

EXCLUSIVE

Conceptions of World Capitalism

— James Petras

LANKA

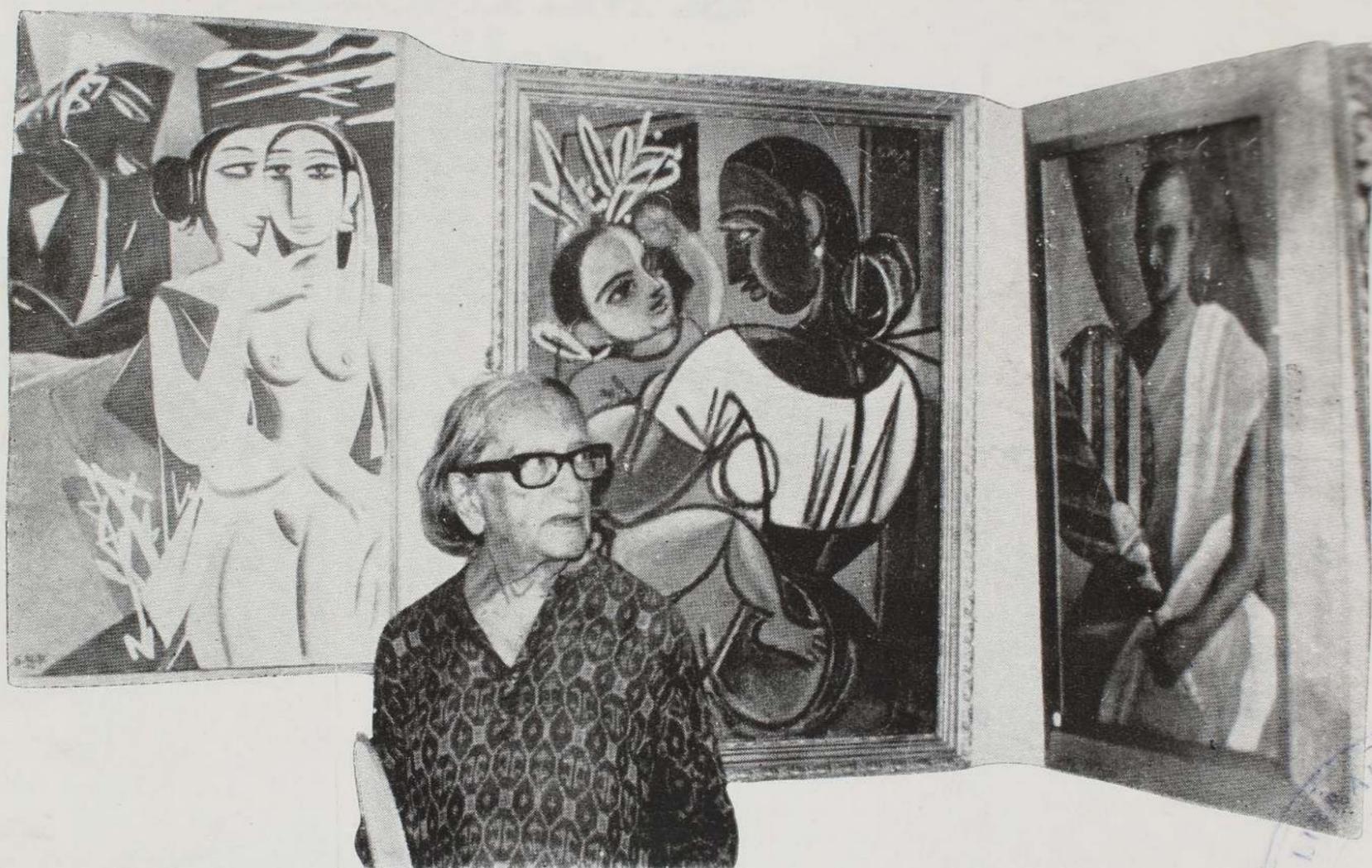
GUARDIAN

Vol. 6 No. 2

May 15, 1983

Price Rs. 3/50

Registered at the GPO, Sri Lanka QJ/75/N/83



ART: Keyt — An Asian Picasso?

— Nihal Rodrigo

IDEOLOGY: The Ghost in the Attic

— Reggie Siriwardena

POLITICS: May 18 Mini Polls and Democracy

— M. de S.

CULTURE: Impact of Communication Technologies

— Neville Jayaweera

BOOKS: Confessions of the Shah's Envoy

— Tariq Ali



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.



THE RISING SUN

Taking note of 'the cassette revolution' (May 1) the L. G. commented on the increasingly pervasive Japanese presence in Sri Lanka, Prime Minister Nakasone's current visit to South-East Asia is not only intended to allay Indonesian-Filipino fears of a resurgent Japanese militarism but to demonstrate that ASEAN is locked into the Japanese economic grid. If overseas Chinese capital created the conditions for ASEAN's "take-off", Japanese trade and technology did the rest.

Judging by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed's remarks at his press conference Sri Lanka's chances of gaining admission to ASEAN in June are quite slim. Sans formal membership, nonetheless, Sri Lanka's economic life is being ASEANIZED. (The political culture may gradually follow the pattern).

One sign of this ASEANIZATION is the news that the privatization of the plantations will soon commence, and the first venture is a joint project with a top Japanese collaborator. 640 acres of tea lands will be leased out to a local firm which has received approval from the Foreign Investment Advisory Committee for this new venture. 200 acres will be cultivated with strawberry, 430 with tea. This is the first lease by Lanka Estate Development Ltd, a recent creation of the government, it has 43,000 acres to lease out,

THUGS AND TIGERS

A passage from an extraordinarily forthright editorial in the **Ceylon Daily News** deserves mention here, though it may not be a trend at all.

"Before we look for terrorist bases beyond our shores, we

might then do well to look — to see where the rot starts at home. If terrorism is to be stamped out in politics, thuggery must be stamped out in every office, school, university and village.

"Those closest to the government must bear a heavy responsibility in this connection. There is precious little use in beating up small fry for minor misdemeanours. Those who give their blessings to vulgar rowdies, who walk across office floors with their sarongs hitched high in the air before them, those who lend their patronage to tuppenny cowards who bask only in the presence of their masters — such dukes and vassals are as guilty of contributing to the breakdown of law and order as gun-toting tigers.

"Liveried piety cannot conceal that truth".

CRM CONCERNED

The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka, presided over by its Chairman the Rt Reverend Lakshman Wickremesinghe, adopted the following resolution.

CRM expresses grave concern at the growing indications of police indiscipline and at the recent spate of complaints of police assaults both in public and at the police station, in particular. It noted:

- * assaults against journalists
- * assault and unlawful detention of a 17 year old boy
- * assaults against women strikers
- * assaults against students
- * death of a suspect held in police custody
- * assaults against pavement hawkers in Colombo
- * assaults by police officers arising out of private disputes between individuals in which the police take one side.

TRENDS
+
LETTERS

Anniversary Message

On the occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the founding of *Lanka Guardian*, I wish, as a researcher and a reader, to convey to you personally, and to the editorial staff, my high appreciation of one of the most distinguished newspapers in South Asia.

Lanka Guardian, during the last five years, has developed into becoming a major newspaper based on an innovative conception of political journalism, providing not only accurate and comprehensive information, but also reports and analysis which go beyond the collection of news and its dissemination. Scholars and academics should be especially grateful since *Lanka Guardian*, has made the most

(Continued on page 24)

LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. 6 No. 2 May 15, 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

News Background	3
The Delhi Summit	6
Global Economic Scene	8
Ideology and materialism	9
Art of George Keyt	11
Imperialism, world economy and Third World	15
Rupavahini audience survey	17
The new communication technologies	19
Race and Nationhood Theories	22
All the Shah's Men	23

Cover Pic. by Kenneth R. Peiris

Printed by Ananda Press
82/5, Wolfendhal Street, Colombo-13.
Telephone: 3 5 9 7 5

France opposes conditions on Namibia independence

PARIS

France yesterday strongly criticised the United States and South Africa for demanding that independence for Namibia (South West Africa) should be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

M Blaude Cheysson, External Relations Minister, speaking at the opening of a United Nations conference on Namibia, said France could not accept the demands and pretexts being placed in the way of independence for the South African-ruled territory.

"This statement, which will most likely be criticised, does not mean my country is unaware of the problems which will come up immediately after independence," he said.

"But it means that accession to independence and the application of the security council's resolution cannot be held up by other considerations.

"It is not appropriate that the Namibian people should serve as hostage to enable neighbouring countries to deal with other matters, however important they may be," Cheysson added.

France, which, like the U.S is a member of the five-nation western contact group on Namibia, has never concealed its opposition to the linkage issue.

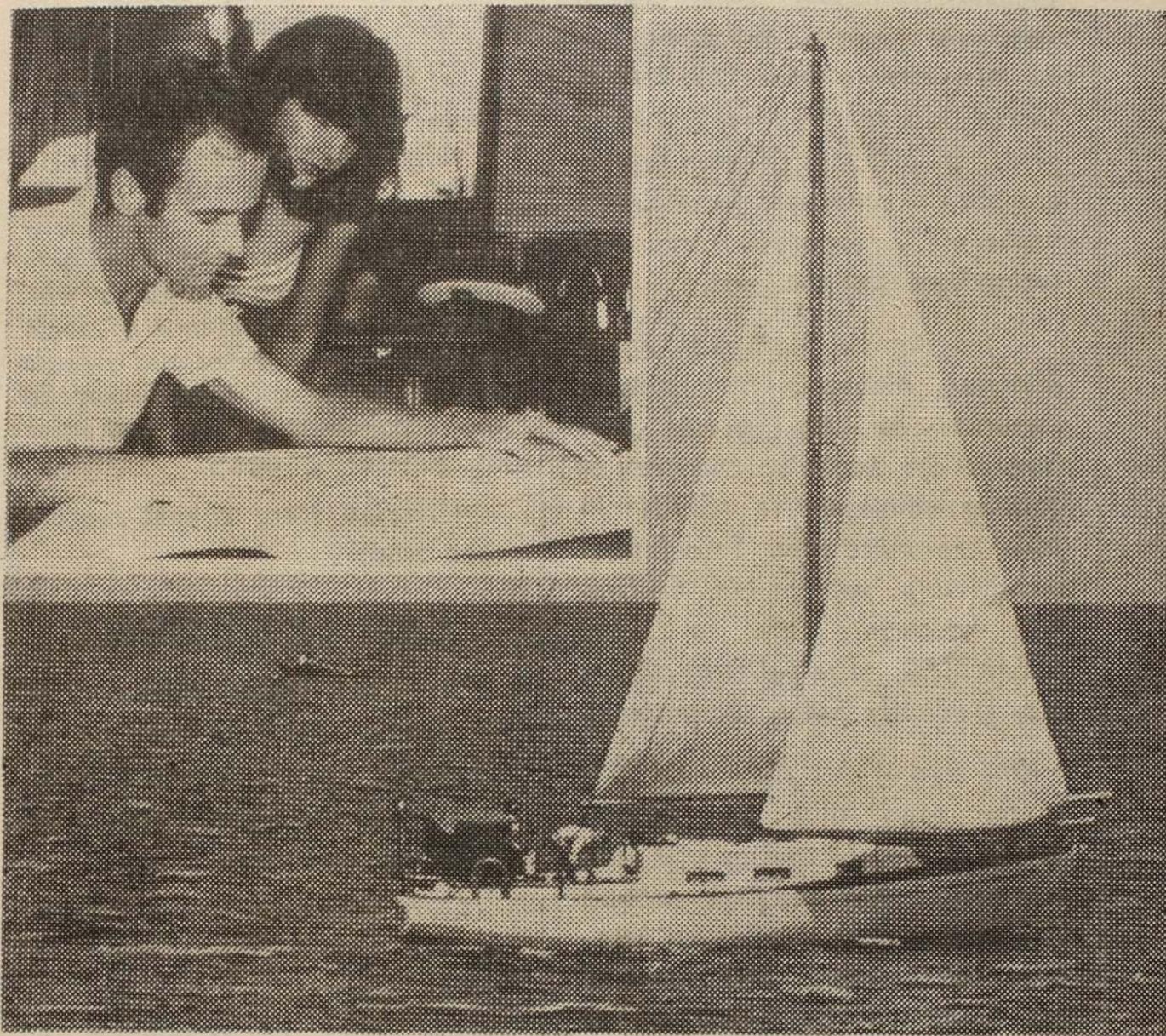
Cheysson said the contact group's three-phase plan for independence had been accepted by South Africa the "front line" African states and the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

He said France did not underestimate the preoccupation of various countries in southern Africa with their security.

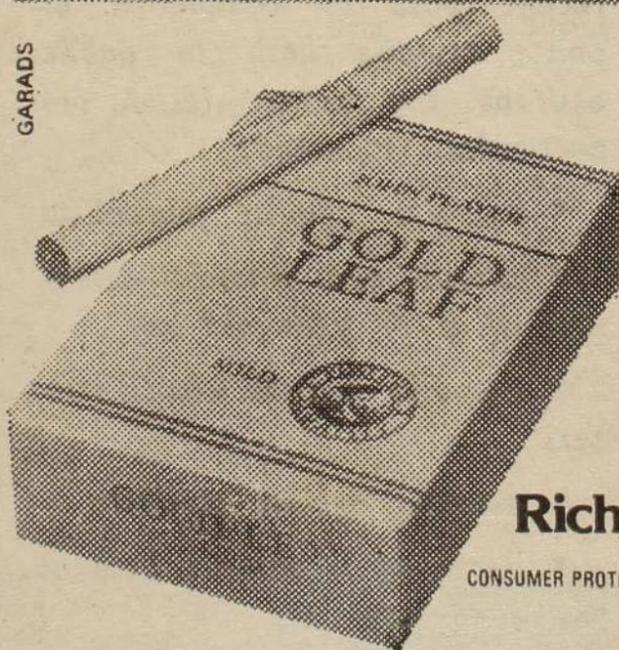
"But we are surprised that some treat it as concerning only the security of the strongest, richest, best-armed state in the region"

— Reuter

John Player Gold Leaf Mild.



GARADS



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

Rich good taste and mildness too.

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

Mini-Polls — a breathing space for Opposition

When President J.R. became the first elected Executive President of Sri Lanka on Oct. 20 nobody seriously questioned the legality or the legitimacy of the Presidency. When it was decided not to hold a general election but to have a referendum to extend the life of a House elected in July 1977 to August 1989, the legality of the move was challenged. In the end, that question was settled by a Supreme Court verdict of 4 to 3. Only jurists and academics persist in debating it.

While the conditions in which the December 22 referendum was held led to a barrage of allegations and strongly worded charges by Opposition parties, civil rights organisations, trade unions and some sections of the clergy, the central issue was that of legitimacy. If beauty lies in the eye of the beholder, legitimacy lies in the minds of the people. One fact is simply undeniable because it is a matter of arithmetic. It was distressingly obvious from the non-UNP vote in October and December that a House in which the UNP continued to have over 140 seats out of 168 did not reflect electoral opinion. The result was a credibility gap.

Would the UNP ignore this stark fact and hope that people will quietly learn to live with it or would the government find some way to close the gap a bit?

It was only 2 years ago that Sri Lanka celebrated 50 years of universal franchise. And Her Majesty the Queen joined in those Golden Jubilee celebrations. But by December '82, the doors of parliament in what was widely regarded as a vibrant Third World pluralist democracy were effectively shut for almost seven years.

Is it, asked an Indian Journalist in the, interests of the government to hold so many by-elections in an obviously uncongenial economic

climate? No, replied the President. Then, in whose interests? this writer asked. Answering that second question, Mr. Jayewardene said: "In the interests of democracy".

When the opposition is not fairly and adequately represented, when the expression of non-UNP and anti-government views is severely or artificially curtailed, dissent can no longer be open. Feeling suppressed, dissent must sooner or later find other channels of expression. History is too full of examples of what happens next. Dissent goes underground — and frequently opposition leaders and spokesmen too. And we enter another realm of politics.

Such a situation not only sounds the death-knell of a lively democracy but constitutes a serious danger to the administration itself. That is one indisputable lesson of modern history, although the same history leaves some questions unanswered — such as the manner in which the danger expresses itself, and the time-frame in which it moves to the moment of climatic explosion.

Clear Pattern

But the pattern that modern history has laid out is clear and educative: sudden, unpredictable, seemingly irrational eruptions, periods of relative calm, often deceptive, labour unrest, student agitation, lawlessness, terrorism, sectarian strife, popular uprisings, insurgencies, guerilla warfare, insurrections, civil war and revolution.

In the Third World, and even in the in-between world, countries which have gone through some stages of this historical experience, are today watching regimes and elites retracing some steps in striving to restore civilian rule, re-introduce some democratic processes and permit a much freer interplay of opinion. From Turkey to Thailand, in Spain, Portugal and Greece, and

even in Latin America, the continent of the junta, this effort at change, however fitful, tardy or short-lived, is evident. It represents a recognition, however belated, that the human and social cost of regimentation is too much to bear. And, as far as the dominant elites are concerned, can be counter-productive in dangerously incalculable ways.

In its slow and steady evolution as a pluralist democracy, Sri Lanka has been a notable exception. But unless one believes in divine benediction, we cannot forget that the rule is always stronger than the exception.

It is difficult and often misleading to 'date' processes. The strains on the system became quite visible from 1971 onwards, from the insurrection and the emergency, particularly the emergency which soon became a matter of everyday life, thus converting the abnormal to the normal.

Then came the 1972 constitution which the TULF and the Tamils in general say was the breaking-point. 1972 also meant the extension of parliament's term by two years.

Structural Change

The holding of a general election in 1977 is taken as a step which in some way mitigates the worst excesses of 1971 onwards, in terms, that is, of preserving the old democracy. To my mind, what is more important is that the holding of a free and fair election at which the government was soundly beaten meant that there had been no fundamental rupture with the past, no system-change or structural shift. Does the 1978 constitution and more dramatically the referendum mark such a structural change? Or, are we, as these by-elections may demonstrate, in an intermediate stage?

It would be extremely naive however to see these highly significant socio-political changes as a

purely **internal** matter and as the imposition of a conscious design by individual leaders of governing groups. These changing realities simply cannot be isolated from **external** circumstances, and the initiators of these changes are as much the creatures of such circumstance as masterful moulders of new institutional forms.

The most crucial of such circumstances is the ever-worsening global economic situation dramatised in our case by the mounting balance of payments problem. (See "IMF's DEMANDS"). In the tightening grip of this problem, Third World elites, even the most well-intentioned, find themselves increasingly helpless in meeting mass expectations, and fulfilling the aspirations of a new generation whose horizons of hope have been winded by education, and whose demands for social justice and a better life have therefore stronger moral impulse and urgency.

Though no substitute whatever for a general election, these by-elections (and their result) must be seen, I think, in this perspective.

TULF

In a sense, the situation in the North, and the predicament of the TULF illustrates the general points made earlier.

Since its inception, the TULF has been, and has been accepted as, the legitimate voice of the Tamil constituency, of the north certainly, and of the east up to a point. The TULF is in parliament and by an electoral quirk in fact is the main opposition party. It dominates the local bodies in the north and its immediate environs.

In 1977 the TULF raised the single slogan of "EELAM" and rode to power with consummate ease. "Eelam" is the public platform of the main opposition party and of the Leader of the Opposition, whose office is constitutionally recognised, and whose official services are paid for by the State.

The TULF too faces a credibility gap, the gap between the rhetoric and the reality — the gap which the clandestine armed bands responsible for the killings in the north want to close in their own fashion.

Were the killings only a murderous message to Tamil UNP'ers or an indirect communication to the TULF too? Some news reports said that there was a direct warning to a top TULF man in Jaffna who had to be prevailed upon by the party hierarchy not to announce his withdrawal from the contest.

What are the 'Tigers', or whoever, seeking to achieve? Are they trying to disrupt the polls or have them cancelled? Then, the TULF will be out of the local bodies, which in any case will be non-functioning a direct blow to representative "government" at the local level. If that is the aim, then the next step would be get the TULF out of parliament, too.

The Tamils will then have no voice in the legislature or the local bodies. The parliamentary path would be closed. Extra-parliamentary activism will be the only mode of Tamil politics, and the general character of that particular Tamil "voice" we already know — staccato in style, a deadly brevity in content.

The TULF is really Colombo's safety-valve.

SLFP

So is the SLFP.

When the announcement of by-elections to 20 odd seats was made, there were three reactions:

a) Though it was strictly an internal matter, observers wondered what principle of selection (and method of exclusion) would be adopted. Finally, it came down to 18 with a few shifts here and there, and Panadura "pre-empted".

b) the total exclusion of the Eastern province, where the UNP had hardly fared well, was marked and inwardly digested. No possibilities for the TULF.

c) The point of the exercise was an ingenious compromise, (partly from a concern for a credible parliamentarism but partly self-serving) between the need to afford more adequate representation to the Opposition and the need to retain a secure two-thirds majority, the symbolic guarantee of stability and the mechanism for executive control.

Bearing (b) in mind, it was widely held that the UNP may actually want the SLFP to replace the TULF as the leading Opposition party. That meant at least 10-12 seats for the SLFP, with the reported re-admission of the Maitri group.

Can the SLFP win 10 seats? Will it be allowed to do so?

Weighed down by a myriad miseries, a woe-begone SLFP leadership traces all its tribulations to Mrs. B's loss of civic rights, the **causa causans**. Indisputably that was a crippling blow. But surely the party could still have recovered from it if only the leadership was capable of meeting the UNP challenge. The SLFP then introduces a new plea. The UNP plotted to divide (the party and cause havoc in its ranks. Largely true, but it is a valid argument? Surely it is the duty of a political party to do its utmost to cause disaffection and dissension in the camp of its "main enemy"? Did not the SLFP try to exploit differences between Mr. Dudley Senanayake and his deputy? And what of that by-election petition? Wasn't it a clever trap to immobilise a UNP stalwart?

The UNP is entitled to its wiles and strategems. The SLFP had to match the guile of its enemy. It failed miserably. Greed for power and its perpetuation, arrogance and petty squabbles, intrigue and distrust at the top, family feuds and factionalism were as much the cause of the SLFP's woes as the UNP's game-plans. The SLFP leadership committed the cardinal error of any political party. Its struggle against the UNP was subordinated to the struggle for succession and power within the party. The SLFP has nobody to blame but itself, and the SLFP supporters, a vast flock minus a shepherd, has none to curse but its own selfish and self centred leaders.

Does that give naught but comfort for the UNP? Will the UNP unleash a referendum-type blitzkrieg or confine it, if at all, to selected targets? A blitzkrieg which will reduce the SLFP to a few seats will be self-defeating. The whole point of the exercise will be lost.

(Continued on page 14)

IMF demands

Are the good times over? Certainly, the spending spree must stop. The I. M. F., which calls the shots, has got tough, and the government has yet to make up its mind what to do. If it accepts the I. M. F.'s conditions, inflation which the Central Bank claims is now single digit, will hurt an even wider section of the population, including the poorest third now living just above the starvation line, thanks to the Food Stamps Scheme. If it does not bow to the IMF, then it means brakes on liberalisation and the open economy—import curbs, tighter exchange etc.

This report from Alain Cass, Asia Editor of the F. T. gives the background:

SRI LANKA is facing unexpected resistance from the IMF over its request for a \$200m standby credit to bridge a severe balance of payments gap.

Senior Sri Lankan officials, disappointed at the Fund's lack of response to recent austerity measures, are to have talks in Washington this week in a bid to conclude a deal swiftly.

The Fund is understood to want a devaluation of the rupee, which now stands at 23 to the U.S. dollar. It is also worried at the recent rate of increase in wage levels, and want to see more pruning of public expenditure.

Agreement to the standby facility is seen as crucial by Sri Lanka. In effect it puts a stamp of approval on the country's economic policies and paves the way for further loans from the World Bank, other multilateral institutions as well as private banks.

Mr. Ronnie de Mel, the country's Finance Minister, who will lead the talks in Washington, outlined further cuts in his April budget speech including reduced subsidies, a freeze on all new projects and tighter monetary and fiscal policies.

Sri Lanka faces a payments deficit of \$1.5bn this year. There is concern that if the Fund demands further restrictive measures, Sri Lanka may have to reverse some of the liberalisation measures introduced in 1977.

Trinco and U.C. polls

TULF Secretary General and leader of the Opposition A. Amirthalingam said last week that the leasing out of the oil tanks at China Bay was now playing a vital role in the politics of the country.

Addressing a TULF elections rally at Trincomalee in support of the TULF candidates contesting the forthcoming elections to the Trincomalee Urban Council on Thursday Mr. Amirthalingam said: "Trincomalee had attracted foreign powers who were eyeing the oil tanks as it would place them in strategic position in a war situation.

"An attempt to lease out the oil tanks to a USA company was dropped midway due to vehement opposition. Now it had taken a different turn. An Indian firm has also tendered to get the lease of

oil tanks. Other tenderers were US firms" Mr. Amirthalingam said.

Mr. Amirthalingam continuing said that he had demanded in Parliament that the oil tanks should be given on lease to a country belonging to the Nonaligned movement. Leasing out to a foreign power other than a Nonaligned country would cause immense harm to the sovereignty of the country at a time of war.

"As Trincomalee plays an important role in this issue, the Trincomalee Urban council should come into the hands of the TULF which opposes the move of leasing out of the oil tanks to a foreign power.

"To show opposition to this move, people of Trincomalee should vote for the TULF at the forthcoming elections to the Trincomalee UC" Mr. Amirthalingam stressed.

— (SUN)

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

Israel, South Africa, US : NAM's counter-linkages

Mervyn de Silva

ASEAN's attempt at establishing "linkages" (Kampuchea-Afghanistan, USSR-Cuba-Vietnam) which would serve the propagandist and policy interests of the West (and, partly China) collapsed for the two reasons I stated in my last article. Two key member states Pakistan and Indonesia whose active support was essential to sustain such a concerted attack did not cooperate fully. On the contrary, each played its own game, notably Pakistan. Without Pakistan the linkage collapsed.

Far from tying up the Afghan issue with Kampuchean representation, Pakistan did not even press the Afghanistan question with anything like the determination it had displayed at the Foreign Ministers conference in Delhi in 1981. Instead, its agitated concern to resolve the refugee problem and in seeking this to help clear the path to a "political settlement" led Pakistan to engage in a quiet diplomacy of its own—principally, through direct and indirect contacts with India, Afghanistan and the USSR. (The indirect approach was facilitated by the ongoing mediation efforts of Diego Cordovez, Mr. Cuellar's personal envoy, and the Secretary-General's own personal initiatives, both at Delhi and later in Moscow.)

In a formal sense, Indonesia closed ranks with Singapore and Malaysia, and took the same line at Delhi. But Djakarta's different perception of "stability" in Indo-China prompted an approach which was by no means identical to that of its ASEAN partners, and certainly not as strident in its articulation of the ASEAN line. Djakarta regards China as the 'main danger' to the region whereas Singapore and Malaysia identify Vietnam as the principal threat, while having a working (if temporary) alliance with Peking on the Kampuchean issue and the Sihanouk-led, Peking-based anti-Vietnam coalition. The passing reference to East Timor (occupied by Indonesian troops) by the Vietnamese Foreign Minister may also have made the Indonesians realise that the

propagandist attack on "foreign forces" could cut both ways.

As against these attempted linkages, the NAM established others.

But before I pass on to that, a general observation.

What are the problems which most preoccupy the nonaligned/Third World? First, the all-encompassing economic problems arising from the global recession. In as much as this 'crisis' is structural, the best that the Third World can do, even if it mobilised its political will effectively, is to demand reform of the system which has produced the problems. But the system has been created, and is controlled and managed by the industrialised north.

Given the diversity of the NAM and the vastly varied ideological orientation of the political elites who govern the Third World countries, a really effective mobilisation of the collective political will is well-nigh impossible. The only force which compels these leaderships to make even a token effort in that direction (i.e. the mobilisation of the collective will) is pressure from below, pressure from mass demands and expectations.

In short, the NAM (like Group of 77) is forced into the situational role of a not-too powerful trade union. Though it maximises its demands, its real hope is to get something. Conversely, the rich nations, playing the employer, use divisive tactics in order to make certain that the level of unity and united action is low. Their method is carrot and stick, and their tactic is to deal with each country **bilaterally**. In that way, blandishment and open bribe, threat and coercion is more effective.

On the Third World side, it is rhetorical bark and begging bowl, high-sounding demands for **radical** change but quiet, backstage negotiations for **modest** concessions.

It is in this broad framework that the NAM's Economic Declaration

must be viewed—its **basic** demand for the resumption of global negotiations and its **allied** demand for **interim** measures—on debt, trade and protectionism, aid, IMF and World Bank etc.

Political Linkages

It is in the sphere of politics, however, that counter-linkages were established which gave the Delhi summit's conclusions an anti-American character that both surprised and infuriated a Washington which had confidently expected a change of tone and a shift of emphasis in the passage from Havana to Delhi; a confidence evidently fortified by the Indian draft declaration which had considerably diluted the anti-US criticism so strongly present in the Managua communique two months earlier.

Is it Kampuchea or Afghanistan which dominate the thinking of a majority of NAM members? Not at all. There are **three main** focal points of **regional** pressure: the Middle east (the Arab world vs. Israel) Namibia and Southern Africa (the black African states vs South Africa) and Nicaragua/El Salvador and Central America (the Latins vs the U. S.).

Even well-informed observers of the NAM fail to appreciate fully the important connection between these regional issues and the NAM's decision-making process (consensus) which is regionally determined.

While there may be—and in fact, there are—many differences between the Arab states even on a solution to the Palestinian problem, there is unanimity (at least in public) on Israel and on the rights of the Palestinians.

Again, the OAU has differences of opinion and even long-standing conflicts, but on Namibian independence, the OAU speaks with one voice. And there the consensus is in effect founded on the views of the front-line states, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

So, with Central America.

The Delhi summit took on an anti-US coloration not only because the US, Israel and South Africa were isolated for special censure, but because linkages were established between the US and Israel, the US and South Africa, Israel and South Africa, Israel and the repressive regimes and juntas in Latin America, and these in turn with the U. S.

A few quotes from and references to the Delhi Declaration itself will illustrate my point.

NAMIBIA

"The Conference most categorically rejected the linkage or parallelism being drawn by the US administration between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and its (US) continued insistence constitutes an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of People Republic of Angola" (para 48)

SOUTH AFRICA

"The continued collaboration of certain western countries and

Israel with the South African regime in this (nuclear) field as well as the investments and economic assistance being given by them to South Africa have only encouraged that regime in its intransigence" (para 53)

"The conference condemned the US policy of 'constructive engagement' which is aimed at countering the international campaign for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa' (para 57)

"The heads of State expressed deep concern about persistent reports of attempts by some Latin American countries to form a so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) in the conjunction with the racist regime of S. A." (para 58)

ISRAEL

"The Conference condemned all those (Israel) policies and particularly the policy of the US, which help Israel to continue its occupation of the Arab territories of Palestine" (para 104 d)

Other sub-sections noted the US use of the veto in the Security Council to protect Israel and expressed "deep concern" at the establishment of a 'strategic alliance' between the US and Israel.

CENTRAL AMERICA

"They considered that Central America faced a serious political, social and economic crisis brought about for the most part by the traditional repressive power structure and national economic structures that produce poverty, inequality and misery, and aggravated by the interference and intervention to which those countries have been subjected since the end of the last century" (para 133)

"... the processes of change in Central America could not be attributed to or explained by an East-West ideological confrontation" (para 136)

"These were considered part of a deliberate plan to harass and destabilise that country (Nicaragua) as has been acknowledged by a foreign power" (para 137)

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.



Global economic scene — anything but promising

Roberto Alvarez Quinones

BACK IN times of ancient Troy, Homer tells us that Princess Cassandra, daughter of Priam, liked to foretell misfortunes and tragedies. That poet writes that when Cassandra sat down to show off her talents as a prophetess, it made people tremble or commend themselves to the gods.

As time went by, the name of that princess turned into a symbol and became a synonym of "sinister prophet," "oracle of disaster" or "bird of ill omen."

In our day and age of computers, spaceships and laser rays, to predict unfortunate events is no longer the business of oracles or fiction figures but rather the domain of science. And as such, one should take it very seriously.

This is why the prediction for world capitalist economy made by specialized agencies for 1983 are so disquieting. It is the main subject of conversation among bourgeois politicians, industrialists, economists and ideologues, and the issue most frequently dealt with by the press in general. Everybody is beginning to fear an aggravation of the economic crisis that is shaking the West.

Such general uneasiness is readily understandable if one reads studies and reports being made by some of the most prominent international economic institutions.

Recently Great Britain's National Institute for Economics and Social Research asserted that the capitalist world will be unable to return to the era of economic growth either within a few years or even further ahead. This well-known institution bases its prediction on the extraordinary, drastic decline in the labour productivity growth rate in the industrialized capitalist countries.

The Institute coincides with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OCED) on the fact that during 1982 overall production in 24 industrialized capitalist countries receded by 3 percent and that for 1983 and 1984, the rate will be no higher than one or two percent.

Robin Matthews, professor at Cambridge University in England and member of the above mentioned institute, stated that a reduction in the labour productivity growth rate like the one registered over the last ten years is unprecedented in times of peace in the capitalist world.

In the United States, the No. 1 capitalist power, the labour productivity growth rate has dropped from 22 to 4 percent in the last 10 years. In Japan it went from 85 percent in 1973 to 3 percent in 1982; In the Federal Republic of Germany the reduction was from 4.5 to 3.5 percent and in Great Britain, from 2.5 to 1.5 percent.

Almost simultaneously with the English institute, the AWI Research Institute in Essen (Federal Republic of Germany), which is one of the most important in the Western world, announced that there will be no recovery for the capitalist economy in 1983.

According to AWI production in the Western industrialized countries in 1983 will be lower than that of 1982. It says, for example, that the Gross National product of the FRG will drop by 1 percent in real terms; in Switzerland it will go down 5 percent, and France will have a zero growth. In the other major capitalist countries growth will fluctuate between 1 and 1.5 percent. The AWI study adds that in most Western nations the public debt will become even worse and it will be accompanied by a standstill in economic deve-

lopment—a combination.

Along similar lines, the vice president of the Bank of America—the biggest private capitalist bank in the world—said on January 12, 1983, that world capitalist economy is approaching a period of the slowest growth in history.

The most alarming feature of this grim economic panorama in the capitalist countries is the endless increase of unemployment, which has reached levels unheard of since the Great Depression in 1929-33.

In an analysis of the acute problem of growing unemployment, the International Labour Organization (ILO) states that this has become the greatest concern of Western industrialized countries and those of the Third World alike.

Although the ILO has not yet completed its compilation of data on the rise in unemployment in 1982, it is known from available ILO surveys that in the industrialized West there are now over 34 million people unemployed and some 500 million in the underdeveloped countries.

Francis Branchard, director-general of ILO's International Labor Office, said that the upsurge of unemployment today has become a matter for greater concern than the problem of inflation has been so far for most Western governments. He pointed out that by the end of this century it will be necessary to create about 1000 million jobs. This fact makes people's hair stand on end since it's obvious that far from making progress in achieving the goal of 1000 million new jobs, which is what will be needed owing to the growth of world population up to the year 2000, what is happening is precisely the opposite: unemployment is rising year after year.

(Continued on page 24)

The ghost in the attic

by Reggie Siriwardena

In the two-storeyed house with base and superstructure that classical Marxism built, there was a ghost in the attic. That ghost was ideology. The metaphor comes straight out of Marx and Engels in **The German Ideology**: 'We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process. The phantoms formed in the human brain are also, necessarily, sublimates of their material life-process ...' **Phantoms, echoes, sublimates, reflexes, reflections** — the effect of this body of metaphors in classical Marxism was to disembodiment and dematerialise ideology. It is one of the creative achievements of the new currents of Marxism of the last two decades that they have given the phantom of ideology a flesh-and-blood presence. And in the light of this development, we can now see that what was fundamentally inadequate about the way in which classical Marxism saw ideology was simply that it was not materialist enough.

What was regarded as the 'base' of a social formation — referred to alternatively as 'the material base' and 'the economic base' — in classical Marxism? 'The mode of production of material life' was the answer given in Marx's 1859 Preface to **A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy**. Base 'determined' superstructure; the mode of production 'determined' the ideological forms which were located in the superstructure. But ideology doesn't come into existence simply as a passive reflection of external reality in men's minds. Ideology is **produced** through the labour of armies of writers, media-men, artists, scientists, teachers, priests, politicians and also through the activities of millions of other people in family and social relations. (It will be clear from this series of articles that the reach of ideology extends far beyond the realm of the overtly political.)

Let us first consider the forms of ideological production represented by the specialised activity of the professional makers are reproducers of ideology referred to in the last paragraph. Classical Marxism situated their activity in the superstructure, as opposed to that of producers of, say, steel or textiles which entered into the economic base. This suggests that the separation between base and superstructure in the classical Marxist scheme corresponded to the division between mental and physical labour in capitalist societies. That division is real, though never absolute (for, as Marx himself recognised in **Capital**, all human labour is conscious labour). The error lies, however, in supposing that the division between physical and mental labour is also a division between the material and the immaterial.

Ideological production and consumption (which together constitute 'communication') cannot take place except by means of acts of speech, words written and printed, movements of the human body, drawn and painted images, carved and moduled forms in stone and metal, images and sounds imprinted on and reproduced from celluloid film and tape or transmitted through electromagnetic waves — all of which are material productions.

Perhaps the objection will be raised that these material entities and processes are only the vehicles for the transmission of ideology, and that the substance of ideology consists of the concepts or ideas conceived by the communicator and received by reader, viewer or listener. I shall return to this objection (whose fallacies derive from certain idealist preconceptions) later in these articles, when I discuss the role of sign-systems in the formation of ideology. For the present I shall say merely that one could just as well argue that what a potter produces is not the material pot that he moulds but the pot he saw in his mind's eye when he

designed it. Potters produce pots, weavers produce textiles, artists produce paintings, film makers produce films, journalists produce newspapers, writers produce books — none of these productions can be substituted for by a subjective entity in the mind of the producer.

I must now point out that not only is the productive activity of all professional makers of ideology a form of material production, but also that an important part of it (that of media-men, writers and many many artists) is situated, as far as capitalist societies are concerned, within economic relations of production, distribution and exchange. In a footnote in the **Grundrisse** (Penguin edition, p. 305), Marx came to the conclusion that a piano-maker was 'a productive worker', but a piano-player was not. Presumably, Marx would have assigned the piano-maker's labour to the 'base', and the piano-player's to 'superstructure'. This may have seemed plausible in Victorian Britain, where pianists were often gentlemen and lady amateurs. But a corresponding distinction would be impossible to maintain today, when information, culture, and entertainment are commodities dealt in by giant capitalist industries.

Marginally, of course, we have what might be called artisan modes of production surviving in cultural activity (intellectuals producing little magazines on duplicating machines or hand-presses, for instance), and a good deal of visual art in the traditional forms of painting and sculpture is still produced in this way. However, even these products usually enter into the capitalist economy at the point of distribution and exchange. But the dominant forms of ideological communication in contemporary capitalist societies — books, newspapers, films, radio, TV — are produced by capitalist industries, and this makes the traditional Marxist distinction between base and superstructure all the more difficult to sustain. For these industries are contained within

the mode of economic production, but what they are engaged in producing is simply — ideology.

What I have been discussing so far is the production of ideology by specialists — those whose professional activity and working life are subsumed in this activity. I turn now to the second mode of production of ideology to which I referred: the activity of the broad mass of people in family and social relations.

In *Capital* (Vol. I, Ch. 23) Marx wrote:

'The capital given in exchange for labour-power is converted into necessaries, by the consumption of which the muscles, nerves, bones and brains of existing labourers are reproduced, and new labourers are begotten... The maintenance and reproduction of the working class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave its fulfilment to the labourer's instincts of self-preservation and of propagation.'

The maintenance of existing workers and reproduction of a new generation of workers takes place primarily within the institution of the family. However, the family does more than reproduce the bodies and

labour-power of workers. It is in the family that the child first learns to act within certain relations of subordination and obedience and to conduct himself in appropriate ways towards authority — especially, in patriarchal societies, that of the father. He is thus prepared for the positions in which he will be placed later in relation to employer, state and church. It is also in the family that the child is first adapted for the distinct gender roles of a patriarchal society, through the different ways in which he is brought to relate himself to father and mother and to conduct himself as 'boy' or 'girl'.

What is often described as the 'socialising' function of the family, is therefore, in fact a process of ideological reproduction, which is just as vital for the maintenance of the existing relations and practices of the social formation as the physical reproduction of which Marx spoke in *Capital*.

This ideological reproduction, begun in the family, is continued and extended in school, place of worship, workplace and other sites of various social practices. Thus we see that a dominant ideology is not just a set of ideas in people's heads but is, in one of its most important aspects, a body of material practices and activities

through which people are brought to relate themselves to each other and to the conditions of their existence in the specific ways that are necessary for the reproduction of the social formation.

Schooling does not consist only of the ideas that are transmitted through texts and lessons: it includes the relationships of command and obedience between teacher and pupil, competitive activity in the classroom and the playing field, and training in modes of behaviour that are prescribed as appropriate for 'well-conducted' children. Religion does not consist only of theologies and other doctrines (whose intricacies are accessible only to a minority of believers): it means people going to temple, offering flowers, praying in church, etc. The factory, too, is not only a place where economic production takes place: the daily work relations into which the worker enters are also modes of ideological reproduction. As Althusser said: 'When we speak of ideology, we must realise that ideology seeps through all human activity and that it is identical with the very "lived experience" of human existence.'

Next: The sign — arena of struggle.

FOR WELL OVER A HALF A CENTURY

ARISTONS HAVE BUILT UP

GLOBAL REPUTATION IN THE FIELD OF EXPORTS AS WELL AS IMPORTS

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

HEAD OFFICE

ARISTONS LTD

5, Gower Street
Colombo 5.

ARISTONS TOURS

No. 5, Gower Street,
COLOMBO 5.

EXPORT DEPARTMENT

140, Front Street,
COLOMBO 11.

Phone: 88436, 82102, 81036

Cables: 'TURNTIDE'

Telex: 21302 RUWANI

FIFTY-SIX YEARS OF THE ART OF GEORGE KEYT

Reflections on a retrospective

Nihal Rodrigo

A group of George Keyt admirers organised a Retrospective Exhibition of the artist's work at the Lionel Wendt Gallery from 18 to 24 April to commemorate his 82nd birthday. Millers Ltd. funded the basic costs, and proceeds from the modest three rupee catalogue sales were for the CNAPT. Refreshingly enough, there was no elaborate lamp-lighting, ribbon-cutting opening ceremony. George Keyt, mercifully recovered from a recent illness, honoured the Retrospective with his presence at a Preview—the day before the exhibition opened to the public. He said a few words as did Bernard Soysa, Chairman of the George Keyt Felicitation Committee which published a well illustrated book on the artist in 1977.

The 114 works exhibited were selectively culled from what was described as "private collections". This was interesting in that the 114 pieces were all owned by a relatively small number of collectors, virtually all of them in Colombo.

Sri Lanka has few galleries or museums which have paintings and drawings on permanent display. The Art Gallery (which incidentally, does boast a Keyt or two) and one or two commercial galleries primarily catering to "better class" tourists, are all we have.

Drawing room walls in Colombo and the suburbs, apart from calendars, religious pictures and wedding photographs, seem to show a marked preference for colour photographs of landscapes (mostly western): batik caricatures of Sigiriya frescoes (mostly gross); other suitably decorous semi-nudes (mostly Western-printed but curiously concentrating on black and oriental women): pictures of "sweet" babies

(white) and of late, wall clocks with psychedelic lighting effects. Despite the atmosphere of free imports, traders have not bothered to import prints of Indian or other paintings. Quality prints of Sri Lankan paintings (even of the Sigiriya frescoes) are virtually non-existent in the market and one must wait until some enlightened public corporation Chairman decides to promote our art through diaries or calendars.

Notwithstanding the fairly frequent holding of exhibitions of paintings in Colombo, the hanging of originals (or even prints) of paintings is not popular and the market for paintings is very limited and elite-oriented. Cost is surely not the sole or even the central cause although Sri Lanka's 'well known' artists are indeed rather expensive. In newspaper and other media coverage of art exhibitions, more space is usually given to the colour-coordination in the ensemble of Mrs. XYZ "seen" at the gala

opening night, and to the VIP opening the exhibition than to the artist or his pictures on the wall.

Given this general context, the survival of George Keyt has been a very happy miracle. For over a half century, not only has Keyt lived for his paintings, but has painted for a living. He runs no school, owns no gallery, conducts no business, has no publicity officer and has no political patronage—he does not even organize his own exhibitions.

Keyt is also unique as a living nexus between the main-stream of traditional Sri Lankan/South Asian art and the movement of modern art. To say this does not in any way detract from the achievements of other contemporary painters in Sri Lanka like Richard Gabriel, Stanley Kirinde, Tilake Abeyasinghe, Ivan Pieris, S. H. Sarath, Upasena Gunewardene.

But the fact is, as Prof. Ashley Halpe wrote in an article on

*"For everything palpitates here.
The sandal-coloured limbs pulse with ichor.
The green is brighter than a parrot's plumage
and takes off. The yellows are a quest for hight.
The palette vibrates with the warmth of flesh-tones
and overwhelms the senses
like the bursting of a musk-pod"*

— Keki Daruwalla, "The World of George Keyt"

"I would like to buy a Keyt, but how can I afford one?"

— Senior Sri Lankan public servant

"I want him (her Husband) to buy a Keyt painting, but he has to do so much entertaining and people will say all sorts of things if we hang one of those erotic paintings in our living room"

— Wife of company executive

"Is Keyt typically Sri Lankan?"

— Foreign diplomat looking for something to buy before leaving Sri Lanka.

modernity and alienation in Sri Lankan art, there is a lack of communication between "tradition-based artists and studio artists; and between the urban, westernized frequenters of Colombo exhibitions and the mass of Sri Lanka who characteristically experience art, of whatever quality, in the course of participation in ritual, pooja or public event". Prof. Ashley Halpe goes on to point out that the "forward-looking artist" has been at the mercy of "the tastes and prejudices of a very small part of the population ... (about) 3% and not all who belonged to this minority have been of course concerned for art". While Messrs Metro, Goldwyn and Meyer placed the motto "*Ars gratia artis*" below their roaring lion, a fraction of the 3% have loudly upgraded the motto in Sri Lanka to "art for **Part's** sake" and Keyt once related the tale of a businessman who asked him how many square inches of painting he could buy for rupees x thousand.

Keyt who was born on April 17, 1901 into a milieu that was upper middle-class, well-to-do, Anglicized and Christian, really devoted himself to painting about 1927. The year 1927 is specially significant for South Asian Art.

In Sri Lanka, the traditional line of Kandyan and "low country" mural paintings had by that time, all but petered out as the late Manjusri wrote in his "Design Elements from Sri Lankan Temple Paintings": "the end of the tradition comes in the 1910s and 1920s. The introduction of oil paints, perspective, light and shade and three-dimensional modelling as well as entirely different modes of representation and characterization transform the Sri Lanka mural paintings beyond recognition". In the 1920s, studio art was worthlessly imitative of Victorian and Edwardian academic modes.

In India, between 1927 and 1930, Rabindranath Tagore was producing paintings, the mystic qualities of which he would never revive again. This small group of paintings nevertheless broke new ground in Indian studio painting without

abandoning a specific "Indian-ness" and that too despite what it derived from European modern art. Also around 1927, Jamini Roy began the robust, spare **Kalighat** — inspired style which is distinctively Indian and distinctively modern.

In a monograph on M. F. Hussain the modern Indian painter, Shiv S. Kapur links Keyt, Tagore and Roy plus Amrita Shergil and Hussain as the "five major Indian (sic) painters" who helped to build "a creative bridge between the old and new... to create an art that is unmistakably Indian yet contemporary".

It is in Keyt that we can see the finest (not to mention most sustained and most prolific) expression of a modern South-Asian sensibility, which for all its great creative originality and freshness, nevertheless does not withdraw nor isolate itself from the central artistic tradition of the region.

Already by his late teens Keyt had begun to appreciate the old murals of Buddhist temples, particularly in the Kandyan areas. In his early twenties, Keyt adopted Buddhism and contributed poems, drawings and articles to the "Buddhist Annual of Ceylon" and to Piyadasa Sirisena's "Sinhala Jatiya". His close association with Pinnawela Dhirananda, the monk-poet enhanced his knowledge and appreciation of Sinhala poetry, and Keyt's "Poetry from the Sinhalese" was one of the earliest translations of Sinhala verse. Keyt developed an interest in the work of Tagore and the great "national" revival in Bengal. He also studied different aspects of Hinduism and the dance, music, painting, sculpture and literature it had inspired. All this has played a cumulative role in the development of Keyt's creative sensibility.

The Retrospective included a number of paintings done by Keyt in the 1927 to 1930 period. In these paintings, he drew direct inspiration from his immediate environment and rejected, as did his Indian counterparts Tagore and Roy, the mannered establishment art of the time. Keyt captured

the subtle greens of the verdant forest areas around Kandy. He painted portraits and groups of Kandyan villagers which in the words of Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, "take on a strangely expressive grandeur and radiate an aura of intensely profound feeling". He painted Kandyan village activity, temple scenes, Buddhist monks and still lifes with Buddhist objects.

Included in the Retrospective was one of Keyt's earliest paintings, the poetic "Flower Offering" (1927) which shows three women and two children at worship in the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. The colours are soft and muted with only a hint of line to delineate the figures and high-light detail like the hands holding flowers. The feet of a Buddha statue are faintly visible between parted curtains. The figures are posed rather formally. Into this scene Keyt has introduced a curious and whimsical detail in the "bobbed" hair of the two children, following a contemporary fashion that, according to Keyt, was then invading the villages. Given the graceful nobility in the bearing of the adult figures and the gentle innocence of the children, the incongruous but humanising detail of the "bobbed" hair does not offend the overall sense of tranquility, devotion and calm that suffuses the composition.

The early paintings are not self-consciously "picturesque" views of Kandyan life but reflect deeply and with sincerity Keyt's own unjaded response to his beloved Kandyan areas. The paintings are lyrical without being sentimental. In considering the development of early modern painting in South Asia, these works of the young Keyt occupy a central place with the best of Tagore and Roy.

In Sri Lanka, but more so in Europe, Keyt is held up as a "synthesis" of "eastern" and "western" culture. Hermann Goetz called Keyt "the Asian Picasso". Martin Russel's classic monograph on Keyt writes of "a synthesis of certain Indian and European conceptions" effected by the artist. There is no doubt that the post-Impressionists, the Cubists, and certain techniques of individual

European artists enriched Keyt's artistic vocabulary but the scope and extent of the European "influence" is exaggerated. Although some of Keyt's work hung with that of Picasso and Braque at London's Zwemmer Gallery as far back as 1930, it was really in 1978 that Keyt visited Europe to see many of the European masters in originals.

Keyt accepted certain Cubist approaches in the distortion and re-assembly of nature such as the use of more than one viewpoint within a single painting; the interpenetration and transparency of planes; distortions of perspective; the break-down, and interpretation of form and matter as different facets or geometric units and so on. However he never rejected the world of sensuous experience for a primarily intellectual or methodical conception of reality. Reproductions of Keyt's paintings have been laid side by side with those of Matisse, Picasso, Gauguin and Leger in attempts to establish some sort of "dominant European influence" on the Sri Lankan painter, particularly in respect of the "daring distortions" of nature evident in Keyt's work. Keyt admires and has certainly been inspired by Picasso, Braque and Matisse but the comparison to Leger and his "drain-pipe anatomy" understandably annoys Keyt.

To maintain as some Euro-centric critics do, that Keyt needed European models to justify or influence his break-away from naturalism is to ignore or be ignorant of the approaches evident in the temple paintings of Sri Lanka (for example, the simplification of form, distortion of scale and perspective, decorative and formalised background and large areas of flat, unmodelled colour), and Keyt's early familiarity with their idiom. In fact the Sigiriya frescoes, for all their voluptuous and rounded beauty, do dally with some "daring distortions" of human anatomy and quite divinely too.

William Archer, in his book, "India and Modern Art" sought a connection between Keyt's 1933 painting "Two Women in Bed" (included in the Retrospective) and a nude by Matisse. While conceding that Keyt's own painting has a

"greater smoothness of line and texture", Archer went on to say that its emotional attitude of "approving sensuality" is identical with that of Matisse. Archer then makes an untenable claim that the "ideas of women (in French art) as grand and monumental, as massively poetic... yet lovingly tender" must have clearly provided Keyt's own feelings with a kind of "sanction which he desperately needed"!

Despite the predominant influence of Buddhism, "approving sensuality" is by no means non-existent in Sinhalese literature or art. Sigiriya is one obvious example. Keyt translated Jayadeva's great sanskrit love poem **Gita Govinda** into English as well as into paintings and drawings. He was also acquainted with much more of the other erotic literature and art of India. It is in the Indian **Sringara** (erotic) literature; the Sigiriya frescoes; the epic romances of Radha-Krishna and Nala-Damayanthi; the **Ragamala** (a series of melody-modes denoting moods or emotional states); the Konarak and Khajuraho sculptures; the bronzes of Sri Lanka; the erotic miniature paintings of the Kangra and other hill areas of India; and most supremely, in Keyt's own life experiences that we should seek "explanations" for the mystic exultation of female form and beauty in Keyt's work. His own early liberation from the social milieu into which he was born gave him much more than "sanction" for free creative indulgence in "approving sensuality".

While Keyt's early years were influenced primarily by Buddhism, in later years, Hindu influences tend to be more pronounced. Themes from the infinite variety of Hindu mythology, legend and literature become the means through which Keyt chose to express deep, intensely-felt life experiences and emotions.

To Keyt, for example, the Hindu ideal of love embodied in much of its literary, artistic and musical modes was the most satisfying and most complete and it is towards this ideal that Keyt has aspired, both in life and art. In his preface to Jayadeva's "Gita Govinda", he describes this concept of love as

follows: "... the physical is not something distinct from the spiritual ... there is the endowment of the physical side with all the real and enduring qualities of the spiritual". The Western tradition had long made a distinction between "divine" and "profane" love. Vaishnavism delighted in the "divinity of beauty" the beauty of sexual attraction and its transformation into divine love. Desire of man and woman for each other thus becomes an exalted experience. "In the language of human love, Vaishnava mystics found ready to their hands a most explicit vocabulary of devotion and of union..... the drama of spiritual experience is represented by the love of man and woman" (Ananda Coomaraswamy). The jubilant and heady celebration of human love in Keyt's paintings draws from this attitude.

From about 1940, following a visit to India, Keyt lived in Hunang-Oya, a village in the Harispattuwa area. He was no Gauguin retreating into an idyllic rustic setting. He was fulfilling in a sense, an identification with a way of life that was receding even in the 1940s. As I have written in an earlier article, Keyt became "free part of an integrated, deeply cultured environment which was by and large unhampered by the artificially imposed corset of a partially-anglicised urban morality". Ian Goonetilleke in his introduction to the Retrospective's catalogue writes of Keyt's work calling on us to "ponder the extent of our estrangement" from this environment.

In Hunang-Oya, Keyt produced the series of paintings for which he is best known — the Nayika paintings (The word 'Nayika' is usually translated as 'heroine' but the word 'beloved' may perhaps be more appropriate to Keyt's paintings). During this time, Keyt tells me he was "deep in Tantra and Bhakti cult and derived so much consolation" in doing this series of paintings. The Retrospective included some very fine Nayika paintings. These exquisite paintings of women are accomplished in vibrant but carefully modulated tones, some in natural flesh-tones and others in tawny browns and soft warm ochres and yellows. The faces and figures of the

women are only lightly modelled, the shading serving to integrate the figures, as in Barhut sculpture, with the arcadin setting in which they are placed rather than to achieve naturalistic or rounded form. The foliage and flowers against which the figures are placed have been stylised and simplified almost to abstraction. The lines are sensuous and glide freely and easily. The pictures represent a palable vision of natural grace and beauty which Keyt appears to have evoked effortlessly from life. They represent all women, yet no women.

Much of the same delicacy and subtlety of approach continues in later paintings. The sixteenth century Hindi **Rasikapriya** by Keshav Das described and categorised women, or Nayikas, by types, by emotions and by attitudes to men in a variety of listed situations? In the hill states of India the **Rasikapriya** became the inspiration for some of the finest miniature paintings on love. Keyt's "Navodha Nayika" (the inexperienced) painted in 1974 shows the Nayika being coaxed and led by an older, more experienced woman to Krishna, the male figure in the painting, who watches with some amusement, not to mention considerable anticipation. Keyt is here working within a given convention of a "category" of women to evoke a tender, universalized portrait of tremulous, shy maidenhood ripening to womanhood.

On Keyt's 82nd birthday, musing over paintings completed over 50 years ago, he stirred the warm embers of his memory to recall names unknown to me — but then all the people in the paintings had been touched by the unique alchemy of his creative spirit and a certain timelessness and universality had been bestowed on them; one which has entranced many critics and rasikas from beyond our shores — W. G. Archer, Martin Russel, Mulk Raj Anand, Roland Penrose, Hermann Goetz, Pablo Neruda, Laxmi Sihare, Ralph Keene and Herbert Read among others.

In his recent work, Keyt's use of the quick-drying acrylic medium has brought with it flatter, less modulated colour, sometimes applied direct from the tube. Bright, sheer

areas of contrasting colour are juxtaposed with a minimum of line. It is the colour which sets the design. The line serves primarily to strengthen points of emphasis and to animate as well as yoke the composition together. The smaller works of Keyt acrylic invest familiar themes with fresh simplicity. Unlike the Nayika paintings of the 1940s which had used a limited palette carefully expanded and enriched by toning and line, the more recent paintings on Nayikas and similar themes, including those on Radha and Krishna are a riot of pure intoxicating colour.

The Restropective covered 56 years of Keyt's work (1927-1983) but lacked some of the more vigorously erotic of Keyt's paintings. The soft, modulated tones and the luxuriant smooth languor of the lines which characterize his "gentler" work on love themes, give way in these absent paintings to a tense, nervous and frenetic line. The figures are cast in heroic, **purusha** mould with strong, firm sinewy brushwork imparting a powerful sensuality and physical earthiness to the whole. These paintings have by and large been kept out of Colombo living rooms and represent an important and vital aspect of Keyt evident with varying degrees of intensity throughout his career.

Allied to these paintings in terms of the power and rhythmic force they generate are a series of paintings which take their awesome themes from the Indian epics. The "Bhima and Jalasandha" drawings and paintings visualizing a conflict between good and evil (and at the political level at that time the struggle against imperialism and facism), the paintings on themes such as Mahes Mardini, Yama and Savithri could also have been included with great advantage in the Restropective.

Despite these unavoidable omissions, the Restropective was a very worthy tribute to a great painter. Keyt himself was surprised that Colombo alone had yielded so many paintings, coverings as he exclaimed "All my life's work!"

Keyt's "life's work" is happily not yet done. For Sri Lanka George Keyt is something more than a great national painter. His accomplishments as a poet, critic, writer, as an authority on Buddhism, his knowledge of Kandyan dancing, all this is beyond the scope of this article, but needs to be mentioned.

This year's Vesak commemorative stamps will feature scenes from the life of the Buddha as interpreted by George Keyt in the magnificent murals of the Gotami Vihare in Borella. The mural themselves are unfortunately in some danger of being spoilt due to natural factors and the writer makes a sincere appeal for urgent steps by the authorities concerned to arrest their decay and help preserve, undiminished in their glory, what are surely the finest modern Buddhist murals in this country.

George Keyt has no precursors, only ancestors, as an early "Marg" article put it. He is a direct descendent of an ancient and noble tradition that has enriched over the centuries, the life of South Asia including our own island. He is however, as Sri Lanka's pioneer modern painter, without precursors — his idiom influencing contemporary painters not only Sri Lanka but others like M. F. Hussain in India. Above all he has remained true to his own unique inner vision of creativity through which he continues to perceive and respond to the myriad experiences of a long, intensely lived and full life.

Mini-Polls . . .

(Continued from page 4)

The UNP will stultify itself. All hopes of a slightly more active parliament with a critical and combative opposition would then be dashed to the ground. It may even announce a farewell to parliamentarism.

Guided democracy, if that's the name of the game, requires a strong shrewd and sagacious guide.

— M. de S.

Alternative Conceptions of the Capitalist World Economy

James Petras

The conception of the world-economy as divided into core, semiperiphery, periphery does not adequately capture the dynamic growth, specialization and multiple points of accumulation which increasingly characterizes capitalist world development. The old tripartite conception fails to focus on the highly significant internal differentiation within these categories. An alternative conceptual framework designed to account for the increasingly important and highly specific functional relations within and between regions is required. Concretely, any approach must recognize the process of capital accumulation in newly developed regional centers and the internal class transformations which have allowed previously 'colonized', 'peripheral' raw material exporters to diversify their relations, develop the productive forces and to appropriate surplus from both imperial centers (finance capital) and less developed regions (raw materials). The active role in regional accumulation adopted by these countries requires that we look beyond the nation that these areas are mere mediators between the core/periphery and examine their role as competitors in surplus appropriation, developing multiple exchange relations: exporting finished durable goods, providing loans and credits and selling low level technology to less developed countries while importing high technology, securing major loans and investment and selling a mix of raw materials and manufactures to advanced capital countries. The grouping together of a new complex of capital exporting, commercial, financial and industrial centers from the formerly undifferentiated 'periphery' requires the mapping out of the new networks and relationships.

World capitalism can best be understood as a system of hierar-

chically organized competitive networks in which regimes and countries "specialize" in one or more activities. Our analysis focuses on the changing pattern of networks linking nations and defining their positions and functions in the international division of labour.

Historically, these countries which achieved the highest development of productive forces and the most powerful military-political state apparatus have shaped the international division of labour to their needs, organizing "specializations" within subordinate regions and countries and incorporating the emerging ensemble in the service of their economic and strategic needs. The classical pattern involved the production and export of finished industrial goods from the metropolitan centers and the import of agro-mineral products from the colonized or semi-colonized countries. Two points require emphasis here: first while colonies were typically reduced to mineral or agrarian monoculture economies in the service of the metropolis, the economic supremacy of the latter rested on the diversification of its economic base and the global sweep of its multiple economic activities, including manufacture, finance, shipping, agriculture and mining, as well as on its ability to control and profit from dynamic sectors of the colonial economy. In short, in a world in which capital accumulation was frequently equated with specialization, in fact hegemonic power lay with optimum diversification. Second, even in the colonies, diverse patterns of specialization began to develop. For example, personnel within India were recruited and served as regional police within southern and eastern Asia; a similar pattern was evidenced in the French use of Senegalese forces in the occupation of Africa. Hundreds of thousands of Korean labourers were

impressed to work overseas in Japanese coal mines, as were Mozambican workers in South African mines. These patterns not only defined the fabric of imperialist relations to the detriment of the colonies but set in motion important processes of class differentiation.

More important, certain areas and regions, even in the colonial period, served as banking, administrative and commercial centers, accumulating capital and creating the basis for dynamic growth in the post-colonial period, Lebanon, Singapore, Hong Kong, became banking and commercial centers, retaining some of the surplus appropriated by the imperial countries. The appropriation of surplus, even in the colonial systems, did not reflect the direct transfer from so-called 'periphery' to 'core'. In the post-independence period and especially by the 1970's, industrial and commercial centers in the third world created a complex grid of relations between and among third world countries, and radically altering the composition of trade between some more dynamic regions. Increasingly industrializing third world countries were capturing regional markets, supplying credits and low level technology to less developed areas, while increasingly importing high technology and borrowing financial resources from the imperial centers. The changing networks and the multiple and multi-tiered relations defining the world economy is severely strained by efforts to force them into a trichotomous system of stratification.

The triumph of national independence movements in the decades following the Second World War made possible a margin of discretionary power for former colonial nations in selecting lines of economic activity within the world economy. The degree of autonomy of choice

was governed by such diverse internal factors as class composition, the nature of the state, geographical locus natural resource endowment, technological level, and capital accumulation, as well as by the structure of relationships with regional and international configurations of power. The result was that while many countries experienced little change in the post-colonial division of labor, some have dramatically transformed their position, becoming the centers of complex regional networks.

Both imperialist and former colonial countries "specialize" in particular forms of economic activity. In the case of the metropolis, these principally take the form of advanced technological centers (U. S.), heavy industrial (Germany, Japan, Italy), financial (Switzerland, England), and agricultural or resource surplus (U. S., Canada, Australia, France) centers. However, there is obviously considerable overlap here as the metropolitan centers vie to establish multiple specializations, indeed, multiplicity of activities on a far flung scale becomes the sine qua non of being a 'metropolis'.

In the contemporary world economy we find a rapidly growing diversification of specializations among many former 'peripheral' countries redefining their position in world networks. If many of these nations or regions not long ago fit the mould of monoculture economies, we can now observe a panoply of activities whose range is suggested by the following: trading centers (Singapore, Hong Kong), industrial export bases (South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, Hong Kong), financial centers (Lebanon, Singapore, Panama), agricultural export centers (Argentina), military base areas (Philippines, Puerto Rico, Panama), mineral export centers (Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Chile, Libya, Indonesia), labor export platforms (North Africa, Mozambique, Mexico, Caribbean), and tourist centers (Caribbean). These specializations are in constant flux. The image of stagnations, central to much of the dependency literature, fails to encompass the dynamic changes occurring in important sections of the ex-colonial world as they are progressively encompassed in a capitalist economic nexus. Surplus appropriated from the metropole and the less developed countries has created new dynamic areas and sets of

relations in which regional linkages of domination and subordination begin to preempt the global patterns established earlier by the metropolitan countries.

The world capitalist system operates through networks organized within and between each of its regions. These reciprocally derive from and affect state policy, class structure and class formation throughout the network. The competitive activities between similarly specialized imperial countries and their firms is extended to and shapes larger networks embracing the former colonial nations. What capital in industrial countries, competes, for example, over the sale of technology, its activities are complemented by the existence of financial and trading centers which compete among themselves to facilitate investment and circulation of goods. Increasingly, exchanges between industrial and agro-mineral areas are taken over by financial and commercial centers within each region. The functional specialization of the parts — economic, political and military — and the inter-connectedness of the whole are essential elements for the reproduction of capital on a world scale. "Strategic interests" of hegemonic powers must be comprehended in terms not of gains and losses of a single specialization but of changes in **networks** and the possibility of local powers substituting or replacing specialized functions of former imperial countries within the network. The breakdown of networks or their reorientation away from their complementary role within a given imperial system can have a significant adverse affect on the hegemonic position of an imperial power.

International economic specializations are overlaid by politico-military structures organized by the hegemonic powers to maximize their access to markets, labour and resources. The proliferation of independent nation-states and declining capacity of the U. S. to unilaterally and militarily intervene led to an effort to create what some refer to as "sub-imperialist" or "regional" powers. Initially, these countries were designated by the imperial centers to fulfill a role of gendarme within a given region. The attribution of this role was preceded by a close relationship between the imperial state and the regional

power — one in which the specialized agencies of repression and the greater part of the state apparatus had been trained and penetrated by the imperial state.

Recent history suggests that these changes have **only** occurred in the case of a small number of nations. Moreover, it is by no means certain that underdevelopment states which succeed in achieving regional power status are capable of sustaining their new roles, above all because of the contradictions generated within their own polities by the profound internal changes required. Sub-imperial nation-states of recent vintage have not had the ability to fulfill their roles. The Iranian regime collapsed before the combined opposition of Islamic and Marxist nationalists, undermining the very underpinnings of U. S. strategy in the Middle East. South Africa was incapable of preventing the victory of the MPLA in Angola, in part because without U. S. military intervention it was unable to sustain its drive against Cuban-MPLA forces. The collapse of white minority domination in neighboring Rhodesia, further isolated the regime and inevitably stimulated black revolutionary forces in South Africa.

Brazil, increasingly caught between internal opposition forces, the decline of external markets and increasing debt payment, has begun to experience a deepening economic crisis, combining stagnation and inflation. **The assassination of Pak Chung Hee in South Korea, the explosiveness of student led mobilization, followed by the declining economy, casts a shadow on the brightest of economic performers. This is not to suggest the imminent collapse of regional powers. However, the declining effectiveness of regional powers in shaping the political universe sustaining the current international division of labor has increasingly forced the U. S. to reconsider the case for unilateral intervention.**

The critical issue, however, that requires emphasis is the growing autonomy of the regional powers and their increasing contradictions with the advanced capitalist centers. Increasingly, they compete over trade in the third world, for loans in the

(Continued on page 21)

Children, Parents and Television

The greatest demonstration of public concern has centred on TV's influence on children and from this point of view it was necessary for the survey to have a look at parents' attitudes and behaviour towards children's viewing. It would have been ideal, of course to obtain at the same time, views and reactions from the older children themselves, but this would have meant a separate research design. In any case, since most children would have been exposed to just three months of television when the survey was in progress, it would have been difficult to obtain any substantial data on their preferences for programmes or any vital clues on their programmes needs. So, for the present, we may have to be content with the views of the parents.

71 per cent of the respondents gave approval for the present transmission times of children's programmes, while 12 per cent declared the present times unsuitable. The latter group suggest that children's programmes should be transmitted at the following times: 5 p.m. 7 p.m. and 4 p.m. 17 per cent of the households interviewed did not have children.

Virtually all those parents with children at school reported stiff competition between television and "homework". The general pattern seems to be for the homework to be speeded up in order to view television. The common parental admonition 'no homework, no television' seems to lend further substance to an assumption made earlier in the report, regarding motivations for selective viewing.

There is a measure of agreement among parents interviewed that the children enjoy both the entertainment and the informational programmes aimed to them. Parents from the low-income group, while conscious of the educational value of the children's programmes in English, express anguish that their children do not obtain full benefit from these programmes because of

the language barrier. Some parents belonging to this group see to it that the children expose themselves even to the adult programmes, in the hope that they will 'improve their English vocabulary. FOLLOW ME, quite understandably, has a large following both among children and adults. But strangely enough in certain households in Colombo (the low-income group) MIND YOUR LANGUAGE is taken quite literally as a Language Teaching Programme on the same level as FOLLOW ME and children are urged to view it. A paradoxical situation when one considers the genuine concern expressed by some educationists and social activists regarding the negative social attitudes the programme was directly or indirectly propagating.

Well educated and sophisticated parents seems to feel that some programmes which are not aimed primarily at children are nonetheless not necessarily 'adult' in their appeal. According to them some of the foreign comedy and variety programmes transmitted by SLRC (to which children first gravitate as part of the family viewing group) are pitched at a level which is both within a child's comprehension and attuned to his range of interests.

Some parents belonging to the higher income groups were even prepared to theorise on the influence exerted on children by television. One parent, a teacher in a well-known school in Colombo, put it this way — "TV exerts an influence mainly on children's conception of the world outside the realm of their personal experiences". Another parent, also of the same social background, talking of the impact of SESAME STREET on his children said, among other things, "Sesame Street has proved that education can be entertaining and that good entertainment can be educational". Not a startling discovery but one that has so far been demonstrated in local TV productions only on a small-scale and in isolated instances.

Among the few local productions which have been rated high by the

respondents is GAYANA. This appears to be a programme which is enjoyed both by the parents and the children. LAMA HURUWA has secured mention as a 'useful programme for children'. According to some parents, the pace of presentation of this programme was not suitable for the level of children.

There is a mood of desperation behind the demand of parents, especially in the rural areas, for 'subtitles in Sinhala/Tamil' in regard to both the children's programmes in English and other foreign serials and documentaries. It is evident that a number of respondents in the rural areas have invested their hard-earned money on television sets due to their intuitive belief that that television would be a "window on the world" incomparable value to their children. True, a good TV production can communicate even before it is understood, but what these parents are looking for their children is obviously something more than 'communication'. They would want their children's experiences enriched by an empathic understanding of the world around them and, therefore resent any language barrier limiting this possibility. In our view this frustration begins to wear off and the present period of fascinated absorption gives in to a more mature phase in Viewing.

The Television Commercial

It is significant that 90 per cent of the respondents expressed a positive interest in viewing the commercial advertisements. A good number liked them for the 'clever' 'fascinating' and 'powerful' productions and for the 'shifts in mood' caused by them. The more sophisticated respondents elaborating on this aspect of the commercials said that the shift in mood and the 'relaxation of tension' are welcome because television viewing makes great demands on the full attention of the viewers. They also seemed to feel that the commercials revealed greater

artistic sensitivity and production sense than the normal locally produced programmes.

A high degree of recall of the points made about the advertised brands was also revealed. Significantly, it was the children in the households interviewed who most remembered the brand names. A small proportion of respondents admitted to buying some products after viewing the advertisements, but it is not easy to establish a direct causal relationship between exposure to the advertisements and the purchase of the products in question. The products which were claimed to have been purchased as a result of viewing advertisements were as follows: ANCHOR BUTTER, AJINA-MOTO, TANG, PONDS, SIGNAL TOOTH-PASTE, VEGEMITE, RICE-COOKER, NESPRAY

It must be recorded that some of the more educated viewers considered a good deal of TV advertising as elitist and geared to promoting conspicuous consumption among the middle-classes and affluent sections of society. They would rather that the resources of the TV medium are used to promote social advertising.

It is tempting to conclude from the little evidence available that the majority of respondents consider television commercials as part of the nature of things and are prepared to approve them if only for the fact that they find the 'visual language' of the commercials fascinating.

Programme Output and Balance

There is general approval of the existing programme structure with its fair mix of 'entertainment' and informative/educational programmes. As revealed in Table VI, 55 per cent of the total programme output for the period 5th to 11th April 1982, was devoted to 'serious' no-fiction programmes (news and current affairs, religion, children's informative programmes, educational programmes/documentaries) Only 45 per cent of the output could be categorised as 'pure entertainment', which included sports and feature films — both foreign and local.

Table VI

Breakdown of SLRC air time according to programme types (5th — 11th April 1982)

Programme categories	Duration of weekly output		Percentage of total hours of transmissions
	Hrs.	Sec.	
Feature films (local and foreign)	11	05	34.8
Sports events	2		6.28
News	5	05	15.96
Children's programmes	4	-	12.56
Religious programmes	1	30	4.71
Educational/informative/documentaries	6	45	20.47
Drama	-	-	-
Music	1	25	4.45
	31	50	

+ Films in a series format and single feature films.

It would appear that the present SLRC programme structure already favours the side of 'serious' programming. Reference was made in an earlier part of this report to the question of preference for SLRC and ITN programmes among viewers in Colombo. It may be recalled that 58 per cent of the respondents in the Colombo District preferred SLRC output to that of ITN. The principal reason listed for this preference was that SLRC programmes were weighted more in favour of 'serious' and cultural programming. The assumption made by some critics of television before SLRC began its operations that the programme tastes of viewers in Colombo would be shaped by the entertainment-oriented ITN has been to a certain extent disproved.

There is another aspect to the balance of SLRC programme output — the amount of foreign versus domestically produced material. For a television service which had been in operation for just three months, it is significant that 43 per cent of its total output for a week in April 1982 was devoted to locally produced programmes. In the case of ITN, the output of local programmes for the week 26th July to 1st August, was 19 per cent.

But there is no reason for complacency. More than 75 per cent of the respondents in the sample demand more locally produced programmes in Sinhala and Tamil.

The majority of viewers cannot relate themselves easily to programme material which have a foreign milieu; and they cannot obtain full enjoyment (or enlightenment) from programmes presented in a language they do not understand. And from the point of view of the programme planners, the proper relationship with an audience is fully established only through the experience of making programmes for that audience.

It must be pointed out that one of the valuable features of the visual medium of TV is that it can communicate across ethnic boundaries. Sinhala-speaking viewers at present come into casual contact with some aspects of Tamil life and culture and vice versa through the TV image in a way that has not been possible through the media of press and radio. The potentialities of making these contacts more than casual and of developing cross-cultural communication through common TV programming in the three languages of the country need to be explored.

The quality of technical reception

As indicated in Table VII (See P21) the quality of reception in the District of Colombo and the outstations is reported to be generally good. Only 14.5 per cent of the respondents in Colombo and 16.5 per cent of the outstation respondents reported 'snowy pictures'. 86.4 per cent of the Colombo respondents and 76.6 per cent of

(Continued on page 21)

The resilience and the renaissance

Neville Jayaweera

Just prior to the arrival of the new technologies on the cultural scene, i.e. between the 1940s and the 1960s, a strange and paradoxical development had begun to characterise Third World societies. The self-same influences, that had for decades been helping to wear down the local cultures, had quite unexpectedly produced an opposite reaction. The mission schools thus had inculcated in their proteges (deliberately or otherwise) a sense of shame in their local cultures, were found to have produced a whole generation of intense and dedicated young people who were filled with a resolve not only to re-discover and re-establish their lost heritage, but to expunge from their history, as far as possible, all evidence of foreign cultural influence. Foreign languages were dethroned from the status of being the official language. Imported sartorial styles were ceremoniously discarded. Mission schools were taken over and foreign missionaries asked to leave. State support was lavished on efforts to rehabilitate ancient arts and crafts. There was a surge of interest in and a frantic search for historical roots. The importation of foreign and pop cultural material was either curtailed or stopped. All these expressions were developed as a countervailing force against foreign influences and were supposed to usher in a renaissance of local cultures, which would in turn return these societies to their unspoilt, pre-colonial purity.

In India, Gandhi and his followers hoped to re-discover and restore the real **Bharat***, i.e. the India of the villages, symbolised by the **Chakra*** and the **Khadar**. In China, Mao-Tung sought to build a new China based on a revitalised and resurrected rural economy. And in a number of other Third World

countries that had emerged as independent nations shortly after the Second World War, national leaders sought to re-ignite the dying embers of their national cultures. Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, Nkrumah of Ghana, U Nu of Burma, Sukarno of Indonesia, Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia, Kenyatta of Kenya, Nasser of Egypt — they were all driven by an intense desire to reverse the flow of foreign culture into their societies and to restore the identity and integrity of their own cultures. This development seemed in stark contradiction to forces that had been working for change within these societies, in some cases, for over three centuries. Almost without exception these leaders were either the direct products of missionary schools or had derived their political values from western thinkers. Notwithstanding, it looked as if after centuries of exposure to erosion and denudation, the local cultures were on the threshold of a new lease of life, and of a restoration of lost glories.

The Retreat from Culture

The cultural renaissance within Third World societies was unfortunately to be short-lived. It spluttered out within three decades. Two actions served to ensure that result. One was economic stagnation and increasing poverty at home, and the other economic expansion and technological innovations within the industrialised countries.

In a sense it would be wrong to talk of economic stagnation among Third World countries in the immediate aftermath of independence. The majority of these countries registered rates of growth that compared very favourably with, and even exceeded those achieved by the industrialised countries at a comparable stage of their own development. But

economic growth did not keep pace with population increase and worse, was not distributed evenly. The result was increasing deprivation among the vast mass of the people, deepening social instability and regular political upheavals accompanied by increasing repression. The cumulative result over a period of three decades was a growing disillusionment among the local people with the economic models that had been recommended to them by their leaders. In the majority of cases the model recommended had been the closed, controlled economy, with the state bearing the larger share of the burden of investment and exercising control over the “commanding heights”. By the middle seventies, this model had either collapsed as in Indonesia, Egypt and Chile, or had been voluntarily abandoned by the people through the democratic process, as in Sri Lanka, or as in Tanzania, had virtually grounded to a halt.

The failure of this economic model and deepening poverty, helped to turn people’s minds away from “culture”, a preoccupation that had provided the impetus for Third World nationalism for several decades. At the commencement of the eighties, the “eradication of poverty” had replaced “cultural regeneration” as the rallying call for Third World societies.

The arrival of “economics” on the stage meant more than merely a waiting in the wings for “culture”. Eventually, though indirectly, it helped to choke off the cultural renaissance and indeed even to reverse its thrust and set the Third World moving again in the direction of a re-integration with the dominant world systems, and consequently, towards a new cultural degradation.

But the retreat from culture was set in motion not only by the breakdown of an economic model. It was also given an impetus by two developments in the industrialised countries.

Among the industrialised countries, particularly of the west, the period up to 1973 (when the oil price-hike reversed the trend), was characterised by rapid economic expansion, full employment, steadily rising standards of living and an exponential growth in the quantity and range of goods produced for the consumer market. In order to maintain living standards on a steadily rising trajectory it was necessary to maintain economic expansion at an equally steady pace. This meant seeking markets in the Third World. By the end of the seventies the western industrialised countries, Japan, and the newly industrialising countries such as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore were very much in the same position as the imperialist countries had been at the dawn of the twentieth century, *vis. desperately* in need of markets. Domestic markets were clearly unable to continue absorbing the increasing volume of production. This meant that markets had to be sought and stimulated among the vast populations of the Third World. But those populations though vast in numbers and more than adequate for sustaining production at any conceivable level, lacked purchasing power. Not only did they lack purchasing power, but they also lacked the motivation to acquire it. They were bound by the traditional values of the local cultures which did not encourage the instinct to acquire and accumulate wealth. A basic sense of contentment with the current mode of living, an underlying fatalism, a reluctance to engage in competitive and entrepreneurial activity and a fundamental lack of savings within the individual households, all conspired to make Third World societies inadequate as potential markets for the enormous output of the industrialised world.

But markets could be stimulated in several ways. If Third World countries could not generate through their own exports, the income that

was needed to maintain imports at a level adequate for keeping the production machines of the industrialised countries working, they could be given loans, by the World Bank, by the IMF, or by commercial banks. These loans could help maintain artificially a satisfactory level of demand. Invariably they were passed down to the consumer by way of commodities imported from the industrialised world.

But purchasing power, whether acquired through locally generated income, or through foreign loans, did not by itself guarantee a market. Purchasing power did not become "effective demand" unless it was stimulated through advertising. So investments in media delivery systems within Third World countries became as crucial for maintaining levels of exports from the industrialising countries, as the policy of granting loans.

The breakdown of the Third World economic models of the fifties and sixties, the eviction of "culture" from the status of being the centrepiece of Third World concerns, and the desperate need of the industrialised countries for the markets of the Third World, all converged at about the same time. But the element that seemed to undergird these converging needs and weld them into a single global phenomenon was the revolution in communication technology.

Impact on Industrialised Countries

By communication technologies I mean that network of inventions in electronics that was spawned during and after the middle fifties. Basic to this network are the transistor, the integrated circuit, the communication satellite, the micro-computer, digital transmission, coaxial cables and optic-fibres. I do not propose to start explaining the technicalities of these inventions. But it is necessary to suggest a different way of assessing their significance.

These technologies are generally seen as aids to delivering a large volume of entertainment, over longer distances, in a shorter space of time and to an incomparably larger number of people than has been possible or even thought to be possible, before this. It is true that the potential of these techno-

logies is being exploited primarily for entertainment. But that is not their real and lasting significance. Their essential role is that they constitute the sinews of a new industrial era, and the foundations of a new society and a new culture, the quality and character of which are difficult to comprehend except in speculative terms.

One may draw on a somewhat over-worked analogy to illustrate this point. We cannot think of the industrial revolution without at the same time thinking of railways and steamships. Without the railways, the heavy industrial manufacturing centers of Europe and America could not have been supplied with the coal, the cotton, the pig-iron and the wool in quantities even fractionally adequate for keeping the factories working. Nor could the manufactured goods have been transported in bulk to the ports for export to the global markets. Without the steamships those goods could not have reached those markets. Neither could the raw materials be transported back to the industrial centres for processing. Without the railways and the steamships the administrative and political hegemony imposed by the colonising powers over their colonies could not have been achieved so swiftly or effectively. In a sense, therefore, the railways and the steamships were the arteries along which the substance of the industrial revolution flowed freely inwards and outwards.

At the same time it is true that these railways and steamships provided opportunities for people to go on holidays and enjoy the scenic attractions of distant places. But that was secondary. That was not why they were constructed and operated in the first place.

We may extend this analogy safely to the new communication technologies. They constitute the arteries along which the substance of the new economic and social revolution will flow globally. They will replace labour as the primary factor of production. Through increased automation they will cause an enormous expansion in the total volume of goods produced. But the location of the production

centres, their condition and ecology. will be changed drastically. The industrial landscape will be unrecognisably transformed. The pattern and quality of urban systems will be similarly overhauled.

Culture will similarly be transformed, but primarily as a product of and ancillary to the fundamental economic and societal transformation.

Earlier on we talked on the convergence of a number of seemingly unconnected and parallel developments — the breakdown of the Third World economic model, the retreat from culture, the exponential growth of western industrialised economies (upto 1973) and of their desperate need to bolster their markets in the Third World. The rest of this paper will be directed towards trying to show how the communication technologies will work in tandem with the new industrial systems to construct a new global economy. Third World economies may expect to be integrated into that new global economy in a relationship of dependence as a supplier of markets and services in a more total way than had been the case during the time of colonial empires. Concomitantly, Third World cultures may expect to suffer a parallel transformation so fundamental as to put them under risk of obliteration.

(To be continued)

Alternative. . .

(Continued from page 16)

financial market places, for access to cheap raw materials. Given the heightened economic competition, it is not surprising that these regional forces increasingly refuse to be tied into U. S. directed alliances that constrain economic opportunities. Brazil's break with the U. S. over Angola, the Middle East and Central America responds to its growing competitiveness for economic markets and resources. The establishment of new industries among the Southeast Asian countries could lead to greater competition and conflict between them and Japan. The autonomous regional powers increasingly preempt previous dominant capitalist centers and create the basis for polycentric market-financial centers, increasing the level of competition, destabilizing the structure of control, creating multiple sources of conflict and cross-ideological coalitions that define the early classifications.

(To be continued)

Children. . .

(Continued from page 18)

the outstation respondents were satisfied with the 'clarity' of the picture. On the whole, the 'sound quality' is rated better than the picture quality both in the District of Colombo and in the outstations.

(To be continued)

Table VII

Technical Reception

Picture quality	Colombo	Outstations	Total	%
Clear	864	455	1,319	83
Snowy pictures	145	98	243	27
Shadows	58	23	81	5
Black & white pictures	44	17	61	4
Picture rolling	67	53	120	8
Intermittent colour	40	11	51	8
Interferences	24	11	35	2
No picture	22	15	37	2
Sound quality				
Good	977	526	1,503	92
Sound with hiss	33	17	17	3
Interference	6	4	10	1
No sound	8	4	12	1



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

LakLooms

72, CHATHAM STREET
COLOMBO 1.
Telephone: 25521 /
22862 / 24679

Populationist or Territorialist approach

B. A. Kader

The essence of this second approach is that the entire population (irrespective of differences in Languages and psychological make-up) that lives within the territory of a state (i. e. country) is a nation—eg. India is a country and thus Indians are a “nation”; Sri Lanka is a country and Sri Lankans are a “nation” etc.

To understand the nature of this theory, Let us split it into two subdivisions or variants, viz:- “extreme anti-Racist theory” and “diplomatic chauvinism”.

(1) Extreme anti-Racist theory:-

In anthropology, supporters of the “populationist” theory deny any heredity, and connection between morpho-physiological racial features and psychic traits, both in groups and in individuals. They consider a race as a historically formed **combination** of morphological and physiological features among the population of a certain **territory** (area).

The term “Population” was introduced into biology by **W. Johansen** in 1903. He used it to designate groups of freely crossing (or potentially able to cross) organisms inhabiting a certain area and having certain time-space relations with each other.

It is worth noting that “extreme populationists” completely deny the reality of the very concept of “race” and avoid this word in their publications, making reference only to difference between separate **territorial groups** of people (populations). (For example James V. Neei and William J. Schull—“**Human Heredity**”, Chicago, 1954; N. Bar-nikot “**Biological Variability in Modern Populations—Human Biology**”, 1963; L. C. Dunn and T. Dolozhaskp, “**Heredity Race and Society**” 1946; C Stern, **The Race concept**” Paris 1952, W. W. How-

ella, “**Mankind in the Making**” New York 1956; Carleton S. Coon “**The Origin of Races**”, New York 1963; “**The Living Races of Man**”, New York 1965; etc.)

In short the main argument put forward by these theoreticians is as follows: “Every one—Black or White, fair or dark, male or female—has only two eyes, two hands, two legs and a head. Nobody in the world has two heads or three eyes. Everybody has his knee on his leg and head over the neck. As such it is unscientific to classify peoples according to the external physical features. Moreover, in the internal structure, in the nervous system, blood circulation system or digestive system there are no differences whatsoever in the black stain or white skin. Therefore people can be differentiated only politically, as **citizens of a country**”.

It is obvious that such viewpoints have a certain scientific value, and provide a more solid ground for exposing and criticising racist theory and practice. Quite naturally social scientists or Marxists are more inclined to accept the populationist concept, but they avoided the extremes of this concept, which involve a complete denial of the reality of **dying racial differences** and **living national peculiarities**.

The main defects in this approach are, firstly, it considers people as biological organisms rather than social organisms. Of course, biologically, people can only be divided into two sexes, male and female, But what these theorists fail to understand is that they can only speak of and apply the “population” theory to animals and plants in the biological sense. Because **people are not only biological organisms but also social organisms**. People live not only in the natural environment that exists independently of the will of man, but also in the artificial social environment, created by themselves

to suit their material and spiritual needs.

Man’s cultural achievements could be sub-divided into material and spiritual culture. (The **material culture** is, on the one hand, the objects that satisfy “material needs” i. e. tools, household implements, accommodation, clothing, means of communication and transport etc, and on the other hand people’s habits of work and social practices the social organisation of labour and the forms that organisation takes and the organisation of life in general—state, family, law administration, tradition etc The **spiritual culture** is extremely broad and it is generally defined as “the totality of a society’s moral, artistic scientific and philosophical attainments”.—See “Ethnic and its Definition” by Y V Bromly) Man’s historical and social experiences; language, (an instrument with the help of which people communicate with one another, exchange thoughts, understand each other and transmit experience from one generation to the next) thought; rules of conduct; human behaviour (habits); values; concepts; knowledge; skills; etc. all these are not the gifts of nature as are two eyes, two hands and one head They are not the biological aspects of Man but the products of their social life that are transmitted from one human generation to the next not genetically but through learning and initiation i. e. **through the socialisation of the individual**. That is why man is called the “social animal”. These social products, differ from peoples to peoples, and play a differentiating role. This is completely negated or not realised by the “populationist”.

Secondly; what is clearly, overlooked is that racism arises from the idea of the **inequality** of races and not from recognition of racial **distinctions** whose existence is beyond dispute. We shall have occasion to deal with this later.

(To be continued)

All the Shah's men

Tariq Ali

LONDON

Diaries and memoirs, particularly those depicting contemporary events, radiate a weird fascination. Their value depends not so much on the author's capacities, but on the nature of the information provided. The writer could be a talented literati or a crass vulgarian. It is of little significance. Cecil King, the former British newspaper magnate, undoubtedly belonged to the latter category. Yet his diaries revealed incredible details of the paranoia that gripped top people during the years of sustained industrial unrest in Britain (1969-72). The latest scribbler in the King tradition is the unlikely figure of Parviz C. Radji, who had the dubious distinction of representing the Iranian despot Reza Pahlavi as ambassador in Britain during three critical years (1976-79) which culminated in the fall of a monarch whose megalomania had reached absurd heights.

The diaries *In the service of the Peacock Throne* by Parviz C. Radji, Hamish Hamilton, London 1983), paint a vivid picture of Pahlavi's court and entourage. There is the account of a bizarre conversation between Radji and His Imperial Majesty (HIM) on the British satirical magazine, *Private Eye*'s continual references to HIM as SOP (Shit of Persia). The British foreign office man in Teheran, Tony Parsons suggested that the way out is, litigation. Radji had other ideas...

The most educative of Radji's entries, however, concern Britain rather than Iran. We can read a revealing account of the sycophancy and servility of senior British politicians, well-known Fleet Street scribes, a stray literary editor, cult academic figures and established publishers as they all rush to accept the generous hospitality of SOP's man in London. Unsurprisingly, Eldon Griffiths and Julian Amery (two Tory MPs to the right of SOP) flit in and out of the Iranian embassy at Palace Gate. Peregrine Worsthorne advlses Radji not to be

too squeamish about defending the barbaric and inhuman tortures inflicted on dissidents by the Iranian Gestapo (SAVAK). The important thing, says the *Sunday Telegraph*'s columnist, is preserving order. Radji records his gratitude,

Radji was sent to London as a part of a gigantic PR exercise designed to counter the newly-elected US President Jimmy Carter's offensive on human rights. SOP felt that no expense should be spared in acquiring a new image. At an early stage Radji accquired the friendly services of Stephen Spender, the poet. Palace Gate became the venue for many an intimate gathering. *The Times* was a key target as HIM/SOP was a regular reader and was not satisfied with Lord Chalfont's simple-minded apologies. David Spanier, the diplomatic correspondent (sic), had already served time as a state guest in Teheran. He now became an unofficial adviser and advised against any attempts to bribe the satirical magazine *Private Eye*: 'He doesn't think they can be bought' Who did Spanier thlnk could be bought? Here Radji displays an uncharacteristic coyness, which is a great pity. It would have been useful to study a list of those on the dictator's payroll. Were Chalfont's services, for instance, provided free of charge?

Another *Times* man who becomes a close friend is Charlie (Charles Douglas-Home, then foreign editor, news editor). He is a regular guest at embassy luncheons, dinner and stag parties (as is Edward Heath, the 'liberal' Tory). Dear old Charlie, he always warns in advance when *The Times* is obliged to publish an article critical of SOP by Fred Halliday. Even as the Pahlavi dynasty totters, *The Times* merely asks for abdication to pave the way for a constitutional monarchy. Radji is touched: 'I wonder if Charlie has written it. Later I receive a call from him... yes, it was he...' On another occasion Mr and Mrs Anthony Howard (Howard

was then editor of the *New Statesman*, now number two on *The Observer*), dine at the embassy. Acting the tortured liberal, Howard agonisingly informs Radji that he would not attend a dinner at the Chilean or South African embassies. Alas, poor Tony. What difficult choices life forces upon us, Ugh!

On a summer's night in June 1977, Radji entertains the Spenders and Sir Isiah and Lady Berlin to dinner: 'Isiah is for me, of course, the star of the evening. The conversation ranges far and wide.' Not far enough to cover the horrors of a SAVAK torture camp, but wide enough to discuss the KGB and lack of freedom in Moscow. After Berlin's grotesque display of doublestandards, the conversation is continued elsewhere: 'After dinner we all go to John Gross's...' Stuart Hampshire is there...' Radji does not retell the remarks of the then editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*. Maybe Gross will oblige one of these days. Several months later, on a beach in Barbados, our hero reads Barlin's four essays on liberty and feels that they should be translated into Persian.

On another occasion, George Weidenfeld proposes a book on the Shah that would be on the same level as Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*. How many copies Teheran would have to order in advance is not revealed. The prize for unashamed arse-licking, however, must be awarded to David Frost. Readers can turn to pages 64, 106, 145 and 174. It is best, incidentally, to peruse them out of door to avoid a mess on the carpet inside. David Owen complains to Radji about 'lunatic extremists' in the Labour party, no doubt, in order to impress the sane moderate being swept off his throne in Iran. Harold Wilson and Lady Falkender advise Radji to warn HIM/SOP of the evils of communism and to stand firm against it. Thousands of people

(Continued on page 24)

BOOK
REVIEW

Global economie . . .

(Continued from page 8)

As far as the United States [is concerned, the outlook for this, the locomotive of world capitalism, is really gloomy. Recently the Spanish news agency EFE mentioned that the constant deteriorations of economic activity in the United States has forced Reagan's economists to "review their forecasts" for the present year. EFE added, "economic analyses of employers and trade, unions alike, moreover, show

that the precarious situation of the U.S. economy will continue in 1983. The high level of unemployment will still be its most important feature."

For its part, the conservative daily **The Wall Street Journal** wrote in early January 1983 that a summary of the pessimistic predictions of most U.S. economists leads to the conclusion that an "ordinary depression" is in the making in the United States — and it's moving fast. The newspaper

emphasized that among the elements which undermine confidence in the economy are the rise in unemployment and the deterioration of the situation over the coming months. Another important element is the increase in the number of bankruptcies, all of which can lead to a very dangerous downward spiral.

It is clear that one does not have to be Cassandra to predict that the future of the world capitalist economy looks anything but promising. — GRANMA

Taking to the night

been looking all day/|been looking all night
been looking for a job to ease my plight
i look to the left/i look to the right
i looked so much/i might lose my sight
been looking for a job both day & night
but the jobs these times : **THEY ARE OUT/A/SIGHT**
they want you to work for almost/**FREE**
but some fat/cats still make the big money
yet they cry the blues like B. B. King
with more horrors & woes than Bessie could sing
they just bought a jet today/
they may say
but . . . parking . . . cost
. . . too . . . much . . . /on the airway
or they might have brought a house
in suburbia
thinking it will shield them
from the coming fire
(the people who have the money
check the games they play
look at what they do
not at what they say !!!!!!!
they'll smile/work you to/the/bone
and when they tire of you/throw you away
then when you're broke on the corner
this is what you/may say/
: been looking all day
been getting uptight
been thinking of challenging
the system's might
we might have to fuss
we might have to fight
If they have the day
we might have to fight
If they have the day
we'll have the night !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

CLIFTON JOSEPH

All the . . .

(Continued from page 23)

were shot dead by the Shah's regime before it finally fell. Heath, Owen, Wilson, Frost, Chalfont, Douglas-Home, Berlin, Gross (characters big and small) stand implicated in the crimes committed by the Pahlavi regime. The fact that the present clerical monstrosity in Iran does not respect democratic rights either cannot be regarded as an excuse.

Few come out well, but they deserve unstinted praise: Fred Halliday of *New Left Review*, Private Eye, Liz Thurgood of *The Guardian* and the American novelist Philip Roth. When the latter refuses an invitation to one of Radji's dinners in strong language, the ambassador comments: "Sanctimonious little shit." Pity there weren't a few more.

Letter . . .

(Continued from page 1)

appropriate use of their knowledge and findings in order to communicate them to a wide audience of readers, organizations and policy-makers. The objective and scientific character of *Lanka Guardian* originates precisely from its profound commitment to the values the Asian peoples have been struggling for, in order to accelerate their political, economic and cultural liberation.

Dr. Ngo Manh Lan
UNITAR Special Fellow,
Director, Programme "Strategies for the Future of Asia",
United Nations Institute for
Training and Research (UNITAR)
New York.

Hire Purchase Finance?

FIRST SEE

Mercantile Credit Limited



You will receive highest margin of finance & benefit from lowest terms...

and Save on finance cost.

on new, reconditioned and second-hand:-

- LORRY CHASSIS
- LORRIES
- TRUCKS
- COACHES
- INDUSTRIAL VEHICLES
- FLAT BED TRUCKS, TRAILERS
- TIPPERS
- VANS
- PICK-UPS
- JEEPS

INDUSTRIAL PLANT AND MACHINERY, OFFICE APPLIANCES.

MASTERS

Contact
HIRE-PURCHASE MANAGER

Mercantile Credit Limited

The largest finance Company in Sri Lanka
51, Janadhipathi Mawatha, Colombo 1
Telephone: 26611-8

Branch Offices:

- JAFFNA : 11/8 Stanley Road, Telephone : 321
 - MATARA : 27, 1/1 Dharmapala Mawatha, Telephone 041 - 2466
 - ANURADHAPURA : 2, Harichanda Mawatha, Telephone : 534
 - KANDY : 115, First Floor, Kotugodella Veediya, Telephone : 08 - 4196
 - NEGOMBO : Meemaduma Building, Rajapakse Broadway, Telephone : 038 - 2932
 - RATNAPURA : 196, Main Street
- Dealers in all other important towns

Why Hire-Purchase?

- ✓ You will own equipment you Hire-Purchase
 - ✓ You pay for equipment while using it.
 - ✓ You benefit from depreciation to reduce your tax liability.
 - ✓ You make the most with a small initial investment.
 - ✓ Hire-purchase terms can be adjusted to suit individual requirements.
- Terms offered are the lowest in the market.



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