

EXCLUSIVE

Imperialism, world economy and
the Third World — James Petras

FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY
NUMBER



LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 6

No. 1

May 1, 1983

Price Rs. 3/50

THE CURSE OF KUVENI...



**Tamil struggle —
what next?**

— N. Sanmugathan

**Marxism and
literature**

— Reggie Siriwardena

**Tamil problem —
new dimensions**

— Mervyn de Silva

**Marx — maker of
today's world**

— Hiran Mukerjee

**Leslie — Left
pathfinder**

... Veddas and modernisation

— Sudharshan Seneviratne

TUs vs PTA • DELHI SUMMIT — (2) • RACE THEORIES

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

A floor that reflects your life-style with **CARDINAL & MANSION** polish

The floor of your home says a lot about the kind of person you are. Because the glow on your floor reflects your life-style.

Use Cardinal and Mansion floor polish to retain that plush, elegant look on your floor. The look that speaks volumes about you.

Cardinal and Mansion are equally effective on terrazzo and wooden flooring.



CASSETTE REVOLUTION

The Japanese presence is becoming pervasive if the billboards and name-boards are anything to go by. Japan is also acquiring high visibility as Colombo's new buildings and skyline show.

The April season's over. An on-the-spot "research" effort by an inquisitive and studious holiday-maker produced more evidence of the cassette revolution. In a small town upcountry, there are 5 shops selling this increasing popular item. Each sells about 50 a month.

The investigator then observed: "When Japan gifted you a T.V. studio, UNESCO estimated that there would be 35,000-50,000 sets in the first few years. Now, there are over 200,000. Japan has already earned its money. And Japan is clever. It never sells

Our cover picture shows the defiant 95-year-old Vedda chief Tissahamy resisting 'resettlement'.

LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 6 No. 1 May 1, 1983

Price 3/50

Published fortnightly by

Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 246, Union Place,
COLOMBO-2

Editor: Mervyn de Silva

Telephone: 5 4 7 5 8 4

CONTENTS

Letters	2
News Background	3
The Delhi Summit	7
The curse of Kuveni	9
Foreign News	13
Imperialism, world economy and Third World	17
Marx and literature	19
Marx — maker of world we live in	23
The new communication technologies	27
Race and nationhood	30
Rupavahini audience survey	32
The Tamil problem	35

Printed by Ananda Press

82/5, Wolfendhal Street, Colombo-13.

Telephone: 3 5 9 7 5

the soft ware. Nobody can yell "cultural imperialism or colonialism... its pure economics".

Is that all there's to it? T.V., the cassette craze and the 'new' cinema make Bruce Lee, S.W.A.T., Policewoman, etc the heroes, shaping the values of the new generation. What happens to Sri Lankan theatre and cinema?

WANATHAMULLA

The Big Three agreed. The **Daily News** called it a 'mini-battle', the **ISLAND** a "mini-war" and the **SUN** a "gang war". The Battle of Wanathamulla left three persons dead, evidently three innocents. Since the dead are the poor of demi-monde, the incident may soon be forgotten. But the shanty-dwellers of this ghetto, Colombo's Bronx, are unlikely to erase this black day from their memory.

For the authorities as well as for those troubled by the increasing signs of crumbling discipline among the uniformed, there's a particularly disturbing feature in this war between petrol bombs and automatics.

Service personnel are issued sophisticated, lethal weapons for the defence of the State. Can these weapons be used in what is essentially a private battle whatever the provocation? And in this instance, what triggered it all seems to be a highly private affair.

With local elections in the offing, politicians have reacted quickly to the incident. Children have been injured, houses burnt. One airman has been dismissed, bachelors have been moved out of "Guwanpura" and a watch-dog committee of top brass (political-cum-services) has been appointed. Discipline in the services must be maintained with the utmost rigour. The Air Force after all is an "elite" service.

C. R. M. ON JUDICIARY

The **Pavidi Handa** (Voice of Clergy) case and the government's subsequent decision to pay the Police Superintendent's fine and promote him was taken up at the last meeting of the Civil Rights Movement, The Rt.

(Continued on page 2)

TRENDS + LETTERS

The Prophet disarmed

So Comrade Vasu is contesting Eheliyagoda with SLFP support, while the JVP and LSSP are 'out'.

I wish to bring to the attention of L. G. readers, two or three sentences published in this journal in 1980. Firstly Professor Shantha de Alwis, writing on 'The NSSP and Popular Frontism' in the August 15th issue of the L. G. said:

"This implied, as a corollary, its (the NSSP's) total opposition to making programmatic concessions of any kind to any bourgeois party, and the forming of parliamentarist alliances and coalition governments with such a party".

Replying Prof de Alwis in the L. G. issue of October 1st 1980, I wrote:

"Prof de Alwis unblushingly states that the NSSP is 'totally opposed to the forming of parliamentarist alliances with any bourgeois party'. I undertake solemnly to remind him of this in 1983 in the pages of this same journal."

Well, it is 1983, and here I am, fulfilling my solemn promise!

'Chintaka'

Anniversary Message

In an era of worldwide economic stagnation, continuing revolutionary ferment, and a great deal of ideological travail and confusion, the role of journals of thought like *Lanka Guardian* is a central part of the struggle for a socialist world order. We all need to reflect on our collective strategy for this transition of whose outcome we cannot be certain. We are before real historical choices, and it is vital that the Left throughout the world debate their strategies in an ambiance of comradely discussion, pessimism of the intellect, and optimism of the will".

Best Wishes,

Immanuel Wallerstein

Maison Des Sciences De L'home,
Paris.

(Continued on page 2)

Revd. Lakshman Wickremesinghe, Bishop of Kurunegala, presided. The CRM said :

"The decision is reported to have been made in order to ensure that "public officers should do their jobs and follow orders without fear of consequences from adverse court decision."

CRM states that this step amounts to a governmental endorsement of the action of the SP who was found guilty by the Supreme Court of illegally seizing the 'Pavidi Handa' leaflets during the referendum campaign and thereby interfering with the petitioner's constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of expression and publication. It throws further doubt on the fairness of the referendum, acts as an encouragement to similar officers, and has the effect of rights of the people by police breaches of the fundamental undermining the role of the judiciary in protecting the rights of the people.

Letters . . .

(Continued from page 1)

Aniversary Messages

"The Guardian combines lively theoretical debates with concise analytical articles on contemporary issues. Its emphasis on the centrality of class analysis is a healthy antidote against the vacuous neo-Fabian intellectual currents which have surfaced in recent years. Its internationalist position sustains the best traditions of the Sri Lanka Left."

Fraternally,

James F. Petras

Dept. of Sociology,
State University of New York at
Binghamton.

*

Based upon what is known to me here your journal is a very important publication and is much in demand among progressive forces in Sri Lanka and the region.

With warm regards,

Louis Wolf,

Co-Editor (C.A.I.B. Publications)
Washington, DC.

New Name in Science

It is very rarely that a scientist of Sri Lankan origin gets recognized for his contributions in the universities of USA, the so-called citadels of scientific research. To date, apart from the two respected Sri Lankan names, Cyril Ponnampereuma (University of Maryland) and Muttiah Sundaralingam (University of Wisconsin), we haven't seen another Sri Lankan name which made the mark of newsworthiness among the scientific elite journals, for their genuine contributions in the field of science. However, there had appeared another name, Ariyadasa Udagama, an associate professor of dental oncology at the University of Texas, which we could proudly add to the list of Ponnampereuma and Sundaralingam.

In the recent issue of the reputed Journal of American Medical Association (March 18, 1983, pp. 1415-1416), Udagama is featured in the Medical News column, for developing a surgical methodology of "using tiny gold rings to permanently attach a life-like artificial nose to the face of a cancer patient". According to Udagama, this procedure, "can be used on other persons who have lost facial or other body parts from illness or injury"; and the ring used range in diameter from 0.63 to 0.25cm, depending on the amount of tissue available for an anchoring base.

Sachi. Sri Kantha

University of Illinois, USA.

Why the Left Failed

I take my hat off to Sanmugathasan, perhaps the only leader of the so called "Old Left, who has consistently preached that Parliamentary Democracy will never lead to meaningful change in Society.

(Continued on page 25)

INVITE US TO CATER FOR YOUR PARTY

Catering is our speciality

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

PAGODA

RESTAURANT too

is available for your party.

Phone: 23086, 29236.



PAGODA

105, Chatham Street,
Colombo 1.

Cyril Rodrigo Restaurant

North South focus — parliamentary and extra —parliamentary

NEWS
BACKGROU

An ISLAND lead story states that President Jayewardene will shortly appoint a committee of three senior Ministers to inquire into and report on "the problem of terrorism in the north in all its aspects" in order to find possible solutions to what is plainly a major burden on the government rather than a dramatic diversion for the people of the untroubled south as it was in the mid-70's.

Right now, politics in the South, it is true, is largely confined to the forthcoming by-elections. Certainly, the SLFP and the other opposition parties, though still demanding a general election in August, are happy to find that the parliamentary door which was shut tight for 6 years by the December 22nd referendum, is now slightly ajar. If the SLFP and its partners can win a dozen seats, the SLFP, still the UNP's main opponent, will be able to emerge as the main opposition group and claim the post of Opposition leader, an office which should have been theirs but for the quirks of the British electoral system.

The TULF, now the main Opposition group, found its leader, all MP's, and local government members hold a ten-hour fast on April 22, Chelvanayakam day. What it signifies is that the TULF, for all its parliamentarism and for the conservatism of some sections of the leadership, is (unlike the SLFP) thrown into extra-parliamentary action, however "token" the gesture. Caught by the dynamics of politics in the north, the TULF oscillates between its parliamentary position and conduct and other non-parliamentary courses of action. The crunch will come in August when the TULF will have to measure itself by its principled stand that MP's elected in July 1977 have no mandate from the people after August 1983.

What will the scope of the Ministerial committee be? Since it is composed of politicians looking presumably for political solutions as well as military options, one presumes that it will, in fact, cover the problem comprehensively. The need for such a broad approach is determined by the nature of the problem, the phenomenon itself. What is "terrorism" from one point of view is "liberation struggle" from the contrary standpoint. Unless that is borne in mind steadily, the inquiry will be narrowed to the merely security aspects — in short, how to fight the Tigers, not how to deal with the Tamil problem. If there were no Tamil problem, there would be no Tigers.

On this all are agreed, including these clandestine organisations which circulate propaganda material from time to time from capitals in the U. S., Europe and Asia. This literature makes it abundantly clear that if there was any crisis-point it was the 1972 Constitution promulgated by the U. F. and other policy measures such as standardisation, quotas, jobs, projects, allocation of funds etc.

These are the roots of the problem. Any serious, dispassionate inquiry must begin there.

Meanwhile, the dimensions of the problem are changing, physically and qualitatively.

(a) In the last few months Tamils arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act include Christian clergy (Catholic and Methodist) several doctors, university dons, the best known Tamil authoress, an architect, teachers etc. Some of them have been educated in the U. S. and U. K.

The point to be noted here is not just that they are members of the educated Tamil elite but that in the past it was a firm assumption that the Tamil resistance was confined to

a group of alienated and rebellious Tamil youth on the fringes of what was believed to be the most docile and conservative community in this country.

(b) The new wave of arrests has been **outside** the northern province — Trinco, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Potuvil etc. And none of them has been detained for any overt act of violence or identified with any such armed action.

What could be guilt by alleged association, the sociologist and serious observer should note, is spawning a new "idiom" in the media which is suspiciously neo-McCarthyite in style. "Pro-Eelam literature" is taken for an "offence" when "Eelam" is the single slogan on which the TULF fought and won the 1977 election, which the main Opposition party still advocated, and which the Sri Lanka's Opposition leader espouses in every capital he visits!

Every youth arrested for distributing a leaflet, shouting a pro-Eelam slogan or pasting some posters become in the mainstream media "a Tiger suspect", and certain types of literature earn the blanket description "subversive"

(3) While the physical geography of the problem is changing a new factor has been introduced into the "Tamil problem" —

(a) the introduction of Tamil plantation workers as refugee-settlers in the north, Vavuniya, Trinco, etc and

(b) by recent Indian Tamil repatriates providing a new Tamilnadu constituency for separatist groups here.

The conference some months ago in Madras was attended by the representatives of these repatriates and addressed by TULF leaders, the DMK, ADMK, Kamaraj congress delegates. It is known by Sri Lankan diplomats in India that Uma Maheswaran, one of the most wanted men, was present at this meeting.

(4) The crack-down on the social service organisation "Gandhiyam" on whose history at least there is common ground between Home Affairs Minister Mr. K. W. Devanayagam and Mr. Shirley Candappa, an admirer of the movement who has circulated a letter to the newspapers.

Mr. Devanayagam now suspects that the movement had "ulterior motives" and "links" with "terrorism". He categorically states, reports the ISLAND "that there is nothing wrong in settling displaced upcountry Tamils in the north and east." Mr. Devanayagam's comments also establish the fact the refugee resettlement program is a by-product of the racial attacks on plantation workers dating back to SLFP times. That is why Mr. Devanayagam had no hesitation in supporting the Gandhiyam movement and has no hesitation today in acknowledging its "yeoman service".

(5) Finally, foreign aid agencies have been dragged into this. Mr. Devanayagam mentions "Redd Barna" (Swedish) but his objection is that some members of that organisation were engaged in "anti-government work". Three West German youths were taken in during the raid on Gandhiyam and released after a few hours. Various non-governmental aid agencies, including OXFAM have been associated in the inquiries.

The three West German youths were members of the FRG branch of Amnesty International which has been severe on the Prevention of Terrorism Act, now an object of attack by opposition parties, major trade unions and civil rights bodies in the South. (See: 'TU's mobilise at workplace').

Reader Shirley Candappa gives this brief account of "Gandhiyam":

"The Gandhiyam Society Ltd. was founded in 1976 and its aims are:

- o eradication of poverty
- o eradication of ignorance
- o eradication of disease

At its inception the organisation catered to the needs of Vanni people (inhabitants of the Vavuniya area) irrespective of race, creed or caste. In 1977 however a new situation arose. Large scale attacks on the Tamil population broke out in the

Southern and Central parts of the country leaving thousands of Tamil families including plantation Tamils homeless. These people also lost all their possessions and in many cases at least one or two people in each family had either been brutally beaten up and in a number of instances even lost their lives. These people were soon herded into refugee camps all over the country. When the press started spotlighting the conditions in the camps, it was the government itself which transported these people under armed escort by road into the Vavuniya and Kilinochchi districts.

As government did not provide sufficient material to run the refugee camps in these areas, a number of organisations from the Northern and Eastern areas under the umbrella of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO) came together to help these unfortunate people.

The Gandhiyam Society was one of these organisations. As time went by however, the task of caring for these people devolved almost totally on to the Gandhiyam Society.

The Gandhiyam Society therefore never brought the hillcountry Tamils or any other Tamils to the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The people in fact were brought to these areas by the government itself.

Since 1977 the regular attacks on the Tamil population led to more and more of these people leaving their homes in other parts of the country and fleeing to these areas where they felt more secure. The ferocity of the attacks on the Tamils, police attitude toward this section of the population and certain remarks from even "responsible" ministers of state continues to drive more and more people to this part of the country.

Therefore, far from bringing or luring people from down south or the plantations, the Gandhiyam Society has only helped in rehabilitating these unfortunate people."

— M. de S.

DEATH OF A PIONEER

Another of the great pioneers of the Left movement of this country has died. Leslie Goonewardena who chose to be a full-timer soon after he helped found the L. S. S. P. gave himself fully to the service of the party. For more than two decades, he was the LSSP's General Secretary and from 1956 onwards M. P. for Panadura, where he was born to a very well-to-do family. In the first United Front government, he was Minister of Communications from 1970 to 1975.

Having read Marx as a young man studying law in Britain, Leslie was widely accepted as one of the principal theoreticians of the party. Deeply respected by both his comrades as well as his political opponents for his sincerity, his personal integrity and commitment, he retained to the end the independence of the true intellectual, always inquiring and sometimes troubled by doubts.

It was Leslie, in an article to the *DINAMINA* in the late 50's, who announced the LSSP's readiness to accept "the parliamentary road". In 1971, he wrote an

* *This issue of the Lanka Guardian is dedicated to Leslie Goonewardene.*

article in a party paper where he boldly rejected the thesis that the JVP were "right-wing" agents of the UNP or the CIA, the position taken by the Old Left leadership at the time.

Soon after this journal was started, Leslie Goonewardene who had translated Santiago Carillo to Sinhalese gave an interview to the *LANKA GUARDIAN* on the relevance of **Euro-Communism** to Sri Lankan politics and the politics of the Left. The very last article he wrote was to the *LANKA GUARDIAN* and its subject revealed the man as much as did the previous contribution. The title "**WHY THE LEFT FAILED**" was his own choice. His lively intelligence was adventurous enough to search for new ideas and new directions, and honest enough to face the sad but stark fact of failure, without in anyway admitting disenchantment with those great goals of social emancipation that had inspired the founder of the socialist movement in this country.

IMF pressures and 'the final push'

In an extremely favourable article on the U. N. P. Government's open door policies correspondent of *THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL*, June Kronholz notes that while President J. R. Jayewardene won his election comfortably the actual figures showed that the opposition took almost "half the popular vote". Commenting on the present economic situation she adds:

But Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka's trade minister, says the IMF wants another 3.5 million people cut from the food-stamp program to reduce government spending. "We don't have a military dictatorship to push through this program", says Mr. de Mel, the finance minister. "The rulers who tried would be killed in their beds".

In 1971, many of Sri Lanka's educated, politically active socialists angered by the botched economy of Mr. Jayewardene's predecessors formented an armed insurrection in which thousands of people were killed. Mr. de Mel worries that Sri Lanka is on the verge of another rising. The final push could come, he warns, from IMF demands that Sri Lanka cut its imports and trim its spending. That would cause a loss of jobs, he says.

"It is the growth of aspirations that bring revolutions", he says. "It is only because the government emphasizes social welfare, that we have avoided one."

Earlier, Mr. Kronholz writes:

Frightening Finances

Mr. Jayewardene's open economy hasn't undone decades of abuse; indeed, Sri Lanka's finances are frightening. The government still spends twice what it earns and imports twice what it exports. It accounts for half the economic activity in the country and has a foreign debt equal to half the gross national product, the sum of all the goods and services produced in a year.

"Outside the free-trade zone, investors have been indifferent. Plantation profits aren't growing. "Certainly foreign aid has been the major

factors in our growth," admits Ronald de Mel, the finance minister. The World Bank estimates it will be another decade — "a very optimistic scenario at that," a World Bank officer adds — before the private sector gains confidence and takes the lead.

"The World Bank says Sri Lanka is the 18th poorest country on earth. Half the families here have incomes of less than \$ 15 a month; the average farm is less than half a hectare in size \$ 1 a day is a good wage.

"Mr. Jayewardene scrapped a 45-years history of food subsidies — which reached the whole population — and substituted a food-stamp program, which reaches half the country. But the food-stamp benefits didn't

keep pace with inflation, which soared to 38% in 1981 in Sri Lanka's aid-fired economy. They also didn't keep pace with the six-fold jump in rice prices when controls were lifted.

Poorest Aren't Helped

"But the benefits of Mr. Jayewardene's development projects have not yet trickled down to the people hurt most by inflation and the loss of subsidies. Light industry will sprout along the Mahaweli and 250,000 families will be resettled on 260,000 hectares of new farmland, says N. G. P. Panditheratna, head of the project — but that is years away still. "How long can he go on promising jam tomorrow?" wonders a Sri Lanka banker about Mr. Jayewardene.

MAY DAY

TUs mobilise at workplace

29 major organisations which include the C. F. L. (LSSP), the All Ceylon Trade Union Federation (JVP), the GCSU, the Government Workers Trade Union Federation, the Local Government Trade Union Federation, the CTUF Sanmugathasan's CPC), the Ceylon Teachers Union (H. N. Fernando) the Sri Lanka Jatika Guru Sangamaya (CPSL — breakway group), the Technical Transport and General Worker's Union (RMP) and others affiliated to the Desha Vimukti have issued 11 demands before the government. The demands are both economic and political.

Among the main demands are:

i) The re-instatement of all dismissed July 1980 strikers.

ii) a minimum **monthly** pay scheme for public, private, local government sectors and corporations and estates, irrespective of sex.

iii) Reduction of prices (rice, flour, sugar, infant milk foods and kerosene) and rail and bus fares.

iv) restoration of citizenship rights to all estate workers.

v) Slashes in free education should be stopped.

vi) Withdrawal of Prevention of Terrorism Act, and release of all political prisoners.

vii) all lease of land to foreign or local business magnates should be stopped, loans given to farmers written off and prices of fertiliser and agro-chemicals reduced.

viii) all acts passed to suppress Tamil speaking people should be stopped and their right to self-determination recognised.

Women's protest

Ten women's organisations have written to the President "strongly condemning" the assault and harassment of a peaceful demonstration of women on March 8, 1983. The signatories are the SLFP Women's Federation, the LSSP Women's Federation, Lanka Kantha Peramuna, Nava Lanka Samasamaja Party Women's Section, MEP Women's section, Kantha Handa (Voice of Women), Women's Liberation Movement (Sri Lanka), Kantha Shakthi, Women's League for Peace and Freedom, D.W.C. Matha Sangham.

The statement says: "The incident occurred when representatives of several women's organisations went to the U.S. Embassy and presented a petition concerning the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, the withdrawal of the nuclearized base in Diego Garcia, as well as

general demands on nuclear disarmament. After presenting this petition, the delegation was walking back along the pavement past the Kollupitiya police station when policemen, seized its banners, and arrested a photographer from the Divaina newspaper. The women including Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardena, Mrs. Nanda de Silva and Mrs. Ouida Keuneman who went into the police station to get the photographer released, were assaulted and abused".

Describing the incident to the press, former M.P. Mrs. Goonewardene said she was thrown "like a sack of potatoes onto the floor" and "kicked". The Women were forcibly kept at the police station and only released later that day when lawyers interviewed on their behalf.

The ten organisations urge the

government to take measures against those who perpetrated the assault. All efforts, the statement adds, should be made to prevent such incidents taking place in the future.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

(Inclusive of postage)

1 Year 6 Months

Local	115/-	60/-
ASIA	US\$ 18.50	US\$ 10
US/EUROPE	US\$ 37.50	US\$ 20

Cheques and money orders to be made out in favour of

Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

ADDRESS

The Commercial Manager,
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd,
No. 246, Union Place, Colombo-2.
Phone: 547584

The Housewife's Choice !

The instant germkiller with a lingering fragrance.

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

Even repels insects.

Distributed by

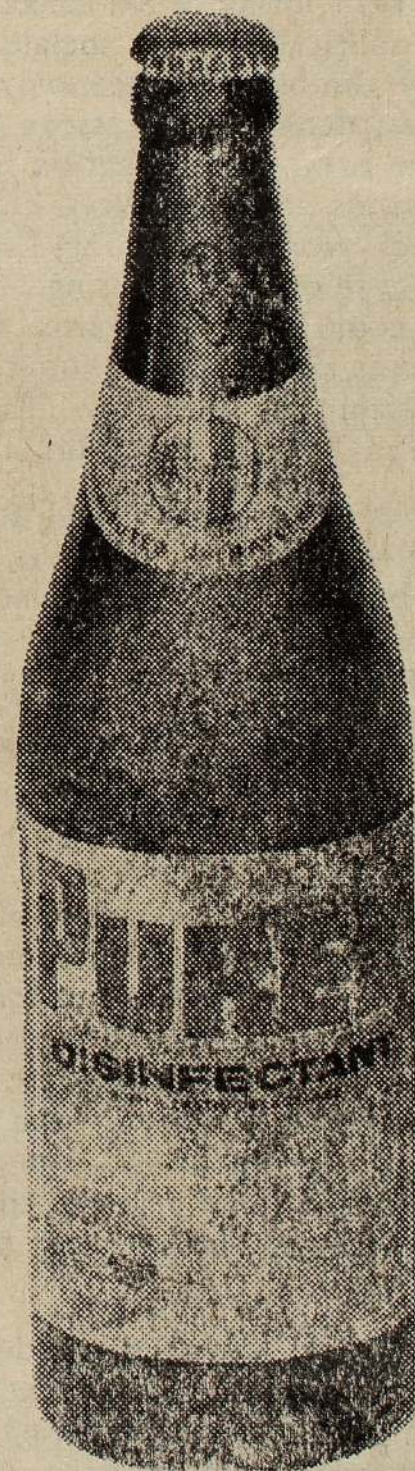
HAYLEYS LTD.

Manufactured by

AITKEN SPENCE & CO., LTD.

315, Vauxhall Street,
Colombo 2.

Telephone: 24604 - 6, 20576, 34295



The Clash of 'Linkages'

Mervyn de Silva

ASEAN strategy as expounded by Singapore was centred on a clever and convenient linkage — Kampuchea and Afghanistan. These were seen as a single issue, the principal challenge confronting the movement.

The argument formulated and presented by Singapore long before the summit, and widely popularised by the western, notably American, media, was that a superpower had invaded a neighbouring non-aligned country, Afghanistan, while that superpower's agent or client, Vietnam had invaded a neighbouring nonaligned country, Kampuchea, and the Soviet Union's other "client" Cuba, had 'manipulated' the Havana conference as chairman to help Vietnam by denying "Democratic Kampuchea" its place at the summit. All this was of a piece, the grand strategy of the Soviet Union to "take over" the NAM or conversely for Cuba to "hijack" the NAM on the USSR's behalf. So, continued the Singapore thesis, the Delhi summit must reverse the Havana consensus, offer the seat to Prince Sihanouk, and condemn Cuba, Vietnam and the USSR. And in this connection, let's not forget that this ASEAN — U. S. "line" was perfectly reconcilable, and indeed converged comfortably, with Peking's propagandist maxim "Vietnam is the Cuba of Asia", meaning of course the "proxy" formula put out by Washington from the days of the Angolan war of liberation. In 1975 Cuban troops landed in Angola on the urgent appeal of the MPLA then battling not only against the FNLA of Holden Roberto (Mobutu's brother-in-law) and the UNITA of Savimbi (both armed to the teeth with help of secret funds released by Kissinger's 40 Committee) but a South African armoured column more than 200 kilometres deep into southern Angola. (The FNLA was attacking the MPLA in northern Angola).

Pakistani Play

Vital to the success of the A. S. E. A. N. plan of attack on Kampuchea-Afghanistan (joint) issue was the full support of Pakistan, the country most concerned with the Afghan problem. The Pakistanis played a game of their own, and it was, in this correspondent's view, an unusually clever and inventively improvised game.

General Zia ul-Huq may give the impression of a brash product of Sandhurst and a caricature of the Colonel Blimp model. Judging however from the way Pakistan conducted itself in Delhi, he and his advisers are obviously capable of maximising Pakistan's advantages with one constituency (the U. S. and the nervous rulers of the Gulf) while adapting itself to its relative weaknesses in dealing with another constituency (India and the USSR).

This is neither impressionistic comment nor facile speculation. On the day, Pakistan's Martial Law Administrator was to address the summit, his speech wrapped in an attractive green cover, was distributed to the journalists.

One paragraph however had been erased. It was not difficult to find out what the paragraph said. It spoke of U. N. recognition of Democratic Kampuchea and the need for the NAM to adopt a position "not at variance" with the U. N. view, by "not permitting the legitimate government of D. K. to assume its rightful seat."

Why the Pakistani leader chose to excise this particular passage became clear quickly. In Delhi, Pakistan was immersed in back-stage diplomacy over the question which troubled it most — Afghanistan.

General Zia had rejected Carter's offer of 200 million dollars as "peanuts." In March this year,

the U. S. committed itself to 3.2 billion dollars as aid to Pakistan, mainly military assistance. If Pakistan succeeded in raising the ante, it was because it had proved to Washington Pakistan's crucial importance for US security interests in the area. Firstly, it had offered itself as the only available substitute for the deposed Shah, America's regional policeman in the oil-rich Gulf. Secondly, it invited Washington's special attention as a "front-line state" against a Soviet Union which now had a strong military presence in neighbouring Afghanistan. Pakistan was "the first line of defence" against any "Soviet push to the warm waters of the Gulf", said Pakistan, employing a standard argument which is almost threadbare with use.

The same argument served Pakistan well with its other potential aid-source — Saudi Arabia and the smaller sheikdoms. Here, Pakistan had two advantages. It was Islamic, in fact the chairman of the Islamic Conference. Secondly, it already has a special connection with some Arab states in the form of army instructors, pilots, and migrant workers, both semi-skilled and highly skilled professionally.

Having maximised these advantages to Pakistan's great, measurable gain, Pakistani diplomacy directed its attention to its most pressing problem — 3 million Afghan refugees. As General Zia, plainly a realist, declared openly the "solution" to that problem lies mainly in Moscow.

If the return of the refugees and the withdrawal of foreign forces constitute the essence of the NAM declaration and the ultimate aim of ALL parties involved in the Afghan problem, then how is this goal to be achieved? Two specific questions follow. Since the basic objective cannot be attained **militarily**, it has to be achieved through **negotiation**. Then what are the modalities. What is the time-table?

Indian View

The two questions arise naturally from the interdependence of the two processes — return of refugees, withdrawal of Soviet troops. This in turn springs directly from the NAM perception of the problem — not simply as caused by Soviet intervention but also by interference from Pakistan, China, US, Saudi Arabia, directly or indirectly. Thus “non-intervention” is balanced off by “non-interference” and in both cases no names are mentioned.

What should be remembered is that this was primarily India's reading of the situation in 1981 at the NAM Foreign ministers meeting i. e. the Soviet intervention is integrally linked to “interference” in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by forces which wanted to de-stabilise the Communist government in Kabul. **The non-intervention and non-interference “linkage” was India's contribution at the 1981 foreign ministers meeting and it was endorsed by the conference, and now re-confirmed by the summit.**

The central importance of India's role cannot be too heavily underlined. From British times, Afghanistan has been a major consideration of Indian foreign policy and strategic thinking. To put it simply. Afghanistan was the buffer between Russia and British India.

While this British inheritance still weighs heavily in Indian thinking, nonaligned India also has the friendliest relations with the USSR, partly as a response to a perceived US-PAKISTAN-CHINA axis. The Indian view presented in 1981 combined these different interest. Insistence on non-interference was coupled with disapproval of intervention.

The Indian view prevailed, and it will continue to prevail as the NAM Indian view prevailed, and it will continue to prevail as the NAM consensus. The passage of time and stubborn realities have persuaded Pakistan to accept this very special Indian role in the possible resolution of the crisis.

There is (a) **India's traditional special interest in Afghanistan and its effective nonalignment**

(b) **India's strategic proximity to Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and the USSR and (c) India's influence based on sheer size, autonomy, and now chairmanship of the NAM.**

Besides, if anybody can influence Moscow on this particular issue it is India.

Appreciating this, Pakistan used Delhi for its own quiet three-track diplomacy: (i) participating in the mediation effort of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the U.N. Secretary General's special envoy who has established contact with Islamabad and Kabul and holds fairly regular talks in Geneva, and calling for NAM support for “the constructive steps” taken by the U.N. chief (ii) talking to the Indians and trying to win their cooperation for a negotiated settlement and (iii) maintaining direct contact with Moscow, while also testing Moscow's reactions to Pakistani proposals through India and the U. N. Secretary General, who visited Moscow soon after the summit.

This Indo-Pak “understanding” was strengthened by the other major sub-continental nation, Bangladesh, which took a further step about the same time to “normalise” relations with Kabul.

Finally, the price of this diplomacy and understanding, I suggest, was that paragraph on Kampuchea which was deleted from General Zia's text.

Indonesian Perception

There was yet another reason for the collapse of the Singapore-led ASEAN strategy. I have Indonesia in mind.

Of ASEAN'S 5 members, only 3 are in the NAM. History (the anti-Dutch war of independence, Bandung and Belgrade) population and resources, give Indonesia real clout. Malaysia enjoys acceptability among the majority and even respect but its influence, as a relative newcomer, is limited. Puny Singapore compensates for its intrinsic infirmities by being noisily articulate. While this articulation may reveal intelligence, it carries no authority. The conspicuous absence of history and culture makes it difficult for Singa-

pore to relate to the group identity or to the historical spirit of the movement. Singapore remains an off-shore island cut off from this essentially tri-continental movement, its history and its political culture.

President Suharto did not come, and Indonesia did not join the agitational clamour raised by Singapore and Malaysia. Of course, Indonesia did not break ASEAN ranks. It supported the ASEAN line on Kampuchea fully. But its lack of enthusiasm was noticeable. And there is an important reason for that.

The cry for ‘Sihanouk the saviour’ is in fact a marriage of convenience between Pol Pottist forces backed by an anti-Vietnam Peking, and those members of ASEAN (Singapore Malaysia and Thailand) who regard Vietnam as the main threat to regional security. Indonesia, the major ASEAN nation, does not regard Vietnam as the main danger. Its distrust is focussed on China. Indonesian reactions to the visit of the Chinese chief of staff to Thailand were extremely revealing, reported *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Djakarta correspondent, of how the Indonesian government, while opposing Vietnam on the Kampuchean issue, is visibly wary of acting in concert with China or treating Vietnam, rather than China, as the main danger to what Suharto in a recent speech called “our safety and our national interests”. So Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, in their different postures on the two “linked” issues and their varying assesment of the real situation undermined Singapore's “linkage” theory.

In any event, ASEAN counterposed principles to political realities, which is fair enough and quite noble. The rectitude thus paraded found sanction in the U.N. Unfortunately the record of the U.N. does not justify such faith in its oracular wisdom or righteousness nor does the conduct of some A.S.E.A.N. members in the recent past generate much confidence in their dedication to principles.

For 20 years the U.N. recognised the American puppet Chiang Kai-

(Continued on page 15)

THE CURSE OF KUVENI

The Veddas and, the anti-thesis of 'modernization'

Sudharshan Seneviratne

For nearly two and a half millennia the Veddas withstood the ravages of cultural and technological encroachments of 'civilization'. Today they do not possess a charm powerful enough to stem the tide of 'modernization' that is literally bulldozing its way through the once serene forest tract and ejecting its inhabitants from their natural habitat.

The Veddas are facing the 'final solution' or total obliteration through a process of assimilation as peripheral elements of the cosmopolitan civilization. They have finally come up against a techno-cultural contender capable of destroying the material basis sustaining them as a separate entity, which in itself is the anti-thesis to 'civilization through modernization'.

*

THE real impact of the destruction inflicted upon the Veddas cannot be gauged until we appreciate the relationship between this community and its natural habitat. The institutional infrastructure of the Veddas is totally sustained by the forest ecology. The Vedda is essentially a hunter-gatherer. There are also the **gam** or 'village' Veddas who conduct subsistence farming and coastal Veddas who thrive on a marine-littoral ecology. The above situation of the Veddas correspond to what has been called tribal or communal property relations (*stammeigentum*), which is the 'undeveloped stage of production where a people sustains itself by hunting, fishing, cattle-raising or at most by farming' (Marx and Engels: **The German Ideology**). Their whole rhythm of life is 'organically' linked to the flora, fauna and natural resources and also seasonal changes. This is best reflected in their periodic movements which also characterize the Veddas as a nomadic community. The movement of animals, the availability of edible fruit, yam, and even trees such as *riti/antiari innoxia* (the inner bark of which is utilized to make short skirts), the occurrence of water holes (from which they

obtain water and also where animals gather), rock ledges which give shelter and caves and bee-hives and also the location of particular raw materials e.g. quartz, jasper etc., have a direct bearing on their seasonal movements, camping sites and the continued use of these traditional routes by the Veddas.

The forest ecology also has an impact on the structural formation of the Vedda society. The restricted scale of localized resources and nomadism determines the size of the individual groups. A group is composed of the nuclear family or by a few extended families. The Veddas normally do not move about in large groups. These exogamous clans dwell within clearly demarcated territorial units. The nature of the hunting-gathering economy and the size of the individual group in turn have an influence on the division of labour, which is generally based on age and sex. The utilization of a simple technology, the less complex institutional structure and a dependence upon nature does not create a demand for luxury and other utilitarian items as done by settled agrarian or industrial societies. Conversely, it also does not encourage craft specialization. The Veddas even keep their personal belongings to the minimum, which is one way of facilitating quick mobility. Most of these objects being in fact held on the basis of communal ownership.

The Veddas had even devised an exchange network covering a relatively extensive physical area. The internal network which operated within the Vedda community depended upon the availability of localized resources, such as, bee-hives, meat, particular varieties of stone, animal skins etc. Often periodic movements were utilized as exchange journeys. Certain resources also exchanged hands as bride price during marriage. Some chieftains and communities may have had a socio-political advantage over others by virtue of being in control of areas having a greater

concentration of natural resources or having objects of 'prestige' value. Particular items such as salt, iron tools, grain, shell, trinkets etc. that are not available within the forest ecology have to be obtained externally from other techno-cultural groups (some times via 'silent-barter') in exchange for forest products.

The forest ecology also has a strong influence on the ritual structure of the Veddas. The totemic affiliation of clans, the deification of trees, rocks/hills and ponds (often located at important places along migratory routes or at territorial boundaries), the belief in a life after death and ancestor worship, charms and songs to invoke the blessings of protective spirits, are all a part of the relatively complex ritual structure associated with their tribal pantheon. Even the beginning and the termination of seasonal movements tend to culminate in clan or tribal gatherings during a particular time of the year at specific traditional centres. Such centres and gatherings have an extremely important socio-ritual significance to the Veddas.

This clearly shows that the self perpetuation of the Vedda institutional structure is clearly linked to a particular forest ecology. A disturbance of this delicate relationship will, therefore, quite clearly destabilize the structural basis of this community and threaten the existence of the Veddas as an individual technocultural group.

For example, as a consequence of the disintegration of a particular culture, there is also a decline in the associated language medium. This decline is further precipitated by the introduction of dialects associated with intrusive techno-cultural groups. Each language invariably carries the individuality associated with a particular cultural milieu. The functional use of words essentially originate and evolve within a specific social and technological context. With the destruction of a particular institu-

tional infrastructure, the language is deprived of its cultural basis and is relegated to a background position only to remain at the sub-stratum level.

Similarly, the disintegration of these forest dwelling hunter-gatherers will consequently deprive the field of social sciences of one of the most valuable case studies on ethnology. The appeal to treat the Veddas with dignity is not an effort to preserve an idyllic picture or to romanticise the Veddas or alternately to 'anthropologize' them in order to have laboratory specimen for research on social and even physical sciences. Such communities form a vital link in reconstructing the techno-cultural antecedents of institutional formation. The invaluable evidence rendered by studies made on Indian tribes to the fields of ethnohistory and ethnoarchaeology prompted D. D. Kosambi to identify the sub-continental tribal culture as the 'Living pre history of India'. On the basis of archaeological physical/cultural anthropological research, the Veddas may be called the linear descendents of the pre historic mesolithic people of Sri Lanka. Hence, the ethnology of the Veddas form an integral part of pre historic archaeology in this country.

*

HAVE we really understood and grasped the implications of this disruption caused to a total rhythm of life and its ecological base associated with an ethno-cultural group? The total apathy shown by the general public about the recent eviction of the Veddas from their traditional home, is a reflection of our deteriorating standards of social awareness and of our intellectual incapacity to relate ourselves to society and its realities. This necessarily poses interesting questions about our historical, social, cultural and even academic attitudes towards the Veddas as a separate ethno-cultural group. The central question is, to what extent are we willing to recognize and respect the individuality of ethno-cultural groups? Are our attitudes and actions guided, consciously, or unconsciously, by national chauvinism, the colonial hang-over or by the long arm of neo-imperialism?

For all practical purposes the Veddas consider themselves an autonomous community. There is in fact much ambiguity over the extent to which the pre colonial and colonial

rulers exercised their hegemony over this community. 'The whole country was ours before the Sinhalese came', was the proud assertion of a Vedda (Parker 1909). The Veddas have their own code of ethics and other social, economic and political interactions within the jungle habitat. Hence, all other intrusive techno-cultural elements are considered 'alien'. Ironically the concept of an autonomous ethno-cultural group is 'alien' to our institutional and psychological frame work as well. Firstly, as successors to our colonial masters we believe in our sole right to exercise undisputed hegemonic power over the whole island community. This is especially so when there is a growing demand for our island society to be totally integrated to the global economy in the form of a consumer and labour market for international entrepreneurs.

Secondly, as a community, we have not lacked the necessary psychological make-up to realize our historic mission or to launch a crusade to 'civilize' the less developed beings in this country. According to the details in the **Dipavamsa** and the **Mahavamsa**, the original crusade was carried out with brutal efficiency. The earliest 'colonizers', according to the texts, initiated the civilizing process either by integrating the autochthonous groups culturally or by annihilating them physically and banishing the remnant to the peripheral hills, thus socially ostracizing the 'Yakkas'. Our ancestors thereby inherited the most fertile tracts suitable for agriculture and areas having natural resources providing them with the material foundation to establish the 'Island of Rightousness' (**dharma dvipa**). The process of acculturation initiated by the 'Great Tradition' could however neither obliterate the cultural individuality of the autochthonous groups nor dislodge them from their ecological niche. It was perhaps the non-existence of a global economy that saved these hunter-gatherers from total disappearance during the pre modern period.

Precisely due to the above reasons, the evolution of a particular community as an individual ethno-cultural group is totally opposed to our concept of national chauvinism. We have gradually come to see a natural equation between ethno-cultural

groups and self-determination. For instance, the systematic introduction of the Sinhala — Tamil dichotomy and the vertical split of two communities on regional, cultural and linguistic lines and its crude external representation in the form of a racial division, is a living example of our capacity to perpetuate national chauvinism. The problem really becomes acute when a numerically larger, technologically superior, economically more complex society attempts to establish its hegemony over an ethnic group who are located in a clearly demarcated physical area (traditionally held as their territorial and ecological zone) sustaining a particular economy and culture which assigns an individual identity to that community within this island society.

The Veddas have been on the retreat since the 19th century. More specifically with the inauguration of the colonization schemes (curiously the texts mention that the earliest settlers from North India also came as 'colonizers'), new techno-cultural elements operating an entirely different economy gradually chiselled into Vedda territory. With the planned destruction of the forest ecology, a greater number of the Veddas had to take up to subsistence farming for survival. This group, more popularly known as the **gam** (village) Veddas, represent the most backward and the impoverished section amongst the poor peasants in the rural economy of Sri Lanka. What was left from this onslaught of the 'civilizing' process retreated to the central Mahaveli basin.

The present phase of modernization threatening the Veddas is nothing but the long arm of the 'development strategy'. Externally this strategy is linked to the global economy — an economic superstructure that knows only one law in the third world i. e. the 'development of underdevelopment' (with apologies to A. Gunder Frank). The less attractive internal side of the 'development strategy' in terms of its economic implications, social and ecological instabilities have been discussed by others who do not adhere to this development myth. The reclamation of the existing forest tracts is partly an effort to establish the 'latifundia' complex largely financed by the multi-nationals investing on commercial crops for export.

International agro-business has an amazing capacity to persuade states in the third world countries to implement policies against their own people.

The eviction orders issued to this community in January, only reflects the scant regard paid by the state to the fate of the Veddas who are struggling to cling on to their last ecological base. The mere assignment of another alternate forest reserve does not necessarily compensate for the loss of their original habitat. There is no guarantee that the new forest reserve contains sufficient game or even floral resources gathering. It is also not known to what extent the new locality has potential for other resources such as bee-hives, caves, water holes and particular varieties of stone. They will also be deprived of their traditional sacred trees, ponds, rocks and other socio-ritual centres. The original cave sites where their departed ancestors have been buried, or the traditional routes the Veddas used and have been so closely associated with their socio-economic interactions for centuries will be out of bounds to them forever. Thus the 'accelerated Mahaveli programme' is actually completing the mopping-up operation of the Veddas who have now reached the end of their 'long march' in history.

It is quite relevant in this context to describe the actual destruction that has been inflicted on the tribes in India through state sponsored modernization. The following extracts are from the chapter 'How public-sector projects displace tribals' in **The tribal problem in India**, A. B. Bardhan (1973: 63-71), "...the areas they inhabit are potentially some of the richest in our country. They are endowed not only with the vast wealth of the forests, but also possess inexhaustible stores of mineral ores. The course of industrial and economic development after independence has naturally attracted attention to these areas as sources of raw materials and bases for giant projects. In the process of constructing these national projects, tribals have been dispossessed of their lands by the due processes of law and have been paid cash compensation. But the money was squandered away, and the tribals soon

became penniless and landless. What happened to the tribals in India after the first taste of 'industrialization' is even more shattering. Most of the undertakings are no doubt in the public sector. But they are a part of the over-all capitalistic development, pursued by the bourgeoisie. They bring in their train contractors, trading bourgeois and a host of other petty-bourgeois fortune-seekers and lumpens. They bring along and bestow such choice blessings as prostitution, VD, moral degeneration and disruption of social and cultural values that had been ingrained for so long in the tribal psychological make-up". The tragic fate of the tribals in North and South America, Africa and Australia is too well known to be repeated here.

There is, however, a vital difference between the attitudes displayed by the tribals of India and Sri Lanka to encroachments made by alien technological groups. In Sri Lanka, the Veddas have generally submitted or retreated after passive resistance in face of intrusions during the 19th and 20th centuries. In India, on several occasions the tribals at first challenged the colonial rule including the feudal elements during the 19th century and later opposed the encroachments made by merchant and industrial capitalists during the present century. A series of tribal revolts launched since the mid 19th century by the Santal, Kol, Munda, Koya, Kurichias, Naga, and Mizo tribes, is a clear expression against the culture and economy nourished by colonialism and capitalism. whether these revolt were successful or not, such upheavals, as Marx pointed out of). **The British rule in India**) may be shown as the 'positive aspects' of British colonialism which acts "...as the unconscious tool of history bringing about that revolution", i. e. social revolution, precisely due to the dialectical contradictions created by mercantilism (and subsequently) industrial capitalism in colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Does 'modernization' and our intergration to the world economy also mean the acceptance of uniformity in culture? Does the vertical penetration of the consumer-oriented cosmopolitan culture also require the horizontal integration of all communities and resources? Under

the hegemony of the colonial metropolis and neo-imperialism, we have come to accept various norms related to the cosmopolitan civilization. We have also proved ourselves to be a highly adaptable people. As a consequence, we have become great exponents of 'civilization through modernization'. Ironically our enthusiasm for development has given social Darwinism a new lease of life in this part of the world. Thus in order to modernize the backward section of our society and economy we must re-enact the tragi-comedy of carrying the 'white man's burden' on the brown man's shoulders. In addition, social Darwinism also provides the best psychological environment to legitimize the concept of laissez-faire which links us organically to the global economy of world capitalism.

As agents of this cosmopolitan culture, what do we stand to gain in qualitative terms by imposing a 'counter culture' on other ethno/techno-cultural groups? As early as 1908, Ananda Coomaraswamy pointed out this contradiction between our cultural aspirations and the concept of progress. "Talk of progress and the reality are not the same. Civilization is supposed to advance by the creation of new desires, to gratify which the individual must endeavour to improve his position. But in reality it is not quantity, but quality of want that may be taken as evidence of progress in the art of living. No one acquainted with modern Sinhalese taste will pretend that it gives evidence of any improvement in the quality of wants. Indeed, it is sufficiently obvious that quantity, variety and novelty are not really compatible with quality". A most appropriate observation that is valid even in the present context.

Our society in Sri Lanka is indeed a living example of how 'material advancement' in a dependent economy is nothing but a borrowed luxury imposed from above at the expense of political freedom, economic under development, cultural degeneration, ethical impoverishment and the intellectual lumpenization of the community as a whole.

This is the real curse of Kuveni we are destined to carry with us throughout history. ●



A unified and unique contribution through diversification

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

THE BROWNS GROUP OF COMPANIES

481, Darley Road, Colombo 10. P. O. Box 200, Tel. 91171 – 8

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, ENGINEERING, TRANSPORT,
TOURISM, EXPORTS, TRADE.

Reagan's new "offensive"

Under the headline "Reagan takes the offensive", New York Times news analyst Hedrick Smith reported how the US President has delivered "a fire-and-brimstone moralistic speech to delight his rightist supporters". White House aides acknowledge, wrote Smith in the NYK lead story, "that there has been a deliberate barrage through the news media". This new "offensive" says Smith, is in contrast to the situation in December when Mr. Reagan was "feeling beleaguered by Democrats who were riding high after their November electoral victories".

Now, he has "fired salvos at a Democratic budget which he says will give comfort to the Kremlin" and denounced the Soviet Union with "evangelical combativeness as 'an evil empire'".

The New York Times concludes that this new offensive, against the Democrats, on the budget, on arms and against Geneva negotiations and against the views of some Western allies has much to do with a "critical time" facing the presidency. The critical issue of course is Mr. Reagan's political

future. The new "offensives" he hopes will give him a chance for re-election.

In reply, Mr. Gromyko, foreign minister and deputy premier, gave an unusually long press conference in Moscow where he answered questions from both Western and Soviet reporters. We publish two reports — one from Serge Schmemmann, (New York Times) in Moscow and the other from Harold Jackson (London Guardian) from Washington.

Gromyko's virtuoso performance

Serge Schmemmann

MOSCOW

Though headlines have focused on Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's rejection of President Ronald Reagan's latest arms proposal, those here who watch the Kremlin were at least as intrigued by the fact that he announced the rejection at a wide open news conference.

Such public confrontations with foreigners by Politburo members are exceedingly rare. Even Mr. Gromyko, who has faced the Western press fairly frequently when abroad, has done so only rarely at home.

The last time was in June 1979 after President Jimmy Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev signed the second strategic arms limitation treaty in Vienna. Mr. Gromyko warned that if the pact went unratified, the arms limitation process would fizzle. The treaty was not approved by the U.S. Senate.

In March 1977 Mr. Gromyko went before the Western press with a show of anger to reject proposals brought by Cyrus R.

Vance, then the secretary of state, for deep cuts in the superpowers' nuclear arsenals.

Against this history and the secrecy that normally surrounds the Soviet leadership, at least since the Khrushchev era, the announcement of Saturday's news conference came as something of a shock. Not only did the recently promoted first deputy prime minister intend to face the press, but he was to do so on live Soviet television.

Mr. Gromyko, 73, appeared entirely at ease. He began without introduction and continued without referring to notes.

A number of recent statements by the American president, he began, needed a response, and after a "brief" opening statement he would answer any and all questions.

The opening statement lasted an hour, and 12 questions took another hour to answer, but Mr. Gromyko never faltered in a performance that an American diplomat conceded was "superb".

Despite his reputation for a dour face, Mr. Gromyko showed himself master of a broad range of expressions and oratorical tools.

He drew laughter when, in ridiculing the U.S. refusal to count French and British nuclear arsenals at the Geneva talks, Mr. Gromyko spoke of a missile headed for the Soviet Union with a tag reading: "I'm French. I shouldn't have been counted."

The basic purpose of Mr. Gromyko's news conference was to reject Mr. Reagan's offer last week of an interim agreement limiting Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles. But the foreign minister ranged far beyond that issue; the transcript of the news conference covered 11 columns of fine print in Pravda on Sunday. Western experts concluded that his mission was broader than to issue another statement on arms limitation.

They suggested that his performance was meant to counter the overall impact of Mr. Reagan's

(Continued on page 14)

Reagan's propaganda call

Harold Jackson

WASHINGTON

President Reagan has issued a new national security directive calling for greater use of economic and trade sanctions against the Soviet Union. Its aim is to force the Kremlin into increasingly difficult choices between guns and butter, but the decision runs counter to agreed NATO policy and seem likely to revive last year's transatlantic dispute over East-West trade.

Details of the document were leaked last week by the Los Angeles Times. Its principal author, the former White House official, Professor Richard Pipes, refused to comment specifically on national security decision directive 75. But he told the newspaper that "the Russians have clearly been shifting resources to the military, which is not in our interest. They might stop doing so if their consumer and capital investment sectors looked dangerously underfed, which might occur if the West stops giving them cheap credit and high technology".

These of course, were the key issues underlying last year's dispute over the trans-Siberian pipeline contracts, in which the European participants were solidly ranged against the United States. Some governments went so far as to introduce special legislation to protect their national companies from American sanctions.

The end of that dispute was accompanied by a NATO foreign minister's communique declaring that "mutually advantageous trade with the East on commercially sound terms contributes to constructive East-West relations". Six special studies were set up into the effects of economic relations with the Russians.

These have not yet been completed but the White House has plainly opted to carry on with its own policies. The principal initiator of the latest directive appears to have

been the President's National Security Adviser, Mr William Clark.

The directive calls for "an enduring realistic, and security-minded economic policy towards the Soviet Union" and for an increased American propaganda campaign to accompany it. This campaign includes the "public diplomacy" scheme being coordinated by the US Ambassador in Dublin and "project Democracy" outlined by Mr Reagan during his Westminster speech last year.

The Administration is seeking \$85 million to pay for magazines, books, and films promoting democracy in general and the concept of free trade unions in particular but has met great scepticism in Congress.

The targets of the campaign include not only the Soviet Union but Western Europe, which led one congressman to ask if the Administration is undertaking "to 'promote democracy' in countries where the governments are not particularly friendly to us".

The directive envisages confronting the Soviet Union with two continuing pressures from the West — economic warfare and a sustained military build-up. But it is far from clear how the White House sees the economic burden being shared between the United States and its allies. Much of the European anger in last year's dispute erupted when Mr Reagan simultaneously tried to block European trade and offered Moscow a greatly enhanced sale of American grain.

So Mr Reagan looks perilously close to repeating his strategic error of opening a second front against allies while still trying to sort out his policy on the Geneva arms talks. The pressure for a move there is building from the allies and from Congress.

The President is running into heavy weather on the military part of his strategy. He had to retreat

in Congress last week when it became clear that he was heading for a nasty setback in the Senate Budget Committee. Though it is controlled by his own party, the committee was ready to start slashing the \$245 billion the White House had requested for defence in 1984.

Mr Reagan hastily told the chairman he would be willing to compromise and the committee's crucial vote was then postponed until after the Easter recess.

There was trouble on the other side of Capital Hill, too. The speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr Tip O'Neill, forecast that a resolution calling for "an immediate, mutual, and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons" would be adopted there by a majority of "at least 50 votes".

Efforts by the Reagan Administration to stop the measure, including the tabling of two amendments which would have significantly weakened the freeze resolution, were responsible for the House's failure to take a final decision on the issue last Wednesday.

After 13 hours of often impassioned debate the House decided to delay a final vote until this week.

Gromyko's virtuoso . . .

(Continued from page 13)

recent statement and appearances, from his arms proposals to his depiction of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" in a speech last month in Orlando, Florida.

In effect, the experts said, the Kremlin apparently dispatched Mr. Gromyko to tackle Mr. Reagan on his own ground, on the television screen, in a direct appeal to the public, American and Soviet, with show of reasonableness, patience and candor. Western experts agreed that his performance was virtuoso.

Food — A trade and aid 'weapon'

In the ups-and-downs of Sino-US relations, we are certainly witnessing a "down" period paralleled by a slight improvement in the other equally important relationship, the Sino-Soviet. The tennis player affair, for instance, has so angered Peking that cultural relations have been badly affected.

This downward trend can be seen in the content and tone of the Chinese press these days. In a PEKING REVIEW commentary, on the U.S., a special correspondent observes how the U.S. is "increasingly isolated in the U.N." Specifying issues and occasions to illustrate the point, the writer Chen Yicun, covers the ground from America's unilateral declaration of a 200 mile economic zone and refusal to cooperate with the Group of 77 in global negotiations to America's single "No" vote on the export of goods harmful to children (December 18, 1982) to the opposition on a WHO resolution on baby foods, and of course aid to Israel and "obstructionism" on Namibia.

Finally it draws attention to Ambassador Kirkpatrick's testimony before the U.S. Senate and the "linkage" she established between the granting of aid and the foreign policy positions of Third World countries. Aid-receiving nations should be clearly told that they must toe the line, and this says the P.R. is "intimidation and pressure".

The most vulnerable are those poor countries or those now faced with severe economic difficulties and also possess "assets" which the U.S. covets from a political-strategic point of view. U.S. economic aid, including food, then becomes an instrument of pressure and control, on the one hand, and perpetual dependence of the recipient nation on the other.

Philippines is now called A.S.E.A. N.'s Mexico, because of its huge debt problem. US aid to the

country has been trebled from 500 million dollars to 1.5 billion but the Philippine government is already protesting against Washington's pressure tactics, as Reuter reported recently. **Manila is fully aware that its assets are Subic Bay and the Clark air base, two vital links in the U.S. strategic chain in the Indian-Pacific ocean. When that strategic chain" was displayed on a map that accompanied an official Pentagon document entitled "US Military Posture" (1981) Trincomalee was marked as a port where the U.S. had special facilities.** Though the document was signed by General David Jones, the Pentagon chief, inclusion of Trinco was described as a "mistake" by the State Dept. Was the wish father to the thought? Trinco is certainly of immense strategic importance to any big power.

Sri Lanka, next to Pakistan, is the highest **percapita** aid receiver from the U.S. in the region. But "aid" to Pakistan is mainly arms. Nearly half the aid to Sri Lanka is PL 480 supplies.

When the Bandaranaike government supposedly "nationalised oil" (actually the take-over, with compensation, of the assets of the oil-importing and distributing Stanvac, Shell and Caltex) the U.S. cut off aid citing the Hickenlooper amendment. Punitive measures and threats of embargo are part of the exercise of "food aid" as politics, once a poor nation gets accustomed to and dependant on the supplier.

The other aspect is pure commerce as a recent Reuter report from Cairo showed. US Agriculture Secretary John Block flew into Cairo when a parliamentary delegation from EEC was in Egypt. The delegation included an important member of the EEC's agricultural committee. "The U.S. "said Mr. Block" was obliged to compete when its established trade

was threatened". Explaining this to Egyptian reporters, Mr. Block said that he had told the Egyptian government (Egypt is now a "strategic partner" of the U.S. in the area) that it was in Cairo's interest to purchase surplus US farm produce. US sold Egypt one million tonnes of subsidised-wheat in January.

In reply, the French delegate in the EEC mission to Egypt, said "the EEC could offer the same conditions... If the U.S. can dump, the EEC can dump too".

As part of its export strategy, the U.S. concentrates on relatively richer countries — in Asia, on South Korea, Taiwan or Japan. Again, the poorer countries stand to suffer because they are commercially a low priority. They enter the "high priority" category only if they are ready to make foreign policy concessions.

The Clash...

(Continued from page 8)

shek and Taiwan as legitimate government of the Chinese people and a quarter of the human race mocked an organisation styled the United Nations. What did the U.N. do or say when the U.S. launched its long, brutal aggression against Vietnam? And what did certain ASEAN states do about the Vietnam war? Did they condemn aggression, and intervention or did they provide services to the U.S. military machine and other, even more disreputable services to the U.S. marines? So ASEAN's defence of "principles" became an exhibition in sanctimonious humbug.

For all these reasons, the "linkage" strategy collapsed. While the ASEAN-advocated "linkages" ceased, other "linkages" were established — in the Middle east, Southern Africa, Central America, and Israel. These "linkages" will be discussed in the next article.

Get your Instant Fortune TODAY in

100,000

සංවර්ධන ලෝකරැසිය

அபிவிருத்தி லொர்க்சி

DEVELOPMENT LOTTERY

නොට් හය (6)
කාඩ්පත් ප්‍රථමයෙන්
සුරන්න. එවිට
නොට් එකින් තුනක්
මතු වේ. එවිට සමාන
සංඛ්‍යා තුනක් (3) මතු
වන්නොත් එක සංඛ්‍යාවකින්
දක්වන ප්‍රදායයට හිමිවේ.

ஆறு (6) சதுரத்தையும் ஒரு நாணயத்தினால் மெதுவாகத் தேய்த்து அழியுங்கள்.
மூன்று (3) சதுரங்களில் இருக்கும் தொகை ஒரே மாதிரியாகக் காணப்பட்டால்,
அந்த ஒரு சதுரத்தில் காணப்படும் தொகையைப் பரிசாகும்.

Rub off all six (6) spots gently with coin. If three (3) spots match you win
amount equivalent to the figure appearing on any ONE of the matching spots.

10000

VOID IF REMOVED

DEVELOPMENT LOTTERY

One in every seven tickets wins a prize

Phoenix

Imperialism, world economy and the Third World

James Petras

The first part of my paper will critically discuss the recent debate on imperialism, its impact on third world social formations and the resultant nature of the various strands of the anti-imperialist movements, citing illustrative examples of the recent experience in Iran. The second section of my paper will critically discuss the neo-Marxist attempts to refocus attention on the world economy as the basic unit of analysis and the efforts to conceptualize it in dichotomized or trichotomized terms — so-called 'center/periphery' relations. The third section of the paper will examine the growth and crisis of newly industrializing countries in terms of the previous discussions on imperialism and the structure of the world economy and present an alternative conceptual framework.

The Two Faces of Imperialism: The Iranian Revolution in retrospect

In the recent period there has emerged a wide ranging debate on the nature and impact of imperialism on the third world. Bill Warren and his followers have disputed the effects of imperialist penetration, arguing that it has contributed to the development of productive forces and paved the way for national capitalist development. In opposition, the traditional neo-Marxist schools maintain that imperialism led to stagnation and underdevelopment through the appropriation of surplus. Both the Warren school and the neo-Marxists cite Marx's writings: the former discuss Marx's early positive discussions of English imperialism's role in India, while the latter cite his later writings on the consequences of British penetration of Ireland.

A great deal of confusion has been engendered by this discussion because it is largely divorced from the state and class relations which shape the impact of imperialism in each historical context. Equally misleading is the tendency to construe the development of imperialism in a linear, rather than dialectical fashion: the contradictory nature of the implantation of imperial induced capitalist development is flattened out — it is either 'development' or 'underdevelopment'.

Imperialist expansion has had a differential impact on third world societies depending on the level and development of the internal class forces and their capacity to influence its trajectory. In colonial regimes, local influence was minimal and there was little capacity to 'direct' imperialist penetration, hence surplus extraction and underdevelopment was characteristic of this type of regime. In the post-colonial period this uniform pattern alters, depending upon the nature and structure of the post-colonial states. Leaving aside the revolutionary societies which completely rupture their relations with imperialism, there are, among the capitalist third world countries, a variety of relations and development outcomes resulting from their links to imperialism. In part, these differences are a reflection of the different state structures, and class configurations and, in part, a reflection of imperialist needs (i. e., access to markets or strategic raw materials). Essentially we can identify three class-state patterns: (a) the classical **neo-colonial** regime which contains a large expatriate elite in key decision-making positions and which continues to participate in the traditional division of labour with little external or internal diversification of the economy from the colonial period; (b) the **developing collaborator capitalist** regime which is closely

linked with imperial capital and state but which increasingly appropriates and channels part of the surplus into internal productive activities, leading to fundamental changes in the internal structures of production (shifts from agriculture and mining to industry and urban construction); and (c) **state capitalist** regimes which redefine their relation with imperialism by limiting its participation to specific economic sectors and attempt through the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy a pattern of national capitalist accumulation.

Iran under the Shah appears to fit the second type of regime. Under his regime, there was both large-scale imperial expansion and extensive local, including state investment in the economy, resulting in an explosive growth of urban areas, industry, construction, commerce and real estate. This **growth** of productive forces directed by the **autocratic** regime in collaboration with local and imperial capital systematically **displaced** the previous influential pre-capitalist classes (religious figures and merchant, landlords) while **exploiting** the new working and salaried middle classes. As the process of expansion accelerated so did the displacement and exploitation of new layers of the labor force increase: more and more strata from pre-capitalist society were converted into wage laborers or displaced from petty-commodity production. The **dynamic** of the developing collaborator capitalist regime induced the very class **antagonisms** which would, in the first instance, **paralyze** the growth of productive forces and, secondly, **overthrow** the regime. Thus imperialism induced through autocratic-elite domination polarized society; this polarization, in turn, acted to brake the further development

of the productive forces; the 'stagnation of the economy' in turn acted back upon the population, accelerating political and social mobilization and fragmenting the institutions upon which the regime relied for control: in this context of institutional disintegration, class polarization and economic paralysis, the regime was overthrown.

In summary, unlike the mechanical views of Warren and his adversaries — imperialism engendered **growth and stagnation**; development of productive forces and class antagonisms; the process was not linear, **nor** was the role of imperialism **at any point politically or socially progressive**: the productive forces expanded under the aegis of a regime imposed by the CIA, guarded by the SAVAK and secured by the systematic murder and torture of thousands of militants. At all times during the transformation protest there existed alternative forces — within the working class and professional petit-bourgeois — capable of accomplishing the same historic task, developing the productive forces, within the framework of a democratic-socialist framework. It is the existence of this alternative democratic-modernizing force within the Iranian capitalist economy that marks out the historically reactionary nature of the Shah's development of the productive forces. Warren's extrapolation and revindication of the development of the productive forces out of the historical, political and class context is what marks his work as veritable apologia for imperialist exploitation.

On the other hand, the neo-Marxists who failed to recognize the expansive and developmental nature of the Shah's dictatorship, and who simply defined it by its reactionary political and social character, were unable to come to grips with the dual character of the opposition. Imperial-collaborator induced capitalist expansion uprooted and displaced pre-capitalist classes blocking and opposed to the development of the modern forces of production as well as exploiting workers and salaried employers. The neo-Marxists operating with a market definition of capitalism (so-called "circulationists" who defined capitalism in terms of profitable exchanges of commodities in the

market) viewed the Iranian social formation as homogeneously 'capitalist'. Failing to recognize the heterogeneity of the social formation, they did not give sufficient attention to the fact that the anti-imperialist-Shah opposition was developing from two diametrically opposing positions: one a democratic-progressive configuration of modern classes rooted in capitalist production and struggling to **transform** it, in some cases to socialism; the other a reactionary coalition of pre-capitalist classes seeking to restore the privileges, power and prerogatives of merchant-clerical society. By reducing Iranian society to imperial-capitalist domination, it was easy (and false) to conclude that all anti-imperialist forces were 'progressive'. The enormous weight of the pre-capitalist classes manifested itself in the post-Shah period, when the clerical-reactionary forces completely overwhelmed the secular-democratic coalition.

While the Warren school would have failed to recognize the **socio-politically reactionary** content of the Shah-developed productive forces, the neo-Marxists failed to grasp the **contradictory** nature of the transformation of the productive forces. By simply defining the totality of productive and social relations as 'reactionary', the neo-Marxists fell victim to the ideology of the anti-industrial, anti-modern, anti-imperialism of the clerical forces.

Clearly the **centerpiece** for any progressive transformation of a dynamic imperial-collaborator regime was the modern working class and petit-bourgeoisie. Alliances which subordinated these classes to the leadership of a pre-capitalist coalition was **not** an **advance** over imperialism but a **return** to clerical-merchant domination. Historically secular democratic anti-imperialist classes have forged alliances with pre-capitalist, anti-imperialists but these alliances have paved the way for progressive changes only when the modern classes exercised clear hegemony in the alliance. In Vietnam the Marxists allied with the Buddhists, in Cuba the Fidelistas allied with the small merchant and petty commodity producers, as did the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, but in all cases the worker-peasant

(Continued on page 34)

THE WORLD: ITS OUR BUSINESS

What ever your foreign financial needs, we're here. . . and there. . . to help you.

Over 100 years of experience in Banking provide the foundation for our continuing growth in international business arenas.

Over 200 branches in
40 countries

You can bank
on



**Grindlays
Bank**

Incorporated in the United Kingdom

Marx and literature

Reggie Siriwardena

Marx had a solid traditional literary education in his youth, and remained all his life a ceaseless and avid reader of creative literature, extending from the Greek classics through Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare and Goethe, to the work of his contemporaries, Heine, Balzac and Dickens. Even a casual reader of his writings cannot fail to be struck by the range and felicity of his literary quotations and allusions, and ample confirmation can be found in S. S. Praver's comprehensive study, **Marx and World Literature**. (However, as Praver acknowledges, there is a certain inaccuracy in the title of his book: Marx's literary acquaintanceship—except for the **Arabian Nights** he read to his children—was confined predominantly to European, and secondarily to American, literature.)

In spite of his active literary interests, Marx left no explicit theory of literature, nor any extended work of literary criticism. (He is reported to have contemplated writing a study of Balzac's novels.) What he bequeathed to later Marxist critics of literature was a general model of the relations between mode of production and ideological 'superstructure', which was adopted by them as a framework for the construction of a Marxist critical practice.

Thus, mainstream Marxist literary criticism, confronted with a particular literary work, has been principally concerned with situating its representation of life, literary styles and forms in the ideological superstructure of the social formation (based on a dominant mode of production) in which it was created. However, this critical practice can be engaged in with greater or lesser sophistication. Thus, where one Marxist critic may read a literary work as a simple expression of the ideology of the class to which the writer belonged, another may find a more complex and contradictory relationship between the work and the ideology out of which it was

born. (The varying Marxist critical judgments on Dickens or Dostoevsky exemplify these different possibilities.) Again, some Marxist critics pay more attention than others to the specificity of literature as a particular form of ideological expression, recognising that the content of a work of literature cannot be identified with the ideas that can be extracted from it.

However, these differences—obvious and important as they are—are differences within a single mode of critical practice, based ultimately on situating literature and ideology in a base-superstructure model. What I am concerned with in this article is to discuss some of the crucial problems that arise as a result of the adoption of this model as a basis for Marxist literary criticism. One of these problems was raised by Marx himself in the 1857 Introduction to the **Grundrisse**, where he wrote:

'In the case of the arts, it is well known that certain periods of their flowering are out of all proportion to the general development of society, hence also to the material foundation, the skeletal structure as it were, of its organization.'

Marx went on to discuss the particular case of Greek art. Having demonstrated the relationship between this art and the mythological view of the world, which was dependent in turn on an archaic mode of production, he continued:

'But the difficulty lies not in understanding that the Greek arts and epic are bound up with certain forms of social development. The difficulty is that they still afford us artistic pleasure and that in a certain respect they count as a norm and as an unattainable model.'

Marx was right in raising this question, which is in fact the most intractable of problems for any Marxist methodology of criticism which starts from the base-superstructure model. If the meaning of

The 165th birth anniversary of Karl Marx falls on May 5.

a literary work is determined by the ideology of the social formation in which it was created (and that in turn by its material base), why should the work continue to have significance for us when mode of production, and with it the ideology which was part of its superstructure, have vanished into history? However indirect and complex we may conceive the relations between base and superstructure, or between ideology and literature, to be, the problem remains. True, we may still read Homer or Aeschylus as documents of the classical age, but that obviously doesn't solve Marx's problem: 'The difficulty is that they still afford us **artistic pleasure**...'

We recall the answer Marx offered to the problem he raised. As adults find joy in the naivety of childhood, so we find pleasure in the products of the childhood of the race. 'Why,' asked Marx, 'should not the historic childhood of humanity, its most beautiful unfolding, as a stage never to return, exercise an eternal charm?'

The question that Marx raised was real: the answer he gave was erroneous, indeed (I would say) un-Marxist. Though Greek art and literature have continued to give pleasure to many human generations, there is no such thing as the 'eternal charm' of Greek art. Each culture has created, in accordance with its social practice and its ideology, its own image of Greek art, has in fact **produced** the meanings it finds in these works.

A ready proof of this fact lies in the value that Marx himself found in Greek art—as an embodiment of the naivety and innocence of the childhood of humanity. The terms in which Marx praises Greek art are those characteristic of a thinker living

in the shadow of the Romantic movement, with its idealisation both of childhood and of the primitive, equated with spontaneity and the state of nature, and opposed to a perverting and dehumanising civilisation.

Though Marx wouldn't, in his mature thinking, have accepted this simple antithesis, there is more than a trace of Romantic nostalgia in the passage from the 1857 **Introduction**: 'Its most beautiful unfolding . . . never to return.' The essential point, however, is that these are not the terms in which an eighteenth-century classicist (for whom the ancients were the norm of reason, sobriety and intellectual discipline) would have praised Greek art. Nor are they the terms in which most historians of art would describe Greek art today. Marx was in some respects a child of his age, and where he thought he saw the 'eternal charm' of Greek art, he was really seeing that charm which was visible to Western European intellectuals of his day.

It cannot be supposed that the original audiences of Greek art or Greek drama and the meaning they

found in these works coincided with those of later generations. Greek tragedy, for instance, was performed as a communal religious rite, in which the audience were not spectators but believing participants, so that their relationship to the work was very different from that of modern audiences who watch the plays as 'art.' In a very real sense, therefore, the **Oedipus** (say) in which Marx found 'artistic pleasure' or we find pleasure today is a different work from that which existed for the Greek community—as different as the gleaming white marble statues which form our present store of Greek art are from the brightly painted objects which archaeologists describe them as having originally been. As different, and as much a product of time and history.

It is relevant also that where Marx found pleasure in the 'naivety' of Greek art and mythology, he didn't respond in the same way to the corresponding periods of culture of other peoples. In the same passage in the 1857 **Introduction** he says: 'There are unruly children and precocious children. Many of the old peoples belong in this category. The Greeks were normal

children.' In making this contrast, too, Marx was constricted by the culture of his age—its Eurocentrism. What the passage recalls is the judgment made by him on Indian religion and mythology in his **Letters on India**: 'Man the sovereign of nature fell on his knees before Hanuman the monkey and Sabbala the cow.' Perhaps Marx would have thought of the Hindus as not being 'normal children.'

It is interesting that the English novelist, L. H. Myers, who was fascinated by Eastern religion and philosophy, put into the mouth of his character, Rajah Amar, in **The Near and the Far**, a contrast of a very different kind between the Greeks and the Indians, though again in terms of childhood. For him, the Indians, confronted by a relentless nature, were like people whom 'an unhappy childhood' had compelled to grow up, and who thus looked overhead into the immensities and deep down into abysses which the Greeks, with their more benevolent view of the universe, ignored. What I am pointing out is not that Myers was right and Marx was wrong. What I suggest is that such a

At SPECTRUM we do not just make copies.

We Copy, Reduce, Collate, Bind, Type Project Reports and even Typeset Advertisements, Manuscripts, Newsletters etc.

Crisp, clear copies from A4 – 21 x 29.5 cm to 35.5 x 45.5 cm sizes.

Reduction Copies from 35.5 x 45.5 cm size or smaller originals.

Copying on Transparent Foil, too.

A courteous, efficient service.

Open 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. weekdays. 8.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. Saturdays.

Copying on Sundays and Holidays
by special arrangement.

Spectrum Lanka Ltd

NO. 10, KYNSEY TERRACE, COLOMBO 8.



judgment on another culture is necessarily involved with the structure of values of the observer himself and that of the culture and the age to which he belongs.

But to return to the problems of Marxist literary criticism. What is curious is that Marx could have found in his own formulations in another part of the 1857 Introduction to the **Grundrisse** — the section on consumption and production — the answer to the problems he raised about art, if only he had seen that these formulations were of relevance to the production and consumption, not only of objects of utility, but also of works of art.

The assumption that a literary text has a single invariant meaning defined by its author's intention has been deep-rooted in the tradition of academic literary criticism: Even though two American critics, Wimsatt and Beardsley, wrote an influential essay several decades ago challenging what they called 'the intentional fallacy,' their argument only disposed of the tendency to look outside the text (to author's commentary, letters or diaries) for a statement of its meaning. Wimsatt and Beardsley, however, left intact the view that the text itself defines authorial meaning. 'Never trust the artist. Trust the tale': D. H. Lawrence's dictum has become one of the most quoted of modern critical commonplaces. What it implies is that the real meaning of a text is to be found inscribed in its own words — even if the author has contradicted it elsewhere. It thus appeals from author as commentator to author as creator, sometimes, maybe, from author's conscious intentions to author's deeper drives and motivations — but always with the implication that the text carries in its own substance the authentication of its single, fixed, true meaning. That also is the basis of the creed of practical criticism — the words on the page as the final arbiter.

This assumption is pervasive in academic criticism because it is part of bourgeois ideology which regards the individual artist as the source of creation. Mainstream

Marxist criticism has called this ideology in question to the extent that it has shifted the focus of creation away from the individual artist to the social and ideological structures mediated by his work. But it has left unquestioned the assumption that a literary text has a fixed, invariant meaning. In fact, the adoption of the base-superstructure model in Marxist criticism implies that the meaning of a literary text is single because it is determined for all time by the structures of the social formation in which it was produced.

As we have seen, Marx too shared this assumption and could not successfully resolve the problems it posed. However, we can find in Marx's own writing the intellectual weapons to contest it. In the 1857 Introduction to the **Grundrisse**, Marx wrote as follows on the relation between production and consumption:

'Without production; but also, without consumption, on production; since production would then be purposeless. Consumption produces production in a double way, because a product becomes a real product only by being consumed. For example, a garment becomes a real garment only in the act of being worn; a house where no one lives is in fact not a real house; thus the product, unlike a mere natural object, proves itself to be, becomes, a product only through consumption.'

Marx is here writing of objects of economic production and consumption, but his statements are equally true of the production and consumption of objects of art (which in modern societies enter into economic exchange any way). A novel becomes a real novel only when it is consumed by being read; a play becomes a real play only when it is consumed by being performed before an audience. The creative process is complete only in the act of consumption. Mainstream Marxist criticism, like the dominant tradition of bourgeois academic criticism, has erred by taking the activity of production as the source of meaning and ignoring the activity of

consumption. Yet meaning exists for reader or audience only in so far as they have produced it in the practice of reading, watching, listening. Mainstream Marxist criticism, analysing a text in terms of the social processes which determined how it was made, has divorced itself from the activity of the production of meaning by readers and spectators in which the text is continually renewed and recreated.

The essential point has been well stated recently by Bernard Sharratt in a stimulating (if sometimes maddening) book, *Reading Relations*:

'Yesterday I read *Wuthering Heights*. Yesterday. If I treat *Wuthering Heights* as written in 1847, I can indeed connect it in a variety of ways to that date, that period. But, always, I am reading the novel now. My having read it yesterday, or ten years ago, means that *Wuthering Heights* is a memory for me. . . . But the act of reading *Wuthering Heights* is a process that occurs in a present, not as memory . . . but as activity. That activity cannot occur, for me, in 1847. To treat *Wuthering Heights* 'as written in 1847, I have to distance myself from that activity of reading now, yet the novel can only exist for me as an act of reading now or as a memory of reading, of having-been-read. A novel can be assigned to its date of writing only by a peculiar attempt at objectifying it, treating it as a thing, an object distinct from the process whereby I know it as a novel.'

There are two things that flow from what Bernard Sharratt says. One is that the activity of treating literature in the mode of historiography that is, from the standpoint of historical genesis (which is what mainstream Marxist criticism does) is indeed possible. but is a different activity from that of literary criticism which engages literature as a living presence. The first asks: 'How did the text come to be (in 1847 or whenever)?' The second asks: 'What does the text mean to us,

here and now?' To suppose that the first question alone is real is to imply that works of art, once created, remain unchanging objects, unaffected by the flow of history—which should be a strange premise for Marxists.

The second thing that follows from Bernard Sharratt's argument is that the notion that there is a single and fixed meaning of a text is a myth. Literary meaning is inescapably plural. *Wuthering Heights* cannot mean to us what it did to readers of 1847 because we read it in the perspective of the century and a quarter of history that has elapsed since then, of our contemporary experience, of the critical views that have been expressed about the novel from Emily Bronte's time to ours, of all the novels that have been written between then and now, of Marx and Freud and D. H. Lawrence, and of a great deal else that is too numerous to recount. It must not be supposed that this plurality of meaning applies only to texts separated from us by the

lapse of a century or more. Does *Maname* mean for us today what it meant for audiences in 1956? However, the plurality meaning is most obvious in the case of texts which have been transmitted over many eras and diffused among many cultures, as with Greek epic and tragedy or the plays of Shakespeare. Bourgeois academic criticism supposes that their 'permanence' is due to the fact that they are in some way expressive of the 'timeless human condition'. On the contrary, it is because these texts have been most susceptible to continual transformation of meaning that they have survived—and that is the answer to Marx's problem about Greek art as well.

The shift in the focus of meaning from writer to reader has been effected in the last two decades by those critics who have assimilated semiology and Marxism. Thus Roland Barthes has announced 'the death of the author', and Jacques Derrida has affirmed that the essential characteristic of writing is that 'it must continue to

"act" and to be readable even when what is called the author of the writing to longer answers for what he has written, for what he seems to have signed.' I should like to conclude by quoting Tony Bennett's definition of the tasks of a contemporary Marxist criticism:

'A condition of any text's continuing to exert long-term cultural effects within any society must be that it is constantly brought into connection or articulated with new texts, socially and politically mobilised in different ways within different class practices, differentially inscribed within the practices of educational, cultural and linguistic institutions and so on... It is only in the light of such historically concrete, variable and incessantly changing determinations—determinations which so press in upon the text as fundamentally to modify its very mode of being—that it is possible to assess, at any given moment, the effects that might be attributed to any given text or set of texts.'

AVAILABLE AGAIN

THE RISE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN CEYLON

by

KUMARI JAYAWARDENA

at all leading bookshops

ALSO IN SINHALA

Marx versus Marx

Maker of the world we live in

Hiren Mukerjee

IT was a hundred years ago, on March 14, 1883, that life ebbed out of the body of Karl Marx (born May 5, 1818). At his graveside the valedictory speech was made appropriately, by his closest friend and constant colleague Engels who said, memorably: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time".

Karl Marx has never lacked critics, even calumniators, but few, if any, can demur to his having been one of the very rarest among the great of our species, a "demiurge" of history in Hegel's sense of the term, a maker of the world we live in. "His name endures through the ages" Engels had truly said, "and so also will his work".

From the then doyen of economists, the Austrian Bohm-Bawerk with his 1896 **obiter dictum** about the "demise" of the Marxian system to John Maynard Keynes bemoaning in 1926 "how a doctrine so illogical and dull can have exercised an influence over the minds of men and through them over the events of history", and from Keynes down to the learned, if also puerile, "Marxologists" of today, there have sounded many prophecies of the imminent doom of Marxism. Yet over a third of mankind is at present busy applying Marxism, not all in the same way but with a basic adherence, while many of the rest render obeisance, in one manner or another, to what facetious foes once called "the Gospel according to St. Marx", to socialism with a big "S" which Marx had transformed from utopia into a science, socialism which Lenin once described as "all-powerful because it is true".

Max Beer's striking summary of the contrast between socialism before and after Marx can well be recalled. Before Marx, the proletariat was the Cinderella of politics, the object of sympathy of sociologists: after Marx it became the "Pretender" to the Crown, the

destroyer of the old and the builder of the new society. Before Marx, socialism drew its inspiration from the Golden Age of pre-history, from natural law, from primitive Christianity, from humanitarian ideas, from social ethics; after Marx, socialism has become the political and economic objective of great and growing, militant classes and parties. Marx made an article of belief or a dogmatic, eternally valid doctrine into a practical living force in the transition of society through "expropriation" of "private capitalist property". Before Marx, the working class and socialism were separated, inconsequential to each other; Marx welded them together as body and soul.

Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. It is not an unchanging, ossified, "finished" theory divorced from life — "theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life", this Goethe saying was a favourite of Marx and Lenin. Marxism is far away from a closed intellectual ritualism but a dynamic and flexible system of philosophy, the proletariat needing a word-view ("**weltanschauung**") and philosophy also needing the proletariat for its fulfilment. As Marx put it in the most celebrated of his **Theses on Feuerbach** (1845): "The philosophers have only **interpreted** the world in different ways: the point, however, is to change it".

For some four decades books, pamphlets, articles and addresses flowed from his pen, a corpus of writing that has changed the world. His early jottings which, jokingly, he had consigned to "the gnawing criticism of mice" have been unearthed not long ago — his **Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts** (1844), radiant evidence of the humanist essence of his thought. During half a dozen hectic years from 1841 onwards, in Cologne, Paris, Brussels and Cologne again dodging repression on account of

his revolutionary work, he was to spend the life of an exile for nearly thirty-five years in London twelve hours every working day, in the British Museum. He was sustained by help in every sense from Engels, in terrible penury (of the six Marx children only three survived to maturity, Marx's wife Jenny, born the daughter of a count once writing about a dead child, "our little darling" lying in a cheap coffin for which a friend had lent a small sum). He had always to be anxious that, as he wrote to Engels (July 15, 1858) "on account of the worst trivialities my intellect may be ruined and my work destroyed".

Tortured by carbuncles when working on **Capital**, he joked to Engels: "I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles all the rest of their lives!" Once he told his friend that he doubted if any author had ever had to study the theory of money while having no money himself. When the first volume (1867) of **Capital** was ready there was not money enough for the postage to the publisher and as always, Engels helped Marx out. It was a good job, however, that the Czarist government in Russia, unlike the British Establishment which wanted to kill **Capital** by ignoring the publication as long as possible, put no obstacles in the way of its circulation because it was too voluminous and intricate to cause worry to the authorities! One is reminded of a recent story, perhaps apocryphal, that a Pakistani general leading a search party weeding "dangerous" books out of bookshops, looked benignly at the fat-sized volume, remarking that Pakistan needed a lot of capital and the abstruse learning of the outlandish "Doctor" might be some help.

There is no space even to mention Marx's seminal writings — of

permanent value, even when polemic, as in his **The Poverty of Philosophy** answering Proudhon's **The Philosophy of Poverty** — but the world knows of **The Communist Manifesto** (1848) he wrote, with Engels assisting, whose fire and passion and power no quotations could reveal. It can only be quintessentially indicated, as by its final call to the world's workers to unite, for "they have a world to win and nothing to lose but their chains". Apart from *Capital* (three mighty volumes, the first published in 1867, the other two, arranged by Engels from notes and papers, brought out posthumously, and a fourth large tome on *Theories of Surplus Value* edited by Kautsky), there was his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) where one sees that basic Marxian tenet: "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" — in other words, that in the beginning there was not the Word but the Deed.

Look into whatever he wrote, whether economic or political or

philosophic or historical or apparently merely polemic, and you will find not only "intellect" but also so much "heart" his periods rolling on, as Mehring once said, as "a stream of molten gold" (as when Marx describes capital as "dead labour that, vampirelike, lives by sucking living labour" or envisages the emergence of the industrial capitalist "dripping with blood and dirt from every pore") How in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* of Louis Bonaparte (1852) he says that "Men make history but they do not make it just as they please" and recalling that while history never repeats itself, except in so far as it does first as a tragedy and then as a farce, marks the classic castigation of pusillanimity: "It is not enough to say, as the French do, that their nation was taken unawares. A woman and a nation are not forgiven the unguarded hour in which the first adventurer that comes along could violate them".

Marx had the prophet's disdain and impatience of ideological pettifoggery and practical stupidities, lashing such as Lassalle and Baku-

nin, praising that "great and good man Abraham Lincoln but finding Mazzini tiresome, even trivial, excoriating witless (and worse) "disciples" (vide his exclamation: "Thank God, I'm no Marxist!"), once openly regretting: "I have sown dragons and reaped a harvest of fleas!" This last cry was evoked by those who Lenin called "the sorry Marxists", of whom there has been such a long procession — both in Marx's time and later, when the Bernsteins and Kautskys and Otto Bauers down to their lesser "Social Democratic" successors, even today on the map, had sought to sap the revolutionary essence of Marxism. It has been the historic role of Lenin, preeminently, to expound one to reinvigorate, in the newer conditions of the epoch of imperialism — the fundamental aspects of Marxism.

Hardayal of famous memory in our freedom movement wrote in 1908 about Marx as "A Modern Rishi" in the *Modern Review*, then India's best known monthly from Calcutta. Marx was a "sage" with the seer's "third eye" as it

CEYLON BULBS & ELECTRICALS LTD.,

MANUFACTURERS OF SUPERGLOW, JAYANTHI

AND

DAYLIGHT ELECTRIC BULBS

Address :

60, Rodney Street,
Colombo 8.

Telephone : 95567, 96751

Cables : 'Lamplight'

were, but not by any means a hermit, and so, in conformity with his principle of the unity of theory and practice, founded in 1864 the International Workingmen's Association ("First International"). This body, it appears, received from Calcutta a communication requesting affiliation, truly sensational piece of news about the then India which remains to be unravelled. It is known, however, that in the 1850's, Marx, always ardent for Irish independence, was writing profoundly perceptive pieces also on events in America, in India, China and Russia. In 1953 there appeared in the New York press his celebrated articles where Marx predicted the freedom India to be achieved either through the victory of the working class in Britain — one of his pet expectations that he could not easily discard — or when the Indians themselves "shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether". His Notes on Indian History are witness to his ardent interest in the positive, people-oriented forces operating in this country. He analysed the so-called "Mutiny" (1857-59), preferring to call it "The Revolt of India", the anger of the army "coinciding with a general disaffection against English supremacy". With the clarity and insight of genius he saw the indispensability of national liberation to the prospect of socialist transformation in the metropolitan countries.

Marx had great respect for the British worker, even more perhaps for the "ouvrier" in Paris whose Commune (1871) had, in his words "stormed the heavens". He knew as well that the superprofits of Empire enabled the doling out of excess edibles from the laden bourgeois table and gilded lollipops from the parliamentary confectionery to win over "the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class" — he knew as Engels relates (Sept. 12, 1882) that English workers "think exactly the same as the bourgeoisie think about colonial policy and policy in general"! This is why in a letter to Engels (Oct. 8, 1858) Marx feared that "in this little corner" (which was western Europe) a socialist revolution would be "crushed out" if "in afar greater territory the

movement of bourgeois society is still in the ascendant". This is why he could write to Sorge (Sept. 27 1877): "This time the revolution begins in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution". This is why in 1882, Marx and Engels wrote in the preface to the Russian edition of **The Communist Manifesto**: "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe". So much for the pet anti-Marxist thesis that the Russian Revolution was a quirk of history and a smack in the face, for Marxist pre-conception and anticipations. Marx with his global vision and true proletarian internationalism would have contempts like "Euro" or "Asio" or "Africo" or "Americano" communism and his heart would have rejoiced if he had lived to see socialism coming first over an enormous Euro-Asian land mass to see "real, existing socialism" representing the firm alliance of Marxism and national liberation, to see also exciting non-capitalist advance towards socialism in formerly retarded regions to see the first socialist Soviet state a hundred years after his birth and the unfoldment today, a hundred years after his death, of "that most tremendous revolution of all time" whose perspective, as Engels once said, was laid bare in **Capital**.

And we in India will recall Marx's expectation in 1853 of "the regeneration of that great and interesting country (India) whose gentle natives are, to use the expression of Prince Saltykov, even in the most inferior classes, "plus fins et plus adroits que les Italiens" ("more refined and more intelligent than the Italians") whose submission even is counterbalanced by a certain calm nobility, who, notwithstanding their natural languor, have astonished the British officers by their bravery, whose country has been the source of our languages, our religions, and who represent the type of the ancient German in the **Jat** and the type of the ancient Greek in the **Brahmin**".

Would one believe it, but in 1882 Marx and Engels, perhaps building on hopes generated by 1857 and such subsequent events

as the forgotten but magnificent Phadge's peasant revolt (1875) in Maharashtra, had expected "a revolution" in India. It did not happen, for there is a terrible load of damp cement on India's old and complicated soul. The revolution of Marx's imagining has not happened yet in India; after all. Time in our "**Mandhata**" land move at its own pace—but "**Eppur is nuovo**", all the world is astir, and India also, as the centennial of Marx's death summons all peoples to tasks of fitting out our planet for freedom and dignity and dignity and human happiness.

Letters . . .

(Continued from page 2)

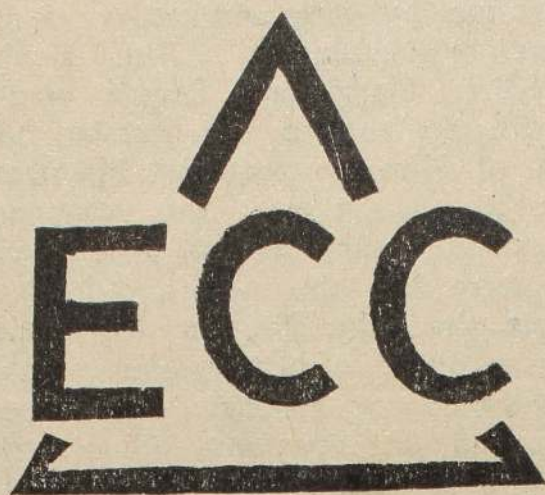
With regard to the Left joining other parties, my view is that the Left must first become strong in its own right. It can then associate with other parties on its own terms. Then it will be a case, not of the Left joining others but others joining the Left. What happens when a weak Left joins a big bourgeois party, we have seen over and over again.

One by one our pioneer left leaders are leaving us — NM, Wicks, now Leslie — my generation of left leaders.

I hope the next generation of left leaders will also not leave with the same question unanswered — 'Why the Left Failed'.

I write this on a day observed as the New Year, both by Sinhalese and Tamils. It can be an opportunity for both to unite. Instead, it is styled by the Govt as 'Sinhalese and Hindu New year' — I am a Tamil but not a Hindu, so I am out!

Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah



EX-STOCK SUPPLIERS

FOR ALL

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

EQUIPMENT & CONSTRUCTION Co. LTD.

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

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

TELEX : 21385 GOPAL

The new communication technologies and Third World culture

Neville Jayaweera

This paper seeks to consider, in very general terms the consequences the new communication technologies are likely to have for Third World cultures. But it will not treat either "the new communication technologies" or "Third World cultures" as entities divorced from economics, politics and history. In fact the underlying thrust of this paper will be to treat them as a "gestalt". If there is a suggestion that any one of these factors is primary, that position should go to technology. Society's desire to satisfy basic needs, and the tools it constructs in order to do so (i.e. technology) are recognised as the motor of social change. Culture, in its broadest sense, is seen as expression of that underlying reality, and consequently, as having itself to undergo change, when the underlying reality changes.

It is necessary at the very outset to disclaim any suggestion that this article is intended as an academic paper. Quite clearly, it is not. There are two reasons why this paper eschews the academic style. Firstly, the Editor of the UNESCO's journal "Cultures" for whom this paper is being written, has specifically asked me not to write as an "academic". Secondly, and even more importantly, very little empirical research has been undertaken for studying how the communication technologies are impacting on the Third World. Consequently, I shall not be providing footnotes and bibliographies. The generalisations set out in this paper will, therefore, seem largely theoretical. On the other hand, merely for that reason, they may not be ruled out as being purely speculative. On the contrary, they are grounded in experience. Only, they are not validated through methodology, or by reference to criteria of quan-

titative empirical testing, usual in the social sciences.

Characteristics of Third World Cultures

When one talks of Third World cultures, even at the risk of oversimplification, one should at least try to identify those characteristics that distinguish them from industrial cultures.

1. The most fundamental characteristic of Third World cultures is that they are based on smallholding subsistence agriculture. Nearly seventy per cent of Third World populations live by the pursuit of small farming. What is significant here is not the fact that it is agriculture that determines the quality of the cultures, but that it is a smallholding subsistence agriculture that does so. There is a fundamental difference between modern, large-scale surplus-agriculture and traditional smallholding subsistence-agriculture. The former is a concomitant of industrial and urban cultures, while the latter characterises village culture.

2. A smallholding subsistence agriculture, by its very nature, does not guarantee surpluses on a scale sufficient to provide the farmer with purchasing power required for changing the pattern of his life on any significant scale. So, in economic terms, dependence on subsistence agriculture causes stagnation and perpetuates poverty.

3. Being poor, and generally not having access to resources besides muscle power, the farmer tends to depend on the goodwill and on the active help of the whole community, not only for working the individual farm, but even for the survival of the family, especially in times of crises. So community ties tend to be strong. The children consider it their responsibility to look after their parents. The old and infirm are not thrown upon the mercy of charitable organisations

or upon the bounty of the State. Third World cultures therefore tend to be participatory rather than individualistic.

4. Lacking sanction in statutory law or "contract", these community values derive their strength from a sense of tradition, which in turn is celebrated and preserved by myth, ritual and religion. These in turn dispose the community to look backwards and to find security in history and tradition rather than to launch into the future and risk disintegration.

5. Being backward looking, non-acquisitive and non-individualistic, Third World cultures are supposed to lack "achievement motivation" and "acquisitiveness", without which, it is claimed no society may expect to "modernise" itself or "progress" or "take-off" into "self-sustained growth". So Third World cultures do not integrate easily into modern economic relationships, particularly into those based on market forces, except as a supplier of raw materials. But even in the matter of supplying raw materials or primary commodities, the source of production is not the traditional village sector but the modern industrialised agricultural sector.

These five characteristics provide a rough but convenient sketch of Third World cultures. But there is an obvious sense in which this profile is theoretical and even idyllic. One can even say that there is hardly a culture that is extant today that is congruent with this profile. But that is not because the characterisation itself is fundamentally false but because the pace of the transformation that has overtaken Third World cultures, particularly during the past two decades, has been so rapid that most of their defining elements have begun to disappear. That fact is a comment on the potency of the agents making for change rather than a disclosure about the cultures themselves.

The author is Director of Research and Planning, World Association for Christian Communication, London.

Solvents of Third World Cultures

It will be a gross exaggeration to claim that the transformations effected within Third World cultures up to now, have been the product principally of communication technologies. A whole range of other influences have been working on these cultures over the past two or three hundred years helping to bring about radical changes. They have been mostly of a political, religious, economic and commercial character. In order to place the role of modern communication technologies in perspective, it will help if we first briefly identify some of these influences.

1. Beyond contention, the most potent and durable of these influences was the European colonial enterprise. It was the penetration of Third World societies by the colonial powers, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, that served as the permanent conduit through which the transforming influences flowed in the succeeding centuries. Colonialism was the seminal influence. In order to understand the range and complexity of that influence one has to remember that it was itself a response to an inner imperative that had been working within European societies from about the sixteenth century. This imperative was essentially economic rather than political. Around the sixteenth century, through some curious concatenation of circumstances (the nature and origin of which have been the subject of great controversy among historians, sociologists and economists), European societies located along the western seaboard of that continent, felt the impulse to accumulate wealth. That impulse launched them out on voyages of discovery and commerce. The colonial enterprise itself was the political expression of this fundamental drive for commerce and wealth.

2. Along with the establishment of political hegemony and the spread of commerce, the deep hinterlands of these societies, i.e. the rural areas, which had preserved certain life-styles and patterns of social and economic organisation for untold centuries, came to be opened up. Vast tracts of forest and

agricultural land that had for centuries been held in common by the local people were expropriated. Roads and railways were laid through these lands. The dispossessed villagers were forced into overcrowded hamlets without adequate agricultural lands for cultivation. An entire rural culture that had been based on the ownership and cultivation of land, was thereby put under great strain and progressively eroded.

3. If money was the solvent of the mediaeval order in Europe, it was much more so of Third World agricultural societies. The introduction of money (which was a concomitant to commerce) as a substitute for barter, rapidly shifted and fundamentally altered the matrix of rural relationships. Traditional societies had been integrated and sustained as a unity through a network of relationships based primarily on status, tradition and custom. The introduction of money pulled out that underpinning. Relationships now came to be validated through contract, based on cash. Community relationships based on tradition and custom now ceased to be functional realities. If they continued in some form at all, it was only as ritual that they were preserved.

4. Next to the physical arrival of the colonising power on Third World territories, the most potent fact in undermining and transforming their cultures, was the missionary enterprise. The missionaries came ostensibly to carry out the great commission given to them by Jesus Christ to "go ye forth to all the nations". But they brought with them more than the Gospel. They seemed to have been imbued with the conviction that the cultures from which they came represented the Kingdom already come, and that their obligation to announce the Good News of Salvation in Jesus included the right to recommend their own cultures, customs and life-styles for adoption by those whom they saved. In practice salvation in Christ came to be inseparable from captivity to an alien culture:

It was not sufficient for a Christian to accept Jesus as Saviour. He had to model himself in every detail

after the foreign stereotype. He had to disengage from his own culture and history. He had to cease being a "heathen". This meant even learning to despise his heritage.

The principal instrument of this movement, apart from the local parish fellowship, was the mission school. Even those who were not Christians, had to expose themselves to influences of these institutions, because there was no provision for schooling, on any significant scale, outside the mission. It was in the mission school that the local children started their process of acculturation and absorption into the system. They started off by learning nursery rhymes which conveyed images that had no meaning for them. They learnt to sing "Hot Cross buns", and "London bridge is falling down" and "Here we go round the mulberry bush" when they had never known and would never in a whole lifetime, encounter either the said "buns", or the said "bridge" or the aforementioned "bush". They learnt about the Vikings, the Normans and the Plantagenets! And in later years they learnt about the "Court of the Star Chamber" and knew from memory the names of all the statesmen who congregated at the Congress of Vienna. But all that while, they knew little or nothing of the rich heritage of their own folk culture, of their illustrious kings, and of their own society's contributions to the history of civilisations.

5. Perhaps next in importance to the missionary enterprise, and its educational institutions, in overhauling Third World cultures, was the advent of the mass media. The penetration of these cultures by the mass media exposed them, with the minimum of filtration, directly to cultural influences from abroad. Earlier, the local cultures were insulated upto a point, both by space and by time. Cultural influences from abroad had to travel over vast distances, by road or sea, and took months and years before they touched the villages. In between they were subjected to a series of modifications and adaptations, so that when they did impinge on the local cultures their impact had been already blunted. Furthermore they did not touch the masses straightaway. They had

to work through very exclusive, small groups who came into contact with missionaries, planters, administrators and the like, first. It took several decades before influences brought to bear on these elites developed a mass impact.

Not so with mass media. They telescoped both space and time, reduced filtration to a minimum, leaped over barriers of illiteracy and poverty and enabled whole societies to achieve at the psychic level, the mobility they could not achieve at the terrestrial. What the roads, railways, the schools and missionaries had done, was to funnel influences from outside into the villages. But the villages and the local cultures continued to remain passive. At the worst they merely absorbed and internalised these influences after modifying or adapting them. But the rural people never really broke out of their villages. They could not travel far, not only because transport was still limited and would not carry them beyond the closest township, but also because they could not even afford the bus ride. Now, with the advent of mass media, even as they remained physically at home, farmers could travel in their minds to the ends of the earth and recreate for themselves at a psychic level a complex, external reality, the existence of which had been hardly known to them earlier.

These psychic excursions proved to be highly destabilising for the local cultures. At a purely consumer level, the villagers came to be conscious of the existence of goods and commodities and the enjoyment of life-styles which seemed a far, far cry from what they had been used to, for centuries. This awareness set in motion expectations, which failing to achieve fulfilment, turned invariably into disaffection. This in turn exerted pressure on socio-cultural formations which had been under strain for decades. In short order, political upheaval followed, and with it, inevitably, the suppression of civil liberties, the dismantling of democratic structures and the imposition of repressive regimes.

Quite obviously it will not be valid to suggest that the incidence of repressive regimes in the Third

World is due primarily to the de-stabilising effects of mass media. But it will not be out of place to propose that the prima facie co-relation between the incidence of social instability and the emergence of repressive regimes on the one hand, and the exposure to consumerist-oriented mass media on the other, is sufficient to warrant serious study.

6. The cumulative product of all these influences on Third World societies, was the emergence of a strong middle-class and a developed urban sector. A local middle-class developed naturally out of the penetration of the rural sector by modern influences such as roads, schools, plantations, bureaucracy and commerce. The foreign powers could not afford to bring with them all the cadres they needed to run their colonial dependencies. So they developed local elites for that purpose. The latter's role in transforming local cultures was enormous. At least upto the middle decades of this century, these middle-class elites set the norms (in values, styles of dress, language, etc.) for the rest of local society. They were the "opinion leaders", and the "change agents". They went to foreign universities and returned with the "correct" values. They lent currency to the values of the foreigners, which because they were palpably alien, could not find acceptance with the local masses.

By the time television, and the communication satellite and video cassettes arrived on the scene, traditional cultures the world over had been wearing away for centuries. The question arises then as to what is there in the contemporary situation, that justifies even looking into the role of the new technologies as a significant factor in cultural transformation. If, as it is argued, Third World cultures had in any case been falling apart for centuries, under the joint onslaught of colonialism, commerce, missionary influence and the mass media, what is there remaining in them that could provide the new technologies with an opportunity to serve as another great solvent of Third World culture. At this point one has to introduce another element into the picture.

(To be continued)



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

LakLooms

72, CHATHAM STREET
COLOMBO 1.

Telephone : 25521 /
22862 / 24679

RACE AND NATIONHOOD

— SOME THEORIES

B. A. Kader

Next to the economic crisis and the resultant hardships which touch us all particularly the poor of all communities, the National Question is now the most important issue which compels attention and understanding from all thinking persons. What, first of all, is a nation?

Modern history is full of scholars and theorists. Dogmatists of all schools have ready-made replies. Many quote Stalin's famous definition mechanically, without troubling to grasp its true meaning. The Austrian Social-Democrats such as Otto Baur, R. Springer and Karl Rammer, who advocated "cultural-national autonomy" spoke of a nation as "a community of persons" which does not enjoy "exclusive sovereignty" in any particular region. To them "nation" is not necessarily connected with territory but was "an autonomous union of persons".

At a time when Left opportunists as well as chauvinists in imperialist circles sought to define the concept "nation" vulgarly and interpret its rights in a manner which served the interests of colonial rulers, genuine Marxists stepped forward to challenge their unscientific views. Karl Marx himself expressed his indignation at "racialist fabrications" when various preachers of the race theory like Gobineau and Chamberlain gained wide publicity in bourgeois circles. In his letter to Laura and Paul Laforgue (1870) he wrote :

"Some ten years ago a certain M de Gobineau published a work in four volumes 'On the inequality of the Human race', written to prove in the first instance that the members of 'the white race' are like Gods among the other human races, and of course the 'noble' families within the white race are the flower of this elite".

Likewise, Engels held a clear view on the matter. In a letter to Kautsky,

he observed that "victorious proletariat can force no blessing of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing". (Sept. 12 1882).

These great teachers advocated internationalism in theory and practice, without of course, negating nationalism. On the contrary, they recognised the progressive role of national movement and fought for the cause of Irish independence, and the national movements of Poland, Hungary etc.

After capitalism developed to its highest stage of imperialism it turned all "great powers" into the oppressors of many nations. In that epoch more and more conquered nations rose up to fight for their freedom. And it was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who tirelessly waged a "theoretical war" to defend the right of nations to self-determination against not only the chauvinism of the imperialists, the Cadets, the Black Hundreds, but the social chauvinism of the social Democrats like Kautsky in Germany, Otto Baur and K. Renner in Austria, Harter in Holland and Martov in Russia, but also the narrow "organisational nationalism" of the Jewish Bund and "**Social-Nationalism**" of Dontsov.

Karl Kautsky, before his desertion from Marxism, scientifically analysed the process of the formation of "National States" and "Multinational States" in his article "**Nationality and Internationality**" in 1907.

But, Stalin had to complete the task in his famous article "**Marxism and the National Question**" in 1912 by systematically and scientifically analysing the historical roots of the national movements and drawing conclusion to define a nation.

Advances in the natural and social sciences, especially cybernetics, genetics, molecular biology, ecology, ethology, neurophysiology, psychology,

B. A. Kader joined the Ceylon Teachers Union (C. T. U.) in 1976, and was elected as one of its vice-presidents in 1977. He was one of the two members who submitted the resolution on the right of nationalities of Sri Lanka to self-determination, to the 20th Congress of the C. T. U. held in Jaffna in July 1977. This resolution was discussed inside the union throughout the year at the request of Mr. Kader. During this period numerous discussions, seminars and polemics took place on this topic both within and without the union. The resolution on self-determination was presented by Mr. Kader once again to the 21st Congress of the C. T. U. held in Galle on June 30th 1978. Here the resolution was accepted.

Two of B. A. Kader's lectures, "**Future of the upcountry Tamils**", and "**May Day and its lessons**", were published in Tamil. Both were selected by the U. S. book Procurement Centre in New Delhi to be sent to selected libraries in the U. S.

Now he is one of the joint secretaries of the "Up-country Mass Organisation". Mr. Kader is not a member of any political party.

ethnic anthropology, ethnology and general and applied sociology, have enabled social scientists to broaden and refine their understanding of human races, their origin, development and their evolution as modern nations. All these sciences are furnishing further evidence to confirm the correctness of the marxist definition of a nation formulated by Stalin. (For eg. "**The International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology**" held in Tokyo in 1968.

Four Schools of Thought

The Russian anthropologist N. N. Cheboksarov, in his article "Human Races and Populations" differentiated all the concepts of race into two schools of thought, namely 'Typological' and 'Populationist' approaches.

To generalise the concept of nation which exist in modern socio-

logy we may reduce them to four main view points viz Typologist, Populationist, Social-Populationist and Dogmatist approaches.

All the theories that distinguish, unscientifically, peoples into different types of groups come under this category.

For example the Racist theory:— According to this view every human group can be distinguished either visually or mathematically by a combination of certain racial characteristics. It advocates heredity and connects Morpho-Physiological racial features with psychic traits thereby attempts to establish the nation of “superior race” and “inferior race”

The best examples of the “typological approach” are the Nazi theories of the superior “Aryan race” and the accompanying anti-Semitism, the “divinity” claim of the Japanese fascists who launched the war in the East, the ideas propagated by “eugenicists” in the U. S. (Jenson, William Schockley, H. J. Eysenck, to name a few) to justify the oppression of the blacks the monstrous “apartheid” in South Africa, the “Zionism” which was used as an instrument of British policy via the Balfour Declaration to impose a Jewish state in Palestine. Closely allied to these concepts are “myths” like that of the “chosen people” used by the Zionists to justify their occupation of Arab territory. Whether the “myth” is founded on ‘race’ or religion (Judaism, Islam, Christianity or Buddhism or any other) all concepts about the “chosen people”, fit into the category of the Typological approach.

Scientific research by the Belgian Africanist Jacques Manget and the American Anthropologist Kathleen Gough (See ‘**Anthropology — child of imperialism**’) revealed the close links between ethnography and colonial interests. Typological theories have been an invention and have been advanced by the most aggressive sections of the exploiting classes. That is why such theories are supported by reactionary leaders and big business. Here is some evidence:

The Nazi theories of “Aryan race”, “anti-Semitism” and “Nordic”

theories, the claim by the Japanese fascists, during the war, of the “divinity” of the Japanese people; “the Zionism” promoted by British imperialism since the first world war on the basis of the Balfour Declaration, (1917) which promised the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine; the advocacy of the “eugenicists” like Terman Yerks, Jensen, Herrnstein, William Shockley and H. J. Eysenck in the U. S.; ‘apartheid’ in South Africa.

Scientific research by the Belgian Africanist Jacques Maguet (see “Objectivity in anthropology” Vol 5) and the U. S. anthropologist Kathleen Gough (see “Anthropology, child of imperialism”) revealed the historical links between ethnography and colonial interests. **Typologist theories are invention of the most aggressive and reactionary section of the exploiting classes.** It is supported by the reactionary leaders of government and business since it serves their own interests against that of masses of the people. Here are some evidence:—

- The old “eugenicist movement” got its start, in the U.S.A. at the founding of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Springs Harbor, New York, with generous financing from as millionaire Andrew Carnegie himself.

- The Second National Conference on “Race Betterment” was held in San Francisco with massive fanfare in 1915. At that meeting were representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, U. S. Steel Corporation, Ford Motor Company, Aetna Life Insurance Company, etc.

- Woodrow Wilson, president at the time, gave his official blessing to the racist movie, “Birth of a Nation” which glorified the Ku Klux Klan and portrayed blacks as “dancing fools or savage rapists”. This was at a time when the first World War had just started. It was intended to corrupt the U. S. white people with chauvinism, to appeal to them to save their “Mother Country” in fact, to form an army to wage an imperialist war of plunder.

- By January 24, 1930 different states in U.S.A. had passed laws calling for the sterilization of the “feeble-minded, criminals and paupers”. According to the preamble

of the first sterilization law, passed in Indiana in 1901 “heredity plays a most important part in the transmission of crime”. This propaganda reached its peak during the terrible economic crisis of the 1930’s. To divert the attention of the people from the crisis it had to incite chauvinism like this.

- Scientists from the U. S. A. wrote a number of papers in a vain attempt to establish the racial “inferiority” of blacks. Thus, A. Jehkson, Professor of Psychology at the University of California, published an article in one of the journals where he did his best to prove that owing to genetic peculiarities, Negroes were very backward in intellectual ability as compared with white men. This pseudo-scientific article was feverishly acclaimed by the American ruling elite. The complete text of the article was read by one of the American Parliamentarians at a session of the U. S. Congress. This was when the strike movement was gaining momentum.

- The Republic of South Africa proclaimed apartheid its official state policy. A report in 1967 presented by the special reporters of the U. N. Human Right Commission said that two measures formed the keystone of apartheid classification of the population into races. For e. g. representative of these “Races” live in different regions and travel in different buses and trains. They go to different schools churches, restaurants, cinemas, beaches, clubs and sport events. They enter through different doors, sit in parks on different benches and often use different hospitals and buried in different cemeteries. Even different hours are fixed for visits by non-whites to Zoological gardens, galleries, museums and public gardens. The country is divided into regions in which only persons of a definite “race” may reside and stay. Some jobs are declared the sole privilege of the white population. Marriages and sexual relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are declared a crime. In all, about 1,200 Laws, government acts and regulations are in force. This is to maintain the white minority rule over the majority non-white people and to justify the savage exploitation of the latter.

Results of the Survey

(A) Patterns of Television Viewing

Significantly, 62 percent of the TV households interviewed, reported that their sets were 'switched on only when there is a good programme'. The remainder admitted that their 'sets were switched on continuously' during transmission hours. The proportion of the former group of respondents was higher than that of respondents whom we have classified as early adopters (33 percent of the sample) on the basis of the year in which the TV set was bought. It is, therefore, evident that selectivity in viewing extends to a much larger group of respondents than those for whom the medium is no longer new.

Viewed in the context of the fact that television (with its dual impact on ear and eye) is still something of a novelty to most audiences in Sri Lanka, the evidence of a certain selectivity in viewing is significant. The assumption that during the pioneer phase of television audiences are likely to view any programme that comes along, just for the sake of viewing television is to a certain extent, disproved in this instance.

It is quite possible that this selective use of television in the sense that the majority of respondents exercise a certain degree of choice in their viewing is born of a particular discipline enforced by parents out of concern for their children's study time and home-work. This is confirmed by the fact that parents in TV households seem to be setting rules primarily in terms of the amount or timing of TV viewing rather than in terms of content. There may well be other social factors behind this behaviour such as the level of literacy and the capacity for discrimination associated with it. Or the psychological fear of 'addiction', and the existence of social norms hostile to television.

(B) Programme preferences

The survey reveals that a large number of respondents view programmes between 7.30 p.m. and 9.45 p.m. This applies both to res-

pondents in the Colombo District and those in the outstations.

58 percent of the respondents in the Colombo District preferred SLRC programmes to the ITN output. 'More local programmes', 'better technical reception', more programmes of cultural value' were listed as the main reasons for this preference. Devotees of ITN programmes who constituted 19 percent of the respondents listed 'more entertainment programmes', 'more foreign programmes' as the reasons for their preference. 23 percent of the respondents declared 'no preference'.

In regard to specific categories of programmes transmitted over SLRC during the period of the survey, 53 percent of the 1,594 respondents declared they would like to view most 'News and Current Affairs Programmes', 51 percent opted for films (Sinhalese and Tamil), 50 percent for sports programmes, 41 percent for foreign serials and single feature films. It may be noted that most respondents indicated preference for more than one category of programmes thereby professing a broad range of programme interests.

As shown in Table III 'Dance and Music Programmes' and 'Locally produced dramas' also seem to have a substantial audience. What is significant, however, is the very low interest shown for the category named 'Educational programmes'. Only two respondents in the sample voted for this category. Before we evaluate these responses to programme categories, it would be relevant to have a look at the data relating to preferences for specific programmes.

It must be stated here, that the accuracy of the findings in respect of preferences for specific programmes entirely on respondents' memory recall. The investigators did not help by listing the various programmes transmitted during the period under reference and for a good reason. The assumption was that, if a programme had made an impact on a respondent he would in normal course of things be able to recall it, more so since the period between the transmission

of the programme and the interview was brief. But this may not be true in all instances. At any rate, the question was designed not so much to measure ratings for particular programmes as to look out for the underlying patterns of audience tastes and preferences.

It was thought useful to list programme preferences separately for Colombo and the outstations since Colombo District has the choice of two channels. The five programmes which have proved popular both for Colombo and the outstation respondents are as follows: **Sinhala and Tamil films; ABC Wide World; Anna Karenina; Charlie Chaplin; Famous Five.**

Blake 7 has proved popular only among respondents in the Colombo District, while locally produced programmes like **Kala Manjari** and **Gayana** have the most number of devotees in the outstations. **Anna Karenina** and **Gayana** (a special musical programme for children) have the largest following among respondents who belonged to the higher-income group, while **Kala Manjari** registered more popularity with the middle-income groups. It is quite possible that the potential Colombo audience for **Kala Manjari** and **Gayana** was skimmed away by ITN.

There is a need for caution in assessing the responses to the question bearing on preference for programme types. It is possible that there might be some discrepancies between measures of interest in certain programme types and actual viewing behaviour. A comparison of data contained in Tables II and III may raise doubts about the professed interest of 53 per cents or the respondents in the programme category — News and Current Affairs. How is it that this interest is not reflected in the replies to the question on preferences for specific programmes? It is likely that the category of programme — News and Current Affairs — was perceived by respondents as a routine type of programme and hence excluded from the range of choices considered relevant for the question bearing on preference for specific programmes. At any rate we have evidence that 99 percent of the respondents view the News Magazine programme, with 47 percent viewing it in all three language media.

The popularity of Sinhala and Tamil films, sports films and locally produced cultural programmes, foreign serials and single features films is reflected in both Tables II and III. What might on the face of it be disturbing to those who have had high aspirations for television as a potentially educative force is the very low interest shown for the category of 'educational programmes', with only two respondents out of 1,594 opting for it. We suspect that 'educational' may have been interpreted to mean hard-core subject teaching and not in the broad sense in which used it in the questionnaire. This is indirectly proved by the fact that a good number of respondents did articulate a definite interest in programmes of the non-formal educational type when they were asked for their views on new programmes. To this question we will return.

Although investigators were encouraged to probe respondents to find out why they liked the specific programme named by them, the responses obtained have not been very illuminating. It is realised that analysing the complex issues of audience appreciation and programme values is a separate research exercise in itself—an exercise best carried out during the mature phase of television viewing in the research tradition of the 'Uses and Gratification' method.

(C) Responses to the News Magazine

Reference has already been made to the general popularity of the News Magazine programmes which take up about 42 minutes of daily SIRC transmission time. There is general approval of the placement and transmission time of the Sinhala, Tamil and English news magazine.

In regard to the composition of the news items, 79 per cent of the respondents reported that the selection of local items was satisfactory, while 21 per cent (the majority of this group of respondents belonged to the higher-income group) declared the selection unsatisfactory. Their main point of criticism was that there was 'hardly anything on non-government activity' in the local news items; they also resented the creation of too many pseudo-events around the

Table II

Patterns of Television Viewing

	Colombo	Outstations	Total	%
Set switched on continuously	359	249	608	38
Set switched on only when there is a good programme and switched off	595	334	929	58
Set switched on when there is a good programme and thereafter kept on continuously	46	11	57	4
	<u>1,000</u>	<u>594</u>	<u>1,594</u>	

Table III

Q: "Among the following categories of programmes, which do you like to view most?"

Programme categories	Colombo	Outstations	Total	%
News and Current Affairs	521	309	830	53
Foreign serials and single feature films	464	197	661	41
Dance and Music Programmes	330	235	565	35
Films (Sinhala & Tamil)	510	309	819	51
Sports programmes	557	244	801	50
Religious programmes	145	116	261	17
Dramas (locally produced)	381	195	576	36
Quiz programmes	104	22	126	8
Educational programmes	2	—	2	.1

Table IV

**Q: "Among the TV programmes you viewed last week —
(A) Which do you like best?
(B) Which programme do you like next best?"**

Colombo District		Outstations	
Programmes	% naming the programme as the best	Programmes	% naming the programme as the best
1. Sinhala/Tamil films	47.3	1. Sinhala/Tamil films	45.1
2. Blake 7/Star Track	33.2	2. Kala Manjarie	36.2
3. ABC Wide World	22.7	3. ABC Wide World	25.3
4. Anna Karenina	16.9	4. Charlie Chaplin	16.8
5. Charlie Chaplin	14.3	5. Musical Programmes (Sinhala Gayana)	14.5
6. Big Valley	13	6. Famous Five	12.1
7. Famous Five	11.9	7. Telly Match	13.5
		8. Anna Karenina	10.3

ritual trivia of politicians inaugurating "development schemes and projects". The few Tamil-speaking respondents among this group expressed disillusionment that cultural events and development news relating to the Northern and Eastern Provinces did not obtain sufficient coverage in the Tamil News Magazine. Since we had not done a content analysis of News Magazine programmes transmitted during the period under reference, it is difficult to assess the correctness of these points of criticism. However, it seems reasonable to assume that these reactions were not just a matter of response bias — of saying what is expected of well-educated, sophisticated respondents.

(To be continued)

Imperialism, . . .

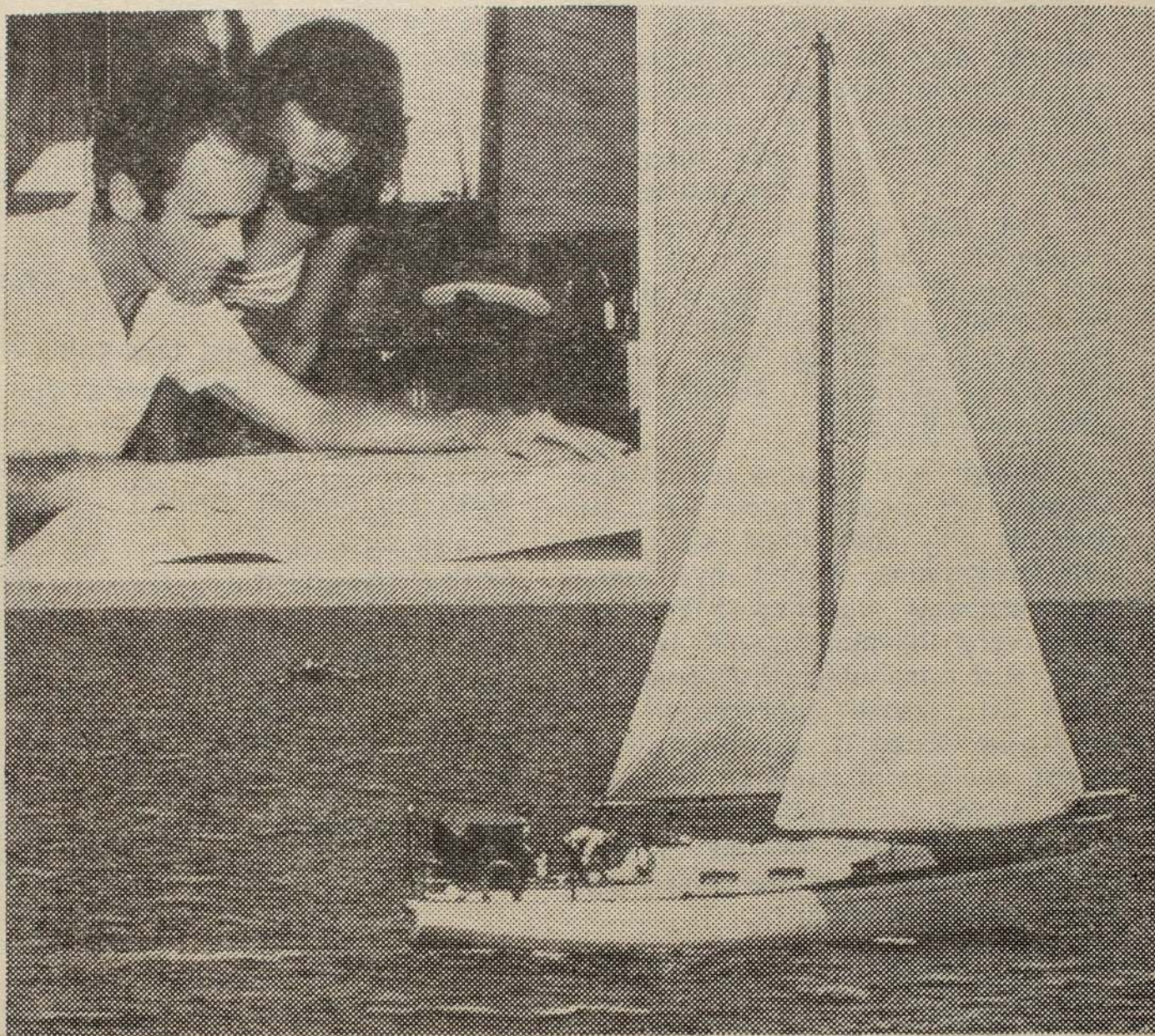
(Continued from page 18)

forces were the **dominant** group in the alliance — and clearly recognized the divergent interests among the anti-imperialists in the post-revolutionary period. In Iran, as in the case of **Cambodia**, the petty-commodity collectivists, with their despotic methods, seized control of the anti-imperialist movement and attempted to reconstruct centralized depotism based on the ideal of small-scale producers; in Iran through private, in Cambodia through collectivist property forms. In both cases, the revolutionary democratic forces who participated in the revolution were not its beneficiaries.

The second issue that is raised by the Iranian experience is the changing nature of the capitalist world-economy. Between 1945 and 1970, U. S. dominance was the primordial fact in defining the structure of the world-economy. It became fashionable to conceptualize world capitalism in terms of a center/periphery, and within certain limits this was a useful, if overly simplistic, conception. Over the last decade and a half, it has become abundantly clear that U.S. dominance of economic and political relations within the capitalist world has been in decline. However, no other capitalist country has been able to replace it.

(To be continued)

John Player Gold Leaf Mild.



John Player.

A great name in cigarettes—
now presents Gold Leaf Mild.
Made from a blend of fine, rich
virginia tobaccos.

Gold Leaf Mild
King Size Filter

Rs. 7/80 for pack of 12 Rs. 13/- for pack of 20

Rich good taste and mildness too.

CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT: GOVERNMENT WARNING: SMOKING CAN BE HARMFUL TO HEALTH.

THE TAMIL PROBLEM

N. Sanmugathasan

If today the demands of the Tamil speaking people are better known both nationally and internationally; if there is a growing respect and support for these demands abroad and increasing understanding among a section of the Sinhalese people; if the government is willing to parley with the M.P.'s representing the Tamils and even grant minor concessions, the chief reason for all this, in my opinion, is **not** the campaign of the T.U.L.F. The main reason is the tactics of armed struggle followed by the more militant sections of the Tamil youth. The T.U.L.F., it seems certain, hangs on to a movement which it can neither direct nor control.

For the first time in Sri Lanka a movement has resorted to extra-parliamentary forms of struggle to achieve its ends. Such methods had been advocated by the Left movement for a long time but had never been put into practice. The only exception was the unsuccessful attempt at insurrection by the J.V.P. in 1971. But the J.V.P. could not carry on a sustained campaign nor were they able to hit their targets successfully for the J.V.P., it is clear, now, was neither well-trained nor well-armed.

For the militant Tamil youth of the "resistance" the qualitative leap forward was the realisation that their aims could **not** be achieved by constitutional or peaceful means but only through armed struggle.

Their highly selective targets were State institutions, members of the security forces hated by the people because of repression, and others who could be branded as 'traitors' or informers.

The next important realisation was that they must win the political support of the people. Without this support, far from being effective, they could not have survived. With the support of the people, these armed groups have reduced the security forces to what a top Army spokesman called "re-active"

While Marxists recognise and appreciate the choice of the correct

The President, an ISLAND report states, intends to appoint a top level Committee of three Ministers to inquire into "all aspects of the Tamil problem and the terrorist issue". Whether the Committee will hold public sittings or call for memoranda from the public, it is too early to say. But the appointment of this top Committee is certain to focus even greater attention of this issue and stimulate a debate that is already intense.

Last month Mr. G. G. (Kumar) Ponnambalam Jr. astonished a Lions Club meeting in Galle by speaking of the "Tamil guerilla fighters" and choosing to place what he called the viewpoint of "the Tamil Tigers to the Sinhala Lions".

In this issue we present the views of Mr N. Sanmugathasan, the veteran Marxist, who founded the Maoist CPC after quitting the Communist party at the height of the Sino-Soviet debate. He was detained during the 1971 insurgency but never tried by the Bandaranaike government.

Mr. N. Sanmugathasan, a founder member of the Communist Party, was General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation. In the early '60s he led a break-way faction from the CP over the Sino-Soviet dispute. As leader of the Ceylon Communist Party he had the closest relations with the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party including Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lai. He was jailed after 1971 insurrection. He has been increasingly critical of Chinese policies and briefly endorsed the Albanian position on international affairs.

He has subsequently rejected the Albanian position and remains a hardcore, Pro-Cultural Revolution, and pro "Gang of Four" Maoist. He helped draft the joint platform of 12 such parties throughout the world. The twelve included Bob Avakian's RCP.

Mr. Sanmugathasan is the author of numerous pamphlets, including "A Marxist looks at the History of Sri Lanka", and "Long Live the Bright Red Banner of Mao Tse Tung Thought".

forms of struggle, the question is:- what next? First there are signs that sections of the leadership of the resistance are drawing near to Marxism-Leninism. Their own underground literature which is sometimes published in the newspapers and seem to be freely circulated in Jaffna and in many places abroad, is evidence of this tendency. What strikes me as most important is a growing expression of the need to win the support of the Sinhalese masses. That was clear in the statement made by Thangathurai at the Colombo High Court and published in most papers.

But how can the Tamils set out to win the support of the Sinhalese people for their just demands? It must be clear even to the meanest intellect that EELAM cannot be won by defeating the Sinhalese in battle. What is the alternative?

The Tamils must realise that the Sinhalese masses (i.e., workers, peasants and intelligentsia) are themselves exploited and repressed by the same reactionary forces. It is the same State that discriminates against and represses the Tamils. Nor can this be called a "pure" Sinhala government. It is the representative of the reactionary forces among the Sinhalese and Tamils alike. Inside it sit leaders like Devanayagam, Thondaman and Rajadurai.

The essential point then is to realise that the Sinhalese masses and the Tamil people are natural allies with a common enemy. It is a measure of the political bankruptcy of all bourgeois Tamil parties, be it the T. C., F. P. or the T.U.L.F. that they failed to realise this and followed tactics and policies which made the Sin-

halese people hostile to them. This must change.

The Tamil people especially the youth must realise that if they are to win the support of the Sinhalese masses, they must formulate demands that are acceptable to the Sinhalese.

The demand for Eelam is one such demand. It is basically unacceptable to the Sinhalese masses because it postulates the division of the country. Cannot the essence of this demand be formulated in any other way? What is it that the Tamils want? They want Tamil to be a national language and to be the language of administration in the predominantly Tamil areas. They want education for their children in Tamil. They desire cultural autonomy. They want the economic development of the Tamil areas so that they can find sufficient job opportunities. Finally,

they want to be protected against forcible state colonisation schemes which would change the ethnic composition of those areas.

It is because the Tamils think that they cannot win these demands inside a unitary state that they have demanded the separate state of Eelam. But the question arises whether these demands cannot be realised under a unitary state but within some form of regional autonomy for the areas traditionally inhabited by the Tamils in the North and East. There are growing signs that an increasing section of the progressive movement among the Sinhalese people can be won over to accept this programme.

If this can be done and the Tamil people be persuaded to drop the extreme demand [of separation, the

possibility emerges for a fruitful partnership between the progressive forces of the Sinhalese and Tamil people. If agreement can be reached on a common programme, there is no force that can stop such an alliance. This is the only hope for the future.

But the Sinhalese revolutionary forces have an **immediate** task. They must unitedly demand that:

- political prisoners should not be tortured and that all political prisoners be released.
- the prevention of Terrorism act be withdrawn; and
- the construction of army camps in the North and East be stopped forthwith, and that the army be withdrawn from the North and East.

TRAVELLING ABROAD ?

UK & EUROPE, AUSTRALIA OR FAR EAST

for the most competitive fares, and travellers cheques

*contact the newest Travel Agency with the most
experienced staff.*

HEMDRUG TRAVELS LTD.

OUTBOUND TRAVEL DEPT.

30/2, BRISTOL STREET, COLOMBO I.

Telephone: 2 2 8 1 3

COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES NATIONALISMS AND PROTEST IN MODERN SRI LANKA

Edited By Michael Roberts

SIZE $5\frac{1}{2}$ X $8\frac{1}{2}$ PAGES 600 + TABLES + MAPS
HARD COVER Rs. 120/- SOFT COVER Rs. 90/-

RELIGIOUSNESS IN SRI LANKA

Edited By John Ross Carter

SIZE $5\frac{1}{2}$ X $8\frac{1}{2}$ PAGES 300
HARD COVER Rs. 60/- SOFT Rs. 45/-

A STATISTICAL SURVEY OF ELECTIONS TO THE LEGISLATURES OF SRI LANKA 1911-1977

G. P. S. H. De Silva

SIZE $5\frac{1}{2}$ X $8\frac{1}{2}$ PAGES 450 + TABLES + MAPS
HARD COVER Rs. 87/50 SOFT COVER Rs. 70/-

**BOOKS THAT SHOULD BE
IN EVERY HOME & LIBRARY**

**THE PUBLICATION UNIT
MARGA INSTITUTE**

61, Isipathana Mawatha,
Colombo 5.

Tel: 85186 / 81514

DRINK THE BEST
ELEPHANT BRAND
SOFT DRINKS

Ceylon Cold Stores Limited