

EXCLUSIVE

CAPITALISM AND WORLD-ECONOMY

— Immanuel Wallerstein

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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THE CHAMP versus

THE REST

- * **Sarachchandra
and culture**
— H. A. Seneviratne
- * **Jayantha
Somasundaram
on Bishop Leo**
- * **Voyeurism and
the Sinhala film**
— Reggie Siriwardena
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PEASANT PROTEST

While the attention of political commentators in Colombo is focussed almost exclusively on the Presidential polls, other, deeper social processes need to be noted. On the 9th of September, one of the most important of these processes manifested itself in Colombo. Over 750 peasants, from all parts of the Island, including Jaffna, converged on Colombo to present a petition to the President. The petition protested the leasing out of lands to Foreign and Local companies, the eviction of peasants from their lands, and the incarceration of peasants who have defaulted on loans. While lands have already been leased to Ceylon Tobacco Company and Nestles, a total of 140,000 acres of land are earmarked for such leases to other Foreign companies. Peasant organisers said that this is based on a compilation, over a year, of figures mentioned by various Government politicians and quoted in the state-run press. The main site of their proposed carve-up is the Mahaweli H area. Meanwhile, in Polonaruwa, peasant families are being evicted from lands they have tilled for many years. Asked by the L.G. about Minister Gamini Dissanayake's 'Swarnabhoomi' programme, a peasant unionist replied that it was a drop in the bucket. A token gesture anyway. 'Swarnabhoomi' was also a sleight-of-hand, because much more was being snatched with one hand, than was being given with the other.

The peasant organisers also pointed out that while smugglers of gold bars got away scot-free, peasants who were unable to pay back their loans, were actually being taken into custody.

NEW FORCE

The 750 peasants were joined in Colombo by about 450 trade unionists and those was a picket line stretching from the GCSU building to the CTO. During repeated confrontation with baton-carrying Police, which narrowly missed turning bloody, the peasants shouted militant slogans and displayed high morale. Initially permission was refused for the petition to be given to President Jayewardene. After protracted

negotiations the Police agreed to let 2 representatives through. When this was rejected by the demonstrators, the Police gave permission for 8 representatives. That too was turned down by the peasants whose mood had turned even more militant. Finally, a total of 8 representatives — 1 each from the 6 peasant unions, 1 Buddhist monk and 1 Christian priest — were acceded to. When these representatives reached Ward Place they were met by the President's secretary who accepted the petition and informed them that Mr. Jayewardena had to leave on urgent state business.

Meanwhile the demonstrators arrived at De Mel Park and staged a rally which was less successful than the picket line because many had to leave Colombo early.

The presence of peasants from Jaffna and Hambantota, the support from Buddhist and Christian priests, the joint participation of peasant unions and urban trade unions may make September 9th the forerunner of a powerful new phenomenon of more fundamental significance than the spin of the electoral roulette wheel.

GREEN BERETS

At least in the old days it was "Foggy, Foggy Dew", good British stuff. But now we see it is the song from "The Green Berets". According to a Weekend report, the commander of our "Maroon Berets" sings this song in his fine baritone voice.

When the film starring John Wayne ("The Green Berets") was screened the quality press in the United States tore it to shreds for its naked racism and its idolization of gratuitous violence. Vietnam veterans, mainly black, who knew what "the Green Berets" actually did in Vietnam demonstrated outside movie houses, and others threw beer cans at John Wayne's picture.

There's also a report in a left-wing paper that, our Maroon Berets throw commando knives at cardboard targets — the targets are Opposition politicians! Has the Defence Ministry checked out this story?

Greetings

Greetings! Thank you for the complimentary copies of the Lanka Guardian. Believe it or not, I heard of the article through a journalist friend in Bangkok who photocopied the piece and sent it to me.

I really do like the punchy style of your journal. Too many newspapers and magazines in our part of the world are far too pusillanimous to take any sort of stand on any sort of issue. I shall be taking out a subscription to your journal shortly... but in the meantime I enclose a couple of poems for possible publication in the Guardian as

(Continued on page 17)

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Few hours that changed the electoral mood

NEWS
BACKGROUND

On Friday, Sept. 10, just a week before Nomination Day, the electoral mood of the country changed dramatically. The single frontpage picture of Mrs. Bandaranaike in the ISLAND that morning reflected best the suddenly transformed political climate. A smiling, effusive, triumphant Mrs. Bandaranaike had replaced the stern, introspective, subdued, downcast Mrs. B. of the past year.

The few hours between Thursday's six o'clock news bulletin announcing the Election Commissioner's decision on the rival claimants to the title and insignia of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Mr. Maitripala Senanayake's decision to announce his withdrawal from the Presidential contest had an almost electrifying effect on the morale of all SLFP supporters. And the SLFP is, and has been for 25 years, the rallying point of all anti-UNP forces. So the converse also confirmed this same impression. Known UNP supporters and stalwarts, strutting about confidently up to Wednesday, found it difficult to conceal new doubts and anxieties, and a sagging self-assurance.

Phrases like "cake-walk" and "one horse race" have slipped out of all conversations on the most hotly discussed and debated issue of the moment. Whatever happens, whatever the final line-up when the tape goes up, the front-runners are bound to find this a closely contested race.

Those commentators and analysts, both in the local and foreign press, who measured the political significance of the SLFP split, exclusively or primarily, in terms of the relative strength of the SLFP (S) and SLFP (M) came to the common conclusion that the popular identification of the party with the Bandaranaiques, and Mrs. Bandaranaike's own personality and long

experience at the helm would be decisive factors. Doubtless they were right.

S. L. F. P. Morale

But their approach to the problem missed a fact of far greater political importance — the stark, highly visible fact of division at the Centre, the self-inflicted wounds of protracted factional strife at the leadership level did incalculable damage to the SLFP organisations at the



Maitripala

district branch level, and to the morale of the party's support bases, nationally. Organisation and morale — both took a terrible beating. And no party can be mobilised for a battle of the kind that a Presidential election represents, in conditions of organisational disruption and low spirit.

As a student of military science, President Jayewardene would be the first and best equipped to enlighten us on the vast difference between fielding a tightly-knit, disciplined army of 500,000 men of high morale and commanding a force twice that size, but ill-organised, confused, dispirited. The



Anura

SLFP "vote" (well over 2 million now) was in no condition to put up the sort of life-and-death struggle in which it has boldly engaged the "main enemy" since 1956.

But today the SLFP is in opposition, and therefore must take the offensive. The mood of the country is oppositional. The people are waiting to defeat the UNP. But there is a great divide between wish and fulfilment. The voter is an individual, and how he will vote he keeps a secret to the very end. Why antagonise a powerful government? The wisdom accumulated through 50 years of suffrage, and the instincts of self-preservation and self-interest dictate that he should remain silent.

Silent Majority

All the more reason, why the 'silent majority' has to be organised, given leadership and thrown into battle. When the UNP is in office, the defeated minority gradually turning into a silent majority, wait for the SLFP to take the lead, seize the initiative. The same is true when the SLFP is in power. The oppositional mood fastens, out

of sheer psychological habit, on the UNP.

That is why the discord and division in the SLFP — a subject to which the *Lanka Guardian* has given as much attention as it has to the "Eelam" issue or the JVP — became a new, incalculable, and immeasurably important factor in Sri Lankan politics, and with the actual announcement of the election, the crucial factor.

This became even more evident — and to the SLFP rank-and-file, tragically so — when new differences inside the SLFP led by Mrs. B. turned out to be more than newspaper speculation.

Who would be the Candidate? In terms of seniority and service to the party, the claims of T. B. Illangaratne, now No. 2, were indisputable. Mr. Illangaratne and his wife have been associated with the party from its inception; truth, even before its creation. But the decision-making body, the C. C., plainly favoured Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa,

Yet, there was no doubt of the groundswell of support for young Anura Bandaranaike. As a counter to the single argument of youth and inexperience were the advantages of name and lineage (son of two prime ministers) and his policy posture generally described as "moderate" and "pragmatic" vis-a-vis Mr. Kobbekaduwa's "radical" or "left-leaning labels."

The SLFP, recovering from its first 'coronary,' now had its second attack. The tremors were felt throughout the true-blue body politic as Anura and Anura-loyalists held meetings from Nuwara Eliya to Bulathsinghala and Akmeenana, and the so-called Hector-Actor group (Mr. Kobbekaduwa and Mr. Kumaratunge) held their own "exclusive" rallies.

Despite a press release from the Central Committee announcing the choice of Mr. Kobbekaduwa and a report in the semi-official *DINAKARA* speculation about "Hector or Anura" persisted. If Anura succeeded in wresting the nomination from Hector at an All-Island Working Committee meeting, would there be another SLFP split? Or if Hector remained

The Bobby Sands Syndrome

Will Kuttimani do a Bobby Sands? Asked an imaginative headline in the *SUN*. Certainly, if the man sentenced to death last month files nomination papers he'll not only make headlines but world news. And Tamil lawyers who have looked at the law say that his papers will not be rejected.

But publicity apart, such a step will put the TULF leadership in a corner. It was to embarrass the TULF leadership now engaged in protracted negotiations with the Jayewardene government than Tamil Congress candidate Mr. Kumar Pon-nambalam called for a "positive boycott". The TULF leaders replied that the party was not getting involved in the Presidential election because it had no desire for "cheap stunts".

Kuttimani's nomination, if it does come, will be more than a "cheap stunt". Already he is a **cause celebre** in Tamilnadu, and Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran has appealed on behalf of the two condemned Tamil youths who made such impassioned and defiant addresses in court before sentence was passed.

They were tried under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the backlash came at once. Pressure from the militant group identified with Mr. S. C. Chandrasekaran, the son of the TULF's founding father, prompted the leadership to demand its repeal. But the debate goes on, with the two top leaders Messrs Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam interestingly enough, citing the PLO's talks with Philip Habib as a defence for their own negotiations.

the official candidate, would Anura enter the lists as an Independent? Would the SLFP voter have to contend with 3 candidates — Maitripala, Hector and Anura?

Then came the Election Commissioner's Sept. 9th radio announcement and the press release of the SLFP (M).

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'Tigers' pose a growing threat to stability in Sri Lanka

David Selbourne

In the grounds of the Government Agent's residence in Jaffna, hundreds of flying foxes hang by their claws from the sombre mahogany trees.

In the dark stables and derelict out-buildings of this early 19th century colonial palazzo, youths thought to be "Tigers," separatists fighting for an independent "Tamil Eelam," were detained and tortured during the 1981 troubles.

Police were killed and in reprisal committed arson and plunder in Jaffna. Rusting, burnt-out cars stand in the scrub of what was once the garden.

Jaffna is a northern Tamil city, under southern Sinhalese occupation. There are at least 2,000 troops in the district trying to contain the Tigers. The Tigers are to be found in the city centre and nearby villages, clean-cut and with clipped moustaches. A new paramilitary force to assist the embattled police is in training at Elephant Pass, a camp set in isolated salt-flats and now notorious for the brutality of its interrogators.

The Government Agent, Mr Devanasan Nesiah, says that the brigadier and the deputy inspector-general of police are the *de facto* rulers of the area. The brigadier, Cyril Ranatunge trained at Sandhurst is upset. "We are taking a hammering. I am a father. The children of Jaffna are my children. It hurts us when we have to surround an area. We are doing it from the heart," he said. You can see the army patrols most evenings roaring through the city, armed to the teeth, often leaving broken heads, smashed shops and tension.

The assailants seem to be as scared as their victims. The army is certainly not winning. There may only be about 400 Tigers, if that, in the peninsula — "about 20 hardcore," says the brigadier, and "hundreds" of peripherals — but they are protected by the community, and their numbers appear to be growing. Moreover, India, 22 miles across the channel from Jaffna and with 50 million Tamils, is a refuge and arms source for the Tigers. It is also unhelpful about extradition.

The Tigers tell you that their membership is increasing daily, that detentions and police brutality are making them strong, that they think deeply about the question of violence, and that the "armed agents of the state" are selected for killing after careful study and full inquiry. They also say that the police and army are inefficient. The prospect for both sides is dire.

"Conditions are trying," said the D. I. G. of Police, W. B. Rajaguru, "and the temptations to go berserk are great." The mood is bitter after a series of bloody ambushes. Increasing the proportion of Tamil officers — to 40 per cent — has made no difference. Four more were shot dead recently at Nelliaddy, and for the first time the Tigers, who are hard to pin down and getting more skilful, claimed responsibility for the killings.

The Tiger movement's existence has taken more than 30 years to evolve. Increased administrative discrimination by the majority Sinhalese against the minority Tamils has taken place in language, education, and employment; and there has been the Sinhalese

colonisation of Tamil areas, recurrent attacks, some on the scale of pogroms, and the defeat of earlier, more moderate political expectations of a federal solution.

In addition, racial pressures on the 1.2 million plantation Tamils — formerly indentured labour brought from India, as distinct from the nearly two million indigenous Ceylon Tamils — have subjected around 400 000 of them to repatriation, or deportation to India, and left another half-million stateless.

You can see some of the 50,000 migrants from the tea and rubber estates, in shacks and huddles by the roadside in Vavuniya, in north-central Sri Lanka; or clearing the jungle and scratching a living in more than 40 new squatter villages in the same district. They, too have been subjected to police attack and crop destruction, in an attempt to deter the migration and to flush out terrorists, as the movement spreads beyond Jaffna.

This combined squeeze on the minority has turned the north of the island — part of the traditional homeland of the Ceylon Tamils — into a Sinhalese garrison and a Tamil laager.

This is their world, which they want to call Tamil Eelam. Since 1976, when the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main, but small, opposition party in the Colombo Parliament, nailed its colours to the mast with a demand for national self-determination for the Tamils, the course of parliamentary politics has also turned.

(Continued on page 6)

LEBANON : Whose Vietnam ?

Heralding the changing mood about Israel even in guilt-ridden West Germany (Chancellor Schmidt himself has been publicly critical of Mr. Begin's 'Nazi' fanaticism) several thousand demonstrators marched through the streets of Munich carrying an interesting banner: "Lebanon is Israel's Vietnam". In a lengthy despatch from Jerusalem, British correspondent, Patrick Cockburn uses a word which will surely give all students of the Vietnam war a sense of *dejavu*. The word is "*quagmire*". Israelis, he writes are increasingly concerned about how "they will fare from now on in the Lebanese political "*quagmire*". For most of them, the PLO's withdrawal looks like "a pyrric victory".

If war is politics by other means, then the sheer barbarity, cynicism and arrogance of armed might which marked the Israeli blitzkrieg and the West Beirut "holocaust" the word is Mr. Reagan's) have effectively shattered both the international consensus and the domestic consensus which had so far sustained Israel. The principal prop of the international consensus was U. S. policy, economic and military aid.

Now, wherever the PLO evacuees have landed and wherever the PLO's message is being carried (and thanks to Israel's 90 days of butchery and bloodshed, the PLO is back in business in a big way, politically) the word is out, and it is spoken loud and clear, The carnage in Lebanon was the result of Israeli — US collusion.

In fact the identical phrase was used by none other than US Congressman (Democrat) Nick Rahall, who visited Beirut, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Israel as part of a 6-member Congressional delegation. The US role, he said, was being cited as "another example of US — Israeli collusion". He and his Republican

colleague from California, Mr. Paul McCloskey, were specifically referring to the systematic violations of cease-fire agreements by the Israelis in order to gain military positions, the "saturation" bombing, and the use of all kinds of weapons during short "violations" later described as "misunderstandings". Mr. Rahall told reporters: "We had the opportunity to watch what the Israelis could pack into 90 minutes. . . it was unbelievable".

More specific allegations and evidence concerning this "collusion" in practice continues to shock the world and lose Israel some of its stoutest supporters. In the face of such evidence about the bombardment of Beirut, the indiscriminate killing of civilians, including children, and the use of new sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, Mr. Neville Sandelson M. P. (Social Democrat) has resigned his post as Vice Chairman of Britain's Friends of Israel League. The genocidal war in Lebanon, he said was the work of a 'fanatical man' with a "fascist mentality". His press statement ended by condemning Begin for leading his people "into a morass of worldwide odium and ignominy".

And thus Vietnam returns to haunt the world and US policy-makers. The evidence collected by the P.L.O., Syrian forces and some Moslem militia groups is now being offered as proof that Washington was using Lebanon as a proving ground for advanced US weapons sent to Israel "for defensive purposes only". These weapons some of which were publicly displayed by PLO representatives to the world media include cluster bombs, cassette bombs, shells with metal needles, mines in the form of

kids' toys, napalm etc. Listing these items, Syrian Information Minister Ahmed Iskander Ahmed also referred to chemical weapons and bacteriological warfare and to a new kind of nerve paralytic gas evidently tested on Lebanese territory.

'Tigers' pose . . .

(Continued from page 5)

Moreover, President Jayewardene, who refers disparagingly to the "Eelam cry," does not believe that the Tulf really wants separate statehood — if they do they certainly cannot have it.

The President, hemmed in by Sinhalese intransigents who will not give an inch to the Tamils had called the Tulf bluff, and split their ranks with an offer of nothing more than glorified county council power. "I can do no more than that," he said. "They can't separate, and what we give them cannot be different from any other part of Sri Lanka." After months of talks, the Tulf has in effect got nothing.

It is obvious that the Sinhalese are in no mood to concede what the Tulf, ostensibly bent on "liberation," thought they had been negotiating for: special provisions for real Tamil control in Tamil areas.

The most likely future leader of the Tulf, Mr S. C. Chandrachud, claims that "no concessions short of liberation will now satisfy the Tamils." A sense of separate national identity is now deep rooted among Tamils of all classes and political persuasions: they are Tamils before they are Sri Lankans.

But the Sinhalese, with the Buddhist clergy at their elbows, have got the political bit between their teeth. Asserting majority rights after years of what they see as subordination to disproportionate Tamil privilege in jobs and education, they are pushing them back into minority status with a firm grip on State power. They are unlikely to share it with the Tamils, let alone permit their secession.

GUARDIAN, London

The Malvinas and network imperialism

Jan Pieterse

The truly intriguing question raised by the Malvinas war is the all-out support of the US for the British position. A support that jeopardizes US relations with Latin American strongmen and risks the emergence of an anti-colonialist alliance in Latin America. Rumour had it that at an early stage there was an understanding between the Argentines and the US about the reconquest of the Malvinas, and that there was a difference on the issue of timing only. If this is true, it makes US support for the British reaction all the more surprising. For a correct assessment of the Malvinas war, and the role of the US in it, it is necessary to lift it out of its regional context and to view it in a geopolitical framework. The Malvinas have to be placed side by side with Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and all the other strategic bases in which the US have a stake. A new imperial network of global surveillance is in the process of emerging; a pattern that should be understood in the light of the crisis of sub-imperialism and the current tendency toward global militarization.

That subimperialism — the Nixon doctrine of arming third world allies to have them act as regional policemen — is in crisis is clear since the Iranian revolution. Arms, once delivered, can point in any direction. Many third world governments are not stable allies in the long run. On the other hand, to maintain a direct US military presence, with bases under US control, is too costly, also politically; it was on account of this cost problem that the Nixon doctrine was developed. Now there appears to be another shift of emphasis: toward a global network of strategically located military facilities that serve as satellite communication stations, sealane and airspace observation posts, and that can host or support Rapid Deployment Forces in time of conflict. The shift to technologi-

cal means of surveillance and to the RDF solution means a saving in manpower costs.

The importance of the Malvinas should be considered in the context of this network. In the northern hemisphere monitoring facilities in Norway and Greenland guard access to the North Atlantic (nb of Soviet submarines), by a line of sensors placed at the bottom of the ocean; similarly, between the Malvinas and South Africa access to the South Atlantic can be monitored. This in turn is part of a global security network that extends from Spitsbergen to the South Sandwich Islands, from Bermuda to Okinawa, a monitoring system surveilling access to all oceans. This monitoring system is a vital part of US nuclear strategy, taking into account the fact that submarines are the third leg in nuclear armaments. As airbases and RDF hosts, such facilities can also play a role in conventional wars.

Anglo-American cooperation with regard to the Malvinas has its parallel in the case of Diego Garcia. Part of the Chagos archipelago and as such claimed as a part of British Indian Ocean Territory, Diego Garcia has been "rented" by Britain to the US, which spent 400 million dollars to turn it into an airbase suitable for B-52s. This happened after all **inhabitants** had been cleared from the island and removed to Mauritius. This was part of the US response to the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan; US facilities in the area include bases, or access to bases, in Egypt, Somalia, Oman and Kenya. There are plans to recruit the strategically located naval base Trinco in Sri Lanka into this network.

"Island imperialism" may reduce certain costs but it does not eliminate them. Already the militarization of Diego Garcia has evoked protest in Mauritius, which, with Sri Lanka and India, seeks the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. The attempt to bring Trinco in Sri Lanka into the circuit is likely to arouse serious political reactions. The Malvinas operation has wrought havoc in the OAS, and created

the basis, at least for the moment, for an anti-imperialist front in the Americas, joining governments such as Argentina with Cuba and Nicaragua. Rather a far cry from the previous imperialist coalition that joined Washington to subimperialist partners from Caracas to Buenos Aires, involving, for instance, the deployment of seasoned Argentine security forces to stem the tide of change in Central America.

It would be too naive to interpret the repercussions of the Anglo-America alliance in the Malvinas war as the outcome of a "political miscalculation" in Washington. It may very well be that these repercussions were anticipated: as necessary costs in making the transition to a new global security approach. The Argentine junta appeared too unreliable an ally, given its grain sales to the Soviet Union, the economic weakness of the regime, its expansionist aspirations (also vis a vis the Beagle Canal), and the strength of the Peronist movement. Where regimes appear to be more solid allies (eg, Venezuela, Indonesia, Nigeria), the subimperialist strategy continues to be followed; in fact, overall arms sales to third world countries show a substantial increase.

The old form of neocolonialism of direct investments by multinational corporations is being surpassed by indirect investments, joint ventures, and control over technology; likewise, as a function of both political and technological developments, the military dimension of empire is being modernized: "island imperialism," or a network of military facilities at strategic nodes of the world, emerges as the fundamental strategic orientation.

Third world resistance against "island imperialism" can link up with the western peace movement. The parallel has been mentioned already in Mauritius, in connection with Diego Garcia — for the same reason that Europeans refuse stationing of missiles in their countries (because missiles attract missiles) third world countries should reject to become involved in the nuclear strategy of the US.

Hegemony and capitalist world — economy

Immanuel Wallerstein

When one is dealing with a complex, continuously evolving, large-scale historical system, concepts that are used as shorthand descriptions for structural patterns are only useful to the degree one clearly lays out their purpose, circumscribes their applicability, and specifies the theoretical framework they presuppose and advance.

Let me therefore state some premises which I shall not argue at this point. If you are not willing to regard these premises as plausible, you will not find the way I elaborate and use the concept of hegemony very useful. I assume that there exists a concrete singular historical system which I shall call the "capitalist world-economy," whose temporal boundaries go from the long sixteenth century to the present. Its spatial boundaries originally included Europe (or most of it) plus Iberian America but they subsequently expanded to cover the entire globe. I assume this totality is a **system**, that is, that it has been relatively autonomous of external forces; or, to put it another way, that its patterns are explicable largely in terms of its internal dynamics. I assume that it is an **historical** system, that is, that it was born, has developed, and will one day cease to exist (through disintegration or fundamental transformation). I assume lastly that it is the dynamics of the system itself that explain its historically changing characteristics. Hence, insofar as it is a system, it has structures and these structures manifest themselves in cyclical rhythms, that is, mechanisms which reflect and ensure repetitious patterns. But in so far as this system is historical, no rhythmic movement ever returns the system to an equilibrium point but instead moves the system along various continua which may be called the secular trends of this system. These trends eventually

must culminate in the impossibility of containing further reparations of the structured dislocations by restorative mechanisms. Hence the system undergoes what some call "bifurcating turbulence" and others the "transformation of quantity into quality."

To these methodological or meta-physical premises, I must add a few substantive ones about the operations of the capitalist world-economy. Its mode of production is capitalist; that is, it is predicated on the endless accumulation of capital. Its structure is that of an axial social division of labour exhibiting a core-periphery tension based on unequal exchange. The political superstructure of this system is that of a set of so-called sovereign states defined by and constrained by their membership in an interstate network or system. The operational guidelines of this interstate system include the so-called balance of power, a mechanism designed to ensure that no single state ever has the capacity to transform this interstate system into a single world-empire whose boundaries would match that of the axial division of labour. There have of course been repeated attempts throughout the history of the capitalist world-economy to transform it in the direction of a world-empire, but these attempts have all been frustrated. However, there have also been repeated and quite different attempts by given states to achieve hegemony in the interstate system, and these attempts have in fact succeeded on three occasions, if only for relatively brief periods.

The thrust of hegemony is quite different from the thrust to world-empire; indeed it is in many ways almost its opposite. I will therefore (1) spell out what I mean by hegemony, (2) describe the analogies in the three purported ins-

tances, (3) seek to decipher the roots of the thrust to hegemony and suggest why the thrust to hegemony has succeeded three times but never lasted too long, and (4) draw inferences about what we may expect in the proximate future. The point of doing all this is not to erect a Procrustean category into which to fit complex historical reality but to illuminate what I believe to be one of the central processes of the modern world-system.

(1) Hegemony in the interstate system refers to that situation in which the ongoing rivalry between the so-called "great powers" is so unbalanced that one power is truly **primus inter pares**; that is, one power can largely impose its rules and its wishes (at the very least by effective veto power) in the economic, political, military, diplomatic and even cultural arenas. The material base of such power lies in the ability of enterprises domiciled in that power to operate more efficiently in all three major economic arenas — agro-industrial production, commerce and finance. The edge in efficiency of which we are speaking is one so great that these enterprises can not only outbid enterprises domiciled in other great powers in the world market in general, but quite specifically very many instances within the home markets of the rival powers themselves.

I mean this to be a relatively restrictive definition. It is not enough for one power's enterprises simply to have a larger share of the world market than any other or simply to have the most powerful military forces or the largest political role. I mean hegemony only to refer to situations in which the edge is so significant that allied major powers are **de facto** client states and opposed major powers

feel relatively frustrated and highly defensive vis-a-vis the hegemonic power. And yet while I want to restrict my definition to instances where the margin or power differential is really great, I do not mean to suggest that there is ever any moment when a hegemonic power is omnipotent and capable of doing anything it wants. Omnipotence does not exist within the interstate system.

Hegemony therefore is not a state of being but rather one end of a fluid continuum which describes the rivalry relations of great powers to each other. At one end of this continuum is an almost even balance, a situation in which many powers exist, all somewhat equal in strength, and with no clear or continuous groupings. This is rare and unstable. In the great middle of this continuum, many powers exist, grouped more or less into two camps, but with several neutral or swing elements, and with neither side (nor *a fortiori* any single state) being able to impose its will on others. This is the statistically normal situation of rivalry within the interstate system. And at the other end lies the situation of hegemony, also rare and unstable.

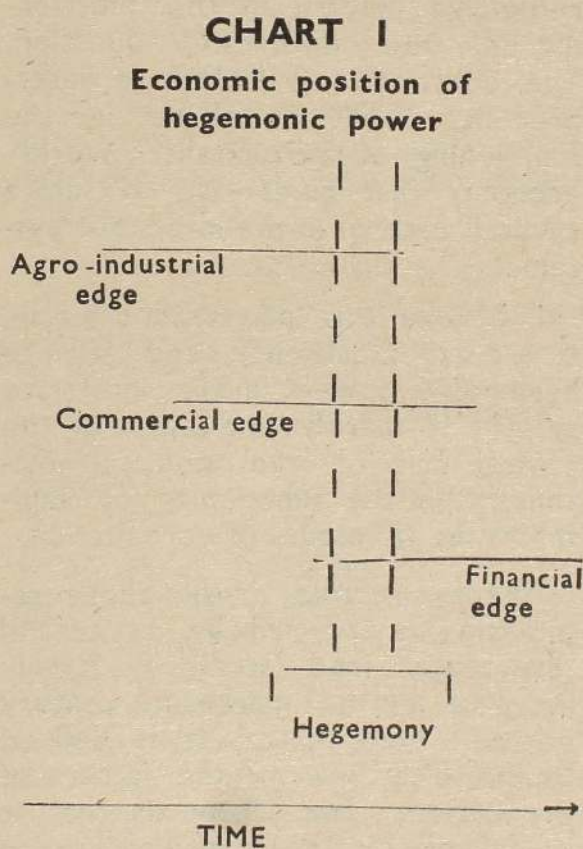
At this point, you may see what it is I am describing but may wonder why I am bothering to give it a name and thereby focus attention upon it. It is because I suspect hegemony is not the result of a random reshuffling of the cards but is a phenomenon that emerges in specifiable circumstances and plays a significant role in the historical development of the capitalist world-economy.

(2) Using this restrictive definition, the only three instances of hegemony would be the United Provinces in the mid-seventeenth century, the United Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth, and the United States in the mid-twentieth. If one insists on dates, I would tentatively suggest as maximal bounding points: 1625-72, 1815-73, 1945-67. But of course, it would be a mistake to try to be too precise when our measuring instruments are both so complex and so crude.

I will suggest four areas in which it seems to me what happened in the three instances was analogous. To be sure, analogies are limited. And

to be sure, since the capitalist world-economy is in my usage a single continuously-evolving entity, it follows by definition that the overall structure was different at each of the three points in time. The differences were real, the outcome of the secular trends of the world-system. But the structural analogies were real as well, the reflection of the cyclical rhythms of this same system.

The first analogy has to do with the sequencing of achievement and loss of relative efficiencies in each of the three economic domains. What I believe occurred was that in each instance enterprises domiciled in the given power in question achieved their edge first in agro-industrial production, then in commerce, and then in finance.¹ I believe they lost their edge in this sequence as well (this process having begun but not yet having been completed in the third instance). Hegemony thus refers to that short interval in which there is **simultaneous** advantage in all three economic domains. (see chart)



The second analogy has to do with the ideology and policy of the hegemonic power. Hegemonic powers during the period of their hegemony tended to be advocates of global "liberalism". They came forward as defenders of the principle of the free flow of the factors of production (goods, capital, and labor) throughout the world-economy. They were hostile in general to mercantilist

restrictions on trade, including the existence of overseas colonies for the stronger countries. They extended this liberalism to a generalized endorsement of liberal parliamentary institutions (and a concurrent distaste for political change by violent means), political restraints on the arbitrariness of bureaucratic power, and civil liberties (and a concurrent open door to political exiles). They tended to provide a high standard of living for their national working classes, high by world standards of the time.

None of this should be exaggerated. Hegemonic powers regularly made exceptions to their anti-mercantilism, when it was in their interest to do so. Hegemonic powers regularly were willing to interfere with political processes in other states to ensure their own advantage. Hegemonic powers could be very repressive at home, it need be, to guarantee the national "consensus". The high working-class standard was steeply graded by internal ethnicity. Nevertheless, it is quite striking that liberalism as an ideology did flourish in these countries at precisely the moments of their hegemony, and to a significant extent only then and there.

The third analogy is in the pattern of global military power. Hegemonic powers were primarily sea (now sea/air) powers. In the long ascent to hegemony, they seemed very reluctant to develop their armies, discussing openly the potentially weakening drain on state revenues and manpower of becoming tied down in land wars. Yet each found finally that it had to develop a strong land army as well to face up to a major land-based rival which seemed to be trying to transform the world-economy into a world-empire.

In each case, the hegemony was secured by a thirty-year-long world war. By a world war, I shall mean (again somewhat restrictively) a land-based war that involves (not necessarily continuously) almost all the major military powers of the epoch in warfare that is very destructive of land and population. To each hegemony is attached one of these wars. World War Alpha was the Thirty Years' War from 1618-48, where Dutch interests triumphed over Hapsburg in the world-economy. World War Beta was the Napoleonic Wars from 1792-1815, where British

interests triumphed over French. World War Gamma was the long Euroasian wars from 1914-45 where U.S. interests triumphed over German.

While limited wars have been a constant of the operations of the interstate system of the capitalist world-economy (there having been scarcely any year when there was not some war some place within the system), world wars have been by contrast a rarity. In fact their rarity and the fact that the number and timing seems to have correlated with the achievement of hegemonic status by one power brings us to the fourth analogy.

If we look to those very long cycles that Rondo Cameron has dubbed "logistics", we can see that world wars and hegemony have been in fact related to them. There has been very little scholarly work done on these logistics. They have been most frequently discussed in the comparisons between the A-B sequences of 1100-1450 and 1450-1750. There are only a few discussions of the logistics that may exist after the latter point in time. But if we take the prime observation which has been used to define these logistics — secular inflation and deflation — the pattern seems in fact to have continued.

It therefore might be plausible to argue the existence of such (price) logistics up to today using the following dates: 1450-1730, with 1600-1650 as a flat peak; 1730-1897 with 1810-17 as a peak; and 1897 to ?, with an as yet uncertain peak. If there are such logistics, it turns out that the world wars and the (subsequent) hegemonic era are located somewhere around (just before and after) the peak of the logistic. That is to say, these processes seem to be the product of the long competitive expansion which seemed to have resulted in a particular concentration of economic and political power.

The outcome of each world war included a major restructuring of the interstate system (Westphalia; the Concert of Europe; the U. N. and Bretton Woods) in a form consonant with the need for relative stability of the now hegemonic power. Furthermore, once the hegemonic position was eroded economically (the loss of the efficiency edge in agro-industrial production), and therefore hegemonic decline set in, one consequence

seemed to be the erosion of the alliance network which the hegemonic power had created patiently, and ultimately a serious reshuffling of alliances.

In the long period following the era of hegemony, two powers seemed eventually to emerge as the "contenders for the succession" — England and France after Dutch hegemony; the U. S. and Germany after British; and now Japan and western Europe after U. S. Furthermore, the eventual winner of the contending pair seemed to use as a conscious part of its strategy the gentle turning of the old hegemonic power into its "junior partner" — the English vis-a-vis the Dutch, the U. S. vis-a-vis Great Britain.....and now?

(3) Thus far I have been primarily descriptive. I realize that this description is vulnerable to technical criticism. My coding of the data may not agree with everyone else's. I think nonetheless that as an initial effort this coding is defensible and that I have therefore outlined a broad repetitive pattern in the functioning of the interstate question. The question now is how to interpret it. What is there in the functioning of a capitalist world-economy that gives rise to such a cyclical pattern in the interstate system?

I believe this pattern of the rise, temporary ascendancy, and fall of hegemonic powers in the interstate system is merely one aspect of the central role of the political machinery in the functioning of capitalism as a mode of production.

There are two myths about capitalism put forward by its central ideologues (and strangely largely accepted by its nineteenth-century critics). One is that it is defined by the free flow of the factors of production. The second is that it is defined by the non-interference of the political machinery in the "market". In fact, capitalism is defined by the **partially** free flow of the factors of production and by the **selective** interference of the political machinery in the "market." Hegemony is an instance of the latter.

What defines capitalism most fundamentally is the drive for the endless accumulation of capital. The

interferences that are "selected" are those which advance this process of accumulation. There are however two problems about "interference." It has a cost, and therefore the benefit of any interference is only a benefit to the extent it exceeds this cost. Where the benefits are available without any "interference," this is obviously desirable, as it minimizes the "deduction." And secondly, interference is always in favour of one set of accumulators as against another set, and the latter will always seek to counter the former. These two considerations circumscribe the politics of hegemony in the interstate system.

The costs to a given entrepreneur of state "interference" are felt in two main ways. First, in financial terms, the state may levy direct taxes which affect the rate of profit by requiring the firm to make payments to the state, or indirect taxes, which may alter the rate of profit by affecting the competitiveness of a product. Secondly, the state may enact rules which govern flows of capital, labour or goods or may set minimum and/or maximum prices. While direct taxes always represent a cost to the entrepreneur, calculations concerning indirect taxes and state regulations are more complex, since they represent costs both to the entrepreneur and to (some of) his competitors. The chief concern in terms of individual accumulation is not the absolute cost of these measures but the comparative cost. Costs, even if high, may be positively desirable from the standpoint of a given entrepreneur, if the state's actions involve still higher costs to some competitor. Absolute costs are only of concern if the loss to the entrepreneur is greater than the medium-run gain which is possible through greater competitiveness brought about by such state actions. It follows that absolute cost is of greatest concern to those entrepreneurs who would do best in open market competition in the absence of state interference.

In general, therefore, entrepreneurs are regularly seeking state interference in the market in multiple forms — subsidies, restraints of trade, tariffs (which are penalties for competitors of different nationality), guarantees, maxima for input

prices and minima for output prices, etc. The intimidating effect of internal and external repression is also of direct economic benefit to entrepreneurs. To the extent that the ongoing process of competition and state interference leads to oligopolistic conditions within state boundaries, more and more attention is naturally paid to securing the same kind of oligopolistic conditions in the most important market, the world market.

The combination of the competitive trust and constant state interference results in a continuing pressure towards the concentration of capital. The benefits of state interference inside and outside the state boundaries is cumulative. In political terms, this is reflected as expanding world power. The edge a rising power's economic enterprises have vis-à-vis those of a competitive rising power may be thin and therefore insecure. This is where the world wars come in. The thirty-year struggle may be very dramatic militarily and politically. But the profoundest effect may be economic. The winner's economic edge is expanded by the very process of the war itself, and the post-war interstate settlement is designed to encrust that greater edge and protect it against erosion.

A given state thus assumes its world "responsibilities" which is reflected in its diplomatic, military, political, ideological and cultural stances. All conspires to reinforce the cooperative relationship of the entrepreneurial strata, the bureaucratic strata and with some lag the working-class strata of the hegemonic power. This power may then be exercised in a "liberal" form — given the real diminution of political conflict within the state itself compared to earlier and later periods, and to the importance in the interstate arena of delegitimizing the efforts of other state machineries to act against the economic superiorities of the hegemonic power.

The problem is that global liberalism, which is rational and cost effective, breeds its own demise. It makes it more difficult to retard the spread of technological expertise. Hence over time it is virtually inevitable that entrepreneurs coming along later will be able to

enter the most profitable markets with the most advanced technologies and younger "plant," thus eating into the material base of the productivity edge of the hegemonic power.

Secondly, the internal political price of liberalism, needed to maintain uninterrupted production at a time of maximal global accumulation, is the creeping rise of real income of both the working strata and the cadres located in the hegemonic power. Over time, this must reduce the competitiveness of the enterprises located in this state.

Once the clear productivity edge is lost, the structure cracks. As long as there is a hegemonic power, it can coordinate more or less the political responses of all states with core-like economic activities to all peripheral states, maximizing thereby the differentials of unequal exchange. But when hegemony is eroded, and especially when the world-economy is in a Kondratieff downturn, a scramble arises among the leading powers for the smaller pie, which undermines their collective ability to extract surplus via unequal exchange. The rate of unequal exchange thereby diminishes (but never to zero) and creates further incentive to a reshuffling of alliance systems.

In the period leading to the peak of a logistic, which leads towards the creation of the momentary era of hegemony, the governing parable is that of the tortoise and the hare. It is not the state that leaps ahead politically and especially militarily that wins the race, but the one plods along improving inch by inch its long-term competitiveness. This requires a firm but discrete and intelligent organization of the entrepreneurial effort by the state-machinery. Wars may be left to others, until the climatic world war when the hegemonic power must at last invest its resources to clinch its victory. Thereupon comes "world responsibility" with its benefits but also its (growing) costs. Thus the hegemony is sweet but brief.

(4) The inferences for today are obvious. We are in the immediate post-hegemonic phase of this third logistic of the capitalist world-economy. The U.S. has lost its productive edge but not yet its commercial and financial superiorities; its

military and political power edge is no longer so overwhelming. Its abilities to dictate to its allies (western Europe and Japan), intimidate its foes, and overwhelm the weak (compare the Dominican Republic in 1965 with El Salvador today) are vastly impaired. We are in the beginnings of a major reshuffling of alliances.² Yet, of course, we are only at the beginning of all this. Great Britain began to decline in 1873, but it is only in 1982 that it can be openly challenged by Argentina.

The major question is whether this third logistic will act itself out along the lines of the previous ones. The great difference is the degree to which the fact that the capitalist world-economy has entered into a structural crisis as an historical system will obliterate these cyclical processes. I do not believe it will obliterate them but rather that it will work itself out in part through them.³

We should not invest more in the concept of hegemony than is there. It is a way of organizing our perception of process, not an "essence" whose traits are to be described and whose eternal recurrences are to be demonstrated and then anticipated. A processual concept alters us to the forces at play in the system and the likely nodes of conflict. It does not do more. But it also does not do less. The capitalist world-economy is not comprehensible unless we analyze clearly what are the political forms which it has engendered and how these forms relate to other realities. The interstate system is not some exogenous, God-given, variable which mysteriously restrains and interacts with the capitalist drive for the endless accumulation of capital. It is its expression at the level of the political arena.

NOTES

- (1) I have described this in empirical detail for the first instance in *The Modern World-System, II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic, 1980), ch. 2.
- (2) See my "North Atlanticism in Decline," *SAIS Review* (forthcoming 1982).
- (3) For a debate about this, see the Conclusion of S. Amin, G. Arrighi, A. G. Frank, & I. Wallerstein, *Dynamics of Global Crisis* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1982).

Land Colonisation : a military strategy ?

Boyd Almeida

IN A LETTER to L. G. (Nov. 1 1981) V. Thirunawakarasu wrote that 'state-aided colonisation of sections of the traditional Tamil-speaking areas was a major instance where the Tamil-speaking people have been let down and discriminated against since 1948'. I wrote (L. G. Dec. 1) inquiring why Mr. T. failed to specify 'exactly which sections of the traditional Tamil-speaking areas were colonised with state aid' and asked whether it was 'colonisation per se that was objected to or whether it was the state-aidedness, pointing out that in Colombo and in other 'non-Tamil-speaking areas' there were colonies (not state-aided) of Tamils. Mr. T. failed to reply.

I am aware that there have been state-aided colonisation schemes in the North and the East in which the colonists have been all Tamil speaking just as there have been state-aided colonisation schemes in the other provinces of the island where the colonists have been all Sinhalese. Presumably it is not these state-aided colonisation schemes that are objected to.

Professor Virginia A. Leary who wrote the ICJ report on Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka (which tries to be fair and objective though it does contain errors) recommends that this question of state-aided colonisation should receive the government's 'renewed attention' but she too had the same difficulty that I have: She found she was 'not able to obtain statistics on the extent of colonisation in Tamil areas and thus to determine the degree to which such schemes are a major problem'. This in spite of the fact it is quite obvious that Professor Leary had met and spoken with many persons who consider

'state-aided colonisation' a major issue.

Prof. Leary also writes: 'The government maintains that since Sri Lanka is a single country citizens may move freely into any part of the country and that it is necessary to transplant some populations to more productive areas'.

The only place where I was able to find actual places mentioned was Prof. A. J. Wilson's book on the 1978 constitution and the places he mentions are Galoya (where Dutugemunu perhaps roamed as a Child) and Padaviya (where Mogallana II built a giant tank). So it was with great interest that I turned to Samudran's article (L. G. Sep. 1) entitled 'Land Colonisation: A Military Strategy'. He boldly calls state-aided colonisation 'a demographic undermining of the Tamils in the North and the East'. He omits, however, to explain why **state-aided** colonisation has this effect when non-state-aided colonisation has not. He goes on to assert that state-aided colonisation is a 'fully evolved strategy with a strong ideological and military component'. The ideology is Sinhala-Buddhism and the 'military component' is shown in a MIRJE report that army personnel had intimidated Tamil refugees in Vavuniya to switch their allegiance from Ghandiyam to Sarvodaya which, says Samudran, has a strong Sinhala-Buddhist bias".

Assuming this is adequate proof of 'a strong ideological and military component' of the fully evolved strategy he alleges exists, Samudran does not spell out the *raison-d'être* of this strategy or identify the strategist. He expects the reader to take it on his ipse dixit. Who

(Continued on page 24)



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National liberation for the Ceylon Tamils

Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah

It should be plain to the meanest intellect that the Tamils, who have lived in this island for thousands of years and who had a Tamil kingdom in the North when the Portuguese colonised portions of South Ceylon in the 18th century, are a separate race with a different language and culture. The British ruled the island as one administrative unit and when they handed over power they gave it to the party they felt would best look after British interests here.

G. G. Ponnambalam, the leader of the Tamil Congress, demanded a 50-50 sharing of power. This was naturally refused. D. S. Senanayake hastily formed the U. N. P. from among the members of the then State Council and began to rule the whole island. They had no plans for the development of the island and resorted to the lowest denominator, race and religion — Sinhalese Buddhism. Bandaranaike, to beat the U. N. P. at its own game promised Sinhalese in 24 hours! The Tamils were dissatisfied and asked for a Federal form of Government. The Federal Party (F. P.) under the leadership of S. J. V. Chelvanayagam had the full support of the Ceylon Tamil people and at every general election to Parliament returned the F. P. candidate. The Sinhalese leaders, whether from the U. N. P. or the S. L. F. P. completely rejected this verdict for a whole generation of the Tamil people for a Federal form of Government.

Bandaranaike, who among the Sinhalese politicians was the most enlightened, discerned the fairness of the Tamils asking to be allowed to manage their own internal affairs met the leader of the Tamils and the famous Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact was signed in 1958. If Bandaranaike had the strength to carry out that pact, the history of the island during the last two decades would have been very

different. But Bandaranaike was not strong enough and the U. N. P. led by J. R. Jayewardene thwarted it. When the U. N. P. under Dudley attempted to make some concessions on the language question, the S. L. F. P. thwarted it. Thus the Tamil problem became the football for the U. N. P. and S. L. F. P. to kick about.

In desperation the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) was formed and resolved to ask for a separate state, Eelam. This, in my opinion, was a tactical mistake. This gave the Sinhalese, who were determined to continue to rule the Tamils, a handle to beat the Tamils. They said the Tamils were dividing the country and the Sinhalese will never permit it. Even recently when Mrs. Bandaranaike made some slight move towards the Tamils, President Jayewardene proclaimed that Mrs. B is going to divide the country and she will have only the waves to rule!

It is necessary for us Ceylon Tamils, to face facts. This island has been ruled by the Sinhalese politicians, U. N. P. and S. L. F. P. on the basis of Sinhalese Buddhism for the last 35 years and the entire present generation of Sinhalese have grown up in the Sinhala only atmosphere. There are a number of Sinhalese men and women who have resisted the temptation to lord it over the Tamils, chiefly among a section of the intelligentsia. But the tendency to diminish the influence of Tamils is clear. An effort is made to make Sinhalese the medium of instruction in Tamil areas. This is happening in the Up-country Tamil areas (for whose ignominious state we Ceylon Tamils have much to answer for) and even in some Jaffna schools I remember one such attempt, when queried was justified as response to request by parents, who were never identified. What was identified was that the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress (ACBC) was behind

the move. The ACBC whose business it should be to propagate the Dharma, apparently feels that Sinhalese is necessary to study Buddhist Dharma!

It is crystal clear to me that we Tamils in Sri Lanka will never be allowed by the present Sinhalese politicians, both U. N. P. and S. L. F. P., to manage our own internal affairs. After a generation of their rule the anti-Tamil prejudice has seeped down to the grass roots in the Sinhalese areas. The mass of the people do not know the issues involved. They are told the Tamils want to divide the country, which will be fragmented in consequence.

The Ceylon Tamils are never going to win the right to manage their own internal affairs without struggle. The purpose of this Note is to do some thinking on the subject. Hoping to win by the use of the gun is unrealistic. One use of the gun will give the authorities the excuse to use a hundred guns — a completely unequal contest. The so-called Tiger movement is a good example. The Jaffna youth discriminated against, frustrated and driven to desperation, want to be apart from all this humiliation. This desire to be separate by the Tamil people as shown in the 1977 general election when they returned all the T. U. L. F. candidates who ran on the mandate of a separate state, Eelam. J. R. Jayewardene, who has carried out a revolution in our form of Government, justifies his action on the mandate he received at the same general election quoting from a U. N. P. manifesto which was hardly noticed. But when the Tamil people gave a stronger mandate to the T. U. L. F. to ask for Eelam, it carries no weight with him. The Jaffna youth could not stomach this no longer and when one of the leaders renegaded to the S. L. F. P. they shot him. They called themselves tigers and attack any of their leaders who renegaded.

It is important to note that their targets were only Tamils who renegaded — not the Sinhalese and the police when hounded. It is significant to compare the way President Jayewardene had dealt with the Tiger movement and the way he dealt with the insurgency of 1971, by the J. V. P. This uprising was a direct challenge to the Central Government. The J. V. P. planned to overthrow by force the entire Government, attacked 31 police stations in one day and missed capturing the Prime Minister as planned. It ruled over a good part of South Ceylon for a number of weeks, till the Government with foreign aid managed to bring it to heel. Thousands of lives, the flower of Sinhalese youth (it is significant that the Tamils had no part in it) including the armed forces and the police were lost. Many of the insurgents were languishing in jail when J. R. Jayewardene came into power in 1977. He released them and enabled them to get back into the stream of life in the country.

In contrast, the so-called Tiger movement never had any intention of overthrowing the Government. Its objective was the limited one of dealing with Tamil renegades who betrayed the mandate the Tamil people had so unanimously given. J. R. treated them like an enemy army and sent a picked military contingent to exterminate them before a certain date and come and report to him that his orders has been carried out. The search and kill squad worked full time and their leader duly reported to the President that his command had been carried out and that there were no more tigers.

President J. R. Jayewardene has not yet learnt what all authorities eventually learn — guns do not permanently prevail over a national liberation struggle. This week the *Ceylon Daily News* carries in banner headlines, "Police to carry revolvers in the North". The rifle has already terrorized and killed in Jaffna for years. Now they can do it more efficiently with revolvers. We claim to follow the British model. The pride of the British police is that they never carry arms of any sort — only the baton. If ever the British

Bobby is allowed to carry any sort of arms on his rounds, there will be a riot in the U. K.

But Sri Lanka is not the U. K. and we Tamils have to work out our own salvation. J. R. is attempting to bottle up all Tamil resistance inside the Jaffna peninsula. He feels if he can smash Tamil resistance inside the peninsula he can soon master Tamil resistance elsewhere in the North and East. The Jaffna people are meek and simple, as testified by the Sinhalese G. A. stationed in Jaffna during the height of the riots. It is called communal riots. There were no communal riots then in Jaffna, only the military burning shops in the Grand Bazaar and the Jaffna Library with its priceless books and irreplaceable documents. Minister Dissanayake who had gone to try and calm the situation failed because, as he admitted later, there was near mutiny in the armed forces before they went on rampage.

The only silver lining in the dark cloud hanging over Jaffna is that the people have put their faith in the T. U. L. F. The burden of delivering the Jaffna people from their misery devolves squarely on the shoulders of the T. U. L. F. In my view, the first step is to explain to the Sinhalese people that the goal of Ealam was made after a generation of frustration caused by the Sinhalese taking no notice of the wishes of the Ceylon Tamil people, as expressed in every general election for a whole generation. The shift demanding Ealam has had the effect of arousing the Sinhalese people. Having achieved this it is for the T. U. L. F. to spell out what exactly they want. In my view the Ceylon Tamil people do not want to divide the country. They want that a separate race, with a separate language and culture, having lived in their traditional Tamil areas for almost as long as the Sinhalese in the South, should have the right to manage all their internal affairs, local government, education, health, agriculture and employment. External Affairs and Defence to be a central responsibility. If Scotland and Wales, with the same language, religion and culture can ask for independence

from the English the request of the Ceylon Tamils to manage their internal affairs need not be answered with revolvers.

Whether we like it or not, the truth is that we Ceylon Tamils have to live with a generation of Sinhalese brought up in Sinhala Only atmosphere. The Tamil leaders both in the T. U. L. F. and outside have a key role to play. The Sinhalese leaders know that they need the co-operation of the Tamils if they want the country to develop and they cannot get this without the co-operation of the Tamils leaders, specially the T. U. L. F. The Tamil leaders must set out clearly the basis on which their co-operation can be had.

The least they can ask for is an Autonomous region. This does not mean a separate enclave. The Sinhalese are welcome there to live and work, just as the Tamils electing to stay in Sinhalese areas will be. If they decide to settle down permanently they are welcome to do so, conforming to the rules and regulations of either area. If there are a sufficient number of children to warrant education in their mother tongue, this can be provided.

Finally, what if the Sinhalese politicians refuse to give the autonomous area? It is necessary to do some careful thinking here, for the lives of the flower of Tamil youth is involved. Must we use force? It is axiomatic that no radical change is possible without violence. All the revolutions of modern times have been the result of force. They have occurred in Europe, after industrialisation. In Asia, specially South Asia, the cult of the gun is not widespread among the people, who are generally poor, illiterate and mal-nourished. They don't have the wealth to purchase guns nor the knowledge to use them, matching gun for gun. The inadequate use of the gun is counter-productive. But violence has to be used because authoritarian government could not care less for non-violence. The gun is not the only weapon of violence. In my opinion, there is a more deadly weapon — the **value of surplus labour**. The average worker, office or workshop, does not know that it is the

surplus value of his labour which creates wealth and enables his boss to make profits. I have tried to explain this in a booklet I put out a few months ago. This applies to the farmer as well as the worker and once this knowledge penetrates the worker and peasant he will know that his co-operation is essential for any kind of development. How he can withhold such co-operation has to be worked out under different situations. I know this is more easily said than done. The authorities, once they scent the game will try every trick to thwart it. And if tricks don't answer the gun will be used. How we should defend ourselves has again to be worked out. As a last resort, violence may have to be used in self-defence.

It must be made crystal clear to the Sinhalese political leaders that they will never get the full co-operation of the Ceylon Tamil people in their development effort till their demand for internal self-government is granted. We must go to the Sinhalese people and explain to them that all that the Ceylon Tamils want is to manage their own internal affairs, just as the Sinhalese do in their areas. Such an autonomous region will in no way adversely affect the Sinhalese people. It will not be dividing the country. Sri Lanka will remain one country where two races live and develop, to suit the genius of the respective people. Indeed it can lead to better and faster developments.

National liberation struggles always mean blood and tears. The Jaffna people are already shedding blood and tears and with policemen in their midst armed with revolvers more will be shed. But the authorities will no longer have the excuse that they are acting in self-defence if the Tamil leaders meet and publicly announce that they give up the demand for a separate state and want only an autonomous area where they will manage their own internal affairs and that violence will not be used to force the Government to grant it. They can also state that never at any time did they want to overthrow the Central Government, unlike the J. V. P. in 1971. Their purpose has

always been the limited one of looking after their own internal affairs, to order their local administration, education and religion to suit their own genius — the inalienable right of every separate race of people desiring to do so.

* * *

Since writing above, Kotte, the seat of the last Sinhalese king, has been declared the new capital of Sri Lanka, given a new name, Sri Jayawardanapura (that it has the name of the present President is purely a coincidence) and a new parliamentary complex opened by the President on which occasion various Sinhalese flags were flown. The Sinhalese were naturally very proud that the seat of the last Sinhalese king was restored. When the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Amirthalingam, who is also the leader of the T. U. L. F., pointed out that when the last Sinhalese king had his seat in Kotte, the Tamils also had their own kingdom in the north with a Tamil king at Nallur. Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, M. P. for Kotte and often the mouth-piece of the President, interjected: "If the Tamils want a king we can send Mathew". The Prime Minister, Mr R. Premadasa, soon after chirped in: "Mr. Mathew is willing".

If this is the reaction of the U. N. P. to a statement by the leader of the T. U. L. F. referring to an accepted historical fact about the Tamils in Ceylon, what hope is there of the Ceylon Tamils getting a fair deal from the U. N. P.?

It is reported that in his speech on this occasion the leader of the T. U. L. F. said that with the new District Councils set up and the proper use of the two languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, the Tamils should be all right.

The District Councils are not designed to de-centralise power. Indeed, they are designed to gather power in the hands of the President, who in the present climate will always be a Sinhalese. As for

language, Tamil is already declared a national language but, in practice, I, a Tamil, receive Government communications in Sinhala only and have to go to a Sinhalese to read them for me.

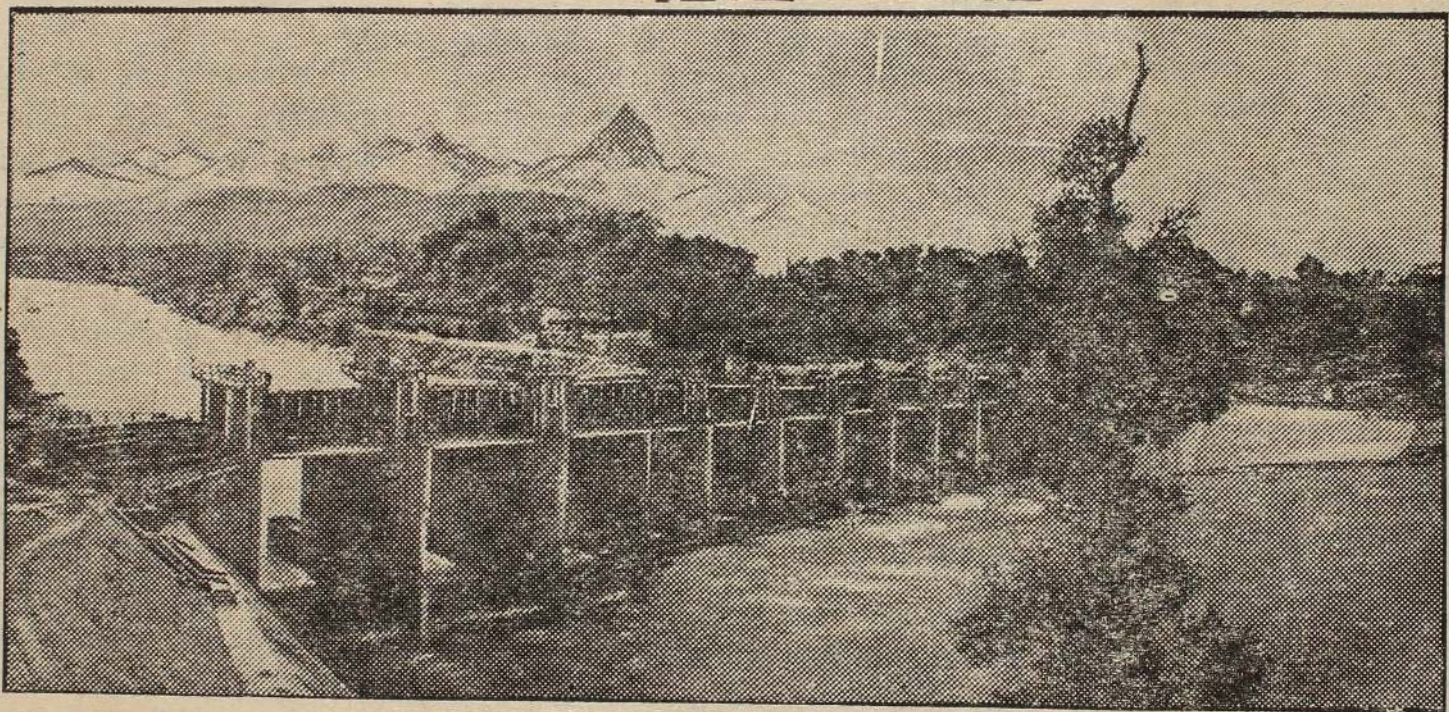
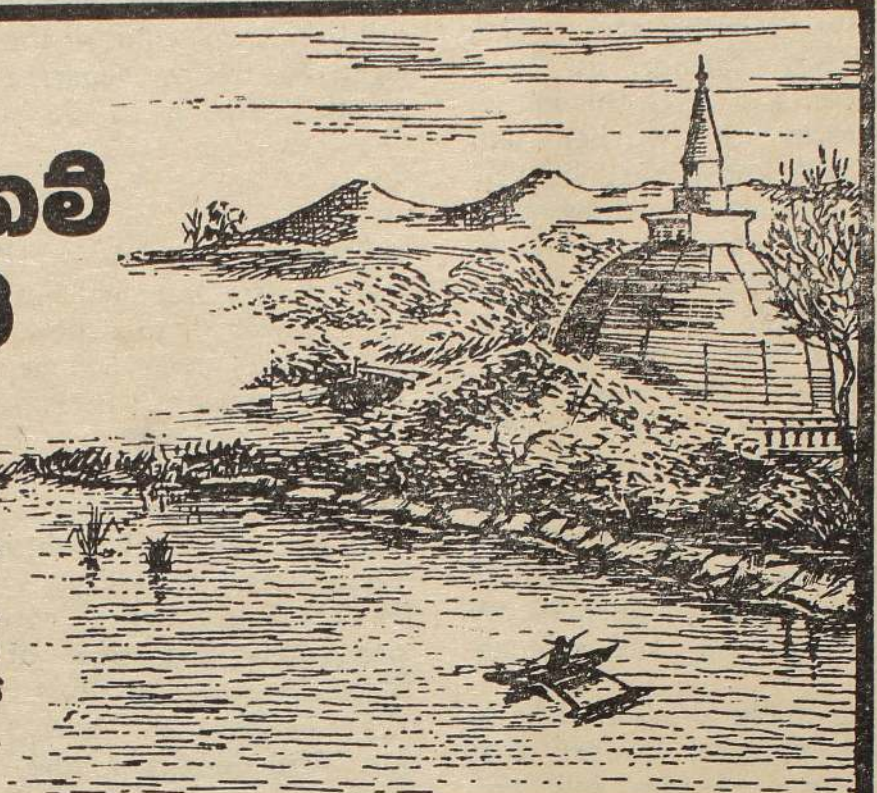
The position of the T. U. L. F. is difficult. It has a definite mandate to ask for a separate state, Ealam. It is crystal clear it will not get it from the present Sinhalese leaders whether in the U. N. P. or S. L. F. P. The relationship between the Sinhalese and Tamils, who lived in amity before independence, has steadily deteriorated since independence. The Tamils have been discriminated against in their own homelands, where they have lived for centuries and had kingdoms of their own.

This cannot be tolerated. It is necessary for the Ceylon Tamils to review their position carefully and make up their minds whether they can live with dignity with the Sinhalese as a part of a whole Sri Lanka. My personal view is that if the Ceylon Tamils are given an autonomous area where they are in full charge of internal affairs — local government, education, health, trade, employment and culture, then they can form part of one whole Sri Lanka. If the Sinhalese are not prepared to allow us to do this then we will be compelled to separate from them.

The right of a people of a separate race to manage their own internal affairs at least is an inalienable right and it cannot be denied them for ever. Throughout history, men and women have fought and died for the freedom to live their lives in their own way. The Ceylon Tamil people will be no exception. Several have already given their lives and we bow our heads to them. The best tribute we can pay them is to see that they did not do it in vain.

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Real revolution for the Church in Sri Lanka

Jayantha Somasundaram

The absolute secularisation of life and thought that the thinkers of the Enlightenment predicted has not yet come to pass. The last priest has still to be strangled with the entrails of the last king. But the partial secularisation that the modern world witnessed has given organised religion a new role. As the religious institutions of the world get distanced from the power centres of society, they are free to take up more radical stances. As their wealth and status diminishes, ecclesiastics find that they have less to lose as a result of dissent.

Protest and political militancy have been prominent in the Roman Catholic Church in our generation. Yet the trend is not their monopoly, the events that have taken place in Iran and Libya during the seventies have underscored the political potentials of Islam. On the other hand, it is within the Roman Catholic Church that there has been a **formalisation of a doctrine of activism**, tailored for the current situation. In Latin America we see Liberation Theology which fulfills this function precisely.

The militancy of the Church has **not** been confined to **empirical responses** to the dehumanising situation that has emerged in South America. There are significant sections of the Church that are just as articulate and active where ethical issues, be they disarmament or abortion, are concerned. Thus the credibility and sincerity of the Church remains secure.

Religious institutions have always played a profound part in the political arena of Sri Lanka. The Christian Churches were intimately identified with both the Colonial powers and the local elites. Thus Buddhist organisations had a fertile ground on which to build themselves in the period upto 1956. A revivalism

that begins with the Anagarika Dharmapala and evolved through the Temperance Movement and the Sinhala Maha Sabha into the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has triumphed.

Now that it has achieved its objective the Buddhist protest movement is the prisoner of its own success. Even when there are issues relevant to it, like the penetration of a western consumerism, the disintegration of traditional values and absorption within a foreign dominated global system, it cannot dissociate itself from the establishment long enough to protest.

On the other hand, the Christian Churches which were disadvantaged by the post-Fifty-Six reversals now find themselves far enough from the centres of power to be radical. The Roman Catholic Church is in the forefront for a variety of reasons. It is a significant minority with a large mass of poor adherents concentrated in specific areas. Not only the inspiration of the Latin American Church, but also the example of the Asian Church in the Philippines has influenced the social response of the Church in Sri Lanka.

The Church has mended its relations with the Left movement which has regarded it as a bastion of privilege and reaction. It is dialoguing with radical organisations and protest movements. And today it is in a position to speak out against injustice and oppressions

The Church has not hesitated to take a stand on controversial issues like the victimisation of participants in the July Eighty strike. More, the Church has identified itself with the victims and assisted them, knowing full well that the Establishment can hardly help taking a very dim view of things. It has been a real revolution for the Church which until recently was so closely identi-

fied with the rulers whom they tutored in their elite schools. Little did the Government of the day realise the long term consequence of the schools take-over and the anti-Christian recruitment policies.

The changes that the Church has experienced in the last two decades coincides with the life, thought and work of Bishop Leo Nanayakkara. The second Vatican Council was crucial to his development and emergence as the most radical ecclesiastical leader in modern times. Through him the minority of radicals within the Church were able to gain an audience.

Among local events the 1971 JVP uprising and the acute social crisis that it drew attention to, served as a catalyst for the awakening of Bishop Leo. While Bishop at Kandy and Badulla, he straddled a crucial period of our social history. And he was one of the very few who could comprehend the reality that was being dramatised by the cataclysms of the Sixties and Seventies. His attempts to rouse the Christian community to its social responsibility was a trail-blazing effort, and an unprecedented landmark in the development of Christianity in Sri Lanka. He was the most credible symbol of the real revolution that has engulfed the Christian Church in this generation.

Letters . . . (Contd. from page 1)

well as a recent portfolio of poems.

All the best.....

Penang,
Malaysia.

Cecil Rajendra

P. S. Also enclosed is a paper I presented at the Asian PEN Conference in Manila. As you can guess the paper caused a storm!

(NOTE: The poems and article will appear in our next issue. Ed.)

Ratnapala, sociologist, detective or reformer

I READ the article with the above title published in your journal on July 15th, 1982 by a Buddhist Monk known as Madadombe Chandrajothi. The Ven. Bhikkhu having read Prof. Ratnapala's articles published in the Sinhalese Newspaper 'Divaina' asks whether these articles belong to "Social Science". Even a first year student, not to speak of an Assistant Lecturer in a University, knows that Newspapers never teach Sociology in their columns. For that purpose one has to read at least an elementary scientific treatise in Sociology which I earnestly recommend for the Ven. Monk to read for his own edification.

The monk says that he formed the present opinion of Prof. Ratnapala **after reading the Newspaper articles and having listened to his lecture.** This is indeed a very funny way of forming an academic opinion of the research work of a man. It looks trivial, foolish too when an University Don does it and unahamedly states so. If you go to teach your students even in the Sinhala Department in which the good monk is teaching to assess the academic attainments of scholars through the reading of Newspaper articles and attending only one lecture, that indeed is a disastrous introduction to an University education.

I have a great respect for Buddhist monks. I know that they abide by the truth. When Prof. Ratnapala addressed the students and lecturers at the Kelaniya University I too was there in the audience. I am shocked by the pack of lies said by this above monk, who calls himself a follower of the Buddha. The monk says that Prof. Ratnapala "offered medical advice to the students physical and psycholological ailments". All the hundreds of students who were there, including Buddhist monks, Lecturers of the Department of Sociology, the Head of the Department of Economics would agree with me here that Prof. Ratnapala never did such a thing. It is indeed a pity to come across a Buddhist monk, a very follower of

the Great Buddha, distorting facts in this manner when hundreds of others are there to state what the truth was.

The monk does not stop here. He says that Prof. Ratnapala never spoke of the importance of economic problems. At the outset of his task the Professor said that economic factors are important but here his objective would be to speak on social problems from a Sociological stand-point. The monk accuses the Professor of speaking only on "Narcotics, V. D and Alcoholism". Actually Prof. Ratnapala spoke of the culture-conflict and such other problems. He did actually base his talk on problems which he had re-searched. As a Sociologist, he stated, that he does not want to speak on other problems not known to him outside his own research. Does the good Monk want the Professor to speak on all the problems in the world with equal authority within the little time allocated? For this he has to await the arrival of a 'miracle' lecturer from the "on-going research group" of the so called "Sociologists Association." They are the most suitable and "trained" "properly licensed" 'scholars' for such a "multi-purpose" task.

The monk accuses Prof. Ratnapala of not developing a hypothesis in his newspaper articles and the lecture. Most probably by his tacit admission, in all lectures in the Department, the Bhikkhu must be posing hypothesis at every turn. (He must indeed be a strange hypothesis himself). Or else how could he expect a lecturer to introduce such hypothesis in the talks? More over is he aware that in these fields in which the Professor has researched no one else has done other research work earlier. Hypothesis cannot be developed in a vacuum. There must be at least exploratory knowledge, basic knowledge before hand for a hypothesis to develop.

The Monk states that at the lecture the Professor "raised the curtain of false modesty to make it possible for all to view raw social evils". However much the monk may have desired inwardly to see "the raising of curtains to enable him to view raw social evils", it did not happen that way. Perhaps that is the cause of the good monk's dissatisfaction! The Professor using the methodology of a Sociologist, analysed the problems that effect youth in a topical and relevant manner. It is the duty of a Buddhist monk to fight social evil strongly than even a Sociologist.

Let me warn the good monk not to rush into areas where even angels fear to tread! The Lord Buddha in Dhammapada has stated that "a Bhikkhu should be controlled in his tongue, speak no falsehood". But Ven. Sir, when you have your tongue in your cheek and you speak for other people not knowing the meaning of what you say, and may be even using the language that others have written for yourself, according to the Great Master, you fall down from the sublime Dhamma!

Finally let me remind the Ven. monk that if he had any doubts of what the Professor stated in his lecture, he could have raised them and questioned the Professor then and there as many other students did that day, rather than indulge in this kind of belated criticism and baseless accusations.

Edwin Ganihigama
Assistant Lecturer,
Dept. of Sociology.

NOT LECTURERS

I HAVE noted with interest that in his latest contribution Mr. Tennyson Perera of Vidyalankara University has demoted himself from the post of Lecturer to an Assistant Lecturer. Mystified by this, and on inquiring from the University Authorities, I have subsequently found that the four 'lecturers' who signed an original letter in defence of Professor Ratnapala were **not**, in fact, lecturers. Tennyson Perera is, as he admits, an Assistant Lecturer. The two others are probationary Assistant Lecturers

and the other a temporary Instructor. Is their apparent escalation of titles in keeping with the Ratnapala School of escalation of facts?

I also notice that Mr. Perera had in his earlier letter asked for the members of the Association and now in his second letter admits that he himself was a member of the Association, and gives details of the association's office bearers. Strange indeed!

Surely was he suffering from amnesia at the time he wrote the first letter and has now regained the faculty of memory. Is loose memory in addition to loose facts also a characteristic of the Ratnapala school of Sociology?

Alutgama

R. de. Silva

II

I REFER to the letter by the four "Lecturers" of the Sri Jayawardanapura University. The Post of 'Lecturer' in a University is only obtained after obtaining the requisite post-graduate qualification. On suspicion I checked with Sri Jayawardanapura University and I found that these gentlemen are not what they appear to be. Two of them are probationary asst. lecturers, one an assistant lecturer and the other a temporary instructor. Apparently their inflation of their titles seem to parallel the inflaters of numbers in the school of sociology they defend.

Waragoda, Dr. W. Gunaratne
Kelaniya.

TOURIST'S VIEW

I RUN a small guest house in Hikkaduwa for respectable tourists. During the last season, there was a drop in tourists in the area and some news reports say that it would be worse this year. A German tourist said to me recently that this is because there is a rumour going around in the tourist industry in Europe that there is an epidemic of VD in Sri Lanka with almost the whole population having it. I of course laughed at it and said that Sri Lanka is a very respectable place. But reading your Guardian articles, now I see the source of the rumour, namely the research findings of Professor Nandasena Ratnapala. We in Sri Lanka depend a lot on tourism. I hope the Tourist Board will make a categorical denial in Europe that the Professor's findings are false.

As an act of retribution, the Tourist Board should not employ Sri Jayawardanapura graduates.

Hikkaduwa

S. de. Silva

A reply to Tilak Senanayake

I am a regular *Divayina* reader and therefore, I have followed the series of articles entitled "Samaja Sameekshana" very carefully. I can also recall the criticisms levelled against the series by some academics and critical readers published in another Sinhala national weekly. I have also been following the current debate in the *Lanka Guardian*. To me all these have been very interesting reading. I was however surprised when I read the article by Mr. Tilak Senanayake which appeared in *Lanka Guardian* Vol. 5 No. 5.

At the outset Mr. Senanayake says that the articles were written and reported by him. May I remind him that some were written by Prof. Ratnapala himself. I did not really notice much of a difference between what Mr. Senanayake reported and those written by Prof. Ratnapala either in content or style. The crucial point therefore, is not who wrote them but the validity of the facts and figures contained in them. After all, facts and figures, I believe, were not Mr. Senanayake's. I also believe that the journalists do not distort facts and figures given by their informants.

Mr. Senanayake begins his article saying (or implying) that the points made by the Sociological Association amount to a personal attack on Prof. Ratnapala. As is well known, a criticism can be called a personal attack only if the critique deals with the private life of a person. If a person tells lies in public, should not the others point this out? Is it a personal attack? As far as the present debate is concerned the critiques have been dealing only with Prof. Ratnapala's so-called research findings.

Mr. Tilak Senanayake now implies that the "Samaja Sameekshana" articles were not meant to be serious sociological writings. The critiques were almost unanimous about this. But, then the author, Prof. Ratnapala states the writings were based on scientific research. (article No. 27) Now when the professional sociologists say that it is sensational and open to question, Mr. Senanayake says that the series was not meant to be serious sociology. Should not

the critical readers now sympathise with, both Mr. Senanayake and Prof. Ratnapala.

Let me recall again the criticism of the series of articles published in the other Sinhala journal of the popular press. One major criticism then was that the facts and figures presented were not only sensational but exaggerations. The author of the series then reacted saying that they are findings of scientific research. Now when the professionals point out that they do not appear to be scientific, Mr. Senanayake says that it was not meant to be so. Why?

Mr. Senanayake says that his intention was to gather whatever relevant and meaningful information he could for his readers for the enrichment of their knowledge and experience. This is certainly a very good intention, but the question is whether he has achieved it. Let us examine some samples. (We should also bear in mind that Mr. Senanayake was presenting most of his material in Prof. Ratnapala's own words).

The facts, figures and statements cited by the Sociological Association appear to be quotations from the series of articles. Prof. Ratnapala in his last article (No. 27) summed up the series saying that it was a serious sociological analysis of an important social problem and his findings are the outcome of intensive sociological research. Now, Mr. Senanayake, when you report that,

* according to our findings, between 4000-5000 males get infected with this disease (VD) per day in Colombo.

* 18% of all the comely girls of tender age coming to Colombo turn to this profession (prostitution).

* 317 abortions per day are performed in Colombo alone and the situation is not second to this in the other towns.

* Prof. Ratnapala is aware of a wealthy person who apparently has deflowered thousands of virgins etc. etc.

Do you really think that you have been gathering relevant and

meaningful information and contributing to readers knowledge and experience. Should not the critical readers have the right to question the validity of these absurd figures, particularly when they appear to be incredible and fictitious?

Let me first comment on your VD figures. When you report that, according to our findings between 4000-5000 males get infected (බෝ කර ගනිති) with this disease (VD) per day in the city of Colombo, shouldn't your readers believe you as you are quoting from a person who claims to have done scientific research.

What is the sociological significance of the above figures if the annual figure cannot be computed from it. Your professor did not probably realize that the annual figure computed from his own statistics would amount to about 1.5 million males with VD in the city of Colombo. Or is there any other way to compute the annual figure?

Having reported the above actual figures in the series of articles, now in your article in the *Lanka Guardian*, you say that you reported that there are about 4000-5000 **potential** VD contacts per day in Colombo! Do your *Divayina* readers know that you have now revised the V.D. figures in view of the criticisms faced by your professor. Or in the alternative, you can request your professor to explain his previous statement that according to our findings, between 4000-5000 males per day get actually infected with this disease in the city of Colombo alone. It is the worst form of elitism to give only sensational rubbish to the Sinhala press whilst you write a more reasonable defence in the English Press.

Let me now turn to your figures on abortions. You report direct from your professor that 317 abortions per day are performed in the City of Colombo, and that the situation is not second to this in the other towns. I hope you did not meddle with these figures in order to reach the level of sensationalism you desire.

As is well known, abortions are illegal in this country and therefore

it is largely a hidden phenomena. How did the professor arrive at this figure? Did he count all the abortions performed in the city of Colombo? For how long? Didn't he miss any cases at all? Here also how can one compute the annual figure without multiplying the daily figure by 366? Your professor is not probably aware that the professional social scientists find it extremely difficult to gather 100% accurate data on social phenomena. You may remind him that, even in the natural sciences which are more exact, your scientists when presenting results, leave some room for variation. But your good professor found the exact figure of 317!

You report that your professor is aware of a wealthy person who has apparently deflowered thousands of virgins! Did your professor think that this might be an improbable achievement for a man during his lifetime no matter how rich and powerful he is.

You now report on a woman who had sexual relations with 51 men. In the series of articles in the *Divayina*, it was mentioned that 51 men had slept with this woman in **one** night. **Now** you are not specific about the time period; it is open, presumably. It, can even be 24 days now. Having meddled with fact and figures like this, can you still call them relevant and meaningful information. Is it another scientific finding of your good professor? Please report the deviations to the *Divayina* readers. You owe it to them.

Finally, let me make a comment on your style of journalism. You may choose your own style of writing. But, your readers, I believe expect you to report correct facts and figures, specially if you claim that they are derived from objective and scientific research. Otherwise you may mislead your readers. All of your readers cannot consult your professor or his writings (most of which are in English) even if there are any serious ones. They have have to believe that you report correct facts and figures.

One precaution that you can take in the future in this direction would be not to report direct

from those who claim or boast that they possess 'scientific findings' without checking whether they can be believed even by the laymen, let alone the scientific community. This precaution, if taken, would also prevent those self-proclaimed social scientists from misleading those honest and innocent young journalists. If misled, the journalist may have to write another series of articles to correct the serious mistakes done by some of their "learned" informants. Kindly now report also the "corrections" on facts you have made to the *Divayina* readers so that they are also aware of your peculiar style as well as the professor's — in dealing with fact.

M. P. Jayasekera

Kandy.

The Tim Bond Affair

The name of Tim Bond was produced by Tilak Senanayake in the Ratnapala controversy as being one who had shown the existence of a large number of male prostitutes. Readers of July 16th, 1982 issue of the 'Far Eastern Economic' Review would have read another side of Tim Bond this time relating to child slavery. He and other colleagues is supposed to have bought a child slave in Thailand which was then reported in 'the Daily Mirror' of London under the headline "Exclusive — I bought this child for £85" Detailed investigations in Bangkok has now indicated that the whole affair in fact did not take place.

There had been no such sale and the mother of the girl alleged to have been bought had been led to believe that she was acting in a film made by foreigners for which she was to receive 10,000 Baht. The Review concludes as follows: "Even assuming that the official figures are not completely upto date, the total employed in the non-agricultural sector is still a far cry from the 200,000 children sold into slavery which Pilger quoted from reports prepared by Bond for the UN two years ago." The situation has resulted — "for whatever reason — in taking an award-winning British Journalist for a ride".

Crisis in the Third World

Chintaka

Comrade Jagath is I fear, saying nothing that is new or original. His 'thesis' about the relative roles about the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, is but a sophisticated re-statement of what Wijeweera had to say in the 1960's. The latter's views were of course an echo of the New Leftist youth vanguardism that was the in thing at the time, but would be laughed out of court in any revolutionary milieu in the 'Third World' today. In a nutshell, comrade Jagath's Marcusean mish-mash of New Leftism is a trifle old fashioned.

(1) By his dismissal of the revolutionary potential of the hill country Tamil plantation proletariat, Jagath not only demonstrates a lack of faith in a vital segment of this country's proletariat, but also falls unwitting prey to the ethno-centrism that writes off the **Tamil** workers as passive and fatalistic. I use the term ethno-centrism in place of another, stronger word. I suggest that Jagath, a promising student of politics, study the history of the Left and working class movement of this country with a somewhat greater degree of application. When he does so, he will become aware not only of the level of militancy displayed by the plantation workers in the pre-independence years (what does he think led to their disenfranchisement), but also in the latter half of the 1960's. The Red Flag Union, under the leadership of Mr. N. Sanmugathasan's Ceylon Communist Party, made remarkable progress in organizing young estate workers during this period, so much so that from 1964 onwards, estate workers marched alongside Sinhala workers under the hammer and sickle on May Day. 1968 was perhaps the high point of this phenomenon, and it was the 1971 repression that broke the back of the Red Flag Union.

So let us not, ourselves, be fatalistic. If the Mayan Indians in Guate-

mala could be organized to fight for their rights, why not the Tamil plantation proletariat. Especially since it has been done before

(2) The Great Depression. Comrade Jagath "make(s) it clear" that he "does not subscribe that naive triumphalism, the-imminent-breakup-of-the-World-Capitalist-system — school of thought". He is also so kind enough to inform us that he does not "doubt the historicity of the capitalist mode of production, but would maintain that there are latent resources of strength within world capitalism" and he would "stress the relative autonomy of the political instance". To all of which I have to say: O.K, so what else is new? We are all aware that crisis is precisely the period of re-structuration and rationalization of capitalism. There is also a consensus that this particular depression will last at most, another ten years. What is at issue is what will happen between now and then. What kind of re-structuring will take place, and at whose expense? Jagath says that "these depressions periodically burn off the excess fat which has built up, and rejuvenates the whole system". He seems to regard this as a painless, automatic process! Doesn't he know of the little things that happened before the last great depression ended and sent the capitalist world economy "zooming off into the next boom phase"? I refer to things like the rise of fascism, its defeat and the extension of the socialist revolution to parts of Europe in the course of a world war, a revolution in China — the most populous country on earth etc., etc., etc., . . .

'Evolutionism' then is a characteristic of comrade Jagath's perspective, because he fails to grasp that qualitative development takes place in breaks, in ruptures. This poverty of comrade Jagath's philosophical outlook is manifested even in his

views on Sri Lankan social development. But more of that later. What is important to note is that as the case of Bernstein demonstrates, such an evolutionist view of capitalist development leads to 'gradualism', ie., revisionism (or neo-revisionism) in politics. Counterposed to Jagath's view of the crisis, let me quote at considerable length, Andre Gunder Frank. (These excerpts are from his collection of essays '**Reflections on the World Economic Crisis**' issued by MR Press last year).

"These periods of deep crisis in the process of capital accumulation have, in the past, brought with them important qualitative changes in the international and inter-sectoral divisions of labour, and as a result of important concomitant changes in the social and political structure in the world as a whole, they have sharpened international and intra-national conflict. The last of these crises generated World War I and World War II, the Depression between them, and the rise of fascism as a direct result of this Depression — as well as the Soviet Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, and the apparent potential for socialist revolutions in France and Italy after 1945.

"This period of crisis then, like those in the past, may lead to increased internal political conflict and to external international political conflict ... As a result of this period of conflict there is, and there may continue to be, an increase and strengthening of progressive and revolutionary political movements".

'Reflections' contains an interview given by Frank and Samir Amin to '**Il manifesto**', in which Frank defines the crisis as

"an accumulation crisis grafted on to a decadent phase of the system — something which became very visible in 1914. The crisis appeared in 1967 when the rate of profit fell."

He says that the crisis will result in, and the new upswing presupposes, new relations between the various productive sectors, new internal relations among the bourgeoisies and new relations among different capitalist powers.

Samir Amin reaffirms Frank's reading and goes on to define the crisis with characteristic brilliance :

"The fall in the rate of profit could be attributed to the exhaustion of one model of accumulation and therefore the need for another model which is difficult to delineate within the capitalist system. (This is) a crisis which puts modes of production, the political framework and systems of social alliance on trial. The dates with which we might compare the current crisis historically are 1848, 1871, and 1917 respectively. But what we are interested in emphasizing is the fact that in such periods of crisis, tension, imbalance and attempts to readjust, there is a rebirth of political life and space opens up for revolutionary activity. Thus 1848 produces the Communist Manifesto, 1871 the Paris Commune, 1917 the October Revolution and later vast changes in China".

Later in the interview Amin states his conclusion even more succinctly :

"A truly revolutionary period is thus beginning". And it is this that comrade Jagath has displayed a total inability to grasp! In the core capitalist countries Social Democracy will resist, by means of trade union struggles, attempts to lower wage rates. Therefore, as **Arghiri Emmanuel** puts it, the imperialist countries will face the world crisis "by making an appreciable part of the cost of financing the recovery of the rate of profit fall back on the super-exploitation of the underdeveloped countries".

In other words, it is not in the core, but in the periphery that the wage rates will be made to drop. If however, the attempts to make the working class in the core capitalist countries share the burden of the crisis through Social Democracy 'Historic Compromise', 'Social Contract', etc., do not work, and the working class does not have the political leadership necessary to open up the socialist solution, variants as neo-fascism, corporatism, or militarism, may appear as the only option even in the core. But all this is some way down the road.

Meanwhile what are the consequences for the periphery? Frank says that :

"Capital is calling upon the underdeveloped countries to collaborate to the same end (jacking up the profit rate) by contributing more surplus value through greater exploitation and especially through super-exploitation. Economically this demand translates into a balance of payments crisis, and in-

creasing austerity measures - and the suppression of those domestic policies designed to confront these crises. Politically the accumulation crisis leads to a sharpening of the class and national liberation struggles. The rule in the 'Third World' for the moment is a turn toward the reactionary and repressive right. I would say that aside from the sharpening of the class struggle, the most important reason for this is the world economic crisis and the changes in the international division of labour. Seen from a 'Third World' perspective, this change at the international level and this process of differentiation appears as a campaign for the promotion and intensification of exports of the following type-capital goods from the intermediate sub-imperialist economies; manufactured goods from South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and elsewhere, and agricultural and mineral products from the other countries. This policy does not, in any way resolve balance of payments problems - rather the opposite. Specialisation in the production and export of manufactured goods requires an ever greater increase in the import of the components, raw materials and technology needed to make the product."

The economic model that core capitalism is fashioning in the periphery is one which involves the handing over of the economy to metropolitan capital through the increased export orientation of those peripheral economies. Production is for external market and for domestic high income groups and is based on imported technology and raw materials. Multination agribusiness moves in to export agricultural products. All this accelerates and intensifies unequal exchange. There is a reduction of the wage rate thereby increasing the rate of exploitation. High unemployment (an average of 25%) and increasing inequality in income distribution are characteristics of this 'model.;

What are the political concomitants of this model? Frank says that in the cheap labour industrial economies (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia) and the raw materials and food producing countries, the capital world-wild and the needs of capital and the ruling class internally which have to compete foreign investments in a period of crisis, continued political repression is the order of the day. The usual democratic institutions and the labour movement can have no place, and in its stead a 'military corporatist state' remains, or is installed. This

is the **South Korea, — Taiwan model.**

A more brutal variant is the **Chilean model.** Gunder Frank predicts that "increasingly dependent client states along the Chilean model", states which cannot aspire to sub-imperialist status will come into being and will entail "vastly increased super-exploitation and political repression." These are "repressive, neo-fascist, corporatist states" with great dependence economically although "the degree to which brutal repression will replace institutional repression will be a measure of the degree to which corporatism has been achieved." Comrade Jagath will be interested to note that it is precisely **South Asia** and the Philippines that Frank places in this unhappy category.

In fact, Frank is even more precise and specifically mentions... Sri Lanka!

"I think that the Chilean model is by no means limited to Chile. I am not quite sure where to place the Philippines, but it seems to me that it is very clear that the martial law imposed by Marcos is an analogous political instrument for this kind of new integration into world capitalism, or the world market if you prefer, that is in the interests of both world capital and some sections of domestic capital. I think that the same thing has begun to happen, .. in Sri Lanka, in Bangladesh and in several other countries of Latin America, apart from Chile."

(Of course this particular essay in 'Reflections' was penned during Sirima's continuing Emergency, but Frank has not chosen to edit it out in 1981. In any case, he is characterising a **process**, and today, none other than the JVP warns us of "the growing threat of naked fascism."

Frank also tosses an interesting idea which may be even more relevant, I think, to Sri Lanka. He says:

"Finally we must consider that this apparent choice between fascism and social-democratic reformism is perhaps less a choice than two different forms of one single line of development in the crisis both in the imperialist and the sub-imperialist countries, in the underdeveloped and the sub-imperialized ones. Particularly in the underdeveloped countries and perhaps in the imperialist one as well, we are beginning to understand that these categories (social

-democracy, fascism etc.) were borrowed from the last crisis, and in some cases even from the one before that. They may no longer be adequate from the social from which the current crisis may take. It could combine elements of social democracy and fascism, into a form that has been little known upto now."

I have dwelt so much here on a certain reading of the crisis because a strategy must emanate from an analysis of the current conjuncture, its contradictions and trends. We must be able to objectively assess the ongoing processes and the likely direction they will take, because, the real test of every political organization is going to be its ability to find a bearing in the current crisis and chart a correct path for the upcoming period of struggle. The JVP, and comrade Jagath lack a comprehensive and correct assessment of the intensity of contradictions in our society — in its global context. No does it have a correct assessment of the likely trajectory of this society's development as a result of these contradictions and struggles. Most of all, they do not have, on the basis of such an assessment, a strategic and tactical line that grasps the possibilities inherent in this stage of capitalist crisis and a plan of action that reflects the interests and demands of the working class and oppressed peoples in response to the crisis.

The world capitalist crisis is creating a situation to which there are two possible solutions. Either an exceptional form of state is fashioned to maintain bourgeois hegemony or there must be the overthrow of the ruling class. By exceptional form of state I mean fascism or military dictatorship or what Poulantzas calls '**authoritarian stateism**'. In order to overcome the structural obstacles to capital accumulation, there has to be a certain restructuring which involves the dismantling of welfarism and its corollary, the frontal defeat of the working class. Under the conditions of the deepening crisis, bourgeois-democracy becomes an obstacle to the full implementation of the big bourgeoisies project which at the economic level has been sketched out above. The big bourgeoisie needs to change the struc-

ture of the political system and erect a new 'modern' form of state that is institutionally capable of maintaining stable hegemony over the rest of society, ensuring the super-exploitation of the proletariat and of the middle strata and carrying out a process of capitalist accumulation to the extreme.

The Sri Lankan social formation is witnessing today an organic crisis in which a maturing economic crisis is articulated with a political crisis. The political crisis resides in the contradictions within the ruling class causing the struggle within the power bloc. It also resides in the workers movement which is on the defensive, but not frontally defeated, is strong enough to constitute an obstacle to the effective implementation of the new accumulation model', but is not capable of leading the popular forces to overthrow bourgeois hegemony. The necessary solutions for the organic crisis cannot be implemented fully through bourgeois democratic channels and traditional forms of political practice. The modification of traditional structures of political power and hegemony through the concentration of power in the executive, the stepped up military repression in the North, the dismantling of Keynesian social devices, the restriction of civil liberties, the expansion of the security forces, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the devaluation of the legislature, the state control of Press, radio and T.V.; and the restriction of the Opposition's access to these media, — all these are evidence that the tendency of bourgeois democracy to reproduce itself is weaker than the tendency towards some form of the exceptional state.

But the 'exceptional state' is in fact the norm in the neo-colonial stage of world capitalism and under the conditions of crisis. The germs of neo-fascism have been present in Sri Lanka's bourgeois democracy since the mid-1960's and this tendency is even more so, an organic product of the post-1971 period. Since then, there has been a process of fascistization — with the 1977 interregnum of course, — transforming bourgeois democracy into neo-fascism. This process is on way and each incident of rep-

ression is a link in a chain, which, if is not broken, will end in some form of neo-fascism, because that is where the inner logic of capitalist development in the 'Third World' in the present period, leads. Already the structures of bourgeois domination in Sri Lanka have been becoming neo-fascist as the crisis of Lankan capitalism has matured over the past two decades. But it requires the formation of a new power bloc and a form of state which is responsive only to and is hegemonised totally by monopoly capital to fulfil the task of disorganizing and atomizing the working masses by means of physical repression and then vertically integrating and regimenting them. To put it simply, the White Paper on Employment Relations and Mrs. B's earlier proposal of a Corporations Security Act have to be implemented, Trinco given to the US, vast tracts of land leased out to multinational agri-business, and state enterprises and corporations operating at a loss, shut down if the ASEAN — S. Korea-Taiwan economic model is to be pushed through. But this entails the crushing of the working class movement, the silencing of the anti-imperialist parties and opinion makers, and perhaps most significantly, the total disregarding of electoral pressures from the mass base. For instance, an inefficient state enterprise cannot be maintained simply to furnish employment for job-card holders and lands opened up under the Mahaweli should not be sub-divided into small plots for the Party's peasant supporters when it makes a lot more economic sense to lease large chunks of it to companies, foreign and local!

In Sri Lanka today, there are two distinct modes of capitalist rule articulated within one capitalist state, namely, a moderately repressive, reactionary and authoritarian form of bourgeois-democracy in the South and military dictatorship in the North. For the reasons set out above, the repression in the North foreshadows what is in store for the South. It is the Sinhala worker that is next on the list. The Pastor Niemoller saying is very relevant in this regard: First it was the Communists, then it was the Jews, then the Trade unions and then it was too late.

In the context of crisis in the Third world, my reading of which is very similar to the Comintern 6th Congress (1928) analysis, the ruling class, or a decisive section of it, is attempting to impose a model of domination which is counter-revolutionary and involves the destruction of all political progress made by the working class and the elimination of classical bourgeois-democracy as a solution which will permit the maximization of exploitation. True, capitalism develops differently and at a varying pace in different countries, and this uneven development means that not all 'Third World' societies are proceeding towards neo-fascism at an equal pace or by the same path. While grasping the complex interplay of the universal and the particular, we must not fall prey, as I suspect comrade Jagath has done, to the myth of Sri Lankan exceptionalism. As Frank says in 'Reflections on the World Economic Crisis', "For revolutionaries, then, it will be important in the first place not to let ourselves be deceived....."

What then is to be done? Flowing from his and Amin's analysis, of the current crisis, Gunder Frank offers this answer, with which I, for one, am in the fullest agreement: "However hard it is to define and however difficult to construct, that is why we so urgently need an alternative revolutionary political policy and organization which can lead us not to 1984 but to Hasta La Victoria Siempre!"

In the next section of this article I shall contend that the JVP does not fulfil this need, but could possibly be a transitional form and/or, a source of 'resources' towards the creation of such an organization. Hence the need to extend critical support to it at the upcoming Presidential and Parliamentary elections. The JVP could well be the caterpillar which forms the chrysalis from which the butterfly emerges. But Comrade Jagath should be perceptive, or at least observant, enough not to mistake the caterpillar for the butterfly and expect it to beat its wings and fly!

(To be continued)

Land Colonisation . . .

(Continued from page 12)

evolved the strategy? How does it survive unbroken though governments come and go? Is there some secret arm of the state apparatus which, irrespective of which party is in office, continues this nefarious plan to 'demographically undermine' the Tamils? How did it acquire so much power to issue secret instructions to Land Development officials, the army, the police etc.- Why is nothing known of this secret arm? Is there some behind-the-scenes master-mind that controls it? What advantage is there to this master strategist and/or the Sinhala-Buddhist interests he serves in 'demographically undermining' the Tamils?

I should like to end with two quotations:

1. 'A terrible disservice is done by those who exaggerate, carelessly misunderstand or even invent events'. (Gitta Sereny writing on the Holocaust). 2. 'It is unfortunate, considering that enthusiasm moves the world, that so few enthusiasts can be trusted to speak the truth'. (A. J. Balfour)

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Sarachchandra's 'Dharmishta Samajaya' — tilted towards reaction

H. A. Seneviratne

The ideological confusion of the petit-bourgeois intellectuals of this country is getting exposed in every field now. This confusion is not at all surprising. In a bourgeois society, the predominant ideology among not only the middle class but sometimes the working class as well, is bourgeois ideology. Even though the bourgeois social system is in its death agony as in this country, the petit — bourgeoisie incessantly floats and vacillates with its axis tilted towards the bourgeoisie and falls in to a position of lack of any firm system of ideas. This happens particularly when the working class lacks organised power, that is to say if the balance of class forces is totally favourable to the capitalist class. Professor Ediriweera Sarachchandra's **"Dharmishta Samajaya"** ("Righteous Society") is a work that mirrors this lamentable state of affairs.

The inclusion of a critique of the pro — imperialist economic and social policies of the present government in **"Dharmishta Samajaya"** has the outward appearance of a bold step. But it is not so if one considers this matter in-depth and bearing in mind that those policies being generally debunked and elections are also round the corner!

The objective of this article is to assess the **ideological basis** of the book **"Dharmishta Samajaya"**, leaving aside the commonplace economic and social facts, and the few poems on those matters which, incidentally, betray a serious decline in the creative talent of the writer.

Unscientific

Our Professor's **"Dharmishta Samajaya"** indicates that he considers the comforts man can enjoy "through the inventions based on modern science" as quite unnecessary. He suggests that "items of use and consumption" such as comfortable houses, vehicles, telephones, televisions, refrigerators, electric cookers electricity and pipe-borne water,

are also unnecessary. What he says is that "the minimum requirements of man are limited to a strongly built house, varieties of grain, meat, vegetables, fruits etc. For food, pure water for drinking and bathing, and clothing." (page 15) This means the consumer goods of man must be strictly restricted. But then he says rather contradictorily that "the minimum requirements of worldly goods that a man wants for a comfortable life cannot be ascertained." (page 17) This is an unscientific and utopian dream. That is not all. **It is a kind of a rejection of the development of science itself.**

The basic question of the present-day world is not the discovery of consumer items but the restriction of the results of the development of science to a handful of capitalist exploiters and a few imperialist countries. Under the present world capitalist system every forward step in technology brings in its wake over — production, waste, unemployment for the working people and the decline in living standards for the general public.

The only way

The great scientist and philosopher, Albert Einstein has commented on this as follows:

"I am convinced there is only **one** way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented towards social goals." According to Einstein, "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition." ("Why Socialism?", Albert Einstein Monthly Review, New York, February 1951).

Professor Sarachchandra's problem is quite a different one. He says in his book that we should act in accordance with an ideology based on the **Rigveda** and the **Sutras** of the Buddha Dhamma. **Ananda**

K. Coomaraswamy held a similar view, but he insisted that the malaise of present-day society lay in the breach of the connection between work and culture. He brought this out very cogently. He once said that when a certain Archbishop asked a worker at a conveyor belt to identify himself, the worker replied, "I am nut 39"! (Sources of Wisdom, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Sri Lanka, 1982, page 50) **This is an unconscious acceptance so to say, of the Marxist Theory of alienation of the individual in a capitalist society.** Although not a Marxist and not able to give a remedy to the spiritual degradation of man, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy accepted, as a true scholar that the basic spiritual illness of present-day society was the severance of the happy inter-connection between the individual and his work.

Utopia

Professor Sarachchandra's **"Dharmishta Samajaya"** does not even touch the real material and psychological problems of the individual or of society as such. Thus, the concepts embodied in his book become utopian. Certain ideas in his book are not at all scientific. His view that "there is a great threat from technological culture coming from the Western World" (page 45) is an example. **In fact the real threat lies in the way things are put to use and in their being available to only a handful of persons.**

He also says that in India "there did not exist a class so anti-national and pro-imperialist as in this country". (page 35) This is a hollow statement.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in a speech made in 1945 said that there was "a generation of spiritual bastards" in India due to Western education. (Sources of Wisdom page 44) Although there is a resemblance between the so-called

(Continued on page 28)

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Reggie Siriwardena

CINEMA

From the fact that several Sinhala films have recently been given 'Adults only' certificates by the Public Performances Board one may get the impression that our cinema is growing up. Though one can't equate adulthood in the cinema with adultery, the readiness of film-makers to explore hitherto forbidden themes, and the willingness of censors to permit them, would be a welcome sign of the growing maturity of the Sri Lankan cinema — provided certain conditions were satisfied. For genuine moral emancipation in the cinema is not merely a matter of daring in the choice of subject-matter.

The film-maker who takes up the tabooed subject but hasn't the intelligence and courage to question the repressive moral norms of our society is not liberating his audience but indulging in a titillating sensationalism which is (to use a phrase of Lawrence) 'all the more vicious because it is always ostensibly on the side of the angels.' This kind of work is ultimately conservative in its effects. While making gestures in the direction of enlightenment and emancipation by choosing unconventional themes (and earning box-office dividends in doing so) it serves actually to reinforce entrenched prejudices and dominant social values.

Tissa Abeysekera's two films, *Karumakkarayo* and *Mahagedera*, are good examples of the kind of cinema I am talking about: superficially daring in their content, they are so strongly pervaded by a fear and hatred of female sexuality that what they do in fact is to strengthen the ideology of male domination which is deep-rooted in our culture. (In the case of *Mahagedera*, the anti-female intention of the film was explicitly confirmed by an advertisement for the film, which used a Buddhist text to underline its message of the deceitfulness of women.)

The immediate subject of this review, however, is a new film, *Malate Noena Bambaru*, which

has received much advance publicity as the first Sinhala film to take as its subject a homosexual relationship. A truly honest and courageous film on this subject would have been something to be welcomed, because of the wide gap between conventional moralistic attitudes in Sri Lanka towards adult homosexuality and the understanding that contemporary psychology has brought to such relationships. We can no longer, in the light of the knowledge we have today, treat homosexual relationships as 'abnormal' or 'perverse', since it has been shown that an element of bisexuality is to be found in the sexual emotions and behaviour of most 'normal' people, so that instead of thinking in terms of heterosexuality and homosexuality as being rigorously exclusive, we should rather speak of a cline in which one shades into the other.

What is possible, at least in the more liberal-minded sections of the Western mass media, to combat moralistic biases against homosexuality, was exemplified by a TV programme shown here a few months ago — one of the 'Crown Court' series from British TV. (In passing, I should like to say that this series is among the rare good imports from foreign TV that we have had: it is admirable in the intelligence and critical sense with which it treats the law and human relations.) The particular programme to which I am referring presented a lesbian relationship not only frankly but also sympathetically: on the other hand, it gave an unfavourable picture of the domineering male (the husband of one of the two women) who was trying to coerce his wife into coming back to him.

One doesn't expect that kind of liberated morality from a Sri Lankan film on homosexuality at present (nor would it get past the censors if it took such an attitude). But we have at least the right to ask that a film-maker who chooses this subject shouldn't reinforce the traditional and irrational biases of his audience towards it. Alas, this

is just what *Malate Noena Bambaru* does. One's misgivings are aroused in advance by the title: the metaphor, as a friend remarked to me, already suggests a preconception that homosexuality is unnatural, just as a *bambara* who refused to go to a flower would be. The film bears out these anticipations. The central character is an ageing homosexual who is involved in a relationship with a young man: his neglected wife meanwhile tries to satisfy her desires by seducing a young male servant. When the young man in the homosexual relationship decides to marry a girl, his male lover is left in isolation and loneliness, and his deepening despair leads to a bloody climax.

The great majority of the audience of *Malate Noena Bambaru* will come to the film with the assumption in their minds that homosexuality is unnatural, depraved and evil, and they will go back with these assumptions fully confirmed. The ageing homosexual's relationship with the young man is from the beginning presented as morbid, gloomy and guilt-ridden, though he is rich, free from social constraints, and not shown as in any way suffering from ostracism or moral condemnation. Clearly, therefore, the guilt and gloom under which the character labours is a projection of the script-writers and directors own conviction that homosexuality is wrong, which have made them load the moral dice.

The cinematic treatment of the two unorthodox sexual relationships in the film creates perpetually a sense of something unhealthy, furtive and dirty: it is significant that the directors several times cut away from the shots of the characters in physical intimacy to a peeping, voyeuristic figure, putting the audience themselves in the position of being voyeurs. Set against these two relationships is the idealised figure of the young man's wife — loving, dutiful and submissive, and

thus redeeming her husband — a glorification of the 'normal' marital relationship. In the homosexual relationship, on the other hand, there is no love but only lust, power, domination and cruelty (though we know in fact that there can be homosexual love and there can be domination and cruelty in the married life).

This contrast is further underlined by the enlistment of the customary populist values of the Sinhala cinema (the morally depraved rich vs. the virtuous poor). The homosexual and adulterous scenes are set in the mansion of the older man, the relationship between him and the young man being played out in its dark and gloomy interiors, while the wife's seduction of the servant takes place in the garden, thickly overgrown with trees and plants: both interior and exterior settings create a morbid, claustrophobic effect. On the other hand, the marital relationship between the young man and his wife is placed in a modest lower middle-class environment (the young man's family has been financially dependent on the elderly homosexual), and the young wife's constant preoccupation is with her father-in-law's *kasaya*. In terms of the stereotypes of the Sinhala cinema, the audience's responses are predictable: homosexuality and adultery are depravities of the rich alien to good, *kasaya*-drinking ordinary folk.

Malate Noena Bambaru, in short is an unbalanced film which betrays its own pretensions. One other aspect of the film intrigued me: the story is set in a Christian milieu and the film is pervaded by the sound of church-bells, though nothing inherent in the story compelled such a setting. Are we to take it that such 'abominations' as the film presents would be impossible in a Buddhist setting? Whether intentionally or not, the film will lend itself to this interpretation, and thus alienate the majority of its audience further from sympathy towards its main characters.

Sarachchandra's...

(Continued from page 25)

educated class both in India and Sri Lanka in this sense, our "spiritual bastards" were different at

least in so far as the Indian struggle for Swaraj was concerned. It shows that the same class can act differently in different countries. This is due to the different material environments and the different levels of class development in the countries concerned. Professor Sarachchandra has failed to analyse these important factors.

"Purdah"

Certain points of view expressed by him, tilt towards reaction. Referring to Iranian women he says that "Muslim women got rid of their Purdahs and inhibitions and got into Western attire". Is it wrong to drop the Purdah of conservatism and to become modern in outlook?

Professor Sarachchandra even negates his own criticism of the present government's policy of so-called open economy when he says that what man requires are a minimum set of utensils. According to him, the supply of diverse types of goods must be restricted because their necessity and use should be restricted in turn. But what should happen, in fact, is that every individual should have the equal right and ability to obtain goods and consume them.

50,000 Years

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Chairman,

MAHAWELI DEVELOPMENT BOARD.

21st August 1982.