

# YOUNG

# SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: The Budget; The United Left Front; The new polarisation; General Strike?; Vietnam; Negro direct action in USA; The Sino-Soviet crisis; Fourth International World Congress.

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comiums of his colleagues, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Industries, regarding private sector development behind the crisis-induced tariff wall. He relishes the number of enterprises monthly with the joy of a miser recounting his hoard.

Thus, the cloven foot of truth peeps out of the false cloth of democratic socialist drapery. The SLFP Government confines itself consciously within capitalism's confines. Those who wish to go forward to socialism must first replace the SLFP Government from the Left.

### THE UNITED LEFT FRONT

That the forces of the Left are girding their loins for the fray has had to be accepted in recent months by even the sceptical. The movement for Left unity, which began with the emotionalism of the oil meeting of 16th February, surged forward in the anticipatory confidence of success to a mighty May Day demonstration and meeting which exceeded any rally that this country had seen before on any issue, and culminated in the tremendous Independence Square rally of August 12th (Tenth Anniversary of the Great Hartal of 1953) on which occasion a carefully negotiated Agreement was signed by Dr. N. M. Perera, Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardene and Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe on behalf of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and the Ceylon Communist Party respectively. It is well known that the organisational and political steps consequent on the United Left Front Agreement are in course of preparation and implementation. The required United Left lead in Ceylon's politics has thus been ensured.

The U.L.F. Agreement is manifestly no mere Elections Programme although it does provide a programme which could also be used at a General Election. Equally, it is no mere arrangement for the three Left parties to act jointly on this or that issue. It is a more comprehensive agreement providing for the joint organisation of mass action on felt current issues and leading up to a general mobilisation of the masses in the perspective of power. In other words, the agreement enables the systematic provision of a United Left lead against the SLFP Government and the forces of capitalist

reaction and in relation to the major political issues of the day and of this period. It releases mass energies for action on a broad front, and since the agreement expressly concerns itself with the question of a Government, it directs the mass consciousness to the problem and achievement of power. Thus, and undoubtedly, the Left and the mass movement have taken a big stride forward. To work and move forward effectively and successfully from the vantage-point thus achieved is the great task now facing the Left forces. The ULF is their ready and powerful instrument for the carrying through of that task.

### THE NEW POLARISATION

The impact of the ULF agreement on the direction of political development in Ceylon was already apparent in the Throne Speech Debate. The effort of the United National Party's strong man, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, to woo the SLFP was not some irrelevant joke but an expression of deliberate policy. Something of the abounding confidence which the UNP displayed in recent months is gone beyond recapture. The belief that a clash between the Left and the SLFP would work necessarily to the benefit of the UNP even in electoral politics is no longer quite so secure. There is a realisation that the ULF represents and introduces a new dynamic which can resuscitate, of course on a new and higher plane, the sharp division and confrontation of the Left and Right which the days of the first UNP Prime Minister, the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, saw. The Right itself recognises uneasily that the relationship of forces is no longer as favourable to it as in Mr. D. S. Senanayake's days. In truth and in fact a steadily concentrating Left faces an uncertain and confused Right. The very uncertainty of the Right is demonstrated in its zigzags between direct actionism and electoralism. The ULF of course cuts across both lines of the Right's attempted advance.

The new political developments leave the SLFP orphaned. The middle way has not only reached a dead end but is actually in the course of being discarded amidst much loud pedalling of the Bandaranaike heritage. The Prime Minister is manifestly in search of a new policy for her regrouped Cabinet. Her tendency is Right-

ward as she realises increasingly the inability of Ceylon capitalism to stand even mild doses of further reform any more. The situation presses inexorably towards either a breaking out from capitalism's constricting shell or towards a retirement into the most reactionary forms of capitalist exploitation and rule. The Prime Minister is in process of cautious withdrawal; but conducts the retreat under cover of the latitude she gives the Ilangaratne wing to engage in pseudo-Leftism. It is the "Sinhale" and the Felix Dias Bandaranaike group which best senses her predilections and her actual course; and hence it is that the direct attacks on the ULF from within the SLFP have come from these circles. The Leftward moving group within the SLFP, which manifested itself on the rice issue last year, has been quiet in recent times but must necessarily find the ULF to be a powerful new magnet. Not Parliamentary conjunctures however, but the stirrings of the masses anew will impel them forward in the future. In the meantime the SLFP itself preserves a facade of unity covering a no longer containable diversity. The SLFP has no future.

#### GENERAL STRIKE?

The processes that have gone to political agreement among the Left parties have also gone to a higher degree of co-ordination in the Left influenced trade union movement in the perspective of militant action. Six big federal centres as well as that free association of federations and unions known as the Co-ordinating Committee of Trade Union Organisations have successfully come together to formulate a common set of demands which can be submitted to both the Government and the employer class as a whole in the name of the general trade union movement and as a major first step to common action. It is a massive new development in the field of the class struggle in Ceylon; and the instinctive recognition of its importance by the enemy is reflected in the historical announcements of imminent general strike action with which the capitalist newspapers are full. There is no doubt that when the working class next moves, it will move in a united way on a broad front. It is no secret that the preparations necessary for such a move are going forward so that generally co-ordinated

action guided from a common centre will result when the situation matures. But it is correct to remind the panic-mongers that in actions of the nature contemplated the working class moves with a deliberateness which reflects a responsible consciousness of means and objectives and also a firm determination to carry a major action to success. In the meantime the strikes we have seen and are seeing may be likened to the heat lightning that precedes the monsoon storms.

#### VIETNAM

The field of international relations has been particularly rich in events calling for comment; but we have to confine ourselves to a few matters. Pride of place must go to South Vietnam because recent events there have undoubtedly caused a wide stir in Ceylon.

The Buddhist angle on recent events has tended to predominate in Ceylon and is certainly relevant to the deep-going democratic issues on which, amongst other things, the events in Vietnam turn. The true issue however, is neither religious nor merely democratic. It goes deeper. The Viet Cong guerillas represent a powerful and widespread mass movement, revolutionary in character, directed not merely at the dictatorial Diem regime but also at radical social change. The development bears a certain similarity to Cuba in that the prolonged resistance of a reactionary political regime dependent on foreign support has driven steadily growing mass resistance to positive social goals. The principal differences from Cuba are the direct presence of operational American troops in Vietnam and the sheer proximity of a revolutionary regime of the same Vietnamese people just across the border. These very differences, and the situation in South East Asia, have caused the revolutionary struggle of the South Vietnamese to get caught up in world power-politics; and this involvement has tended to obscure reality. In any event, the demand of the Vietnamese Buddhists for their democratic rights, and the fact that they have backed up their demand with various forms of direct action and mass action, introduces another explosive element into an already explosive situation. Even the American backers of the Diem

regime apparently see no hope for it and are toying with the idea of a Palace Coup as a means out of the situation. Not only Mrs. Bandaranaike appears to think that old faces in new places can ease problems if not solve them.

#### NEGRO DIRECT ACTION IN U.S.A.

The news from the Negro Movement in the USA is literally thrilling. Militant mass direct action, even in controlled Gandhian forms, are having an impact on American politics which must inevitably have repercussions in the working class field also. Independent political action by the oppressed Negro masses is bound to evoke the thought of independent political action by the working class in the American arena. The only certainty about the situation of the Negroes in the USA is that neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party can measure up to this problem. The implications of Negro equality in any genuine sense are too revolutionary for the parties of capitalism in America to be able to take the lead in the struggle. All they can do, as President Kennedy is doing is to try to contain the struggle within the frame-work of orthodox politics. This, not even the Negro leaders can ultimately accomplish. The permanence of mass unemployment in the capitalist USA, despite the resources of the world's mightiest imperialism gives to the Negro struggle a new explosiveness which comes of the direct involvement of the racially oppressed Negro masses in the class struggle. It is a pointer to the future that the Negroes are demanding not only racial equality but also equality of job opportunities and working conditions. It is no less significant that fringes of the trade union movement have got drawn into the demonstrations. If the Negro struggle gets integrated with the working class struggle, the consequences to American and world politics are incalculable because the success of both struggles will thereby be guaranteed. The Revolutionaries in America must be and are with the Negroes all the way and unconditionally. There is no other way for the revolutionaries to win the leadership of this vital struggle.

#### THE SINO-SOVIET CRISIS

The conflict between the workers states known as the USSR and the People's Republic of China is now not only open and direct but also bitter. Single party states cannot keep inter-party conflicts within party confines. The State becomes necessarily involved. In the case of the USSR and China however, the conflict appears to have had an inter-state character from the beginning. The question of the nuclear arming of China is no mere ideological matter but also very much a question of power-relations and power-politics. It affects not only China's relations with the USA but also China's relations with the USSR itself, for it means that so long as only the USSR has nuclear weapons within the Sino-Soviet alliance, the USSR will have an important if not decisive hold on China's foreign policy or at least the mode of working out that policy. As the nuclear competition between the USA and the USSR has itself demonstrated anew, the levels of military power can be decisive even of short-term relations between states. The bitterness of China's complaints against the USSR surely derives from the consciousness that the Soviet Union's denial to her of nuclear weapons and nuclear know-how dooms her to grave military inferiority in relation first of all to the USA for what can be a decisive historical period. Unless the military alliance of the USSR and China holds actively and continuously despite the bitterness of controversy, the USA will have gained a great advantage over China. It should be added that the situation naturally impels China towards the emphasis of revolutionism in the imperialist controlled sector of the world; for not only revolution but even revolutionary adventurism can divert the energies of world imperialism away from direct intervention in China and also lessen imperialism's pressure on China while she builds up her strength. It is to be added however, that those who imagine that the USSR can even contemplate leaving China unassisted in a military clash with the USA are fooling themselves. The mutuality and community of interests of the worker states even under Stalinist systems are far too deepgoing for even a conflict of power interests to result in the situation for which wishful imperialist speculators are hoping.

Imperialism cannot risk war with China with impunity anymore than either the USSR or China can contemplate a break of the Sino-Soviet alliance seriously. However prolonged the Sino-Soviet crisis may be, it is only a phase in the development of inter-state relations among worker states whose ultimate forms and true content will be determined by that which determines all things in this era—the World Revolution.

#### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WORLD CONGRESS

It is appropriate that the Seventh World Congress of the World Party of the Proletarian Revolution, namely the Fourth International, should have taken place amidst these events in a fashion that reuni-

fies the movement. There are still Trotskyist currents in the world which have not come within the Fourth International's fold and there are even groups which seek to counterpose themselves to the official body as a rival Fourth International. But the flow in the world as in Ceylon is towards the unification of the revolutionary forces in the common perspective of the completion of the world revolution. The Fourth International is in accord with that trend and will therefore prevail over dissidents and rivals. There is room in the Fourth International for all genuine revolutionary trends to come together in the common task of extending the world Revolution as the necessary means of bringing into being the Socialist world order. We have no doubt that the Fourth International will measure up to the historic task which it has set itself.

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# THE WAY OUT FOR THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE (III)\*

By V. KARALASINGHAM

## IV MARXISM AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES

THE very nature of national and minority oppression has served both to emphasise the gross inadequacy of the Federal Party and to indicate the broad outlines of the solution itself. The Federal Party has simply not the understanding of the problem and devoid of this, there can be no successful action. It is not only in medical science that correct diagnosis is the prelude to rapid and effective therapy. The rule holds good in politics as well. National oppression being the product of world capitalist decline and decay, the struggle of nations and peoples for equality necessarily links up with the world struggle against capitalism. It is in the leadership of the latter struggle that the Tamil speaking people will find the elements who would provide them that new orientation which is indispensable if their struggle for democratic rights is to go forward.

The conception of the Marxist Left as the leader of the struggle against national oppression and for minority rights may appear somewhat startling, particularly because people have been long conditioned to the insidious propaganda of the enemies of Socialism that only a bourgeois or petty bourgeois (i.e. national) party could lead a national liberation struggle, or in the language of the Federal Party, only a Tamil party can lead the Tamil people. And merely to underline the exclusive claim of the bourgeois to leadership of these movements, the petty bourgeois duly recognise and acknowledge the competence and claim of the Left to lead the anti-capitalist struggle. Even genuine friends of the Left fall victims to this deceptive line since the known internationalism of the Left is in their eyes a sufficient impediment in the way of Marxist consistency on the question of

national oppression and discrimination. But this view whether put forward mischievously or held innocently is belied by the theory and practice of Marxism.

To begin with the historical record, it is a matter of common knowledge that the record of the LSSP in relation to the minorities in Ceylon is second to none. In the long years of its existence, the LSSP has consistently championed the just rights of all religious, linguistic, national and caste minorities. This is part of the recorded history of our country and all attempts from *whatever quarter* to erase from the consciousness of the people the leading role of the LSSP in the legitimate struggles of the oppressed peoples are foredoomed to failure. The futility of such endeavour is underscored both by the history of the revolutionary socialist movement and the scientific theory which guides its revolutionary action.

The history of the LSSP bears ample testimony to the correct positions taken by the party in its attitude to the Tamil speaking people. The touchstone of principled politics in Ceylon is the attitude to the minority problem: specifically to the language rights of the Tamil speaking people and the citizenship rights of people of recent Indian origin. As far as the LSSP was concerned on these matters there never was any doubt.

Years before today's official leaders of the Tamil speaking people awoke to the realisation that the rights of the Tamil speaking people are as inviolate as those of their Sinhalese speaking brethren, the LSSP not merely recognised the legitimacy of the demand, but in fact first formulated it. The basic foundation document of the party issued in 1935 entitled *Fundamental Objectives* at clause 17 categorically stated: "The use of the vernaculars (i.e. Sinhalese

\* Parts 1 11 appeared in Vol. 2 Nos. 1 & 2—Ed.



and Tamil-Ed.) in the lower courts of law, in entries and recorded statements at Police stations and the extension of this use to all Government Departments." Thus at its very birth the LSSP was pledged to equality of status of the two principal languages of Ceylon. In making this declaration in favour of the equality of status of Sinhalese and Tamil, the LSSP was merely giving effect to the principle enunciated by Lenin: "To the extent that the elimination of national oppression is achievable at all in capitalist society, it is possible only under a *consistently democratic republican system and state administration that guarantees complete equality for all nations and languages.*" (P. 53 Vol. 2 of *Two Volume Edition of Lenin's Selected works* 1947 Moscow) Thus it will be seen that the demand of the LSSP to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon has an ancestry longer than the history of the LSSP itself.

On the question of the restoration of citizenship and franchise rights of persons of recent Indian origin, the position of the Left is well known. In 1948 when the Ceylon capitalist class disfranchised these persons, the Marxist Left resolutely opposed the discriminatory legislation, while the majority of the so-called leaders of the Tamil speaking minority in Parliament from the Northern and Eastern Provinces supported the UNP government in its reactionary measures against the plantation workers. On these and every other question that bear a discriminatory character against the minorities, and these have been many, the LSSP has not hesitated to declare its clear opposition. Mention may be made in passing to the Party's forthright protest at the racialist land distribution policies of successive capitalist governments, the discrimination in the public services, the exclusion of children of Tamil plantation workers from the benefits of the Free Education system, the use of emergency powers to suppress the extra-Parliamentary action of the people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, etc.

Impressive though the record is of the LSSP, this in itself would be an insufficient assurance for the future. What guarantees the future are the theoretical principles underlying the Party's programme. These

are so inextricably bound with the defence of the rights of minorities that it cannot abandon the one without at the same time rejecting the other. Indeed it is its very character as the revolutionary Marxist Party of the working class which as shown below inexorably compels it to oppose all oppression and discrimination and to support unreservedly all democratic movements of oppressed minorities, not on grounds of sentiment, but as the very axis of its own immanent development. That is why it can be stated with the certainty of a Euclidian proposition that the best defender of rights of the minorities is the revolutionary party of the working class.

The fundamental aim of the LSSP is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry which regime alone in modern conditions could guarantee the transition to a socialist society. Such a regime can be achieved only by developing and sharpening the class struggle to the point of an open civil war when the organs of the old power would be overthrown by the new institutions created by the working class in revolt. This is the historic mission of the working class. And to accomplish this task the working class must be an independent and united force. Anything which weakens this unity and independence is a mortal enemy of the socialist movement. The biggest obstacle in the way of the socialist solidarity of the workers is the divisive ideology of the ruling class, its racialism, its jingoism, its religious *jehad* etc. As shown in an earlier section, the ruling class deliberately resorts to these devices in an attempt to disrupt the anti-capitalist mass movement. Hence any genuinely socialist party seriously interested in preparing the working class for its ultimate goal of capturing power must decisively combat all forms of racialism. Combating racialism means, in concrete terms, irreconcilable opposition to all forms of racial or religious discrimination by the ruling class or its government and the merciless exposure of all moves, manoeuvres and diversionist activities of the class enemy that have for their real purpose the distraction of the working class from its historic goal and the disruption of the solidarity of the toilers united under the socialist banner.

Further for a Marxist party, support of a movement for democratic rights is something elementary. Revolutionary socialists advocate the overthrow of the existing capitalist order, however democratic and liberal may be the political set-up because behind the facade of the "purest" democracy there exists the naked exploitation of the working class and toilers by the capitalists and landlords. Marxists therefore naturally go much further than the most liberal of bourgeois democrats since the socialist struggle transcends the limitations of bourgeois democracy. For all its importance the struggle of the minorities and oppressed nationalities is more limited since such a struggle only seeks to democratize the capitalist political structure. For the LSSP therefore the support to any movement for democratic reform is something inherent in its general socialist standpoint, and hence the support of the struggle of minorities becomes an elementary duty.

But it is not only a sense of duty that impels a Marxist party in a colonial and backward country like Ceylon to support the struggle of minorities for their legitimate rights. It is well-known that in the original *schema* it was the working class of the advanced capitalist countries of the West that was expected to seize power first, a task made possible and feasible because it constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population in the industrially developed European countries. But historical reality proved otherwise and the working class of the backward countries—Czarist Russia, China, Cuba,—where it was numerically insignificant came to political power earlier than the working class in the capitalistically more developed countries. These were not happy accidents but the working out of an important historical law—a law which operates in all backward countries where the weak capitalist class has left unsolved numerous democratic problems. According to this law the leadership of the struggle for the solution of these problems passes to the other decisive urban class, the industrial working class of the cities. Even though a hopeless minority in a backward country, the prospect of power immediately opens up to the working class

by virtue of its open espousal of the tasks of the democratic revolution and its leadership of the broad masses fighting for the fulfilment of their democratic demands. But once in power through the sweep of the democratic revolution, the working class is relentlessly driven to implement its own socialist programme, that is, the democratic revolution develops uninterruptedly into the socialist revolution.

An examination of the realities of the social and political scene in Ceylon against the background of the theory outlined immediately above would reveal how vital it is for the predominantly Sinhalese speaking urban working class to espouse, support, organise and lead the numerous democratic movements in the country for the realisation of its very goal: the establishment of its socialist power. It is precisely the numerical insignificance of the urban working class which is but concentrated in Colombo and its environs that brings home in the sharpest relief the tremendous motive force of the democratic movement and its immense value as a powerful lever to raise the working class itself to power. The democratic movement embraces in the rural areas, among others, the struggle of the cultivators for full rights of ownership, and of all oppressed castes for full equality.\* And since the transference of political power to the native capitalist class in 1948, two other democratic movements have emerged both latent with enormous revolutionary potentialities. These are the movements of the people of the North and East for their language rights and the struggle of the Tamil speaking plantation workers for political and civic rights. On their own these movements can achieve nothing—even at their height they can but rise to the level of heroic local uprisings incapable however of seriously challenging the state power. They need the leadership of an urban class to centralize their scattered struggles and lead them in a determined onslaught against their oppressors. Neither can the urban working class on its own strength, notwithstanding its high degree of militancy, go beyond pure and simple trade unionism. For the overthrow of the bourgeois state, for the expropriation of the capitalist class,

\* This is not an academic question as many would like to believe, vide Mr. Asoka Karunaratne's letter of resignation as Junior Minister of Justice.



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for the wresting of political power, for the creation of the new proletarian state and the suppression of the capitalist counter-revolution, the urban working class must clearly harness other forces to its aid. Where can it turn to but the tremendous reservoir of revolutionary energy that is the democratic movement of the oppressed peoples? Ineluctably two mighty historical movements converge—only under working class leadership can the movement of the oppressed minorities find adequate expression and only on their support can the urban working class itself reach out for political power in order to begin the task of the socialist reorganisation of society. The forging of this grand alliance which is the central strategic aim of the revolutionary vanguard organised in the LSSP will spell the end of the bourgeois order itself. Thus it will be seen that the very basis of the LSSP's claim to power rests on its capacity to unify under its banner the democratic movement of all the oppressed peoples and peasants and the socialist struggle of the working class.

## V

### SUPERIORITY OF MARXIST LEADERSHIP

The close inter-relationship, indeed the organic unity, of the socialist struggle of the working class and the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for their just rights must convince all honest elements among the latter of the deep and abiding interest of the Marxist Left in the fight for equality and against discrimination. Incurable imbeciles among them who determine their politics by reference to the linguistic origin of the leadership of organisations will of course remain unconvinced, and as nothing will ever convince them of anything, they deserve but contempt. Still others may despair that their immediate pressing problem is linked with the Party's ultimate goal of the seizure of power by the revolutionary masses. This is hardly an objection since the Federal Party which today speaks for the Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces cannot even sketch a programme of action which could take it to its ultimate goal. The lack of such a programme means not merely that its ulti-

mate goal is totally unrealisable but also that in the intervening period between the present and the promised future the Federal Party can offer nothing but utter frustration. But precisely because Marxism boldly outlines a programme that is realistic to the core in respect of the ultimate goal it is able even in the transitional period between today and the morrow to give the movement of the Tamil speaking people a purpose and direction, infuse it with enthusiasm and *elan*, and instil confidence and hope in the final success of their endeavour. A re-thinking is of course indispensable—in fact an orientation in the direction of the Marxist Party. At the very least the first benefit of any new regrouping of their ranks is the casting off of the mill stones which the Federal Party leadership has placed round their necks.

The most burdensome of these is the communalism of the leadership. So long as the fight of the minorities is conducted under a leadership such as that of the Federal Party, their struggle is immediately given a communal character, however loudly such an approach may be disowned. Not only is the freedom of action of the minorities severely handicapped but a communal taint to the legitimate struggle of the minorities directly and immediately strengthens and feeds the communalism of the majority community. There is no way of breaking this vicious circle at the level of Federal Party politics, and as long as the political leadership of the Tamil speaking people is the responsibility of Tamil communalists. But the position alters completely when the voice of the Tamil speaking people is the voice of the Socialist movement. Hence forth the agitation of the Tamil speaking people for their language and franchise rights becomes a direct political struggle between *the socialist movement and the capitalist class and its government*, and not as at present a dog fight between majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils. The struggle of the Tamil speaking people is set in its proper perspective, namely, a struggle for democratic rights. Transcending racial considerations, the dividing line now is between *socialists and democrats on the one side* and reactionary chauvinists and capitalist agents on the other. Due to the dominance of the Federal Party this im-

portant aspect is completely blurred and the issue conveniently misrepresented as a fight between Sinhalese and Tamils.

Once the leadership of the Tamil speaking people passes to the LSSP, the fight of the Sinhalese chauvinists against the legitimate struggle of the minorities must thereafter be directed against the socialist movement, if they are to strike at the minorities. This is no easy matter, certainly immeasurably more difficult than countering the Federal Party. The latter presents no difficulty because it makes no appeal whatever to the Sinhalese masses. Indeed between them and the Federal Party there is an unbridgable gulf which the crude propaganda of the Federal Party only succeeds in widening. But the revolutionary socialist movement, real and pulsating, is part of the political life of the Sinhalese speaking people. It is futile to attempt to assess its strength—membership of parties, trade unions, youth leagues, general political influence etc—but it is sufficient to say that even though it is not the dominant tendency among them, the Socialist movement is the spokesman of a substantial section of Sinhalese opinion. Whatever be the ebbs and flows, there has been in every Parliament a fair representation of socialist members from wholly Sinhalese speaking constituencies. This is the best evidence of the strength of the movement. It is this movement that the chauvinists must overcome in order to combat the just struggles of the Tamil speaking minority. They must engage actively against the strongly entrenched socialist movement in the predominantly Sinhalese speaking areas—a battle ground decidedly disadvantageous to them and a foe of remarkable resilience.

Again it must not be forgotten that when LSSP leadership of the Tamil speaking people is an established fact, the task of agitating for their just demands is made easier. So long as the Federal Party is the spokesman for the Tamils, there will always remain an impenetrable barrier between the Tamil and Sinhalese people. The effect of Federal Party propaganda is to alienate, even those uncommitted among the broad mass of Sinhalese speaking people, and it is not surprising therefore that its propaganda can never hope to wean any section of peo-

ple even mildly under chauvinist influence. Further the actions of the Federal Party—one is not talking here of their actions, however ill-conceived in relation to the demands of the Tamil speaking people—but their actions concerning wider national issues, even more than their propaganda, have widened the gulf. On practically every major question touching the people, the Federal Party has opposed the numerous measures of reform and in effect identified the mass of Tamil speaking people with the forces of reaction. Their opposition to the evacuation of British Naval forces from Trincomalee and other bases, the vote against the minimal agrarian reform represented by the Paddy Lands Act, and their open defence of Christian Missionary education in opposing the State take-over of Schools (a reform carried out by Catholic France as far back as 1789!) are but a few instances of their political Rip Van Winklism if not the clearest evidence of the capitalist character of the party. Is it any wonder that when the Federal Party is the spokesman for the legitimate demands of the Tamil speaking people, the broad mass of Sinhalese speaking people should be deeply distrustful and on guard even in respect of demands that are fair and reasonable? But the position is otherwise when the LSSP is the spokesman for the Tamil speaking people in and outside Parliament. The LSSP has not merely been identified with every agitation of popular demands, but over the last 25 years is the leader and organiser of the masses in their day to day struggles. It has won the confidence of the advanced elements among them and is therefore best able to put across the just demands of the Tamil speaking people among those who matter—the mass of Sinhalese speaking people. But until such time as the Party is the accepted spokesman of the Tamil speaking people, the LSSP will lack the moral authority to do so effectively.

Even more promising would be the new methods of struggle available to the Tamil speaking people. Today's squandermania of invaluable mass energy in farcical *Satyagraha* campaigns, purposeless exhibitionism, and futile "tar brushings" will be things of the past. Neither would the Tamil speaking people need to indulge in



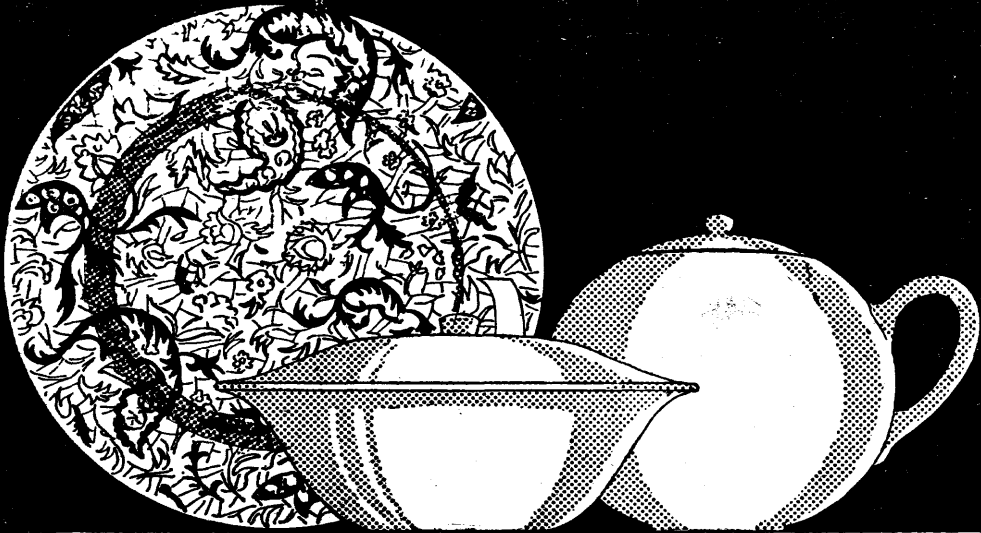
vain gestures like refusing to learn Sinhala as though this can ever solve *their* problem. A generation about to make its final exit and assured of its pension rights or living on the returns of investments made in traditional Sinhalese speaking areas can afford the luxury of such absurdities. But in relation to the new generation these stunts are criminal in that they bureaucratically deny it equality of opportunity in life's competitive struggle and arbitrarily ill-equip it to face the future, without in any way taking the struggle for the recognition of Tamil a step nearer the goal. The Federal Party must perforce sustain itself on such meaningless protests, while LSSP leadership will signify the proper utilisation of the resources of the Tamil speaking people in concerted mass action with the healthy and progressive forces of the rest of the country against the ruling class and its oppressive government.

Generally Parliament represents the Achilles heel of the Left. But the incapacity of the Federal Party in Parliament is so notorious that even in this thoroughly alien institution the Left though a minority is better able to defend and further the interests of the Tamil speaking people. This is due principally to the fact that the Left in Parliament draws its strength from a mass movement based on the country as a whole and not from a territorially restricted area which is not even a sphere of government interest. Consequently the Left even in opposition as the spokesman for the Tamil speaking people, is sometimes able by the correct combination of Parliamentary and extra Parliamentary pressure to make the maximum of the limited opportunities which Parliament presents. But mass expectation through Parliament is not only that of the role of a watch dog. The widespread illusions in Parliament has necessitated the formulation of a programme capable of realisation through it. For this reason the LSSP has sought and reached agreement with the CP and the MEP on a *minimum* programme for a specific purpose. For all the limitations inevitable in such an electoral arrangement with other parties holding different views, the agreement marks an important step.

Undoubtedly on a number of matters including questions of language and citizenship the minimum programme of the

LSSP-CP-MEP Parliamentary Bloc does not represent the traditional Marxist position. But what is of significance is that other organisations to the agreement have now taken positions which are an advance on the views advocated by them in the past. Even more important than the gain of drawing the MEP to support a formulation that goes some way to meeting the demands of the Tamil speaking people is the fact that the implementation of the minimum programme in respect of language and citizenship would mark a distinct advance from the actual existing situation. Thereafter the very dialectic of this limited reform must compel those who today lack the necessary theoretical understanding to take further measures towards the final solution of the minority problem. This would not be the first time in history when declared opponents of a particular solution were driven by the inner logic of events to adopt the very measures they had opposed. It is well known for instance that Abraham Lincoln who was not an abolitionist of slavery when he assumed office was himself compelled to abolish slavery by the very exigencies of the fight against the Southern slave owners, although it was apparent to Marxists long before that the very development of American capitalism required the creation of a free labour market. Similarly the very implementation of the economic sections of the minimum programme like the nationalisation of estates and Banks and the resulting fight against the resistance of the capitalist class must necessarily create the conditions for the realisation of the legitimate demands of the Tamil speaking peoples since only on this basis is the socialist development of Ceylon possible.

What has been considered so far is the most favourable variant. But the evolution of events along this line is by no means assured. There are many counteracting factors not the least of which is that the solution is sought within the framework of Parliament which gives an undue weightage to hostile class influences and an exaggerated representation to backward areas. To these must be added the fact that the social base of the parties to the agreement is not wholly the working class at different levels of consciousness as is the case in the classical working out of the united front tactic. These alien, non-proletarian, and



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in some instances, even positively anti-working class elements will press on all or some of the parties to the agreement and seek to assert their interests through them, and to fashion them to serve their reactionary requirements. This *denouement* can be avoided only if the forces of the working class and the minorities, and of the latter, in particular the Tamil speaking people throw their weight behind the Marxist parties. It is only to the extent that they rally behind the LSSP that they would be able to neutralize the reactionary opposing pressures and compel the LSSP-CP-MEP Parliamentary bloc to carry out the promised reforms, and to get the bloc to go beyond its self imposed limits. If they remain aloof from the new regroupment, and specifically this means the LSSP, what they would in effect ensure is that the LSSP itself is but a prisoner in the bloc as far as their demands are concerned. It must not be forgotten that the ultimate effectiveness of the LSSP itself is directly dependent on the measure of support it receives from the working class and the Tamil speaking people.

Notwithstanding the potential danger—a danger let it be repeated which arises only if the Tamil speaking people are hesitant in their support to the socialist parties working among them—the Parliamentary bloc provides them yet another opportunity for direct participation in national affairs. Under the Tamil Congress they play second fiddle to the UNP, while under the Federal Party they roam the desolate expanse of despair. But under the Left they enter as equals with their co-thinkers in the rest of the country jointly to frame and formulate policy or unitedly to oppose the government of the day. Even while this would mark progress, the agreement also opens new possibilities in welding the broad mass of Sinhalese and Tamil speaking peoples in unshakeable fraternal unity. The pursuit of a common objective—the defeat of the SLFP and the UNP—under the common banner of the Marxist Left will for the first time bring the Sinhalese and Tamil masses together. From the point of view of the genuine interests of the Tamil speaking people the unity thus achieved is incomparably more important than any other fact since the confidence and mutual sympathy es-

tablished in a joint effort is the ultimate guarantee that finally the majority of the Sinhalese speaking people themselves would come round to supporting the just demands of the Tamil speaking people.

## VI CONCLUSION

For its own purposes, British imperialism accentuated the differences among the people of Ceylon—Low Country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamil, Indian Tamil, Ceylon Moor, Burgher, etc—and in the old Legislative Council gave limited representation on the basis of these highly refined distinctions. As the franchise was severely restricted and no power vested in the elected representatives, the centrifugal tendencies which were implicit in the official sub-divisions were slow to develop. But these received a powerful impetus with the introduction of universal adult franchise and the grant of limited powers under the Donoghmore Constitution. The native propertied classes, both Sinhalese and Tamil with that sure instinct which is the necessary accompaniment of their proprietary interest recognised in universal suffrage a powerful mass weapon directed against them and fiercely resisted the enfranchisement of the people. But this being a reform imposed by their own overlords they were powerless to do anything. However they have never reconciled themselves to it, and ever since 1931 their central political aim has been to prevent the cohesion of the masses as such cohesion is the precondition for the effective wielding of the new mass weapon. They have succeeded so far by exploiting the backwardness of the masses. In the first phase of universal franchise Sinhalese and Tamil vested interests in their respective electoral areas found in caste and religious cries a sufficient diversion from social and economic issues, and immediately, a convenient handle to beat their less fortunate bourgeois rivals who were competing for mass votes. But caste in particular was a double edged weapon in that it gave ideas to the oppressed castes. By the time of the second general election in 1936 Ceylonese Reaction found that the struggle against the “Tamil danger” in the Sinhalese electorates and the fight against “Pan-Sinhalese domination” in the Tamil

electorates provided a wonderful overall unity of the capitalist front against the popular masses. The new slogans also had the advantage of involving the Sinhalese and Tamil petty bourgeois masses in an earnest chase after rainbows, thus securing their big capitalist property from these very pauperised masses.

Intensified Sinhalese and Tamil communalism—these are but two sides of one bourgeois coin—was the capitalist answer to the dangers of mass enfranchisement. Undoubtedly it has paid good dividends to the capitalist class, and in the early period even the petty bourgeois hangers-on received their modest share. No wonder the middle classes found their new Messiahs in Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike of the Sinhala Maha Sabha and Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam of the Tamil Congress, the ideological precursors of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Federal Party. But the historic process tolerates no Messianism and soon retribution overtakes all who attempt to violate her. The dead end of Federal Party politics and the helplessness of the Tamil speaking people, in particular, the petty bourgeois masses among them, in the face of repeated provocative measures against them are the historical penalties for their support of the unprincipled politics of Tamil vested interests over the last 30 years. If Sinhalese communalism now appears triumphant, this is no evidence of its viability since in the historic scale the successes of the SLFP are as illusory as those of the blue-eyed, blonde-haired Aryans of Hitler's Germany. Nemesis will overtake the one as it certainly overtook the other.

To hasten this end the Tamil speaking people must decisively break with the Federal Party. So long as they are tied to it, there is not even a perspective of hope for them. It is high time that they paid attention to the problems of method and leadership of their struggle as these are fast becoming the key questions. Indignation and denunciation of an openly discriminatory Government are no substitutes for a correct policy to fight such a Government. The present leadership because of its close identification with the past will not encourage any discussion of these fundamental questions—it would rather see the Tamil speaking people burn themselves out in impotent rage and despair against the

Government than permit a critical re-examination of their politics. In the twilight of its life the older generation which grew up under foreign imperialism and the Donoughmore Constitution and which bears its share of guilt for the present impasse can be indifferent to the many matters now pressing for a revolutionary socialist solution. But others, and in particular the youth can be anything but indifferent. Not only do they have no responsibility for the inglorious past of the last few decades but their own interests demand that they find a road out of the blind alley in which they find themselves because of their father's and grandfather's politics. They have a life to live and not only must they live as equal citizens but they must assure this inalienable condition to their children and their children's children. Individuals among them, because of the intolerable conditions at home may seek their salvation abroad, but the masses have nowhere to go but must remain here to fight it out with those forces which oppress them. And this means, above all, their integration with the revolutionary socialist movement—only then shall the tocsin sound for the final struggle.

And that tocsin shall also summon to a unified struggle the majority of the Sinhalese speaking people, in particular the predominantly Sinhalese speaking urban working class, that class which in the words of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 "holds the future in its hands." The leading role in this whole historic movement shall belong to the best elements from among the Sinhala educated intelligentsia. From their ranks will spring the genuinely declassed professional revolutionaries who shall carry socialist consciousness to the working class itself, just as from the intelligentsia of the Great Russian oppressors whose regime was a veritable prison house of subject nations and peoples there arose Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and his colleagues to lead the struggle against Czarism and Great Russian chauvinism. In today's putrid atmosphere which has even pervaded the most unexpected precincts this confidence may appear to many as thoroughly misplaced. But as the very pollution is the result of an unholy conspiracy of conflicting forces to keep the Sinhala educated petty bourgeois intelligentsia in ignorance and obscurantism, the

clearance of the air is but a matter of patient effort and time. In any event in the hard school of experience and revolutionary struggle, the honest elements who today cannot see the organic connection between the struggle for socialism and the fight of the oppressed peoples for equality will soon appreciate the significance of what Marx said in his fundamental work: "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself

in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours agitation, that ran with the seven league boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California." *Capital* (Vol 1 page 301, Moscow Edition). And when they realise the indivisibility of the struggle against Reaction—and this they soon must—then shall Man on this speck on our planet, that is called Ceylon, leave pre-history and enter history.

"....Show not the *goal*  
But show also the *path*. So closely inter-  
woven  
Are path and goal that each with other  
Ever changes, and other *paths* forthwith  
Another *goal* set up."

Ferdinand Lassalle in *Franz von Sickingen*. Quoted by Leon Trotsky in *Their Morals and Ours*.

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# THE TRIPOLI PROGRAMME

(continued)

## FOR THE REALISATION OF THE ECONOMIC & SOCIAL TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

### Part II

(Part I was published in the 8th issue of the *Young Socialist*)

It is a question of defining our action on the triple plane—economic, social and international, with the aim of liberating Algeria from the remnants of colonialism and feudalism, and of determining the structure of the new society which must be constructed on a popular and anti-imperialist basis. A choice on these lines means:

- a national economy;
- a social policy for the benefit of the masses in order to raise the standard of living of the toilers, to abolish illiteracy, to improve housing and health, and to emancipate woman;
- an international policy based on national independence and the anti-imperialist struggle.

#### 1. THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL ECONOMY

##### (A) A Survey of the Economic and Social Situation of Colonial Algeria

##### (1) The Algerian economy is a colonial economy, dominated by France and entirely in the hands of the foreigner

It is a source of supply of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods. Its dependence is demonstrated by the high proportion of foreign trade in relation to national production and the overwhelming share of France in foreign trade (Algeria has always been client Number One and supplier Number One of France). This dependence is also demonstrated by France's predominant share in investments as well as in the settlement of the balance of accounts, and by the absence of any real industrialisation.

A minority of settlers introduced after the conquest has, with the support of the colonising power, seized the principal means of production and of finance. It owns the main productive lands (2,726, 700 hectares), monopolises the banks and industrial and commercial activity (90% of the total), and technically and administratively covers the country.

##### (2) The Algerian economy is an unbalanced and disjointed economy

Two sectors connected by a weak commercial link exist side by side.

(a) The modern and dynamic sector is of the capitalist type. It constitutes a veritable outpost of the French economy and covers European-

owned agriculture directed towards urban and export markets, the different branches of industry, transport, large-scale trade and services.

Algerian participation in this sector takes place principally in the capacity of manual labour.

(b) The traditional sector on which the main bulk of the Algerian population depends, that is to say, 5,225,000 people, maintains the forms inherited from the past. Subsistence economy and pre-capitalist relations of production dominate in this sphere. Technical and financial means are practically non-existent.

##### (3) The social consequences of colonial domination

The social consequences of this dependent, disjointed and dominated economy are direly felt by the Algerian people as a whole and are revealed in the great disparity of incomes. The French population in Algeria has an annual income of over 350,000 francs per head, while that of the Algerians is less than 50,000 francs, and is less than 20,000 francs for the masses living in the traditional sector.

The social consequences are also apparent in the failure to integrate in the economy two and a half millions of Algerians (990,000 totally and partially unemployed in the towns, and one and a half million unemployed in the countryside), in the rural exodus, in the emigration of 400,000 Algerians to France, in illiteracy (more than four fifths of those over 6 years are illiterate), in the lack of housing and sanitation which is evidenced by the large number of shanty towns and hovels and in the scanty sanitation in the countryside.

##### (B) Principles of Our Economic Policy

##### (1) Against foreign domination and economic liberation

The aspirations of our people for economic development and a raising of their standard of living is universally deep and irresistible.

In newly independent countries a resort to the methods of classical liberalism cannot bring about a real transformation of society.

It increases the anarchy of the market, strengthens economic dependence on imperialism, makes the state an organ for the transfer of wealth into the hands of the possessing classes, and fosters the activity of parasitic social layers linked with imperialism.

The local bourgeoisie progressively takes the place of the foreign bourgeoisie in the non-productive economic sectors and enriches itself. As for the people, they remain in poverty and ignorance.

The paucity of the national income and private savings, the flight from the country of a great part of the profits made, the orientation of local capital towards speculative activity such as trading profits, interest and money-lending, the non-utilisation of the enormous resources constituted by the manual labour of the unemployed, are so many factors that militate against the capitalist road of development.

Our Party cannot leave the solution of the fundamental problems posed before the country to the discretion of an embryonic bourgeoisie which is, besides, linked with imperialism. Of 4500 billions of private investments existing in Algeria in 1954, local capital constituted less than 8%. Our country cannot any longer leave the economy in the hands of foreign monopolies and await its modernisation by them.

The reluctance of foreign capital in regard to investments not yielding the average rate of profit, its reluctance to invest in fields that are needed today (which is to be expected), and the conditions they impose for their investments, must impel us not to regard foreign aid other than as a supplementary factor.

**(2) For a policy of planning with the democratic participation of the workers in economic power**

To remove the hold of the monopolies by a re-fashioning of foreign economic relations above all with France, to eliminate internal obstacles by a radical transformation of the structure of rural life, to industrialise for the purpose of responding to the needs of the people, such are the imperative needs of our country's development.

In order to attain these aims, planning and state control of the economy, along with the participation of the workers, is a vital necessity.

Planning alone will enable the accumulation of the capital needed for an economically profitable industrialisation in a relatively short time, the centralisation of decisions regarding the most important investments, and the avoidance of waste and unnecessary costs due to competition between enterprises.

The participation of the workers in the management of the economy will make possible the control and carrying out of the plan and its progressive adaptation to existing realities.

In our present condition, planning will encounter serious obstacles among which are lack of capital, the absence of skilled cadres, and cultural backwardness. But as between stagnation in a liberal framework and development through a planning of the economy, our Party chooses planning.

Our economic and cultural backwardness means that extraordinary demands will be made on our forces, and that there will be needed a proper utilisation of all our material and human resources with the aim of developing the country and of rea-

lising the tasks of the people's democratic revolution. The launching of the economy on a new basis involves a complete overturn of the present structure.

**(C) The Economic Tasks of the People's Democratic Revolution**

**(1) The agrarian revolution. In the Algerian context the people's democratic revolution is first of all an agrarian revolution.**

The creation of an internal market and the pace of industrialisation demands a real revolution in rural life. This first task—the agrarian revolution—involves three inter-connected aspects: the agrarian reform, the modernisation of agriculture, and the preservation of our landed heritage.

**(a) The agrarian reform**

The peasantry, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the nation, and which was the active base of the war of liberation in which it bore the heaviest burdens, has placed all its hopes in independence. The satisfaction of its material and cultural needs will raise the value of production, create a market for industry and bring back stability to the countryside which has suffered heavily in the colonial war.

The abolition of the economic basis of the agrarian colonisation and the limitation of landed property in general will render available the land surface needed for a radical agrarian reform.

The nature of the crops grown on the lands of the big colons and big Algerian landowners, and the degree of mechanisation of their enterprises, induce our Party from an economic point of view to recommend collective forms of ownership and a distribution of lands without parcelling them out. Such a solution must be applied with the voluntary support of the peasantry in order to avoid the disastrous consequences of compulsory methods.

The agrarian reform must be undertaken around the slogan 'The land to those who till it' and in accordance with the following principles:

1. Immediate prohibition of transactions in land and agricultural means of production.
2. Limitation of land holding according to type of crop and extent of produce.
3. Expropriation of land extents exceeding the fixed minimum.
4. Free grant of the expropriated land to peasants without land or with insufficient land.
5. Democratic organisation of the peasants in producers' cooperatives.
6. Creation on a part of the expropriated lands of state farms with the participation of the work-workers in the management and the profits. These farms will help influence the market and constitute a starting point for the training of cadres and agricultural instructors.
7. Prohibition of the sale or renting of distributed lands, in order to avoid the re-appearance of big landownership.
8. Cancellation of the debts of peasants, share-croppers and small farmers in regard to landlords, moneylenders and the public services.

## 9. Material and financial state aid.

### (b) Modernisation of agriculture

The agrarian reform will create, by the dynamism it will impart to the peasants, favourable social and economic conditions for the transformation of the traditional sector and for the rapid consolidation of land strips with the financial and technical aid of the state and local collectives. It will also facilitate the penetration of progress into the countryside. In this respect the agrarian policy of the party must also aim at:

- the unification of the land system;
- the increase in the volume of production by the widespread dissemination of modern techniques;
- the diversification of cultivation and the substitution of valuable crops for poor ones;
- the replenishing of livestock and the rational development of stock-breeding.

### (c) Preservation of the landed heritage

The denudation of the soil and the continued shrinking of the productive land surface as well as the destruction of forests are a veritable scourge for which it is necessary to find immediate remedies. Independent Algeria must deploy all its efforts to restore into working condition its landed heritage and it must engage in a stubborn struggle for:

- the recovery of eroded lands;
- the reforestation of forests and the forestation of new lands;
- the extension of the irrigable area;
- the clearing of new lands.

The relative overpopulation in the countryside enables a rapid mobilisation of unemployed manual labour for the conquest of the soil. This is an undertaking of capital importance. The democratic organisation of work sites in the rural areas will absorb the unemployed, permit the recovery of large areas and liberate all the productive forces.

This transformation of the agrarian structure should be the starting point for the development of the infrastructure, the nationalisation of credit and foreign trade in the first stage; and the nationalisation of natural resources and power in the second stage. Such measures will accelerate the industrialisation of the country on a large scale.

### (2) The development of the infrastructure

The rail and road network in our country have been devised to serve the economic and strategic needs of the colonisation. In the course of the war the construction of innumerable paths and local roads was taken in hand in order to facilitate the penetration of the French troops. These can form the basis for the development of a suitable infrastructure to facilitate the growth of trade, and to remove all barriers to the extension of the internal market and the commercialisation of agricultural products. The policy of the Party should aim to:

- nationalise the means of transport,
- improve and complete the road and rail networks,
- establish road connections between the main routes of communication and the rural market.

### (3) Nationalisation of credit and foreign trade

The nationalisation of credit and foreign trade implies:

- a) The nationalisation of the insurance companies;
- (b) The nationalisation of the banks.

This is a task that should be accomplished at an early date. The multiplicity of banks enables them to escape national control. Their transformation into development societies, either in the recent past or in the future, cannot hide their real character, which is that of an instrument of financial extortion.

### (c) The nationalisation of foreign trade

The trade policy of Algeria must be inspired by the following principles:

- to abolish, at a rate to be fixed and according to procedures to be determined, the system of preference between France and Algeria;
- to ensure a balanced trade based on equality and reciprocal advantage;
- to develop trade with countries that offer stable prices and a long term market and where we can find capital goods on the most favourable terms.
- to give priority to the nationalisation of the essential branches of foreign trade and wholesale trade, and to create state societies for each product or group of products.

Such an organisation will permit a real state control over imports and exports, facilitate effective control of consumption and provide trading profits for investment in the branches of production;

- to control prices and create state shops in the rural centres in order to fight against speculation and money-lending.

### (4) Nationalisation of mineral wealth and power

This is a long term aim. In the immediate future the Party must struggle for:

- the extension of the gas and electricity network into the rural centres;
- the training of engineers and technicians of all levels according to a plan which would place the country in a position itself to conduct the management of its mineral wealth and power resources.

### (5) Industrialisation

The progress of the agricultural economy and the mobilisation of the masses cannot take the country forward except on a technical and economic base that is supplied by the progress of industry.

There exists already in Algeria a state sector. The Algerian state will have as its task to extend this into the sphere of mines, quarries and cement manufacture.

But the real and long term development of the country is linked with the introduction of basic industries corresponding to the needs of a modern agriculture.

In this respect, Algeria offers great possibilities for the petroleum and iron and steel industries. In this field it is the business of the state to bring about the conditions necessary for the creation of a heavy industry.

In the other fields of the economy, private enterprise can be encouraged and oriented in the framework of the general plan of industrialisation.

Under no circumstances must the state help to create, as has happened in some countries, an industrial base for the benefit of the local bourgeoisie, whose development should be limited by appropriate measures.

The entry of foreign private capital is desirable within the limits of certain conditions:

- it must be complementary in the framework work of mixed enterprises;
- the export of profits must be regulated and should enable reinvestment of a part of the profits in the country.

In the first stage, the state should direct its efforts towards the improvement of the production of existing crafts and the commencement of local or regional small industries for processing agricultural raw materials on the spot.

## II. REALISATION OF THE SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE MASSES

### (1) Raising of the Standard of Living

The progressive improvement of the conditions of life of the masses and the absorption of the unemployed will stimulate the creative spirit of the people and help progress.

In order that this spirit of the masses and their mobilisation should become a permanent feature in the life of the country, the display of ease and luxury, the waste of public funds, lavish expenditure and sumptuous salaries should be severely condemned. It is things like this that make the masses feel that they alone are being called upon to bear the burdens of construction. There must be now austerity for the rich!

Further, the management by the state of certain enterprises cannot ever justify a deterioration in the conditions of living of the workers, whose right to strike must be recognised.

### (2) The Liquidation of Illiteracy and the Development of National Culture

Before November 1st, 1954, the Algerian people had shown its attachment to national values contained in the framework of Arab-Muslim civilisation, but the creation and maintenance of free medersas\* in spite of the opposition of the colonial authorities. Equally, in the course of the liberation struggle, the leaderships for the wilayas\*\* have engaged in worthy efforts to place culture within the reach of our people. In our country, the cultural question implies:

- (a) The restoration of the national culture and the progressive Arabisation of education on a scientific basis. Of all the tasks of the revolution this is the most delicate, because it needs modern culture methods, and cannot be accomplished in haste without risking the sacrifice of future generations.
- (b) The preservation of the national heritage of popular culture.
- (c) The expansion of the educational system by making all levels of education accessible to all.
- (d) The Algerianisation of educational syllabuses by their adaptation to the realities of the country.
- (e) The extension of methods of mass education and the mobilisation of all national organisations to fight illiteracy and teach all citizens to read and write in the shortest possible time.

Without widespread and intensive teaching, without the formation of technical, administrative and teaching cadres, it will be difficult to take rapidly in hand all the wheels of the national economy.

### (3) Housing

The economic and social stagnation of rural society and the settlement of the population in an empirical manner after the conquest, is evidenced by the large number of hovels which spread right up to the limits of the big cities and urban centres. The war has aggravated this phenomenon by the "regroupment" of two million peasants. The Party must undertake urgent measures to re-house in decent conditions the large numbers who have been affected by the war. However, while immediate needs are taken into account, the planned rebuilding must proceed from the point of view of re-integrating these people in the economic system.

In the towns, it is necessary quickly to have a control of rents and to utilise un-occupied or inadequately occupied buildings.

### (4) Public Health

Medicine and public health institutions must be rapidly nationalised so that free treatment is assured to everyone as soon as possible.

This nationalisation should be put into operation in accordance with the following principles:

- (a) The development of a national health service which takes charge of all hospitals and public health institutions.

This national health service should function with full-time doctors who enjoy the best conditions of work and of research. Access to university and hospital careers should be confined to them.

The establishment of a national health service should envisage the progressive absorption of the classical professional sector.

- (b) Campaigns, with the aid of mass organisations and the army, against epidemics and contagious diseases and for the development of hygiene and the improvement of public health.

\* religious schools

\*\* districts



(c) The accelerated training of medical and health personnel in the framework of the plan of development.

#### (5) Emancipation of Women

The participation of the Algerian woman in the fight for liberation has created favourable conditions for the breaking of the yoke which has weighed on her, and for associating her fully and completely in the management of public affairs and in the development of the country. The Party must do away with all obstacles to development of woman and her free development and support the activities of women's organisations. There exists in our society a negative attitude to the role of woman. In various ways everything helps to spread the idea of her inferiority, and women themselves are imbued with this mentality.

The Party cannot go forward without carrying on a constant struggle against these social prejudices and reactionary beliefs. In this field the Party cannot limit itself to simple declarations, but must bring about an irreversible change by deeds, by giving responsible positions to women in its own ranks.

### III. FOR AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

A correct orientation of our foreign policy is an important factor for the consolidation of our independence and the building of a national economy.

Algeria comes to sovereignty in an international context where the relationship of forces does not cease to evolve in favour of the peoples and to the disadvantage of imperialism.

The upsurge of the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the consolidation of independence in the countries colonised in the past, the action of the democratic forces in the independent countries, and the progress of the socialist countries, hasten the disintegration of the system of imperialism. Numerous victories have, as a result, been registered in the last few years.

This new situation has led imperialism to change and make more flexible its methods by the transfer of power to restricted bourgeois or bureaucratic layers which it associates in the exploitation of the people. It thus tries to disarm the liberation movements and to maintain its economic and strategic interests.

This alliance of the imperialist countries with certain governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America, permits imperialism for the time being to retard its ebb.

It is none the less true, however, that the general tendency of our epoch is a reduction in the margin of manoeuvre of imperialism and not its widening.

Faced with the persistence of the dangers that continue to threaten our country, the foreign policy of independent Algeria must remain firmly guided by the principles of a consistent struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for the support of movements for unity in the Maghreb countries\*, in the Arab world and in Africa, of the movements for liberation and the struggle for peace.

#### (1) The Fight against Colonialism and Imperialism

The great lesson we have learnt from our war of liberation is that confronted by the irresistible tide of the masses, competition between imperialist countries gives place to their solidarity, in spite of the persistence of minor contradictions. Our struggle has met with a favourable response among the masses of these countries, but it has encountered the hostility of their governments. In its war effort France has benefitted from the material and moral support of all the western states and particularly from that of the USA. Our will to continue the revolution will encounter still more obstacles. This must not in any way prevent us from deploying our best efforts to persist in our anti-imperialist actions.

The support of the socialist countries which, in various ways ranged themselves on our side during the war, and with whom we must strengthen the already existing ties, creates real possibilities of disengaging ourselves from imperialism.

The strengthening of the neutralist current of which we are participants, reflects the dynamism of peoples struggling to consolidate their independence.

The widening of this current, in each country taken separately, depends on internal choices and on the degree of independence of the economy. The foreign policy of Algeria must also orient itself, within the neutralist current, towards alliance with those countries which have succeeded in consolidating their independence and have liberated themselves from the grip of imperialism.

#### (2) Support of Movements struggling for Unity

The extension of the anti-imperialist struggle feeds the dynamism of the political and social forces which, oriented in the same direction, are working for the realisation of unity of the Maghreb, the Arab world and Africa.

The failures of the conference of Tangiers and the Syria-Egyptian Union, and the uncertainties which weigh upon the cohesion of the Casablanca group of states, oblige us to define a principled attitude on this question.

The aspirations for unity are historically justified. They represent the need for liberation of the masses, and their desire to bring the maximum of forces into motion in order to overcome all obstacles in their path. In order to advance the movement for unity, it is not sufficient today merely to content ourselves with subjective factors.

Unity between different countries is a gigantic task which has to be posed where there is a common ideological, political and economic framework corresponding to the interests of the popular masses.

In the Maghreb countries and the Arab world, the divisive policies of imperialism and the varying interests and particularism of the ruling classes, constitute the principal obstacles to the realisation of unity, which is often reduced to a demagogic slogan.

The principal task of our Party is to help among the Maghreb countries, in the Arab world and in

\* Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

Africa, towards a correct appreciation of the tremendous demand for the realisation of unity. This work must be done at the level of vanguard movements and mass organisations in such a manner that the obstacles to be overcome are presented in a concrete manner.

At the state level, the development of trade, the putting into operation of common economic projects a concerted foreign policy, and a complete solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, are aims which, corresponding as they do to the interests of peoples, will help progress on the road to unity in a sure manner.

#### (4) The Struggle for International Cooperation

International cooperation is necessary for utilising all the material and human resources for progress in a climate of peace, and involves the constant mobilisation of the masses against imperialism.

The strengthening of ties with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the development of exchanges in all fields with the socialist countries, the establishment of relations with all states on the basis of equality and mutual respect for national sovereignty, and common action with democratic forces, especially in France, will place our country in a position to face its responsibilities in the international sphere. It is in this way that it will be able to make a positive contribution to the struggle against the armaments race and nuclear tests which are taking place on our very soil and are threatening our independence and security. It is in this way that it will be able also to help towards the liquidation of military pacts and foreign bases.

This foreign policy is the indispensable corollary to the realisation of our internal objectives. It will enable our country to attain the aims of the people's revolution and to participate in the building of a new world.

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# ABSENTEEISM

By P. B. Tampoe

**D**OES the worker live to work or work to live? Since the answer to this question is obvious, it would be well to bear it in mind in considering the reasons why workers stay away from work and to what extent their average attendance at their places of work is capable of being improved from the point of view of their managements.

Even if a worker were regarded as a mere machine, managements would have to consider whether his efficiency would be impaired by continuous operation, and whether the quality and quantity of the nutrition (fuel) he is given will not have a bearing on his efficiency and systematic operation.

Adequate rest from what might be called "work fatigue" is now generally recognised as being a necessary condition of the maintenance of a worker's efficiency and the conservation of his capacity for regular work over a prolonged period. Provision has accordingly been made for limiting the length of the working day and the working week in our labour legislation. Provision has also been made for weekly or monthly "off" days and an annual holiday.

The fact that there is still a considerable lack of appreciation of the importance of actually giving workers the bare minimum of rest which the law contemplates is borne out by the extent to which they are required to work overtime on their "off" days, and the lack of limitation of such overtime work in various undertakings. That this is done on the plea of "round the clock" and "round the year" essentiality of those undertakings in any case does not help to minimise absenteeism in them!

Apart from the fatigue produced from actual work, often with insufficient nutrition of low-grade quality, the factor of fatigue from travel to and from work must also be considered in relation to the degree of absenteeism amongst workers. The overwhelming majority of workers in the commercial, industrial and government establishments in Colombo live outside the

municipal limits of the city and travel to and from work by train and bus or find it cheaper to propel themselves on bicycles, even for considerable distances. Those who do use public transport have, in addition, to walk several miles even between the nearest railway stations or bus halting-places and their homes. How many hours they spend per day in this process and the fatigue produced in them thereby is not known, but it has to be appreciated not only in relation to their productivity at work but also in relation to the frequency of their absence from work.

Inadequacy of nutrition and fatigue have a combined effect not only on the worker's capacity for systematic output but also on his liability to deteriorate in health to the extent of falling ill. Resistance to disease, especially tubercular disease, which is so prevalent in Ceylon, is directly determined by health standards, as most people know. The protection of health as a precaution against absenteeism from ill-health, however, is by no means generally recognised in Ceylon. The mere fact that a worker cannot come to work when he is ill is what is recognised by the grant of "sick" or "medical" leave, provided a satisfactory medical certificate is produced for absence of more than a day or two. Even so, the worker who stays away on grounds of ill-health soon comes to be regarded as one who should be dispensed with altogether, if his ill-health becomes chronic. A machine that breaks down frequently has to be discarded. Where new machines can be purchased at the same price as the old, and even cheaper, considering annual increments, the temptation to ignore maintenance and to discard when medical certificates multiply can be best understood.

Apart from the machine aspect of the worker, there is also the human aspect, which, in the matter of absence from work is recognised to the extent that "casual" leave is granted up to a maximum of seven days in a year. Whether what is authorised

is sufficient, and, if not, help towards an understanding of the extent of unauthorised absence is a matter for consideration.

Most workers in Ceylon get married in their twenties or thirties, and have growing families in both senses of growth, during the greater part of their working lives. Without domestic servants, telephone facilities, adequate health services and other amenities of life, the responsibilities of a worker who is the head of a family can well be imagined. How often then will he have to choose between going to work and staying away to attend to some domestic responsibility, especially when he lives at some distance from his place of work. If he has to take a sick child to the dispensary at eight o'clock in the morning, he will have to stay away from work for the whole day, if he is working on a day shift. Rather than lose a day's pay for what was in fact a domestic necessity, he may well try to claim "medical" leave, if his "casual" is already exhausted. In any case, he can, at best, get twenty-one days in a year. If domestic responsibilities require anything more, then they will have to suffer if he is not to be labelled as a habitual absentee in the books of the management of his workplace, and to lose his attendance bonus and his job maybe.

A married worker with insufficient means of maintaining his family from a single source of employment must seek ways and means of increasing his income. If this is blocked by a wage "freeze" in his industry, he must seek additional income in many cases by doing part-time work in some other establishment, or by free-lance work, if he is a skilled worker, like a carpenter, an electrician or a mechanic. This will increase his fatigue and affect his regular attendance at work indirectly thereby. On the other hand, he may well be tempted to conserve his energies whilst supplementing his income from better-paid casual work outside, by taking the full extent of whatever paid leave is available to him, in one form or another at his work-place, and some more, without pay.

Apart from circumstances of direct physical or domestic necessity, there are various social aspects of the life of the

worker in Ceylon society, which must be understood, if the extent of absenteeism is to be properly appreciated.

Most workers in a country like ours have a village background, even where they do not actually live in a village, and most of them are governed in their social behaviour by their village traditions and customs. The importance of weddings, funerals and such occasions, of religious observances and pilgrimages and the like in their minds often conflicts with the necessities of modern business, which worships only in the temples of production and commerce. One result of this is absence from work even when, Sunday or Good Friday or Wesak overtime work has to be done, and on many other occasions during the year, when no authorisation can be given and pay will be cut, if a "medical" can't be put through.

Many workers are co-owners in plots of land in their villages, and however little the plots or their ownership therein, there are ploughing, sowing, harvesting and reaping times, and proprietary duties connected therewith, which cannot be delegated and require absence from work. Incident to these proprietary interests, there are the endless disputes, litigation, criminal cases and other problems which fill the rural courts, magistrates courts and the assize and appeal courts with people every day, a not inconsiderable number of whom have stayed away from work and added thereby to the absenteeism in their establishments. Here we see really a conflict between two modes of production, which is essentially a social question.

This very brief analysis of some of the causes of absenteeism should help towards an understanding of what remedial measures can realistically be taken within the framework of our existing society in Ceylon, as well as some appreciation of those aspects of the question which can only be remedied by a complete reorganisation of our prevailing system of production and distribution of what is described as "our" national wealth.

Some of the factors which contribute in a major way to absenteeism have been minimised in the main field of our present pro-

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duction of wealth, namely on the tea, rubber, and to a lesser extent, on the coconut plantations. The main plantation industries have been built up and are still manned predominantly with imported Indian labour and its offspring, cut off from their villages and kept as a resident labour force in the estates. The conflict with village life is thereby eliminated and so too are the deleterious aspects of travel to and from the work-place. The estate dispensary and school, the temples, shrines and burialgrounds on the estate itself and the general supervision of the entire social and physical life of the estate worker, down to the provision of his family's rice rations and minimal housing and clothing requirements, have consequently brought about and maintained a degree of "discipline" and productivity which is remarkable. The growth of the estate labour force within its present confines already shows explosive signs, but the true lesson to be learned from the successes of estate production, is that the social life of the working-people has to be developed community-wise in as close as

possible a relation to their centres of work and production.

No treatment can be effective without proper diagnosis. The incentives of attendance bonuses and the penalties of pay-cuts and dismissals do not touch the real causes of absenteeism. If the working-people work, in order that they may live, then they will work actively and regularly only to the extent that production is planned and directed to the satisfaction of their human and social needs of life. It is this objective which is sought to be attained through workers' management of the process of production and distribution, and the organisation of the people as a whole in democratic territorial communities, linked in their production by an over-all national plan. We, in Ceylon, are yet a long way from such a form of social organisation of life and the productive processes necessary thereto, but in studying even the limited question of absenteeism, it is as well that we bear in mind that many peoples of this world have already advanced considerably towards a lasting solution along such a road.

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# SOVIET AGRICULTURE

By Ernest Germain

SOVIET agriculture continues to drag its feet. It has not realised the objective of the Seven-Year-Plan. To the Central Committee of March, 1962 Khrushchev indicated that in 1961, production of cereals remained inferior by 10% of the objectives of the Plan for this year, and production of meat inferior by 25%, the production of milk 20% inferior to the Plan. On the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan production of cereals remained 30% below that planned.

To attain the objectives fixed by the plan for 1962 the production of livestock must be increased by nearly 50% in relation to that of 1961, an objective manifestly unrealisable (*Pravda*, 6th March, 1962). According to official statistics (*Voprossi Ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1962) the production of cereals was only augmented by 6.5% between the average harvests of 1956—1958 and the average of harvests of 1959—61, that is to say in a period of six years. At this rhythm, it is obviously impossible to realise the final objectives of the Seven-Year Plan, of satisfying the basic needs of the population and of assuring a sufficient material base for the raising of livestock.

By raising brusquely the prices of agrarian products of quality (meat and butter), the Soviet Government has had to recognise at the same time that the supply of these products increases less rapidly than the demand, and that the only means of accelerating the supply consists in a new financial concession to the farmers.

During the whole Stalinist era, one could speak of a veritable crisis of Soviet agriculture. It was directly tied up with the

way in which the forced collectivisation of this agriculture was effected, and to the violent reactions which it provoked among the peasantry. Besides, the work of the Kolkhozes was in great part non-profitable for the peasants, given the important part of the harvest carried off under the form of payment for the services of the MTS and under the form of compulsory delivery at purely nominal "prices". In fact the microscopic allotments of private land produced as much income as the work on the kolkhozes if not more income for a good part of the Soviet peasantry. This very low yield of Kolkhozian work provoked a lack of interest if not a flight of peasants before their tasks inside the kolkhozes, which accentuated in its turn the very low level of productivity and the insignificant yields.

Right on the morrow of Stalin's death, Malenkov first, Khrushchev following, searched to cure these ills. They have raised in many stages the price which the peasants obtained in exchange for their sale of agricultural products to the State. They have thus permitted a considerable increase in the purchasing power in the hands of the kolkhozian peasants as well as of the kolkhozes themselves (1). A part of this purchasing power has been accumulated, for the lack of merchandise to buy, and to sponge it up Khrushchev has allowed the sale of the tractors and agricultural machines of the MTS to the Kolkhozes, even permitting them to buy the means of production of light industry, with a view to creating factories above all in the field of food production and building material industries (2). By extending at the

- (1) A President of a kolkhoz in the Smolensk region indicated that between 1953 and 1961, the all-inclusive income of each member of this kolkhoz has sextupled, while the production of wheat had quintupled and that of meat increased twenty times! (*Selskaya Shisn*, 11.5.62)
- (2) In an article which appeared in *Voprossi Ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1961, G. Achmev underlined a complicated theoretical problem raised by the appearance of those enterprises owned in common by many kolkhozes. In principle these enterprises should above all employ kolkhoz peasants in dead times on the farm.

In practice, they often have many salaried work-hands, e.g. the inter-kolkhoz building industry of the Ukraine employs 40,000 wage earners. But the social surplus produced by this wage-labour-force is incorporated in the "indivisible funds" of these enterprises, this is to say, well and truly "accumulated", "capitalised". There is therefore strictly speaking, exploitation of man by man, since the workers of these enterprises do in no way participate in their ownership, compared to co-operate ownership, i.e. kolkhozes, although the kolkhoziens cannot hire wage-labour.

same time cultivation to the 'virgin lands' of Siberia, Khrushchev has permitted the raising of agricultural production to about 50% between 1953 and 1961. But, taking into account the growth of population, the availability of agricultural products per head of the population has only grown, since the death of Stalin, by about 35% (Report of Khrushchev *Pravda*, 6th March, 1962).

This growth of production is obviously quite inadequate to face the growing demand which flows from the very increase in the standard of living—above all with the growing demand for quality animal products. Khrushchev signifies that the sale of meat to the population has been augmented by more than 200% between 1953 and 1961, that it has doubled for butter and more than quadrupled for milk. However, even if one only relates these figures to the urban population (which is incorrect since a growing number of inhabitants of the countryside equally buy consumer goods) the quantities consumed per head of inhabitant are still mediocre: 1 egg per week per inhabitant, 120 g. of butter per head per week, etc. It is above all in the domain of animal products that a sharp scarcity is still felt.

This scarcity is due to an evident enough fact: until the last price rise, the kolkhozes received for their animal products of animal origin less than the average cost price of these products. The more their production grew, the higher became the deficit. M. Lemechev gives in this regard the following figure (in roubles) for the year 1961.

	Cost price per 50 kg.	State sale price per 50 kg.
Beef	... 88,00	59,10
Pork	... 118,00	82,30
Poultry	... 133,50	82,20

(*Voprossi Ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1962)

Graver still is the fact that the rhythm of growth of agriculture has considerably slackened since 1959, that is to say, precisely since the opening of the Seven-Year Plan. What are the causes of this slackening? They can be grouped into three categories:

(1) **The insufficiency of investments.** This is the essential cause, which is expressed

notably by the degree of absolutely insufficient mechanisation of Soviet agriculture, by an enormous retardation in the employment of fertilisers compared with the advanced capitalist countries, and by an inadequate power supply.

Although in absolute figures the investment in agriculture has been considerably increased in relation to the Stalin epoch, they have again the tendency to sag, relative to the whole of the investments realised in the Soviet economy. This portion has fallen under 10% for the period 1951—1955, 9.1% for the period 1956—1960 and 7.7% for the period 1959—1960 (beginning of the realisation of the Seven-Year Plan), according to the article mentioned of Lemechev in *Voprossi Ekonomiki*. One can have an idea of the insufficiencies of this investment—or more exactly, of the under-employment which it engenders, when one realises that nearly half of the Soviet work-force still work in agriculture. Annually it still has only 10% of the newly created machines put at its disposal, whereas the other half of the Soviet work-force receive more than 90% of the new plant. Sufficient to remark that the first years of the Seven-Year Plan shall be marked by a new displacement of the accent in favour of heavy industry—this above all is why agriculture has suffered.

It is known that at the Plenum of the CC of March 1962, Khrushchev tried to obtain a new repartition of investments—to the profit of agriculture, and at the expense of heavy industry. He had to confess in his closing speech that he did not obtain it.

The insufficiency of investments expresses itself in a very clear manner in the domain of machines, of fertilisers and of available power. In Khrushchev's report before the CC Plenum of March, 1962, he indicated that Soviet agriculture held on the 1st January 1962 only 40% of the tractors which it needed for a rational exploitation, only 50% of the trucks, and only 50% of the combine-harvesters necessary. In 1961 the harvest of maize was still done 67% by hand; while 34% of the cows are still milked manually.



The power-supply situation of Soviet agriculture is even more miserable. Only 3% of electricity produced in the USSR was being consumed in agriculture in 1961 (*Voprossi Ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1962). The same year, the power capacity per worker occupied in agriculture had attained 5.6 horse-power, that is double of what it was in 1953. But one remains astounded when one recalls that in the same year the power capacity per worker in American agriculture was 50 h.p., that is *ten times more* than in the USSR (and that without taking into account private cars). The secret of the superior productivity of American agriculture must not be looked for anywhere but in these figures.

As for fertilisers, the use in the USSR was, in 1960 per hectare three times inferior to the United States, eight times inferior to France, thirteen times to Great Britain and twenty times inferior to West Germany!

The lesson of these figures is very clear: despite the enormous resources which the Soviet economy disposes of, it is incapable at the same time of bringing to a successful conclusion four or five gigantic enterprises: assuring the growth agreed to by the Seven-Year Plan; enhancing the military power of the country; raising up rapidly the standard of living of the population; rehousing dozens of millions of citizens; re-equipping, mechanising and modernising from top to bottom agriculture. In the course of the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan it seemed that it was agriculture which would above all be neglected. Khrushchev signifies that the Seven-Year Plan foresaw the increase in production of chemical fertilisers from 12 to 35 million tons; but at the end of three years the production had not reached 14.9 millions of tons. The plan for the creation of new capacities of production in the chemical fertiliser industry has only been realised during these first three years to the degree of 44%, that is to say, by less than half.

(2) **The irrational utilisation of the available means of production:** In this domain one can cite many examples: enormous differences of output on land of the same

quality and in the same region; very insufficient degree of employment of existing agricultural machines; wastage resulting from the multiplication of installations or of parallel work, etc.

Thus a very great number of kolkhozes obtain their electrical current from small rural power stations which have a far superior cost to those urban or industrial stations. The Soviet press is full of comparisons between "good" and "bad" kolkhozes, between high and insufficient yields obtained on comparable lands, and even full of innumerable accounts of the insufficient utilisation of tractors (3) or the lack of spare parts for repairs. It is necessary to add that these phenomena have been in part aggravated by the sale of the tractors and agricultural machines to the kolkhozes—even though Khrushchev had precisely hoped that the reform would succeed in a more rational employment of agricultural material.

In effect now that the kolkhozes have become owners of the agricultural machines, they are obliged to calculate the optimum employment of these by taking into account the price of petrol, of spare parts, of repayments, etc. It is found very often that these prices are fixed in an irrational manner. Thus, it has been calculated that the outlay on annual repairs of the DT-54A tractor is 30.5% of the purchase price. The single renewal of tyres of the "Bjelarus" tractor costs a quarter of the purchase price of this tractor. The Soviet Government has announced in its appeal of 16 June 1962 to all peasants that at the same time it raised the price of meat and butter, it also reduced the sale of machines, of petrol and of spare parts destined for the kolkhozes. But given that Khrushchev did not obtain to this end the supplementary credits asked for at the CC of March 1962, it is the consumers who are paying the costs of this operation, by the brutal increase in the price of butter and meat.

(3) **The insufficient interest of the kolkhozians and workers of the sovkhoses in the increase of production:** despite the successive advantages obtained by the Soviet

(3) The Ukrainian CP Secretary U. V. Podgorny stated that in October 1961, 33% of the tractors were out of use in the Kharkov district, 35%

in the Nikolayev district and 40% in the Chersov district.

peasantry since Khrushchev's arrival to power, life in the countryside continues to be much more painful than that in the big industrial towns; the average income of the kolkhozians continues to be largely inferior to the income of the workers—except in some 'avant-guard' kolkhozes. The calculation of income in "work days" discourages "emulation" and, in general, the kolkhozian does not see his income augmented proportionally to the supplementary effort which is demanded of him.

It results in general in a major importance being accorded to the private plots, not only in the kolkhozes but equally—a recent phenomenon!—in the sovkhozes of the "virgin lands". According to the official statistics, nearly all the production of meat by private livestock, raised on the private allotments, was destined for self-consumption. In effect, 89% of meat and 94% of milk provided commercially is from the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. While for example half the cows are still owned privately.

**Pravda** has recently published reports on the life in the Sovkhozes of the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan, where it comes out that each worker there seeks to raise his "private pig" and to cultivate "his private potatoes". The editor of this journal strongly criticises "the end of the idealism of the pioneers", and the "renaissance of a mentality based on private interest". Different workers from the Sovkhozes replied to him, and one of them concluded in a laconic manner: "What goes on on the 'virgin lands' has less to do with the lack of conscience of the youth than with the lack of supplies...."

In a general manner, the interest of the private plots seems to be raised lately in the eyes of the Soviet authorities. Thus, **Pravda** of the 25th August 1962 reproduced an article which first appeared in **Ukrainska Pravda**, written by an old peasant member of the Supreme Soviet and three times Heroine of Labour, Mrs. Saglada. This sensational article—which appears to have escaped the attention of the world press—spread over five columns of the first page and notably includes a portrait of the authoress. It pleads for nothing less than putting at the disposal of the private plots

agricultural machines, if not for their sale to the private peasants. The reasoning is strongly pragmatic; up till now there have always been complaints that the peasant works more on his private plot than on the lands of the kolkhozes; this leads to an important loss of production to the State. Is not the easiest remedy to this loss to enlarge the private plots to let the peasant work on them with modern machinery, and thus to facilitate a growth in production, rather than ceaselessly to appeal to the peasants—with little results!—to put his attention to his own disadvantage on the collective enterprise?

The publication of this article was not an isolated accident. On the 4th September, 1962, **Pravda** returned to this same theme in publishing diverse replies to the article of the 24th August, and underlined that the most part of these replies were positive, if not enthusiastic....

Are we on the eve of an important new turn of the agricultural policy of Khrushchev? These articles of **Pravda** have not been the only indications. On many occasions Khrushchev has praised the agricultural policy of Gomulka, where in Poland, 87% of the arable land is partitioned among private proprietors and where the role of the production co-operatives tends to recede rather than to increase. The Soviet press has underlined that in 1961, Poland obtained the best results of all the "Peoples' Democracies" in the matter of agricultural production: an increase of close on 11%, without adding however that in Poland contrary to the USSR, investments in agriculture increased more quickly than production. (They have increased by 30% since 1960). In Bulgaria which in general follows very closely the Khrushchev line, there is equally manifest a growing interest in the private plots.

Nevertheless, these indications are not sufficient for us to conclude that Khrushchev considers today the expansion of private production as the only means of re-launching Soviet agriculture. "The material interests" of the kolkhozians is stimulated in other ways: by attempts to generalise group work and piece-work, and to abandon more and more payment by

“work days”. Any direct call to “private initiative” would be a grave moral defeat for the Soviet system, and Khrushchev without doubt tries to prevent this.

In the economic and social context of today, totally different to that of the epoch of the NEP, the danger of the restoration of capitalism starting from the private sector of agriculture has practically disappeared in the USSR. The agricultural production based on the employment of more than a million tractors and of diverse agronomical zootechnical techniques, of big enterprises renders unthinkable a partition of the kolkhoz lands among private proprietors. It however might be possible to increase agricultural production by increasing the **marginal** importance of the private plots, by facilitating there the employment of techniques more modern and more rational, by permitting an increase of investments there, by legalising a moderate extension of their surface and a certain co-operation among the peasants in the tilling of these private plots. The Soviet economy can without doubt allow itself

the luxury of facing this problem in a purely pragmatic manner; it has no more to fear a threat from that side.

But one cannot expect from such measures a genuine and durable solution of the agricultural difficulties of the USSR. This solution can only be found in the combination of factors which will permit **a rapid growth in the productivity of labour:** increased investments, rationally selected and applied; amelioration of the terms of exchange between country and town; increasing the quantities of industrial consumer goods put at the disposal of the peasants at reduced prices, releasing the creative power of the peasants by genuine kolkhoz democracy, i.e. self-management. These will constitute definitely the best stimulant to production. It is the re-establishment of the proportional development of agriculture and industry which is at the same time the goal to be reached . . . and the most rational means of arriving at it.

November 1st, 1962.

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OR THEIR CANVASSERS

# COMPOSITION OF CABINETS 1948-1960

By W. A. Wiswawarnapala

THE Cabinet form of government has functioned in this country for more than a decade. We have had more than seven Cabinets. There were a few reshuffles, resignations and removals due to Cabinet crises. Therefore it would be interesting to examine the composition and distribution of Ministries in the last 13 years. The facts which I have utilised for this study are not new, but the analysis is different.

The first Cabinet which Mr. D. S. Senanayake formed in September 1947 (before Independence) was composed of 14 Ministers. There was a Minister without portfolio—Mr. Lalitha Rajapakse and there was no Minister of Justice but a Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice was appointed. In a Cabinet composed of 14 Ministers there were 9 Parliamentary Secretaries. In July 1948 Mr. D. S. Senanayake formed the first Cabinet of Independent Ceylon in which he accommodated 13 Ministers of whom Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe was the only Minister without portfolio. Mr. Lalitha Rajapakse was appointed Minister of Justice. The number of Parliamentary Secretaries remained at 9.

When Mr. D. S. Senanayake died suddenly in March 1952 Sir John Kotelawala, the Minister of Transport and Works was the Leader of the House. He was not invited to succeed the late Premier; Mr. Dudley Senanayake who was the Minister of Agriculture was summoned to Queen's House. There was controversy as to why he was not invited to succeed the late Premier. One might think that it is a tradition to invite the Leader of the House to succeed the outgoing Premier but the established convention in the United Kingdom is that the outgoing Premier can name a successor. Even in the U.K. the Leader of the House has been ignored more than once as regards the succession to Premiership. The most recent example is that of Mr. Butler.

At that time Mr. Senanayake was fatally ill and could not name a successor. Therefore the Governor General had no other alternative but to summon Mr. Dudley Senanayake who could harness support both from the Cabinet and the Parliamentary group. There was political speculation as to whether Sir John could get support to form a government. This led to the composition of the so called pamphlet—'Premier Stakes', the authorship of which was attributed to Sir John Kotelawala. (1) This controversy was settled when 3 months later Mr. Dudley Senanayake obtained from the people a mandate to form a government.

A similar situation arose when Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was assassinated in September 1959. Mr. C. P. de Silva was the Leader of the House; at the time of the assassination he was ill in London. The Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke invited Mr. W. Dahanayake, the acting Leader of the House, to succeed Mr. Bandaranaike. He had support from the government party when he became the Premier. This he confirmed by a radio broadcast in March 1960. But one cannot forget the fact that Mr. C. P. de Silva was recovering from his illness at the time of the assumption of office by Mr. Dahanayake. This was proved by Mr. Silva's appearance at the late Premier's funeral.

The Cabinet of 1952 formed by Mr. Dudley Senanayake after he won the election had fourteen portfolios including that of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. He did not appoint a Minister without portfolio and it was he who began this practice which others followed. Mr. D. S. Senanayake would have thought that the appointment of Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe as a Cabinet Minister would guarantee him support as the latter was a Leader of the Labour Party in Ceylon. This appointment might have been also due to the fact that the late Premier could not have ignored the services of a

(1) Story of an Asian Prime Minister by Sir John Kotelawala.

senior politician who had been a State Councillor. In Canada there are Ministers without portfolios who have been given specific subjects or duties and they are expected to coordinate certain subjects. A Minister without portfolio is appointed to lead the government in the Canadian Senate and one or two of them have been appointed to represent provincial or regional interests in the Cabinet. Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe was given the specific subject of Ceylonisation.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake was the first P.M. to have resigned while in office. At a public meeting at Mahiyangana he announced his intention to resign and later followed it up. Sir John who was both the Minister of Transport and Works and the Leader of the House was summoned to Queen's House. In this situation the question of succession did not arise as the PM had resigned. The tradition is that when a PM resigns from office it inevitably follows that his Cabinet also ceases to be in office. Sir John had to accept office with his new Cabinet which consisted of 13 Ministers. He did not include Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam the Minister of Industries who was made a Minister in the first UNP government by Mr. D. S. Senanayake on the advice of the Governor General. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam was appointed a Minister by Mr. D. S. Senanayake as a representative of the Tamil community. Mr. Lalitha Rajapakse the Minister of Justice, who was a member of the 1952 UNP Cabinet was dropped. Sir Lalitha resigned from his office on 22nd October 1953 and Mr. Ponnambalam on the 24th. These resignations came before the re-shuffle. Sir John did not stop merely at dropping two of the former Ministers but also made a few changes in the allocation of portfolios. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke was made the Minister of Finance while Mr. J. R. Jayawardene the 1952 Finance Minister was made the Minister of Agriculture. Sir John was both the PM and the Minister of Transport for sometime. Mr. W. Dahanayake also did the same when he was appointed PM; he was both the PM and the Minister of Education. Sir John's Cabinet of 1953 had 13 Parliamentary Secretaries. In the allocation of Parliamentary Secretaryships he made a few changes. Mr. C. C.

Hunter Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance was dropped and Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene was appointed. Mr. V. Kumaraswamy Parliamentary Secretary to the PM in 1952 was dropped and Mr. V. Nalliah was appointed in his place. Sometime later Sir John's portfolio of Transport was given over to Mr. Montague Jayawickreme, but where Mr. Dahanayake was concerned he had no time to appoint a Minister of Education as he remained PM for only a very short period.

The 1956 MEP Cabinet of Mr. Bandaranaike had 14 Ministers. The MEP being a coalition different sections had to be satisfied in the allocation of portfolios. Mr. Philip Gunawardene and Mr. William Silva of the VLSSP and Mr. Dahanayake of the Bhasha Peramuna were made Ministers. It was in this Cabinet that there was a woman member (Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene) for the first time in the history of Cabinet government in Ceylon. Mr. R. G. Senanayake who was returned from 2 seats (Dambedeniya and Kelaniya) as an independent was made the Minister of Trade and Commerce which office he held in the 1952 and 1953 UNP governments as well, till he resigned from the UNP Cabinet over the Indo Ceylon issue (2). Though he resigned from the Cabinet he did not leave the UNP which he criticised till he was suspended. Even when he was made a Minister in the MEP government of 1956 the question arose as to whether he remained a member of the UNP also.

The MEP Cabinet had 13 Parliamentary Secretaries. The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Philip Gunawardene) had no Parliamentary Secretary for some time; till Mr. Hugh Fernando was appointed. In 1959 the number of Parliamentary Secretaries increased to 16. Mr. Bandaranaike was the first PM to face a Cabinet crisis hitherto unknown in the history of Cabinet government in Ceylon. There was not only a crisis but a Cabinet strike, which resulted in a contemplated move on the part of the PM to re-allocate Ministries. This brought about the resignation of both Mr. Philip Gunawardene and Mr. William Silva. The late Premier was forced to re-shuffle the Cabinet and

form the first SLFP Cabinet in June 1959. By this time Mr. Dahanayake had joined the SLFP. In this SLFP Cabinet there were 16 Ministers, including the PM. There were 16 portfolios along with the Minister of Nationalised Services and Shipping which came subsequent to the nationalisation of bus transport and the port of Colombo. In 1958 Senator Sarath Wijesinghe then the Junior Minister of Finance was made the Minister of Nationalised Services; his place was taken by Mr. Nimal Karunatileke. In forming this second Cabinet Mr. Bandaranaike had to face 2 important problems. One was to see that he remained in power and the next was to see that he had the necessary backing from the government party. By this time several of his party members had crossed over to the opposition. This fear of losing support led him to increase the number of Cabinet Ministers to 16 and that of Parliamentary Secretaries. The second Bandaranaike Cabinet had the highest number of Ministers: consequently 32 of his government MP's were of Cabinet rank.

From the 1956 MEP cabinet four Junior Ministers resigned before the formation of the second Cabinet in June 1959. The first to resign was Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratne the Junior Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. Mr. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolla the Junior Minister of Home Affairs followed suit. The third was Mr. C. R. Beligammana, Junior Minister of Cultural Affairs and Local Government and the last was Mr. Nimal Karunatileke Junior Minister of Finance who crossed over to the Opposition in May 1959. In the second session of Parliament in 1957 there were 12 Parliamentary Secretaries in a Cabinet of 14 excluding Mr. Rajaratne who had resigned. When Mr. Iriyagolla resigned, Mr. Mahanama Samaraweera Junior Minister of Justice was asked to act. In 1958 there were 11 Junior Ministers and the Cabinet membership was increased to 15 in 1958: after Mr. Beligammana's resignation there were 10 Parliamentary Secretaries which number rose to 16 in 1959.

When Mr. Dahanayake was made PM on 26th September 1959 he started with the same SLFP Cabinet which consisted of 16 Ministers. The Ministry of Education

remained with him and thus there were 15 Cabinet portfolios. He had to remove a Minister due to pressure from both the Cabinet and the government Parliamentary group. This was Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene who was removed on 20th October and who was later arrested in connection with the assassination case. The same forces which demanded Mrs. Wijewardene's expulsion, wanted Mr. Stanley de Zoysa the Finance Minister removed from office. On 30th October 1959 the entire Opposition united to move a vote of no confidence on the PM, the first of its kind. Mr. Dahanayake was the first PM to face a vote of no confidence within one month of coming into office. The Dahanayake government managed to survive with a slender majority of five votes—48 to 43, the appointed members voting with the government. Again the Opposition made preparation to table two more votes of no confidence on Mr. Stanley de Zoysa and Mr. Valentine Jayawickreme. Before these motions were tabled in the House the Ministers presented a letter to the PM demanding Mr. Zoysa's resignation (who was made a Minister of Home Affairs after his resignation on 30th October).

Mr. Dahanayake resigned from the SLFP, the governing party on 7th December 1959. The Working Committee of the SLFP refused to accept his resignation and the party expelled not only the PM but Mrs. Wijewardene and Mr. Zoysa as well. On 8th December the PM removed five of his Cabinet Ministers—Messrs. Illangaratne, A. P. Jayasuriya, M. Senanayake, M. P. de Zoysa and Kalugalla. The SLFP executive committee at one of its special meetings elected Mr. C. P. de Silva as the President of the party. He requested the Governor General to remove the caretaker PM the immediate result of which was not the removal of the PM but Mr. Silva's resignation from the Cabinet on 13th December 1959. Mr. Dahanayake took over the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Another five of his ministers entered the 1960 March election as candidates of the SLFP. On 6th January 1960 he removed them from the Cabinet—Messrs. R. G. Senanayake, J. C. W. Munasinghe, Mediwake, Henry Abeywickreme and C. A. S. Marikkar. When the first five Ministers were removed



from the Cabinet the PM got Mr. C. A. S. Marikkar the Minister of Posts to take over the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Social Services (3). Mr. Sarath Wijesinghe Minister of Nationalised Services was to be in charge of the Ministries of Transport and Lands (4). Mr. Stanley de Zoysa was made a Minister (5).

With the removal of the second batch of five Ministers Mr. Dahanayake proceeded to appoint ex MP's as Cabinet Ministers. This was the first instance in Ceylon where a PM selected his ministers from ex MP's—after the dissolution of Parliament (6). According to section 49 (2) of the Constitution, a Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary who for any period of four consecutive months is not a member of either chamber, shall at the expiration of that period, cease to be a Minister or Parliamentary Secretary as the case may be (7). If this is so how can a member of a dissolved Parliament become a Cabinet Minister? What is important here in this connection is the fact that the Governor-General did not refuse to sanction the appointment of these Ministers in question (Messrs. R. E. Jayatileke, Sir Razeek Fareed, J. D. Weerasekera, and Mud. Kariapper) which again showed that the Governor General is the sole interpreter of the Constitution. It may be of interest to note that the Australian Constitution has a similar rule—but the period there is three months (8). With the appointment of these Ministers Mr. Dahanayake had a Cabinet of 10. On 2nd January 1960 he removed 6 Parliamentary Secretaries (D. B. Monnekulame, K. D. Gunaratne, S. U. Ethirimanasingham, V. T. G. Karunaratne, A. Dissanayake and D. T. Pasqual.) Mr. Dahanayake introduced a new Ministry, that of Internal Security. Senator Layard Jayasundera was appointed Minister of Internal Security and the Permanent Secretary was a D.I.G. Police, Mr. Sydney de Zoysa (9), who was not paid the salary of a Permanent Secretary.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake's Cabinet of March 1960 consisted of 8 ministers inclu-

ding the PM. It was the smallest Cabinet so far known in Ceylon. The minority government of the UNP had no Parliamentary Secretaries. When the first throne speech was read in Parliament the Opposition proposed an amendment which got a majority support, the result of which was the defeat of the government and dissolution of Parliament. At the July 1960 election the SLFP obtained a majority and formed the government under Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike. She formed a Cabinet of 11 Ministers and appointed 11 Parliamentary Secretaries one of whom was a minister as well. The Finance Minister was made the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs which represented a new feature. The Constitution does not provide for a minister to become a Parliamentary Secretary but the Governor General did not reject the recommendation of the PM as appointments to Cabinet rank are at the discretion of the latter. Mrs. Bandaranaike was made a Senator, then appointed PM on her own advice. Mr. S. A. D. Smith of the London School of Economics says "it would be improper for the UK Prime Minister to advise the Queen to confer any title or dignity upon himself, but the Ceylon Senate is not the House of Lords, the purpose for which Mrs. Bandaranaike's nomination to the Senate was sought has no parallel in the UK. I have failed to discover any statement in any modern work on the British Constitution which mentioned the possibility of appointing as PM a person who is not a member of either House". (10).

Though this is the opinion of Mr. Smith he accedes to the view that the appointment of Mrs. Bandaranaike as PM might have been constitutional in the circumstances.

It would be interesting to examine the extent to which the Senate was laid under contribution in the allocation of Cabinet portfolios. According to section 48, not less than 2 Ministers one of whom shall be the Minister of Justice shall be members of the Senate. (11). The first UNP government of 1948 had 2 Senators as ministers

(3), (4), (5) Gazette Extraordinary No. 11999 of 9-12-59.

(6) Ferguson Directory 1960.

R(7) Independence Order in Council 1947.

(8) Parliamentary Government in Australia

by Crisp. (9) Gazette Extraordinary No. 12039 of 20-1-1960 (10) Westminster Export Models—Commonwealth Political Studies Vol. I of 1961.

(11) Independence Order in Council 1947.

one of whom was the Minister of Justice. The second UNP government of 1952 also had 2 Senators: again the Minister of Justice was from the Senate. The Kotelawala government of 1953 had 3 Senators as ministers, one of whom was the Finance Minister Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the other 2 were the Ministers of Justice and of Industries and Housing and Social Services (K. Vaithianathan). It was for the first time that a Senator was appointed as Minister of Finance. At that time there was a move on the part of the government to make Sir Oliver an appointed member but soon he was made the Governor General and his Parliamentary Secretary became Minister of Finance.

Another feature of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government was the elevation of an appointed MP to Cabinet rank. This was Mr. Badiuddin Mahmud. His reputation as an educationist and the fact that he was a Muslim perhaps contributed to this appointment. Another reason for his appointment was the fact that he was closely associated with the late Prime Minister, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

The MEP Cabinet of 1956 had 2 Senators as Ministers, the Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs. This was repeated in 1959 by Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Dahayayake in his caretaker government. However when Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya was removed from the Cabinet on 8th December 1959, his place was taken by Mr. Stanley de Zoysa. Senator Layard Jayasundera was appointed Minister of Internal Security. The UNP Cabinet of March 1960 of eight had 2 Senators, and the present cabinet of Mrs. Bandaranaike has 3 senators.

According to section 47, Parliamentary Secretaries are appointed to assist the ministers in the exercise of their Parliamentary and Departmental duties (12). The number of Parliamentary Secretaries must not exceed that of ministers. There should not be more than 2 Parliamentary Secretaries from the Senate. There were instances where Junior Ministers were appointed purely to harness support from

certain factions and to satisfy different sections within the government party.

Year	Govt.	No. of Senators As Ministers	No. of Senators Parl. Secs.
1948	UNP	2	2
1948	UNP	2	2
1953	UNP	3	1
1956	MEP	2	1
1959	SLFP	3	0
1959 (Sept)			
Dec.)	SLFP	3	0
1959 (Dec.-			
Mar.)	LPP *	3	0
1960 (Mar.)	UNP	2	0
1960 (July)	SLFP	3	0

From 1948 to 1956 there were at least 2 or 1 Junior Minister from the Senate. The SLFP government of 1959 had a very slender majority: consequently the PM utilised Parliamentary Secretaryships as a means to keep his support intact. In 1953 and three times in 1959 and in 1960 respective PM's appointed 3 senators as ministers.

Governor Caldecott in his Reforms Despatch of 1943 expressed the view that provision must be made for proper representation of minorities in any form of constitution (13). He never wanted a Pan-Sinhalese Cabinet like in the days of the Donoughmore Constitution. The framers of the constitution too would have expected a cabinet which afforded a minority representation.

The following table illustrates the distribution of portfolios on the basis of communities.

Year	Govt.	Sinhala	Tamils	Muslims
1948	UNP	10	2	1
1952	UNP	11	2	1
1953	UNP	11	2	1
1956	MEP	13	0	1
1959	SLFP	15	0	1
1959 (Sept-				
Dec.)	SLFP	15	0	1
1959 (Dec-				
Mar.)	LPP	8	0	2
1960 (Mar.)	UNP	7	0	1
1960 (July)	SLFP	10	0	1

The following table illustrates the distribution of Parliamentary Secretaryships on the same basis.

(12) Independence Order in Council 1947.

(13) Reforms Despatch 1943 Governor Caldecott.

\* Lanka Prajathanthrawadi Pakshaya formed by W. Dahanayake after resignation from the S.L.F.P.

Year	Govt.	Sinhala	Tamil	Muslims	Othrs.
1948	UNP	5	1	2	1
1952	UNP	7	1	1	1
1953	UNP	11	1	1	—
1956	MEP	13	0	0	—
1959	SLFP	11	0	2	—
1959 (Sept.)	SLFP	8	0	3	—
1959 (Dec.-)	LPP	5	0	1	—
1960 (July)	SLFP	9	0	0	1

From 1948 to 1956 the Tamil community received representation in the cabinet. From 1956 to 1960 they could not obtain a single portfolio but the Muslim community continued to have at least one portfolio during the period from 1948 to 1960. There were no Tamil Parliamentary Secretaries during the period 1956 to 60 and here again the Muslim community had 1 or 2. One would adduce this lack of Tamil representation in the cabinet after 1956 to the Language policy followed by the respective governments and their attitude towards the demand for federalism.

One factor is clearly seen that the Ministry of Posts Telecommunications and Broadcasting had always been given to a member of a minority community—C. Sittampalam in 1948, V. Nalliah in 1952, S. Natesan in 1953, N. H. Keerthiratne of a depressed caste in 1955, C. A. S. Mirakkar in 1956 and in 1959. The key portfolios were always given to the majority community. The Finance Minister was always a Sinhalese except in the case of Mustapha in the Dahanayake cabinet. It may be noted that in Canada too there is a tendency to confine certain portfolios to members of particular communities, religions and the like. The Agriculture Ministry is the most important Ministry through which Mr. D. S. Senanayake emerged from State Council days. Mr. Dudley Senanayake built up his stature for leadership and also Mr. Philip Gunawardene attempted to emerge as a national leader. It was through the Ministry of Local Government that Mr. Bandaranaike rose to national leadership.

The following table illustrates the distribution of portfolios on a provincial basis:

Office	1948	1952	1953	1956	1959	1960
<b>Western Prov.</b>						
Min.	6	5	5	5	4	3
Parl. Secy.	3	3	3	0	0	2
<b>Sabaragamuwa Prov.</b>						
Min.	2	1	0	1	1	1
Parl. Secy.	0	2	2	2	0	2
<b>Northern Prov.</b>						

Min.	2	2	2	0	0	0
Parl. Secy.	1	1	1	0	0	0
<b>North Western Prov.</b>						
Min.	1	2	2	1	2	1
Parl. Secy.	1	0	2	3	1	1
<b>Central Prov.</b>						
Min.	2	2	3	2	2	2
Parl. Secy.	1	1	1	1	4	2
<b>Eastern Prov.</b>						
Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parl. Secy.	1	1	1	0	2	0
<b>Northern Prov.</b>						
Min.	0	1	1	2	2	2
Parl. Secy.	1	0	0	0	1	0
<b>Southern Prov.</b>						
Min.	0	0	0	3	5	2
Parl. Secy.	1	2	3	6	2	2
<b>Uva Prov.</b>						
Min.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parl. Secy.	0	0	0	1	2	1

The distribution of portfolios on the basis of provinces will reveal the federal nature of the Cabinet (14). The Prime Minister has not only to consider minority representation but parochial interests like the Kandyan, Low Country Sinhalese and caste. More than anything else it was the strength of the party in power that gave weight to those considerations.

Even though both the Dahanayake cabinet of 1959 and the March 1960 UNP Cabinet have been excluded in this analysis as they were of short life, this table is a clear indication of the fact that the Tamil north, the Eastern Province and the undeveloped Uva could not get adequate representation in the Cabinet. While the western province enjoyed the highest number of portfolios, the North Western and Central Provinces had continuous representation. The Sabaragamuwa and North Central Provinces had representation alternatively. This analysis of the distribution of portfolios on the basis of provinces is a good pointer to the fact that the PM does not go by provinces in selecting his colleagues. More than the provincial representation parochial interests like the Kandyan and Low Country Sinhalese and caste representation are important. The above table reveals the weight that the PM's have attached to those interests. In order to give due weightage to parochial interests the PMs have ignored merit and talent in choosing their Cabinet. Like in Canada provincial interest can be given representation and thus the Ceylon Cabinet can emerge as a grand coordinating body for the divergent communal and religious interests in this country.

# PERU TAKES THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD

By S. Nagendra

THE Military Junta which seized power in Peru last year incurred Washington's displeasure for some weeks because its Coup had prevented the U.S. backed candidate for President, Haya de la Torre, from taking the reins of the Government. But from January this year the Peruvian militarists won the hearts of the United States politicians by pursuing a vicious repressive campaign against the Peruvian people and its organisations in an attempt to suppress the growing rebellion of the people.

Last January in a nation-wide witch hunt some 300 trade unionists, intellectuals and radical political figures were thrown into concentration camps. These include some well known people like Ernesto More, former Professor at the University of Lima, Jorge Falcon, a writer, Professor Ugo Pesece, a world famous specialist in Leprosy, Professor Lavarello of the faculty of Law and writers Carnero Checa, and Guardia Malloga. The concentration camps in which these people have been put have been recently opened in the virgin forests where the most elementary hygiene is lacking. Amongst those in prison and in danger of assassination is Hugo Blanco, the 28 year old peasant leader, who has been organising the farmworkers into unions in the regions of la Convencion and Lares.

The Peruvians are among the most miserable and exploited people of the whole world. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, inhuman exploitation, unemployment and illiteracy accompany the Peruvian from the cradle to the grave. On the other hand, the foreign and native bankers and businessmen reap their harvest, winning riches on the basis of exploitation of the Peruvians. Here in Peru the concentration of land ownership has reached levels unusual even for Latin America, as twelve hundred landlords own a staggering 80% of all arable land while 20,000 peasant families own only three-quarters of 1%—with some of their plots being measured not in acres

but in furrows or sq. meters. The overwhelming majority of the Indians own no land and work half of each week for absentee owners, and are treated like serfs and live like animals. Illiteracy in Peru is as high as 48% (official figures) and this is a serious problem as the tendency of the Government is to maintain these people in ignorance in order to drain the profits from their national economy and lull their sense of patriotism. Most of the Indian inhabitants who are scattered in the Andean Valleys have not changed their way of life since the Spanish conquest, and they have been through a history of unrelieved exploitation which goes back to the Spanish colonisation of the 16th century. They have revolted at times against this most brutal oppression and have suffered great losses. They would not forget the most brutal execution of their leader Tupac Amaru by the Spanish where he was torn apart alive by horses pulling in opposite directions. The influence of the Cuban Revolution and the impact of the Bolivian Revolution has brought the campesinos into direct action. Ten years ago when the Bolivian Indians took possession of the land by force of arms there were many incidents between the Peruvian Indians and the police on the frontier separating Peru and Bolivia. Here the police moved in to question the Peruvians, why they were removing the frontier posts and the answer given by the Indians will be remembered by the Peruvians that on the other side of the frontier the Indians were taking possession of the land. As they also wanted to do the same as the Bolivians they had removed the frontier posts.

The influence of the Cuban revolution on the Peruvians is tremendous. In April 1962 three students, Jorge Tamayo Flores, Oscar Joel Silva Espino and Fernando Lopez Aliaga Ledesma held up a bank in Miraflores, a suburb of Lima, and got away with about £30,000. These three students sent in a letter to the Peruvian newspaper

"Expreso" admitting the deed and explaining that it was a political act and the money was destined for the guerrilla fighters. In this letter dated 21st April 1962 they say: "The July 26th Movement in its time gave an example to all the people of America of how to rise against a regime that exploited the country. Fidel's uprising was carried out against all the opinions of the traditional left which held that it was necessary to wait until the masses rose and took up arms. Various people of America are already following Fidel's footsteps 'replacing the arms of criticism with the criticism of arms'. These are Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Paraguay." No doubt every peasant in Latin America knows of a revolution that has taken place in Cuba and the radical Agrarian Reform that it has initiated. Thus their enthusiasm and their burning wish to win freedom finds a clear ideological expression: to follow the Cuban road. The Peruvians reject any perspective of a 'peaceful' or democratic evolution and feel the necessity to organise more precisely the revolutionary armed struggle on the basis of the peasant guerrilla warfare merging with a general strike in the Cities.

The Peruvians are organising themselves into peasant unions to carry out their own Agrarian reform. Hugo Blanco, who is the leader of the Trotskyist *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Workers Party), organised the first unions in Chaupimayo. He began this work on a gigantic estate belonging to the landowner Alfredo Romainville. He was successful in organising about 75 unions which later formed the Federation Provincial de Campesinos of which leadership was shared by Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Sumiri, Saturnino Wilva and Fortunato Walpa. Hugo Blanco was the delegate for the Union of Chaupimayo and the secretary in charge of Defence. The unions have become strong through the united effort of the Campesinos and they have resisted all forms of intimidation from the landlords. In the Valle de la Convencion the Unions have taken possession of 40 big estates in this valley and have distributed them to its members. They have succeeded in eliminating the old feudal system where the peasant is forced to work for nothing for the great landlords without any salary whatsoever, not even food.

In this liberated zone, the "Free territory of Chaupimayo", the Unions control production as well as relations among the Campesinos. They distribute land, pay teachers, administer justice and issue a mimeographed newspaper. It has a good radio set on which news broadcasts from Havana are listened to. When Fidel speaks from Cuba the Indians surround the set and cheer "Kapachum Fidel" (long live Fidel). Their support to the Cuban revolution was demonstrated during the last crisis when 5,000 Indians came down the valleys into Cuzco. They occupied this important city for some hours before withdrawing to their liberated zone. The support for Hugo Blanco has been increasing and the Movement today consists of 75 Campesinos Unions in the Valle de la Convencion with its 72,000 Campesinos in Cuzco province. The Military Junta of Perez Godoy in its anxiety to suppress this growing peasant Movement last November sent the Commandant of the Civil Guard and Police of Peru, Gen. Humberto Quea to the capital of the Province of Convencion to "re-establish order". Before going to the capital Quillabamba, Gen. Quea boasted to the press "I will personally finish quickly with the guerrilla bands in any part of Peru." Nine days later Quea suddenly left the region of Convencion, where he had arrived with 5,000 soldiers, helicopters and tanks and returned to Lima after his operations were a complete failure. While the General was on his mission a bomb exploded in his palatial residence in Lima. The Military junta very much disappointed with the General's immediate return instructed Major Jose Infantes and 200 policemen under his command with special orders to bring Hugo Blanco dead or alive. The Police after several months of hunting have at last arrested Hugo Blanco and he is in danger of assassination. But the Movement continues to rise, and even the brutal attitude of Perez Godoy will not be able to break it.

The revolutionary development of campesinos has served to raise the level of the proletarian struggle and the workers are beginning to bypass the bureaucratic leadership of the Peruvian Labour Council and to establish direct contact between the Unions. It is not possible for us to be

definite of the future course of the Peruvian Revolution. The initiators so far have been the Indian Campesinos who are about 60% of the exploited class. But there is every possibility of a combined struggle of guerrilla warfare by the campesinos merging with a general strike in the cities. Thus the Peruvian masses are continuing

the revolutionary process which the Cuban Revolution began, and certainly it is the determination of the Peruvian masses that Cuba will not be the only Workers State in America.

June, 1963.

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM (V)

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

## XI. THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

### Marx's Contribution

In his speech at the graveside of Karl Marx, Engels said: Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human society..” (191)

Marx himself never claimed that his historical method was anything more than a “general result” and a “guiding principle.” (192) It was Engels who coined the term “historical materialism” for the Marxist view of history.

Lenin, in his time, paid tribute: “Marx’s *historical materialism* was the greatest achievement of scientific thought.” (193)

Critics, however, have charged that Marx nowhere set out his historical method. (194)

Lenin answered the critics: “In which of his works did Marx not set forth his materialist conception of history?” (195)

Engels, too, said: “Marx hardly wrote anything in which it does not play a part”. (196)

This was not the critic’s only objection.

“Marx’s critics declare...that hitherto not a single book has been published supplying a theoretical justification for historical materialism,” wrote Plekhanov and replied, “The critics...want the work to be begun at the wrong end.” (197)

Marxists have also pointed out that “Marx’s materialistic science, being a strictly empirical investigation into definite historical forms of society, does not need a philosophical support.” (198)

### Marx's Method

Before we outline Marx’s views on historical development, let us note a basic difficulty facing the scientific investigation of history.

In fields where experimentation is not possible, or generally, very limited, we have as Comte observed, to study the exception in order to understand the “normal” state of things. (199) For, exceptions, as Trotsky says, are after all, “specific refractions of the rule.” (200)

Thus, in astronomy, the erratic movement of the planet Uranus led to the prediction of the existence and the discovery of the planet Neptune. (201)

Physiology is indebted to pathology and to medicine. As the physiologist Broussais noted, disease is a specific function of the laws of health. (199)

Freud found a road to the exploration of the human Unconscious in the disturbances in the conscious life of men.

Scientific sociology received an impetus from the study of social “disturbances”, especially, revolution.

Lenin observes that “..unlike the bourgeois liberal theoreticians, Marx did not regard these periods (of revolution) as deviations from the ‘normal’ path, not as manifestations of ‘social disease’, not as the deplorable results of excesses and mistakes, but as the most vital, the most important, essential and decisive moments in the history of human societies.” (202)

The study of the “pathology” of society was not peculiar to Marx and Engels, though Marx more than anyone else showed the inevitability of revolution and the place

of radical social changes in the “normal” development of society. (203) For example, Clausewitz, before them, had shown the unity of the two “opposites”—war and peace—by declaring that war was “only the continuation of politics by *other* means.” Marxists subscribed fully to this aphorism which is a concrete illustration of Hegel’s “quality of self-negation”, the inner necessity of peace to turn into war. (204)

Marx writes: “The physicist either observes physical phenomena where they occur in their most typical form and most free from disturbing influence, or, where possible, he makes experiments under conditions that assure the occurrence of the phenomenon in its normality....In the analysis of economic forms, moreover, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents are of use. The force of abstraction must replace both.” (205)

With Marx, the force of abstraction was nothing other than the application of the laws of dialectics.

Lenin says that “Marx *applied* Hegel’s dialectics in its rational form to political economy.” (206)

### Marx’s approach was Concrete

“It was Hegel,” writes Plekhanow, “who said that any philosophy may be reduced to empty formalism, if one confines oneself to the simple repetition of its fundamental principles. But Marx was not guilty of that sin either.” (207)

Marx, as we have seen at the outset, *applied* his dialectics.

His study was Man, and, for Marx, Man was not an abstraction. Man was “*the world of man*”, (208) a concrete historical and social product.

The “human essence”, Marx says in his Sixth Thesis on Feuerbach, (209) “is no abstraction inherent in each separate individual. In its reality, it is the *ensemble* of social relations.”

In their second joint work *The German Ideology*, written as early as 1846, Marx and Engels distinguished their approach from that of their contemporaries: “We set out from real, active men.... not in any

fantastic isolation or abstract definition, but in their actual, empirically perceptible process of development under definite conditions.” (210)

“Man is in the most literal sense of the word a *zoon politikon*,” says Marx repeating Aristotle, “not only a social animal, but an animal which can develop into an individual only in society.” (211)

Society, too, was a concrete phenomenon.

“What is society, whatever its form may be?” Marx asks in a letter to Annenkov, and answers, “The product of men’s reciprocal relations.... Their material relations form the basis of all their relations.” (212)

Again, when discussing production, Marx was specific. “All production is the appropriation of nature by the individual *within and through a definite form of society*.... When we speak, therefore, of production, we always have in mind production at a certain stage of social development, or production by social individuals....” “*Production in general*,” Marx says, “is an abstraction.” (213)

Property, likewise, was not a thing, nor even a relation between a man and a thing, but a relation between men and men, a social relation. Engels writes: “... Economics deals not with things but with relations between persons, and in the last resort, between classes; these relations are, however, *attached to things and appear as things*....” (214)

“..Land-rent, profit, and all the other economic essentials of private property,” says Marx, “are *social relations* corresponding to a particular phase of production.” (215)

The commodity, the basic cell of capitalist economy, was, similarly, a social relation, not a thing. Lenin notes: “Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation of things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a relation between men....” (216)

Capital, also, was not a thing but a social relation. (217)

The concreteness of Marx’s approach to social phenomena distinguishes him from his contemporaries and critics.

### Society is Transient

Marx not only placed men and their social relations in their historical context, he viewed society in its change and development.

"The economic forms in which men produce, consume, exchange, are *transitory and historical*," says Marx in the letter to Annakov quoted above. (212)

In his preface to the Second Edition of *Capital* Marx says that the rational form of the dialectic "includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; . . . it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence. . . ." (218)

Thus Marx's very definitions placed men and their relationships in their historical context, studied them in their inter-relations, in their development and change, and were, therefore, concrete, historical and dialectical. (219)

The dialectical study of the development of man is nothing other than the scientific description of the evolution of human society.

"My standpoint," says Marx, is one "from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history. . . ." (220)

### The Emergence of Man

Marx and Engels began from the premise that man was, biologically, an animal. They were aware of the features that distinguish men from other animals—the use of tools and fire, the power of speech, the habitation of the whole globe, etc. (221)

But to them the most important, *the* distinguishing feature was the fact that man alone *produces* his means of sustenance. (222)

They were in agreement, then, with Benjamin Franklin, who defined man as "a tool-making animal".

Production was the first historical act. Man was not found read-made; in the Marxist view, man made himself. (223)

And what is production but an interaction between man and his environment, in which not the latter alone changes, but man as well? (224)

In *Capital*, Marx writes: "By . . . acting on the external world and changing it, (man) at the same time changes his own nature." (225)

In his essay on the *Transition from Ape to Man* (226) Engels amplifies this idea and stresses the impact of productive activity not only on the social development but also on the biological evolution of man.

### Production is the Basis of Society

Marx and Engels never tired of repeating that the basis of human society is production (227)

In their *German Ideology* they wrote: "The 'history of humanity' must always be studied and treated in relation to the history of industry and exchange." (228)

In *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx said: "Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces." (229)

In *Wage Labour and Capital* Marx explained: "These social relations into which the producers enter with one another, the conditions under which they exchange their activities and participate in the whole act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production, . . .

"Thus the social relations within which individuals produce, *the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces. The relations of production in their totality constitute what are called the social relations; society, and specifically, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a society with a peculiar, distinctive character. Ancient society\*, feudal Society, bourgeois society are such totalities of production relations, each of which at the same time denotes a special stage of development in the history of mankind.*" (230)

\* Marx refers to Slave Society. He analysed Asiatic Society in his letters on India (231) and other writings.

Marx summarised his views in his Preface to *The Critique of Political Economy*:

“In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.” (232)

The relationship between the changes in the basis of society and those in the superstructure is, however, a complex matter. In later years Engels had to caution his co-thinkers. To Bloch he wrote: “Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it...” (233) To Starkenburg he wrote that “economic necessity” always asserts itself “ultimately” (234). “Our conception of history,” he wrote to Schmidt, “is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction...” (235)

### The Division of Labour

In the process of production, the biological division of labour between the sexes was supplemented by the social division of labour. (236)

As the division of labour extended beyond the limits of the family to include whole tribes, society began to be stratified into castes. Specialization developed and with it productivity increased. And there also arose new inter-dependences, and conflicts, (237) between the individual and society.

As long as the needs of society were satisfied on the basis of the distribution and consumption of available products, the family was supremely important, tribal

customs were mainly of a personal nature, serving to maintain the stability of the family and the productive activity of the tribe.

When Marx and Engels referred to production in early societies they quite clearly meant not only the social production of the means of sustenance but also the “natural production” of “fresh life in procreation”. (238)

Engels says: “The social institutions under which men of a definite historical epoch and of a definite country live are conditioned by both kinds of production; by the stage of development of labour, on the one hand, and of the family, on the other. The less the development of labour, and the more limited its volume of production and, therefore, the wealth of society, the more preponderatingly does the social order appear to be dominated by the ties of sex.” (239)

### Surplus

At the point when social productivity increased to the point where it exceeded the needs of the maintenance of the producers, when, to use Marx’s term, there was a “surplus” product, the quantitative change in production opened the way for a qualitative change in society. (240)

This surplus product could be expropriated from the producers, and as Engels observes, “it was not long before the great ‘truth’ was discovered that man, too, may be a commodity; that human power may be exchanged and utilized by converting man into a slave. Men had barely started to engage in exchange when they themselves were exchanged.” (241)

Henceforth it was not worthwhile killing enemies in tribal warfare; the prisoners could be made slaves and made to produce for their masters. (242)

### Classes

Thus arose classes. Society became stratified into groups of people who played the same role in production and had the same relationship to the means of production. (243)

On the one side were the producers, on the other the expropriators of the produce.

The antagonism between the two classes became the cause of the basic conflict of society. The class struggle was fundamentally the struggle for the surplus product, for its division and distribution. (244) And history, in the famous words of the *Communist Manifesto*, became the history of class struggles. (245)

Engels says: "The old society based on sex-groups bursts asunder in the collision of the newly-developed social classes; in its place a new society appears, constituted in a state, the lower units of which are no longer sex groups but territorial groups, a society in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system, and in which the class antagonisms and class struggles, which make up the content of all hitherto written history, now freely develop." (246)

### Property

At the base of class society lies the system of private property.

In early times property was either communal, or so personal—ornaments, tools, arms, implements—that they were buried with the person on death. (247)

The improvement in technique which led, as we have seen above, to the production of surplus and thus the formation of classes also gave rise to the possibility of monopolizing the means of production: the land, cattle, slaves, etc.

For what cannot be monopolized cannot become property. "If land could be had as easily as air," says Engels, "no one would pay rent." (248)

Ryazanov says: "Only *private* property (which must be clearly differentiated from individual or personal property, such as 'my' shirt, 'my coat'—property which does not give its possessor the power of controlling even the most insignificant amount of others' labour), only *exploitative* property, creates the conditions whereby social power can be monopolized, whereby the 'owners' can turn to their exclusive advantage the natural and individual qualities, not only of persons but also of things." (249)

The growth of private property implied the growth also of its anti-thesis, propertyless men, who would be compelled to labour for the propertied class. Man thus fell victim to his own institution. "The necessary condition for the existence of property," says the *Communist Manifesto*, "is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society." (250)

In *The Holy Family*, Marx writes:

"Proletariat and wealth are opposites; as such they form a single whole. They are both forms of the world of private property. The question is what place each occupies in the antithesis. It is not sufficient to declare them two sides of a single whole.

"Private property is compelled to maintain *itself*, and thereby its opposite, the proletariat, in existence. That is the *positive* side of the contradiction....

"The proletariat, on the other hand, is compelled...to abolish itself and thereby its opposite, the condition for its existence, what makes it the proletariat, i.e., private property. That is the negative side of the contradiction, its restlessness within its very self, dissolved and self-dissolving private property." (251).

### The State

All ruling classes—the expropriators of surplus and the owners of private property—require an organization to maintain their power and position and to protect their property.

Engels says: "Class antagonisms, which lie at the root of all societies past and present, made the setting up of a State power inevitable. By the State is meant the organization of the exploiting class for the maintenance of the extant material conditions of production, and more especially for the forcible subjugation of the exploited class, for the keeping of it within the conditions of oppression characteristic of the extant method of production (slavery, serfdom, or wage labour, as the case may be). (252)

Thus it is that, "all political power is originally based on an economic, social function." (253)

The conflict of interests between the individual and society and especially between class and class gives rise to an apparatus of the ruling class for the maintenance of social equilibrium. (254)

**"The Anatomy of Civil Society"**

"The anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy," says Marx, meaning by civil society, a phrase used by Hegel, "the sum total" of "the material conditions of life." (255)

For Marx, the four general features of all class society were: the production relations, the class structure, the property system and the state apparatus.

He revealed the contradictions in each of these features; his approach was specific, concrete, historical and dialectical.

Division of labour leads to a conflict between the individual producer and society (237) It undermines collective production. (256). It leads to specialization and increased productivity, but every development in the direction of specialization is, as Engels observed in a another connection, a *regression*. (257).

Private property, as we have seen above, causes, a basic contradiction in society.

In *Capital*, after an analysis of the conversion of surplus value into capital, Marx says: "...It is evident that the laws of appropriation or of private property, laws that are based on the production and circulation of commodities, become by their own inexorable dialectic changed into their very opposite...." "The separation of property from labour has become the necessary consequence of a law that originated in their identity." (258).

Classes, by their very nature, are in permanent conflict. And the State itself, is a result and a reflection of the basic contradictions in class society.

(To be continued.)

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## Films



### “ROMAN HOLIDAY” IS BACK

THE great William Wyler's "*Roman Holiday*" which delighted audiences all the world over is back. This film is now on at the Liberty Theatre. The charming and captivating story of a modern princess who, tired of the rigours of protocol and royal obligation, goes on a spree in Rome has been generally understood to be a sly reference to Princess Margaret. This was Audrey Hepburn's debut in American films and no actress has scored such a success in recent years. She gave Hollywood something new; she created a fashion after herself. She and Gregory Peck made a delightful pair and Eddie Albert was a scream.

### NEW FILM VERSION OF THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME

VICTOR HUGO'S famous tale of 15th century Paris brought to the screen again in a lavish production in Cinemascope and Technicolour will be screened shortly at the Regal Theatre. The film was made entirely in France and retains the intrinsic Gallic qualities of the novel. The dialogue, however, is in English.

Gina Lollobrigida scores another triumph as Esmeralda, the provocative gypsy girl whose flaming beauty and sinuous dancing provide one of the principal motivations in this story of passion and cruelty. American actor Anthony Quinn plays the role of the pathetic, grotesquely ugly hunchback Quasimodo.

Here is a splendid opportunity for the young film-goer to acquaint himself with this wonderful tale. Those who are old enough to have seen Lon Chaney in the silent film or Charles Laughton in the second version can savour the old magic once again.

### A PAIR OF BRIEFS

THE British comedy "*A Pair of Briefs*" is, as the pun in the title suggests, an irreverent and spicy gag-cum-situation fun-fest about the Law and the Law Courts. It is made by the same team which gave you the "*Doctor*" series. If you found it funny looking at the surgeon with his gloves off you will find it funnier still looking at the barrister with his pin-stripes down. This is the only opportunity you will ever get of laughing yourself silly in Court without being hauled up for contempt. This film will be screened shortly at the Regal Theatre.



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