

Lenin spent his childhood and youth on the Volga, in Simbirsk, Kazan and Samara. These were typical peasant regions which afforded him opportunities of observing peasant life: its poverty and ignorance, inhuman slavery and brutal exploitation. The period of Lenin's school days and youth was one of the darkest periods of Russian history. Lenin himself referred to this repressive reign of the Tzar Alexander III when Tsarism triumphed after crushing the revolutionary movement of the 1870's, as "unbridled, incredibly senseless and brutal reaction."

Young Lenin was greatly influenced by his elder brother, Alexander. Alexander was a serious, thoughtful lad, very self-disciplined and imbued with a high sense of duty. He studied at St. Petersburg University and spent his summer vacations at home. During the vacations of 1885 and 1886 he brought home with him a copy of Marx's 'Capital', which Lenin began to read.

The year 1887 marked the turning point in Lenin's life when the family were in Kazan. In that

year he irrevocably took the path of revolution. On March 1, Lenin's elder brother was arrested for complicity in the plot against the life of Tzar Alexander III and was executed on May 8, 1887. Lenin's eldest sister, who was also a student in St. Petersburg, was arrested at the same time. The death of his brother was an important factor making Lenin decide to take the path of revolution. But much as he admired his brother's heroism he, already at that time, considered that individual terrorist methods of fighting Tsarism were mistaken and that the goal could not be reached that way.

Lenin soon established contact with revolutionaries and joined a students' circle. At the end of November 1887, disorder broke out in the Moscow University and quickly spread to the Universities in the provinces. On December 4, 1887 disorders broke out at the Kazan University. Lenin took a very active part in it, and that very night, he was arrested. On December 5, 1887, Lenin was expelled from the University and two days later was deported to the village of Kokustino, in the Kazan Gubernia, and placed under secret police surveillance. Thus, Lenin received his revolutionary baptism in his first conflict with tsarism at the age of seventeen. From that time onwards he devoted his whole life to struggle against autocracy and capitalism, to the struggle for the emancipation of the working people from oppression and exploitation.

Early in October, 1886 Lenin received permission to return to Kazan, but he was refused re-admission to the University. In Kazan, he made the acquaintance of members of different illegal revolutionary circles in which the works of Marx and also Plekhanov's polemical writings against the Narodniks were read and discussed. Lenin joined one of the Marxist

circles organised in Kazan by N. E. Fedoseyev.

In those days the Marxist movement faced great difficulties as Narodism still exercised enormous influence over the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia, and was the main obstacle to the spread of Marxism. There were very few adherents of the tenets of Marxism in Russia at that time.

On May, 1889, Lenin went to live in the Samara Gubernia with his family. At the time of Lenin's arrival in Samara there were several circles of revolutionary minded youth in that city. One of the most prominent of these was that conducted by A. P. Sklyarenka. This circle studied historical, economic and philosophical questions, and also the peasant question. In general, it followed the Narodnik trend. Influenced by Lenin, members of the circle abandoned Narodnik views and became Marxist.

While in Samara, Lenin continued to study the works of Marx and Engels. Lenin himself translated the "Communist Manifesto" into Russian. This translation was read in manuscript in the Samara circles.

In the autumn in 1889 Lenin applied for permission to take his examinations for the Law Degree and in the spring of 1890 he was permitted to take his examination at St. Petersburg University. In January 1892 Lenin was admitted to the bar, and in March he began to act as a barrister at the Samara Circuit Court. His clients were mainly poor peasants. His first clients were prosecuted on the charge of having used blasphemous language against God, the Holy Virgin, the Holy Trinity, His Majesty, the Emperor, and his heir, by saying that His Majesty was not ruling justly!

Lenin lived in Samara for over four years. Around Lenin was formed the first Circle of Samara Marxists. His studies of Russian



economics and history and the papers he read in the circles in Samara. In August 1893 Lenin left Samara and arrived at St. Petersburg, the political hub of Russia.

At the time Lenin arrived several revolutionary youth circles were functioning in St. Petersburg. Lenin established contact with one of them. This was a remnant of the social democratic organization led by Brusnev. It was a secluded group of Marxists who had contacts only with individual advanced workers, divorced from the political life of the country. Lenin set out to turn the St. Petersburg group of social democrats to the path of practical political activity among the masses. A determining factor in this was his paper on "The so-called question of Markets", criticising Krassin, a member of the St. Petersburg group of Social Democrats. In this paper Lenin gave his celebrated outline of the causes and course of the development of capitalism. He traced the historical process of disintegration of simple commodity production, and its evolution into capitalist production.

In January 1894, Lenin visited his relatives in Moscow, where he stayed for two or three weeks. At that time a medical congress was in progress there at which many representatives of the Liberal and Radical intelligentsia were present. The Narodniks took this opportunity to arrange a secret gathering, at which the then well known Liberal Narodnik author Vorontsov delivered a lecture. Lenin, who by chance happened to be present at this gathering, took part in the debate and subjected the lecture to such withering criticism that it became evident to all present that the better of the debate had been gained by the young Marxist.

During the spring and summer of 1894 Lenin wrote his celebrated book "What the 'Friends of the people' are How They Fight the Social Democrats." In this book Lenin tore the mask from the Liberal Narodniks and exposed their true colours. He proved that the degeneration of Narodism was inevitable and true nature of

the Liberal Narodniks as the champion of the interests of the larks. But this work was something more than a critique of Narodism. It was the manifesto of the nascent revolutionary Marxist party in Russia. With amazing precision he traced the historical course of development of the working-class of Russia and formulated the main tasks of the Russian marxists.

While combating Narodism, Lenin attacked the temporary "fellow travellers" who had attached themselves to Marxism, the so-called 'Legal Marxists', who were, in fact, bourgeois Liberals. He launched his campaign against "Legal Marxism" by attacking its foremost exponent, Peter Struve, who had proposed that the Russian Marxists should admit that they "lack culture and got to learn from capitalism." In the autumn of 1894, at a private gathering of St. Petersburg Marxists at which representatives of 'Legal Marxists' were present he read a paper entitled "The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature" in which he strongly and emphatically denounced Struve's views and exposed the Liberal Bourgeoisie nature of the 'Legal Marxist.'

At that time, however, Lenin deemed it possible to form a temporary 'bloc' with the 'Legal Marxists', with a view to utilizing them in a fight against the Narodniks. This bloc strikingly revealed the main feature of the line Lenin pursued in all his subsequent political blocs and agreements, viz. insistence that the proletariat should maintain complete ideological, political and organizational independence and enjoy complete freedom to criticize its temporary and unreliable allies. As a result of this agreement a volume of essays appeared in 1895 entitled 'Materials for a characterization of our economic Development', containing contributions by Lenin, Plekhanov, Struve and others.

In the winter of 1894, Lenin made the acquaintance of Nadezda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, a teacher at a Sunday night school for adults in the Nevskaya Zastava district. From that time onwards, N. K. Krupskaya became Lenin's

life-long companion and comrade in revolutionary activities.

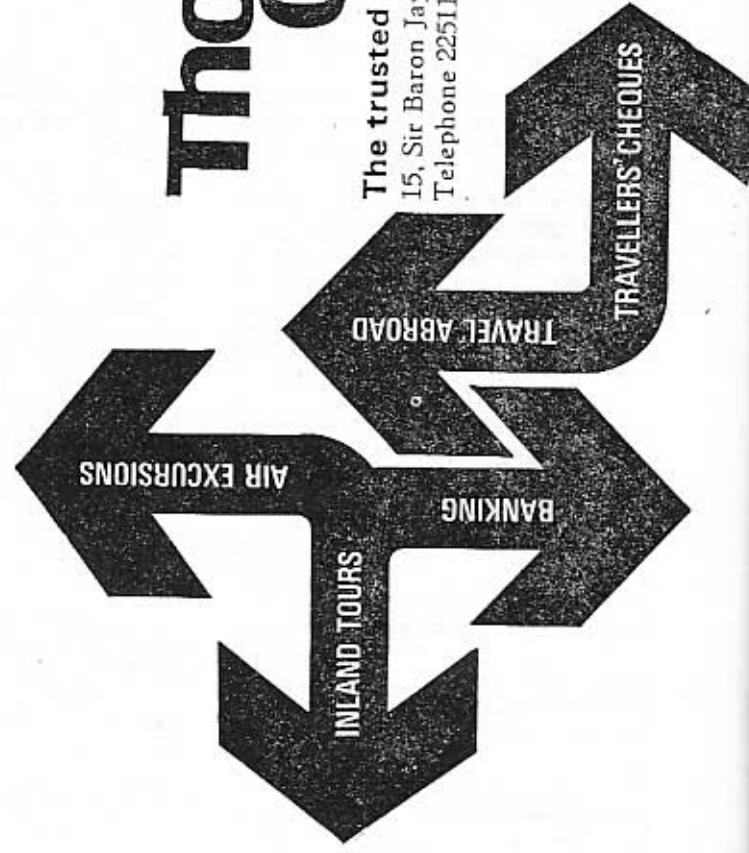
In February 1895, unrest broke out among the workers employed at the New Port. Under Lenin's guidance, the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats issued a leaflet bearing the heading "what the Dock Workers should Try to Attain" and containing a list of the demands. The leaflet had a profound effect upon the workers. The port authorities were compelled to yield. As a result of it, the prestige and influence of the Social Democrats grew immensely.

At the same time Lenin vigorously attacked those who tried to confine agitation exclusively to economic questions, who wanted to restrict the worker's struggle solely to economic struggles against the employers. Lenin was obliged to take up the fight against the first symptoms of 'economism' as early as the beginning of 1895, at a conference held in St. Petersburg of representatives of the Social democrat groups in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Vilna at which the question of initiating works of agitation on a wide scale and of establishing close contact with the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, were discussed. At this conference two lines became revealed — revolutionary and opportunist. As a result, no agreement could be reached on the question of choosing a delegate to establish contact with the Emancipation of Labour Group in Switzerland. Consequently, two persons were sent. The St. Petersburg Social-Democrats chose Lenin as their delegate.

On April 25, 1895 Lenin left for Switzerland, and there, for the first time, he met Plekhanov. He reached an understanding with Plekhanov and other members of the E.L.G. regarding the conduct of joint activity, and discussed with them a number of questions of principle concerning policy and organization. During the negotiations it was revealed that disagreements existed between Lenin and Plekhanov on certain questions of principle. After reading Lenin's essays on criticism of Struve, Plekhanov, expressed opposition to Lenin's tactics towards Liberals,

(Continued on page 37)

# What's in a name? Everything~ when it's Thomas Cook. 870 offices in 145 countries.



**Thomas  
Cook**

The trusted name in travel. Everywhere.  
15, Sir Baron Jayatilake Mawatha Colombo 1.  
Telephone 22511-13 Telex 1278

GARADS

# The curtain comes down on Sinhala literature

by H. A. Seneviratne

**S**ri Lanka today faces a grave cultural crisis which is in no way second to its economic crisis. The net result of this double crisis is a deepening social crisis which will affect the life of all Sri Lankans in the profoundest way.

The best way to understand this problem would be to analyse the literary scene of the last decade, since literature to a great extent sets the tempo for the other arts.

As the new decade dawned, what remained in the field of literature was only the debris of pseudo-literary revivals of the previous one-and-a-half decades. The shameless degradation of not only literature but of human values as well was revealed by the exposure of the fact that the selections for the state awards for the best literary works in 1979 were made in a manner so unbecoming. So much so that the prize for poetry was awarded to a writer whose book was originally published in 1946 and reprinted with amendments in 1976! When this matter was exposed by a new Sinhala weekly ('Sathdina') the literary world was not even shocked. Things were not expected to be any better.

The mainstream mass media, controlled whether by the state or by vested interests, are completely hostile to any form of genuine and free discussion even in the field of literature. This has resulted in a literature that is most servile and opportunistic. What is worse is that this type of literature is buttressed by a similar kind of literary criticism. Needless to say these trends are antagonistic to artistic development.

In addition to these factors the prevailing commercialism

is most uncongenial to any form of creativity. Creative writers are among the worst exploited sections of Sri Lankan society. A writer receives, after sale, a meagre 10 per cent of the price of his book from the publisher. There is no check on the number of copies of a book that is printed by the publisher. The writer has to accept "the word of honour" of the publisher about the number of copies of the book printed as well as the number sold. What really happens is that a writer of a book receives far less than the monthly wage of a casual unskilled worker, whose monthly wage is about Rs. 250 or less! Therefore, in order to make money to live, the writer in Sri Lanka has to seek employment as a full-time clerk, journalist, teacher or university lecturer. In Sri Lanka these are jobs in the lower rungs of the decadent establishment and the writer loses his independence, and free-time.

Writers with independence find it extremely difficult today to bear the very high cost of printing to publish their own works. Even if they manage to do so, (invariably by getting into debt,) they are blocked at the distribution point, among other things, by the demand of a 40 per cent cut by the publishers who are in most cases distributors and book-sellers as well.

The stage is set for the curtain to fall on the tragi-comic drama of Sinhala literature.

The so-called literary revival of the late 50s and the 60s had within it the germs of the present crisis. It was around the literary school known as the 'Peradeniya school of literature', which based its aesthetic in the scholastic hot-house that this so-called revival took place.

The "Peradeniya school" had no real roots in the social life of people. The higher the education received the more up-rooted a person became.

The writers of the "Peradeniya school" could not grasp the essential link between life as enacted in a particular social context and the universal drama of life. What they showed was at best a superficial influence of world literature drawn from the works of writers like D. H. Lawrence, Andre Gide and Anton Chekhov.

Had the writers of the "Peradeniya School" aspired to produce creative works about their own pathetic alienation they would have perhaps produced genuine works of art. But they did not possess the broad outlook—again due to the type of education they received—to understand their own problem.

The early writers of the "Peradeniya school" had received a colonial type of narrow academic education in the English medium of instruction. This was enough for them to become alienated from the rest of society. This made them men of limited experience with no proper insight even to see through that limited experience.

They instinctively addressed an audience similar to themselves. It looked as if they addressed this audience in Sinhala—the only link they could establish with the majority of the people simply because that audience was beginning to receive its higher education in that language. By 1960, Sinhala, through gradual extension by government, under pressure from the majority, had become the medium of instruction for the majority of high-school and university students.



The socio-economic and cultural problems of the Sinhala educated high school students and undergraduates were quite different from those of their English educated predecessors. Problems such as unemployment and social insecurity loomed large in the mind of this Sinhala-educated intelligentsia.

Nevertheless, the works of the writers of the "Peradeniya school" had a ready market among this intelligentsia. These writers were getting their works prescribed as text-books or supplementary readers for high-school and university examinations. University dons who were at the forefront of the "Peradeniya school" in turn extolled in their reviews these works as classics.

This artificially created literary boom had to collapse. Its barrenness was getting exposed. The moment the government, in a futile, haphazard and desperate attempt to alleviate youth problems effected a superficial change in the type of education, from an "academic" to a "vocational" one, the "Peradeniya school" lost its artificially created readership. Students switched to subjects like commerce under the new curriculum and gave up reading literature!

The early 70's marked the natural demise of the "Peradeniya school". Its place was taken by another "school" that took cover under the banner of "socialist realism". This "school" came out vehemently against what it called the idealistic literature of its predecessors. This was a time when in politics too "socialism" became a catchword of the opportunist. The advocates of the so-called school of socialist realism were to get away with their infantile "theories of art", though for a short time. The main reason for this was the inherent weakness of the "Peradeniya school".

Earlier, the "Peradeniya school" had become a tool of the establishment by getting their works approved as text-books and supplementary readers. The "school of socialist realism" went further. Its advocates took positions of influence within the bureaucracy of the Department of Cultural Affairs and became cultural policemen. Their worthless works, acclaimed as masterpieces by themselves and the servile critics, were bought up by the establishment and distributed to libraries.

Some of these gentlemen have now shown a rare ability to change their political complexion with the political change from "socialism" to "righteousness". Though they win awards in this manner, their integrity and stature as artists are at stake. What is worse for them is that it looks as if opportunism has come to its dead end.

The new, or rather the "reformed" clique of literary opportunists have not been able to found a new "school" or a literary "theory" of any kind. But they are there, to be sure.

As things stand in the field of literature today, there has to be a new beginning. In the new decade the handful of genuine writers who withstood the pull towards literary opportunism and suffered materially will be able to play an important role, along with the unspoiled writers of the new generation. In its wake there will be born a real literary tradition pointing the way towards a revival of the arts and towards the removal of the intellectual, social, economic and organisational impediments placed before the artist. Then, as the curtain rises again, it will be a new drama with real actors of stature on the stage.

## CEYLON BULBS & ELECTRICALS LTD.,

MANUFACTURERS OF SUPERGLOW, JAYANTHI  
AND  
DAYLIGHT ELECTRIC BULBS

*Address;*

60, Rodney Street,  
Colombo 8.

Telephone: 95567, 96751

Cables: 'Lamplight'

# TAMIL DRAMA

by K. S. Sivakumaran

After a disheartening start of farces and comedies in the Fifties and historical romances and semi-classical themes in the Sixties and socially-conscious committed plays in the Seventies, Tamil drama in the country, particularly in Colombo, continues to show some strength. Cultivating a taste for good theatre among the Tamil audiences, is in the process.

The beginning of this decade has seemingly opened the vistas as it were, for theatregoers of the Tamil speaking communities, judging by the translations or adaptations of foreign plays into Tamil and performing them on the stage. Not that this exercise was absent earlier but the rapidity with which these translated plays go on boards with a vengeance is strikingly phenomenal.

In the seventies social relevance was the criterion; whether to present a foreign play or not. Now it is a question of extending the frontiers to accommodate even psychological themes. These translations or adaptations serve a useful function in the current social and political climate to throw in the European or American experience to Tamil theatregoers who may not have read the originals either in English or any other language. Before they reject any as irrelevant they should be given an opportunity to see what these plays are and not pontificated by parochially interested dogmatists. Besides translations or rather the act of translating also helps potential dramatists to learn the craft of playwriting and directing modern plays. It must be admitted that unlike fiction, poetry and criticism, plays are inadequately produced by local Tamil writers.

At this point I must mention that among the various drama groups functioning in Colombo and Jaffna there seems to be an unhealthy feeling of animosity

towards each other taking the better of them, which is not a good sign. This is not wise, particularly when what is to be gained by translations far outweigh what one may consider adverse affects.

The Performing Arts Society of Sri Lanka, which has been consistently performing in recent times the role of a cultural ambassador in introducing the best from the west, is naturally at the receiving end.

Thanks to [Nirmala Nithiyannathan who is knowledgeable (translating and performing) and K. Balendra (acting and directing), this group is becoming immensely popular; but rival groups who are competent in their own way have forgotten that they too graduated from translating foreign plays first. Established in December 1978, this enthusiastic and abundantly talented group of Balendra, Nirmala Nithiyannathan and Anandarani Rajaratnam has so far produced ten plays and performed forty times, in Colombo Kandy, Jaffna and Trinco. The foreign plays include: The Glass Menagerie, Exception and the Rule, The House of Bernada Alba and a play by Ionesco.

Just a brief note on the last performance of Garcia Lorca's play by The Performing Arts Society of Sri Lanka:

The poetic tragedy of the House of Bernada Alba took the name of ORU PALAI VEEDU in Tamil. It was strikingly similar at superficial levels to conditions still prevailing in some orthodox homes in Jaffna. Strict discipline over un-married daughters and their waiting-in for marriage on account of lack of dowry and for other status considerations are all still prevalent in Jaffna today.

Except for Nirmala and Anandarani, the other women players were all new to the Colombo stage.

While the decor, costume, lighting and even music were apt choices the intonation in rendering the poetic lines of Lorca by most new actresses, however remained monotonous. This could have been rectified had the players been playing in an unaffected way. The pace of the play was understandably slow as it was set in the early part of this century in a remote village in Spain, where women lived in an un-assertive atmosphere.

A word about the translation itself: While admitting that it is extremely difficult to render in one language the poetic essence of another, one can try best to make the style flexible. Nirmala Nithiyannathan as far as possible tried to equate the Spanish idiom via English in the appropriate Jaffna idiom, but some how in most places it did not fit in as easily as one would imagine it in an original play. But the effort was encouraging.

## Lenin : a short . . .

(Continued from page 33)

remarking "you turn your backs on the Liberals, we turn our faces towards them". Plekhanov underrated the role and importance of peasantry as the ally of the proletariat, and regarded the Liberal bourgeoisie as the driving force of the impending bourgeoisie-democratic revolution in Russia. Disagreement in theory was also revealed on the number of questions pertaining to historical materialism.

Engels died in August 1895, towards the end of Lenin's stay abroad. Lenin wrote an obituary notice entitled "Frederick Engels", which was published in the magazine Rabotnik, issue No. 1-2. This short article is the best of what exists in international literature on the life and activities of the companion of Marx — Frederick Engels.

(To be concluded)

# Pushkin and the tree of power

by Reggie Siriwardena

LITERATURE

Pushkin's poem **The Upas Tree**, which I have translated here, was written by him in 1828, in one of the darkest periods of reaction in Tsarist Russia, following the crushing of the Decembrist revolt of 1825, in which aristocratic radicals in the army attempted to overthrow the despotic regime. Pushkin was a friend of several of the Decembrists, and his early poems, in which he attacked tyranny and serfdom, and for which he was exiled to the South of Russia by Tsar Aleksandr I, are believed to have played a part in propagating the Decembrists' ideals of freedom. Pushkin is reported to have told Tsar Nikolai I later that if he had been in St. Petersburg on the day of the uprising, he would have taken his place with his friends.

In **The Upas Tree** Pushkin has found a poetic symbol for an authoritarian society that was not only immediately relevant to Tsarist Russia but transcends particularities of time and place and carries a profound resonance even today. In its spare and austere strength, which comes from the stripping of the poetry to bare essentials, **The Upas Tree** reminds one of the greatest poems of Blake. And like many of Blake's **The Upas Tree** is about the inhumanity of power. To the prince the slave is only an instrument to be used, as much as the arrows with which he visits death on neighbouring lands. That is why the upas tree is the terrifying symbol of anti-human power: prince and upas tree are in the end identified.

Like all great artists, Pushkin sees political power in terms of the relationships between human beings. In the prince's imperious glance, in the slave dying humbly on a mat at the lord's feet, is focussed the whole quality of life of a society whose relationships

## THE UPAS TREE

In a desert parched and barren,  
Rare for human eye to see,  
Like a fearful sentinel  
Stands a single upas tree.

Thirsting nature gave it birth  
On a day of wrath, and fed  
Roots and boughs with poisonous life,  
Quickening its foliage dead.

Through the bark the poison oozes,  
Melting in the noonday sun,  
Hardening in the evening chill  
To a thick transparent gum.

Never flies a bird towards it,  
Never tiger wanders there;  
Only black whirlwinds sweep past,  
Touching, turn to deadly air.

Straying rain-clouds water it;  
From the thick leaves trickle down  
Streams of poisoned water-drops  
To the sun-scorched desert brown.

With imperious glance one man  
Sent another to the tree;  
He set out, and the next dawn  
Poison brought, obediently.

Deadly resin and dry leaves  
Low before the prince he set;  
From his whitened brow there streamed  
Rivulets of icy sweat.

His strength ebbing, on a mat  
Under the tent's roof he lay;  
At the invincible lord's feet  
Humbly passed the slave away.

In that poison the prince steeped  
Docile arrows for his bands,  
Death and terror ceaselessly  
Spread throughout the neighbouring  
lands.

sre based on absolute power, on domination and submission. Like Blake who spoke of 'the mind-forged manacles', Pushkin sees the character-structures of a repressive society to be based on the internalisation of oppression: the inhuman power of the prince finds its reflection in the total submission of the slave, as docile as the prince's arrows.

In measuring one language against another, the translator often comes face to face with the inherent differences between them. Stanza 6 of the poem begins in the original Russian: **No cheloveka chelovek poslal** (literally, 'But man sent man'). In the Russian **man** and **man** are set side by side in the sentence, as object and subject — **cheloveka chelovek**. Russian grammar makes this possible because it is an inflected language, and can therefore make use of a flexible and variable word-order. Man-subject and man-object, both the natural equality of the two men as human beings and the denial of that equality in the relationship of power — all this is summed up in the juxtaposition of those two Russian words with an economy and concentrated force that English can't parallel.

The French writer Prosper Mérimée, in writing on Pushkin a century ago, commented that only Latin and Russian could achieve the concise syntax of these lines in **The Upas Tree**, and he actually translated them into Latin to prove his point. Of a great poet it can be said that he brings to realisation the expressive resources latent in his native language. That is what Pushkin, who virtually created the Russian literary language, does in his poetry.





## **A unified and unique contribution through diversification**

The Browns Group of Companies cover almost every aspect of trade, industrial and agricultural development in Sri Lanka. With the accent on Group Progress through diversification and specialisation, each Member or Associate Company is equipped to provide services and goods of the highest standard. Yet the Group, as a whole, is based on a concept of unified service, which assures you of the overall benefits of its combined resources.

### **THE BROWNS GROUP OF COMPANIES**

481, Darley Road, Colombo 10. P. O. Box 200, Tel. 91171 - 8  
AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, ENGINEERING, TRANSPORT,  
TOURISM, EXPORTS, TRADE.

# Playing The Game

The British attack on the Somme during the First World War (July 1, 1916) has gone down in history as one of the great military disasters caused by the incompetence of the high command (casualties: 60,000 out of 100,000 on the first day). But the catastrophic opening of the battle was also marked by an extraordinary incident which casts an illuminating light on the values of the British upper class.

During his last leave in England before the battle, Captain W. P. Nevill, a company commander in the 8th East Surreys, had bought four footballs. He offered one football to each of the platoons in his company, and promised a prize to the platoon which, on the day of the attack, first kicked its football up to the German front line. I quote, from Paul Fussell's superb study, **The Great War and Modern Memory**, an eye-witness account of what happened at zero-hour:

'As the gunfire died away I saw an infantryman climb onto the parapet into No Man's Land, beckoning others to follow. As he did so he kicked off a football. A good kick. The ball rose and travelled well towards the German line. That seemed to be the signal to advance.'

Professor Fussell adds: 'Captain Nevill was killed instantly. Two of the footballs are preserved today in English museums.'

What lay behind this astonishing episode was, of course, the English public-school sporting ethic, incarnated by Henry Newbolt in his equation of war and cricket in **Vitai Lampada**, with its refrain, 'Play up, play up, and play the game!' Captain Nevill's feat, in fact, received a tribute from an anonymous versifier quoted by professor Fussell:

'True to the land that bore them,  
The SURREYS play the game.'

I recommend to any reader interested in the history, the mythology and the literary expression of the First World War Paul Fussell's

AS I  
LIKE IT

Touchstone

book, a brilliant fusion of sociology and literary criticism. Professor Fussell, who teaches at Rutgers University, passed through Colombo a few years ago and gave a lecture and a radio interview here

## The Queen's English

Hearing the other day of an SLBC announcer who insisted that the only correct pronunciation of **mature** was 'matyoor'—a pronunciation very rare among even educated Sri Lankan speakers of English—I was reminded of an incident in which I was involved many years ago in one of the studios of the SLBC.

There were three of us rehearsing a programme in the company of a producer, and he disagreed with one of the artistes about the pronunciation of a word. Since they couldn't agree, the producer sent to the library for a copy of Daniel Jones's **English Pronouncing Dictionary**. When the book arrived, I asked, 'But why look up Daniel Jones? How's that going to help?' Astonished, the producer said, 'But surely Daniel Jones is the authority on English pronunciation.' 'Have you read Daniel Jones's introduction?' I asked him. He hadn't. I then read to him these paragraphs from the introduction:

'The object of the present dictionary is to **record**... the pronunciation used by a considerable number of typical **Southern English** people in ordinary conversation.. (My emphasis.)

'I wish also to state that I have no intention of becoming either a reformer of pronunciation or a judge who decides what pronunciations are 'good' and what are 'bad'. My aim is to observe and record accurately, and I do not believe in the feasibility of imposing one particular form of pronunciation on the English-speaking world. I take the view that people should be allowed to speak as they like.'

INVITE US TO  
CATER FOR  
YOUR PARTY

6  
to  
60  
or  
more

## PAGODA

Catering is our speciality.

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

## PAGODA

RESTAURANT too

is available for your party.

Phone: 23086, 29236.

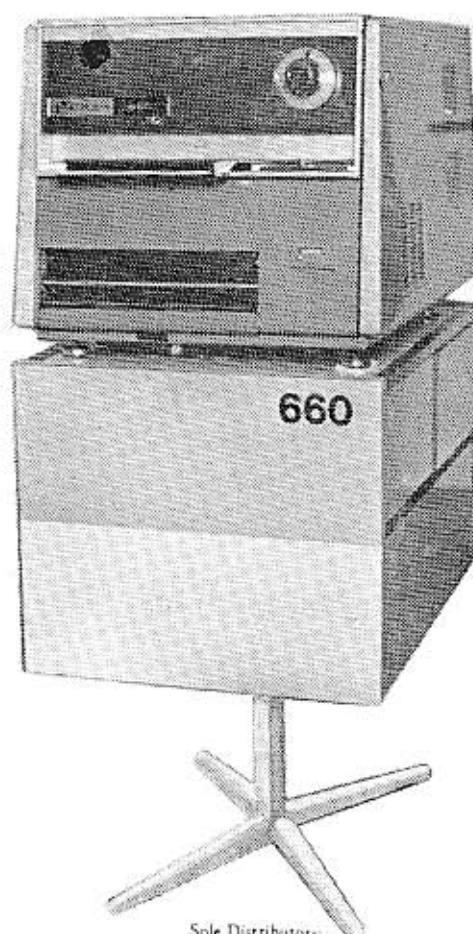


## PAGODA

105, Chatham Street,  
Colombo 1.

Cyril Rodrigo Restaurant  
Ltd.

The  
economical  
**Xerox 660**  
Desk Top  
Copier



Sole Distributors:

**CEYLON THEATRES LTD**

8, Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha, Colombo 2.  
Telephone 31243



# Air Lanka now serves thirteen countries

Air Lanka's network now covers London, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Bahrain, Dubai, the Maldives, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Trivandrum, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. A total of 13 countries and no less than 50 flights weekly between Sri Lanka and the world.

And wherever you fly with us, you'll be served in the warm and gentle style you'd expect from the airline of the country that travellers throughout history have thought of as Paradise.

Call your Travel Agent or Air Lanka.

**AIRLANKA** 

*A taste of Paradise*

