

YOUNG SOCIALIST

EDITORIALS ON: Ourselves; The Throne Speech; The Three Bye-Elections; Government and the Trade Unions; Corruption and Inefficiency; The Un-ending "Emergency"; Algeria; E M. C.

The Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill

By Colvin R. de Silva

Bankruptcy of a Leadership

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An Introduction to the Philosophy of Marxism

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The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking People (Part 1)

By V. Karalasingham

Understanding Africa's Development to Socialism

By Baba Oluwide

The Failure of our Land Policy

By Anil Moonasinghe

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YOUNG SOCIALIST

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Editorial Notes

OURSELVES

WITH this issue, *Young Socialist* sets out on its second year. We are satisfied that this journal is now firmly established and commands a wide readership which awaits each quarterly issue eagerly. We are proud to say that we have achieved a stable circulation of unusually high proportions for this country. We have also been accorded much appreciation both at home and abroad for the informative nature of the articles we have carried. It all goes to show that, as we anticipated in our very first issue, there is real room for a serious journal discussing serious issues from the Socialist standpoint. We thank our readers for their sustained support and request their collaboration in extending the circulation of *Young Socialist*. We thank all our contributors and request their continued assistance in maintaining the quality and usefulness of *Young Socialist*. We shall welcome new contributors no less than we shall welcome new readers. We remind everybody that we welcome not only articles genuinely contributing to socialist discussion regardless of the school of socialism to which the writer belongs but also serious articles of an informative nature not necessarily written from a socialist point of view. Our aim is to promote serious discussion of the problems of this country and to illustrate the practical application of properly elucidated socialist principles to those problems.

THE THRONE SPEECH

The writing of these notes and, therefore, also the printing of this issue of *Young Socialist* were deliberately delayed so that reference could be made to the Throne Speech. We regret our decision and apologise for the delay. The Throne Speech was both uninspired and uninspiring. It lacked relevancy to any of the perils and problems of our times. It contrived to avoid altogether the use of the words "unemployment" and "prices". And yet, the risen prices of elementary essentials are still rising and the latest total of those registered at the Colombo Employment Exchange alone, namely, 148,083, is the highest in our history. The only reference in the Throne Speech to planned development was a promise that "a short term programme of economic development to be carried out over a period of three years will be placed before you in the near future for consideration". Is this to be the special feature of the coming Budget Speech and Tactic? For the rest, it is an "as-you-were" kind of activity that is promised; a kind of continuation along paths already taken; with the word "acceleration" brought in to give a sense of speed. Is it "acceleration" that the promise is solemnly made in this year of our Lord 1962—still the promise, note you—that "Diplomatic Missions abroad will be instructed to take all necessary steps to further our trade and to develop tourism in the country." It is a breathtaking thought that the Prime Minister and Finance Minister, as heads of the External Affairs Department of a country whose very existence depends on the maintenance and development of its foreign trade, have yet to instruct our Diplomatic Missions abroad "to take all necessary steps to further our trade." What kind of activity relevant to this country's needs have our "Diplomatic Missions abroad" been engaged in all these years, we wonder that they

should still require to "be instructed to take all necessary steps to further our trade"? Really, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her Government appear to be living in a cloud-Cuckoo-land of make-believe and self-delusion. Just when the impulse of "the victory of the people" achieved in 1956 against the UNP is manifestly petering out in consequence of the inept policies of a mythical "middle way", this Government chatters about "vigilantly safeguarding and protecting against inroads and attacks" the victory which is slipping acceleratedly out of the people's grasp. Than this, irony can no further go. The true situation

under the SLFP Government is reflected by the prominence given to the promise that "My Government will maintain peace, law and order" (shades of the UNP!) and by the fact that the Throne Speech was preceded by the announcement in both Houses of Parliament that the "Emergency" had been extended for a further period. Failure even to refer to the most prolonged "Emergency" we have known (fifteen months and still going strong!) is another of the masterpieces of omission achieved in the Throne Speech. It is surely a mercy that the Government also refrained from reference to the recent by-elections, for we have thereby been spared what would have been a particularly unedifying effort to crow over nothing. There is enough and more to spare of that kind of effort in the Throne Speech. You will never get "hard work, honesty and sacrifice" under a Government which works hard only to shroud reality, whose concept of public honesty includes the protection and public promotion of men who have been found dishonest by public commissions of their own appointment, and whose sense of sacrifice is increasingly exemplified by the exercise of patronage in favour of Uncles, Nephews and Pandankarayas. Only the UNP can glory in this deterioration of SLFP performance in relation to SLFP policy. The people have still to find the socialist road to glory.

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THE THREE BYE-ELECTIONS

The results of the three recent bye-elections reflect the confused state of mind of the general mass of people today. There is manifestly a recession in the position of the SLFP Government among the broad masses. That this recession should have manifested itself in three rural elections and especially in Anuradhapura is a pointer to the general nation-wide trends. Imagine an Ex-SLFP independent polling 2179 votes against the 7797 votes polled by the official SLFP candidate in Anuradhapura where not only most of Ministerdom but also the vote-catcher-in-chief of the SLFP, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, personally campaigned for nearly a fortnight. Imagine the SLFP candidate in Welimada, that is to say in Uva which is claimed to be a special SLFP stronghold, polling only 2496 votes in spite of reckless campaigning pro-

mises by leading Ministers. Imagine an obscure local Sinhalese candidate corraling 6040 Sinhalese votes in Muttur against an SLFP campaigning recklessly on chauvinist Sinhalese anti-Tamilism. That is the spectacle provided by these bye-elections. There is no means of measuring the position of the Left in these bye-elections because no Left Party put forward any candidate anywhere. At the same time, there is clear evidence that the forces of the Right have made definite gains. The UNP increased its vote from 3572 to 6372 in Anuradhapura and from 3838 to 5178 at Welimada. Moreover the Welimada victor is a known Sinhalese chauvinist of the most unrestrained and irresponsible variety. The victory of the F.P. in Muttur associates itself with the above pattern because of the Rightist social policies of that party; but the fact is that it reflects the determination of the Tamils not to bow down to the SLFP Government's policy of oppression and suppression. The overall lesson is that the progressive masses who asserted themselves in 1956 and re-asserted themselves in July 1960 have become uneasy of the position and the future under the SLFP Government, have lost enthusiasm for the SLFP but are confused regarding the road forward. A tremendous responsibility falls upon the Left today to clarify issues, to expose both errors and their source, and above all to put forward and popularise concrete measures designed to meet the situation and concrete activity to create the opportunity for implementing such measures. Not just planning requires to be propagandised but a concrete plan informed by concrete socialist principles. Not just socialism requires to be popularised but socialist action, that is to say, ever expanding and properly co-ordinated mass action systematically directed to concrete socialist aims. This is the task: and when the Budget comes there is sure to be ample material for the propagandist and agitational tasks that face the socialist movement in our country.

GOVERNMENT AND THE TRADE UNIONS

There is a welcome new note in the Throne Speech regarding the relations of the SLFP Government with the trade unions. "Measures will be taken", the Throne Speech declares, "in order that there

might be greater co-operation between the Government and Government Trade Unions". The unions are a little wary and also weary of such declarations from this particular Government whose record in relation to militant trade unionism has been written primarily in terms of the "law and order" approach of all capitalist Governments. What the Government has thus far sought from the trade union movement is not co-operation but subservience. And the Government has not hesitated to try to beat and intimidate the unions into subservience. The latest, the most flagrant and, for a country claiming to be democratic in its set-up, the utterly unprecedented example is the Cabinet decision to expropriate the General Clerical Service Union of its headquarters. Although the resistance to this step has so far been successful and the Government has been compelled to resume payments against the loan it had agreed to give the G.C.S.U., the danger is not yet over. There has been no formal reversal of the Cabinet decision and the threat of its execution therefore still hangs over the head not only of the G.C.S.U. but also of the non-stooge trade union movement as a whole. Associated with this act of revenge is the continuing wave of victimisation in the Railway and Postal Departments. Government has not forgiven the unions in this field for having paralysed these departments during the January 5th strike. The SLFP Government will surely have to reform most thoroughly its attitude, outlook and activity in relation to the trade union movement before it can dare to ask for the confidence of the trade unions. In particular, it will have to mean co-operation that is to say, two-way co-operation, when it calls for co-operation. The trade union movement is an independent force which will never allow itself to be converted under any pretext into a passive instrument of Governmental policy. The claim and aim of the trade union movement, as publicly declared for instance by the Co-ordinating Committee of Trade Union Organisations and by the Public Service League, is to participate in the processes of policy-making and not merely in the processes of application of policies decided by Government without even the pretence of consulting the trade union movement. Incidentally, it will do the Government and indeed the entire

capitalist class well to remember that the militant trade union movement has come out of the great struggles of December 1961—March 1962, not as a defeated force but cleansed and with virility renewed. The desperate and diversionary actions of the Right, whether they proceed from the dark forces behind the abortive January 27th Coup or from a Government engaged in using the coup adventure to its own advantage against the working class, will not prevent the organised working class from driving resolutely towards its society-changing objective. Governments come and go, but the working class remains; and Governments which have tried to beat down the working class have only undermined themselves in the long run. It will not hurt the SLFP Government to remember this fact.

CORRUPTION AND INEFFICIENCY

The last few months have witnessed the exposure of some of the gravest cases of corruption in our history. The Food Department, The Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, the Customs Department, the Police and certain public Corporations have, among others, been involved. The exposure point to systematic fraud over whole periods of time and not to just this or that lapse in some official. These have been planned operations involving fairly widespread co-operation among numerous officials, not to mention private parties. In some cases the failure to discover the fraud earlier is simply astonishing. These point not merely to dishonesty but to that degree and extent of inefficiency that creates both temptation and opportunity. The Throne Speech announces a draconian measure entitled the "Public Property (Summary Disposal of Offences) Bill" and this may well help; but the truth is that today corruption and inefficiency have become inter-woven and inter-dependent, and you will never be able to fight corruption effectively without improving efficiency enormously. The newspapers like to refer in this context to the decline in public morals; but this is to mistake the symptom for the disease. There was a time when in the field of common crime as distinct from public corruption the situation was attributed to the maladjustments of a period of

transition. However, the transition itself seems to have halted while the evils allegedly attendant upon it have increased. It is necessary therefore to understand that governmental policy also has played its part in the admitted deterioration. For instance, Government's policy in relation to temperance, that is to say, liquor, has been simply cynical; hence the kasippu menace. And what of its attitude to police atrocities. There has been an unusual crop of such occurrences; so much so that Government has been forced to admit the reality of the situation and to acknowledge the need for suitable steps. But the full proportions of the general situation becomes evident only when it is remembered that the Police Department is one over which, in the name of the Prime Minister who is its nominal head, the strong man of this Government rules. Such is the inefficiency that prevails that even the humblest police constable feels safe to thumb his nose at the Prime Minister and it is through the self-same police that corruption has to be discovered and punished!

THE UN-ENDING "EMERGENCY"

We cannot conclude our "domestic notes" without referring to the continued renewing of the declaration of "Emergency". The pretences for maintaining the "Emergency" have worn this to the point of transparency. The reason originally was the Satyagraha movement in the North and East. This is long over and the Federal Party itself has been restored to legality and full freedom of functioning. Next it was the strike situation and the pretended threat to the Government. The strike wave is long over. Finally, the Coup was utilised. The Coup investigations are over, the information against the accused persons has been lodged before the three Supreme Court judges whom the Minister of Justice has nominated to preside at the "Coup Trial" and the defence lawyers themselves are in active consultation with their clients. Besides, Government has armed itself with enormous "regular" powers under cover of the Coup situation. To claim that the "Emergency", that ultimate weapon of a Government's self-preservation, is needed to keep the coup-prisoners in custody is like claiming that you require a steel hammer to kill

flies. The truth is that this SLFP Government has accustomed itself and perhaps accustomed the people to the ordinariness of the extraordinary. However, Young Socialist refuses to conform. The Emergency must be ended and not merely the draconian and inhuman Regulations that were promulgated in its name.

ALGERIA

Undoubtedly the most outstanding event of the last quarter of this year in the international field is the legalisation of the military and moral victory of the Algerian people in resistance against French and World Imperialism. The F.L.N. organising leader of the resistance and victory, is now in control of Algeria. On the F.L.N. and none other therefore falls the historic responsibility of Algerian reconstruction, which can signify only a revolutionary and socialist Algeria. It would appear that Ben Bella's differences with Ben Khedda turn precisely on this question. Being insufficiently informed on these matters to enable responsible comment, we content ourselves with the hope and expectation that the differences will be in such a fashion as will carry Algeria forward like Castro's Cuba along the road of revolutionary socialism.

E. C. M.

Britain would appear to be on the verge of entering the European Common Market. That her entry would bring other European nations into E.C.M. is a foregone conclusion. Therewith the integration of Western Europe into a single politically reactionary bloc immediately providing new opportunities of capitalist economic development will be given a fresh impetus. The threat to the Soviet bloc is obvious and Khrushchev's reaction has been sharp. The threat to various economies of the British Commonwealth which have depended on the British market is also acknowledged and the criticisms of some of the commonwealth countries, especially of those who are "blood-brothers", have been bitter. To socialists accustomed to the United States of Europe slogan, the development has its own theoretical interest. Thus far, capitalist Europe has been "unified" only under the jack-boot of Hitler. The present unification proceeds from economics to politics, although politics gave the initial

perspective. Is a capitalist United States of Europe or even Western Europe viable? That is to say, is the politico-economic integration of Western Europe possible on a reactionary basis? The one certainty is that, on the one hand, monopolistic capitalist competition will be enormously accentuated within the E.C.M. arena and on the other hand that capitalist Europe's competition with for instance, the capitalist U.S.A. will also be accentuated. Will the political forms or regional integration now being developed by capitalism succeed in providing a lasting framework for the containing of these new contradictions with their economically nuclear force? The U.S.A. regards, encourages and aids the unification of Europe with an avuncular benevolence. Her attitude is governed by the Cold War and the interests of her global struggle against the Soviet bloc and China. Will this benevolence withstand the erosion of accentuated inter-imperialist rivalries which the E.C.M. will generate in every part of the World? From the point of view of the newly independent countries like Ceylon and of the semi-colonial and colonial countries, E.C.M. spells the gang-ing up of industrial countries against their food and raw material suppliers. The exploitation and economic subjection of the under developed economies of these countries will be enhanced by E.C.M. Let Socialists understand that it is as idle to howl out imprecations upon these natural and organic developments of world capitalism in its world monopoly phase as it would have been to howl out similarly at an earlier time against the development of capitalism, naturally and organically, into its monopoly phase. In the earlier phase, men like Lenin and Trotsky, recognising the new capitalist reality and studying it, taught the revolutionary working class movement to adapt the strategy and tactics of the class struggle accordingly. They did not change the aim of the revolutionary replacement of capitalism; for they knew that the framework of capitalism could no longer contain mankind's forward surge. The socialists of today must do as Lenin and Trotsky did; namely, study and understand the new reality in terms of the working class movement perennial aim—the revolutionary replacement of capitalism.

16th July 1962



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THE EMPLOYMENT OF CEYLONESE ON ESTATES BILL

By Colvin R. de Silva

ON 23rd May 1962 the Minister of Labour and Nationalised Services presented to Parliament a Bill entitled the "Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill." The Bill lapsed with the prorogation of Parliament, but it is sure to be re-introduced when Parliament re-assembles.

The heart of this ten-clause Bill is to be found in Sections 2 and 3 which we here quote in full:—

"2. The Minister may, from time to time, by Order published in the Gazette, make a determination as respects estates generally or estates of any such particular class or description as may be specified in the Order or any such particular estate as may be so specified, fixing the quota of workers who shall be Ceylonese. Different quotas may be so fixed in respect of estates of different classes or descriptions of different estates.

3. It shall be the duty of an employer,—

(a) if on the first occasion on which an Order made under section 2 comes into force in respect of an estate the total number of Ceylonese employed on that estate is less than the quota fixed for that estate by that Order, to appoint Ceylonese to fill vacancies in the posts of workers on that estate which may occur on or after the date of the coming into force of such Order until such total number is equivalent to that quota; and

(b) Whenever thereafter the total number of Ceylonese employed as workers on that estate is less than the quota so fixed by such first Order, or any subsequent Order for the time being in force applicable to that estate, to appoint Ceylonese to fill vacancies which may occur in the posts of workers on that estate until the total number of Ceylonese employed as such workers is equivalent to that quota."

This Bill raises far-reaching and deep-going political, social, economic and human

issues. The proper resolution of these issues is fundamental to Ceylon's future.

The long title of the Bill declares its aim to be "to make provision for the employment of citizens of Ceylon on estates and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto". To the casual and uninstructed reader this may seem natural and innocuous. Nevertheless, even on the face of it and without reference to the historical and concrete contemporary background, it should strike even the casual reader that there must be some problem existing which has necessitated a Bill of this nature. Manifestly there must be some other people than "Citizens of Ceylon" employed extensively on the estates to make it necessary to provide by law for the employment of citizens of Ceylon on them. And indeed that is so. Probably the majority of the workers employed on the organised estates of Ceylon and certainly the majority of those employed on the big "Company estates" are not "citizens of Ceylon."

We thus come quickly to the heart of the problem, but some acquaintance with the historical background of contemporary fact will help to clarify issues.

To begin with, who is a citizen of Ceylon? The answer to this question is to be found first of all in the Citizenship Act of 1948, Section 2 (2) of that Act declares as follows:—

"(2) A person shall be or become entitled to the status of a citizen of Ceylon in one of the following ways only:—

(a) by right of descent as provided by this Act;

(b) by virtue of registration as provided by this Act or by any other Act authorizing the grant of such status by registration in any special case of a specified description."

In turn, a "Citizen by Descent" is defined in Sections 4 and 5 of the Citizenship Act. These sections read:—

"4. (1) *Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a person born in Ceylon before the appointed date shall have the status of a citizen of Ceylon by descent, if—*

- (a) *his father was born in Ceylon, or*
- (b) *his paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather were born in Ceylon.*

(2) *Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a person born outside Ceylon before the appointed date shall have the status of a citizen of Ceylon by descent, if—*

- (a) *his father and paternal grandfather were born in Ceylon, or*

- (b) *his paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather were born in Ceylon.*

5. (1) *Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a person born in Ceylon on or after the appointed date shall have the status of a citizen of Ceylon by descent if at the time of his birth his father is a citizen of Ceylon.*

(2) *Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a person born outside Ceylon on or after the appointed date shall have the status of a citizen of Ceylon by descent if at the time of his birth his father is a citizen of Ceylon and if, within one year from the date of birth, or within such further period as the Minister may for good cause allow, the birth is registered in the prescribed manner...."*

The provisions of this Act for acquiring Citizenship by Registration need not be set out here as they are not pertinent to our discussion except that they also proceed in the main on the principle of descent. A very narrow class which cannot exceed 25 persons in any year has been provided for in respect of those not falling within the principle of descent.

It is to be stressed that the principle operated by the Citizenship Act is unique in the world. All other countries proceed primarily on the principle of residence. Ceylon alone proceeds primarily on the prin-

ciple of descent. It is necessary to note the reason because it is pertinent and even central to the present discussion.

The reason is to be sought in Governmental policy. At the time this law was enacted the United National Party was in power under the premiership of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake. The domestic political forces behind the Government had long been concerned with what in Ceylon has come to be known as "the Indian Question." (We shall ourselves use this term or phrase in this article as a matter of convenience although the term is today more than a little misleading.) There can be no doubt that by the Citizenship Act of 1948 and by the Indian And Parkistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949 the D. S. Senanayake Government expected to end the Indian Question.

The broad features of the "Indian Question" in Ceylon are well known and in any event readers of "Young Socialist" have been fully acquainted with the historical facts relating to it through the articles of Mr. S. Rajaratnam and Mr. N. S. G. Kuruppu. Suffice it therefore to say here that along with the introduction into Ceylon of the plantation system of agriculture by British imperialist capital there was also introduced a system of organised importation of labour for these plantations or estates from South India. The plantation system in Ceylon thus became primarily a process by which foreign capital exploiting and developing the natural resources of Ceylon made its profits by the exploitation of foreign or rather imported South Indian labour.

It may be said at once that British capital turned to the importation of labourers from South India out of necessity. There simply was not enough labour available in Ceylon at the time for the opening and running of the rapidly developed plantation system. For one thing, the population of Ceylon was still small and labour itself was not mobile for various reasons. Further, the destruction of the old land system and the creation of a large class of landless peasants got under way only gradually and in any event not with sufficient speed to make any important impact on the labour situation in relation to the requirements of the rapidly developed

plantation system. On the other hand the landless peasantry of South India provided an almost inexhaustible and also handy source of cheap and docile labour. From the point of view of capital this was labour simply crying for utilisation, that is exploitation.

From the beginning this new labour was "resident". In two senses. For one thing, the bulk of it became permanently resident in Ceylon. For another, it became resident on the plantations or estates on which it worked. The estates housed them within the estate precincts. They did not reside outside the estates and come and go to work as, for instance, residents of a neighbouring village might have done.

Regarding permanency of residence in Ceylon, it does not of course mean that every person who came, or rather was brought through an inhuman recruitment organisation, remained permanently in Ceylon. There was much travelling to and from between Ceylon and India. Contact between families in Ceylon and their relations on the sub-continent was maintained and sustained. Many, especially in the earlier period, went home to die. Brides were brought out from India and, sometimes, women went to India to marry. Nevertheless it is true that over the years in increasing measure the main bulk of this imported labour became settled in Ceylon and made Ceylon their home.

Now, in the days of British rule, the question of the citizenship of these people in specific relation to Ceylon did not arise. Ceylon was a British colony; India was a British colony. There were no Indian citizens or Ceylon citizens. The people in both countries were British citizens and were issued British passports. As such they moved freely between India and Ceylon.

However, long before either India or Ceylon became independent, the freedom of the flow of labour from South India to Ceylon and become restricted in various ways for various reasons. It is sufficient for our purposes to say that the Indian Government shut down hard on emigration to Ceylon in 1938. In that year the emigration of labour from India to Ceylon was administratively prohibited. The old flow was thereby reduced to a trickle.

In the meantime the nature of the labour which emigrated to Ceylon had also changed in an important way. Side by side with the organised recruitment of estate labour from South India there developed an independent and spontaneous flow of other South Indian immigrants into Ceylon. They came searching for work in the urban centres and soon became a sizeable body of voluntary settlers who were generally referred to as Malayalis because the main bulk of them came from Kerala. Further, there was a large influx of petty traders and the like.

This fresh wave of immigration was attracted and absorbed by the Ceylon economy under the boom conditions of the post-war period. But things became different in the conditions of the great Depression of the early thirties and in the prolonged economic *malaise* of the decade preceding World War 2. These were days of mass unemployment in Ceylon. These were also days of the steady expulsion of the peasantry from their land. Thus, on the one hand those already in the working class fell out of employment in the mass while, on the other hand, new masses of landless peasants who had to seek wage-employment came into existence.

Mass unemployment renders old frictions more acute and also creates new frictions within the working class and in, the afflicted society generally. Indigenous labour and immigrant labour in Ceylon had lived side by side in both workplace and home quite satisfactorily in boom-time when work was generally available for all. Indeed, in many a sector, immigrant labour, free of local ties and therefore very much more proletarianised than indigenous labour, had given the lead to indigenous labour in organising labour and conducting the class struggle. However, when the economic downturn came, friction between the two groups on a racial and on a foreigner *versus* indigenous inhabitant basis inexorably developed. The "Indian Question" in Ceylon was born.

Friction also developed in another field than the working class field. The Depression brought ruin to many a small trader. The South Indian traders established in town and countryside in Ceylon there upon came under attack from their indigenous competitors who found in the "Indianness" and foreign-

ness of their rivals a handy weapon. The big Indian trader and merchant in Colombo and other major cities also came under similar attack. What is more, the money-lending Indian, the Natukottai Chettiar, caused the spread of the infection to the indigenous land-owning rich in town and country. Large sectors of the land-owning rich had borrowed extensively from the Chettiars on mortgages of their property. Along with the general of those who had lent money on mortgages, the Chettiars too foreclosed. In the result whole sections of the big land-owners as well as little land-owners either lost their prosperity or were threatened with the loss of their property. Anti-Indianism became virulent amongst this powerful stratum of Ceylon's bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie.

It is a noteworthy feature of their Depression and post-Depression period before World War 2 that the "Indian Question" was not thought, even amongst those holding pronounced anti-Indian views to encompass the question of the employment of the vast mass of "Indian" labour on the estates. It is a matter of recorded fact that, for instance, men like Sir John Kotelawela, who spear-headed an anti-Indian drive just before World War 2, expressly declared that they wanted "Indian" labour to continue on the estates and that they did not want "our own people" to be "brought down" to the level of the estate labourer resident in the estate "line"rooms. It is also a matter of record that these very political representatives of anti-Indianism refused to prohibit or even limit organised recruitment to the estates from South India as late as 1937. It was the Indian Government that for its own reasons introduced such a prohibition administratively in 1938.

Anti-Indianism became submerged during World War 2 which saw a tremendous expansion of economic activity in the country and also a tremendous expansion of the working class in Ceylon. This great mass of new workers was drawn not from abroad but from the villages of Ceylon and also from the city poor. There was no unemployment problem any more.

The situation could not last because the war-time expansion of economic activity

did not represent any genuine or permanent expansion of the country's economy. It was actively in relation to the war and dependent on the direct military and ancillary expenditure of British imperialism in Ceylon for the purposes of a war in which Ceylon became peculiarly important strategically. Accordingly, when the war ended, the war-induced economic boom burst. Mass unemployment returned; but with a difference: the village could not suck back the swollen urban populations which the war period had attracted from the village to the city: The vast mass of urban unemployed were consequently almost wholly indigenous from the point of view of race and descent.

A new factor now came into play. Ceylon received a Parliamentary Constitution in 1947 and became independent in 1948. The number of elected seats in the new legislature was nearly doubled to 95. The first elections under the Parliamentary system, conducted as under the Donoughmore system since 1931 on the universal adult franchise, produced interesting results.

From the point of view of anti-Indianism in Ceylon the most important feature of the results was that the plantation areas sent "Indians" to Parliament while also decisively influencing the results in about 14 other seats. In other words, nearly one-fifth of the composition of the new Ceylon Parliament was determined by the "Indian" vote.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake and his political colleagues had not been unaware of this "danger" earlier. They had thought of the possibility as early as the first proposals to introduce the universal adult franchise. But there was little they could do in the matter. The "Indian" was as much a British subject as those whose ancestors had come to and settled in Ceylon earlier; and the "Indian", as part of the resident population of Ceylon, had the vote just like the rest of the population.

One reason why anti-Indianism on the franchise question did not come to a head during the Donoughmore days was that the constituencies were divided in a manner that minimised "Indian" influence. Another reason was that the "Indian" were not organised. They had not been taught to vote as "Indians"

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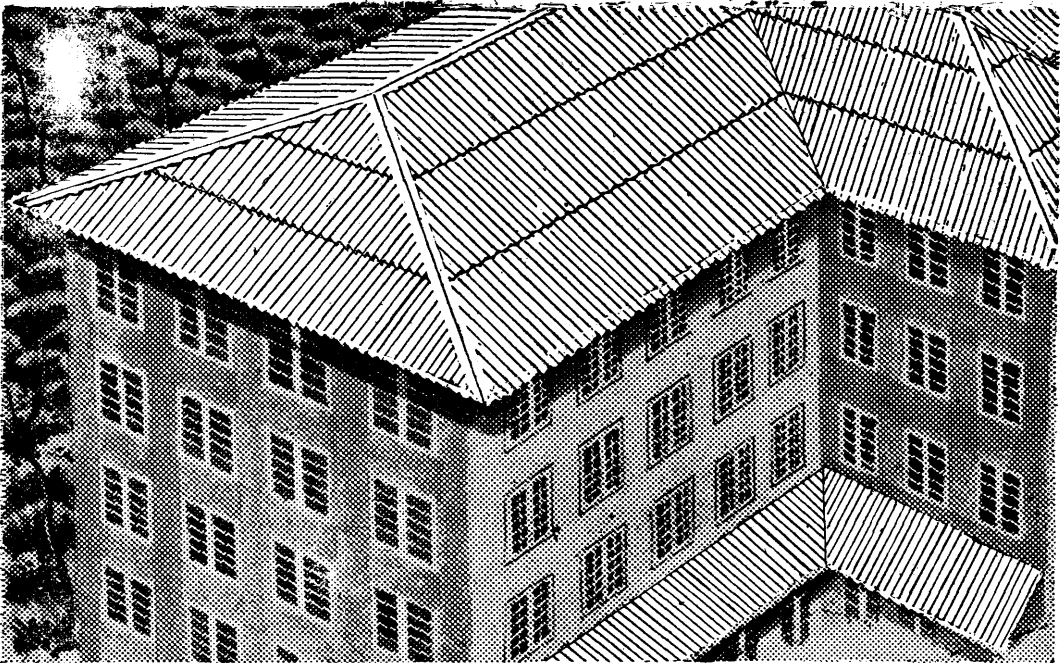
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for "Indian" candidates. Probably also they were not effectively brought on the rolls.

The latter years of the Donoughmore period saw a sharp change in the situation. On the advice of Pandit Nehru, given on a goodwill visit to Ceylon in 1938 at the height of a wave of anti-Indianism, the Ceylon Indian Congress was launched. This organisation set about organising the "Indians" as "Indians" both politically and in a trade union which was destined to be the largest trade union in Ceylon. After all, the bulk of the Indians in Ceylon were plantation-workers—and the plantation-workers are the main concentrated mass within the working class of Ceylon.

The last fact points up another aspect of the "Indian Question" for Mr. D. S. Senanayake and the capitalist class generally. In its political and franchise aspect, the "Indian" Question was to Mr. D. S. Senanayake and his colleagues a class question. The enfranchised Indian was in the main an enfranchised worker who, at least in the trade union field, was in daily conflict with his employer. Both his vote and his representative were therefore potentially anti-capitalist and in relation to parliament the U.N.P. as the recognised political party of the capitalist class, inevitably "oppositionist". This was demonstrated to the full when the Ceylon Indian Congress M.P.s aligned themselves with the Left parties in the first Parliament and took their seats in the Opposition when the U.N.P. formed its first Government.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake had another grouse. Despite all claims to the contrary, Mr. D.S. Senanayake was basically a racialist, that is to say, a Sinhalese politician who was concerned with the political dominance of the Sinhalese race in Ceylon. He saw in the position of the "Indians" within Ceylon's electoral system a threat to this dominance. He awaited his opportunity to remove the threat—and took it with both hands when it came.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake's opportunity came when Ceylon, with the U.N.P. in power under his leadership, became independent on 4th February 1948. He struck promptly and, let it be added in so far as the non-"Indian" population was concerned, with popularity.

Mr. Senanayake's first blow against the "Indians", in Ceylon was the Citizenship Act which he introduced in Parliament on 4th August 1948 and brought on the Statute Book on November 15th of the same year. By this measure, under cover of creating "the status of a citizen of Ceylon", the infant deprived the mass of Ceylon Indians of Ceylon citizenship. In other words it was really an act for decitizenising this section of Ceylon's population

Mr. D. S. Senanayake followed up the Citizenship Act with the "Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Act" No. 3 of 1949. This Act provided for an Indian or Pakistani resident of Ceylon to be granted "the status of a citizen of Ceylon by registration" upon certain conditions. These conditions are contained in Sections 3-6 of the Act and the relevant portions of these sections are set out below:—

"3. (1) *This Act shall, subject to the provisions of section 4 apply solely to those indian or Pakistani residents in Ceylon who are possessed of the special residential qualification, which in each case shall consist—*

(a) *in the first instance, of uninterrupted residence in Ceylon, immediately prior to the 1st day of January, 1946, for a period not less than the appropriate minimum period hereinafter specified; and*

(b) *secondly, of uninterrupted residence in Ceylon from the aforesaid day to the date of the application made in that case for registration under this Act.*

(2) *The appropriate minimum period of uninterrupted residence required by paragraph (a) of subsection (1) shall—*

(a) *in the case of a person who is unmarried at the date of his application for registration, or in the case of a married person whose marriage has been dissolved by death or divorce prior to the date, be a period of ten years; and*

(b) *in the case of any married person (not being a married person referred to in paragraph (a) of this subsection), be a period of seven years.*

4. (1) Any Indian or Pakistani resident to whom this Act applies may, irrespective of age or sex, exercise the privilege of procuring registration as a citizen of Ceylon for himself or herself, and shall be entitled to make application therefore in a manner hereinafter prescribed:

Provided that any such Indian or Pakistani resident, being either—

(1) a married woman who is not living apart from her husband in accordance with a duly executed deed of separation or a decree of separation pronounced by a competent court, or

(ii) a minor who is dependent on his father or on his widowed or unmarried mother, shall not exercise the aforesaid privilege independently of the husband or of the father or the mother, as the case may be, or be entitled to make a separate application for registration.

(2) In the exercise of the aforesaid privilege—

(a) a male Indian or Pakistani resident, if he is married, may procure, in addition to his own registration, the registration of his lawful wife (whether or not she is herself possessed of the special residential qualification) or of any legitimate minor child born to him of that or any previous marriage or any minor child borne by his wife prior to that marriage, who may be ordinarily resident in Ceylon and dependent on him; and

(b) a female Indian or Pakistani resident to whom the proviso to subsection (1) does not apply, if she is herself possessed of the special residential qualification, may procure, in addition to her own registration, the registration of any minor child of hers who may be ordinarily resident in Ceylon and dependent on her. . . .

5. The privilege or extended privilege conferred by this Act shall be exercised in every case before the expiry of a period of two years reckoned from the appointed date; and no application made after the expiry of that period shall be accepted or entertained, whatsoever the cause of the delay.

6. It shall be a condition for allowing any application for registration under this Act that the applicant shall have—

(1) first proved that the applicant is an Indian or Pakistani resident and as such entitled by virtue of the provisions of sections 3 and 4 to exercise the privilege of procuring such registration, or that the applicant is the widow or orphaned minor child of an Indian or Pakistani resident and as such entitled by virtue of those provisions to exercise the extended privilege of procuring such registration; and

(2) in addition. . . . produced sufficient evidence (whether as part of the application or at any subsequent inquiry ordered under this Act) to satisfy the Commissioner that the following requirements are fulfilled in the case of the applicant.

(1) that the applicant is possessed of an assured income of a reasonable amount, or has some suitable business or employment or other lawful means of livelihood, to support the applicant and the applicant's dependants if any;

(ii) where the applicant is a male married person (not being a married person referred, to in paragraph (a) of section 3 (2), that his wife was uninterruptedly resident in Ceylon from a date not later than the first Anniversary of the date of her marriage and until the date of the application, and in addition, that each minor child dependent on the applicant was uninterruptedly resident in Ceylon from a date not later than the first anniversary of the date of the child's birth and until the date of the application;

(iii) that the applicant is free from any disability, or incapacity which may render it difficult or impossible for the applicant to live in Ceylon according to the laws of Ceylon;

(iv) that the applicant clearly understands, that in the event of being registered as a citizen of Ceylon—

(a) the applicant will be deemed in law to have renounced all rights to the civil and political status the applicant has had, or would, but for such registration in Ceylon

have had, under any law in force in the territory of origin of the applicant or the applicant's parent, ancestor or husband, as the case may be, and

(b) in all matters relating to or connected with status, personal rights and duties and property in Ceylon, the applicant will be subject to the laws of Ceylon.

Nothing in the preceding paragraph (2) (ii) shall require or be deemed to require that any wife or minor child should have been resident in Ceylon at any time prior to the 1st day of January 1939....."

It will be noticed from the above that a Ceylon "Indian" not falling within the principle of descent of the Citizenship Act required an uninterrupted residence period of ten or seven years before 1st January 1946 and also uninterrupted residence from 1st January 1946 to the date of application for registration if such person was to be granted the status of a citizen of Ceylon by registration. We shall refer to the working of this Act later but shall state at once that the Act in its administrative application in fact shut out the bulk of especially the "Indian" estate population from acquiring citizenship by registration.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake struck his next blow with Act No. 48 of 1949 by which it was enacted that "no person shall be qualified to have his name entered or retained in any register of electors in any year if such person is not a citizen of Ceylon." The disfranchisement of the bulk of the "Indian" population in Ceylon was thus effected.

The decitizenising and disfranchising of the bulk of Ceylon "Indians" opened the way to other anti-"Indian" pressures and measures. It also had other grave consequences.

The responses of a Parliament are ordinarily to the pressures of the electors. It is only in exceptional situations that the pressures, demands and needs of the unfranchised reflect themselves in the Parliamentary process. The reason of course is that a member of Parliament is answerable to his electors who after all determine whether he shall be in Parliament at all. Parlia-

mentary Governments too respond fundamentally in the same way. Accordingly, those who fall out of the electoral process, just like those who have never come into it, lose their power to influence Parliament ordinarily, directly and continuously. And this precisely is what happened to the Ceylon "Indians" when they lost the franchise and lost the representatives whom they had helped to elect to Parliament.

Further, the disfranchisement of the Ceylon "Indians", who in their predominant bulk were workers, gravely weakened the only political force in the country that could fight for justice for this section of Ceylon's population, namely, the forces of the working class and the general Left. This weakening was in two principal ways. On the one hand the Parliamentary representation and influence of the working class were gravely reduced and undermined. On the other hand, within the working class itself in respect of normal political processes a tendency was set going for a division or a partition to arise between the Indian section of the workers and the rest. This was to have particularly deleterious consequences to the political movement of the working class when especially Sinhalese racialism grew in strength in the country. It is possible that if the "Indian" worker mass had remained enfranchised, the importance of the weight of this section to the general working class struggle as well as to the class activity of the Sinhalese workers would have been more easily brought home to the Sinhalese workers. The shrewd capitalist brain of Mr. D. S. Senanayake had driven a dangerous racialist wedge into the solidarity of the working class in Ceylon.

Thirdly, the process of the assimilation of the Ceylon "Indians" into the general population of Ceylon was gravely handicapped, and to a degree arrested and even reversed. These people were now made to feel aliens in Ceylon. They were made to feel that they were not the concern of the Ceylon Government. They were literally driven to turn to the Government of India for protection and aid.

In this way the "Indian Question" became involved directly with Indo-Ceylon relations.

The position of the Indians in Ceylon became the subject of negotiations between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of India.

A review of these negotiations is not pertinent to the subject of this article. Suffice it to say that their success depended upon the honourable implementation of agreements made. Instead, especially in the case of Sir John Kotelawela as Prime Minister of the third UNP Government, there was such a thieving implementation of undertakings as outraged the Government of India. As a result, not only did all negotiations get suspended but also the agreements went into cold storage. Since the Government of India felt that the process of granting citizenship by registration to Ceylon "Indians" had not been carried out honourably, it for its part suspended almost altogether the registration as citizens of India of "Indians" who had not received citizenship of Ceylon.

Thus arose the category of people in Ceylon who are now known generally as the "stateless". The bulk of these people are plantation workers and are estimated to be about 700,000. They are to be the direct victims of the Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill in the event of it becoming law.

For what does the Bill provide? Briefly it provides for the fixing from time to time by the administrative fiat of a political personality of quotas of workers on estates who shall be Ceylonese. The quota, which may vary even from estate to estate in a particular locality, is to be operated through appropriate appointments to future vacancies. In other words, the Bill in its application when it becomes law does not involve any dismissal of those already employed on estates. (With this exception. If a "non-citizen" who is in employment when the quota is fixed loses his job after the quota system is introduced, he will be unable to get employment on any estate, including re-employment on his old estate, if the quota has not been completed on the given estate. Incidentally, this enables the employer to keep a new threat hanging over the heads of "non-citizen" labour).

In the light of the facts we have already set out in regard to the Indian question, it

is clear that this is another step in the campaign of anti-Indianism. However, the full import of this step can become clear only if certain other facts are brought into view.

We have earlier pointed out that during a whole stage or period of the agitation on the "Indian Question", it did not encompass the "Indian" plantation workers. Further, even when the D. S. Senanayake Government deprived the Ceylon Indians of their citizenship and political rights, no effort was made to hit directly at the jobs of the "Indian" plantation workers. As a matter of historical fact, the U.N.P. Governments did not even strike particularly at the urban Indian workers although, in fact a certain exodus of these workers did begin at the time. It is as if the U.N.P. Governments were content with emasculating the Ceylon Indians politically.

However, other forces were beginning to come into play. Of these, two require particular mention in the present connection. On the one hand, independent Ceylon witnessed a steady growth of unemployment until it became a permanent mass phenomenon. Accompanying this phenomenon has been the parallel phenomenon of widespread under-employment in the countryside. By reason of the rate of economic development lagging behind the rate of increase of population, there simply have not been enough jobs to go round in spite of expensive land settlement schemes, which have been designed primarily to draw off the surplus population on to the land.

In this situation, which of course was of their own making, successive Governments have increasingly turned to job redistribution simultaneously with efforts at job creation. The approach to redistribution has inevitably been through racialism for the simple reason that the constituency system has enabled racial majorities to be manipulated to produce Parliamentary majorities. In other words, widespread joblessness has been used by its very creators to feed racialist politics.

It is of course well known that a fresh, an extremely acute and far more extended wave of racialism than has been manifested before has characterised the last decade or so of

our history. Anti-Indianism has spread out into anti-Tamilism amongst the Sinhalese, thus embracing a whole section of Ceylonese citizens by descent who are Tamils by race. There is little doubt that job preference has been accorded through various devices to the Sinhalese in recent times by Governments which have relied exclusively on the Sinhalese vote to reach power. The fundamental politics of the S.L.F.P. Governments, including the first M.E.P. variant, has been racialist and not socialist as claimed.

The Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill is an attempted extension of the policy of redistributing jobs on racialist principles. It is no doubt presented as a question of citizenship, but, as has been demonstrated, it is really not a citizenship question at all. It is an extension to the employment field of the process of political oppression of the Ceylon Indians. It is a blow at the stateless.

It is also a blow dictated by another aspect of S.L.F.P. policy. The decay of the traditional village in Ceylon has most gone forward in the plantation areas. The areas most covered by the plantations are the up-country or Kandyan areas. The Kandyan village is the most crying example in Ceylon of rural decay. Many a Kandyan village has either died or is in the course of dying.

In many parts of these regions the estate population is of course in the majority. In other parts it constitutes a sizeable mass. But, also in the mass the estate population of the Indian variety is "stateless." That is to say they have not the protection of any state outside Ceylon.

Further, the M.P. from the plantation areas has been politically freed from the pressure of this now "stateless" mass. His electors are other than these people. The votes he must win and conserve are the votes of "the others." What is more, since these "others" suffer from both unemployment and under-employment in their centuries-old villages and in the more modern towns, it is natural that such an M.P., responding to electoral need, should look to the estates (which anyhow are the major source of employment in these areas) for employment opportunities for his unemployed and under-employed constituents. To an M.P. who

like his constituents, sees in the "Indian estate worker only a foreigner who is holding down a job which could well be done by an indigenous inhabitant, it is natural that the situation should appear, to be a racial question rather than a general question of unemployment. In any event he could see ready political advantage in a demand that the foreigner and the non-citizen should be replaced by the indigenous inhabitant and citizens in these estate jobs. And, freed as he is from the need to woo the estate workers' vote, this fundamentally racialist line of politics becomes not only easy of use but fatally attractive.

And so it has been. The pressure of M.P.s from the plantation areas on their governments to operate a line of policy such as we have set out above in relation to estate employment has steadily mounted in recent years as unemployment and under-employment has increased. Within the framework of the citizenship laws of the U.N.P. governments which the S.L.F.P. Governments have gladly inherited, this racialist drive has also been able to acquire a "nationalist" tinge or appearance. The Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill reflects the pressure of the M.P.s from the plantation areas regardless of party affiliations. Incidentally, there are no Left M.P.s from the predominantly plantation areas.

However, it is to be immediately understood that the plantation-area M.P.s of today can gain only propagandistically from the Bill. Their expectations from it will anyhow take a long time for fruition. The reason for this is to be found in one of the most remarkable achievements that the trade union movement anywhere in the world has to record.

The estate workers' unions, proceeding from the fact that the bulk of the estate workers are resident on the estates, succeeded after many a struggle in getting the principle accepted by the general run of employers and especially by the Company estates and their organisation (The Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation) that every child of a resident worker reaching the age of 14 years shall be taken on the Check Roll. To be placed on the check roll is to be brought under the legal obligation attaching to the employer to grant every worker on the check roll 24 days of work a month.

The true meaning of this right, which has been wrested from the estate employers by the estate worker unions through sheer struggle involving tremendous suffering, is that the estates have been compelled to undertake the provision of employment for the succeeding generations of their resident labour force. In other words, the given industry and indeed the given estate has been brought under the compulsion to provide employment for the children of the resident workers from generation unto generation.

It is to be stressed that this has been an entirely trade union achievement won independently of all Governments and still without the legally enforceable compulsion that comes from legislative enactment. The compulsion on the employers in this matter, the sanction if we may use that term, is solely the organised strength of the estate workers. And let it be added that the estate workers have repeatedly demonstrated how precious they regard this right to be by bitterly fought strikes centering on this issue alone.

Certain further features of this "right" established or achieved and safeguarded by the estate workers are to be noted. In the first place, what has been achieved here is not the familiar system which prevails in many a work place of giving preference or a customary priority to children of employees when employment opportunities arise. The estate workers have pushed their employers much further and established an altogether new principle which guarantees security of employment on the estate itself for their descendants. Every child of a resident estate worker, the child himself being resident on the estate, stands guaranteed employment on the estate immediately upon reaching the employable age.

Secondly, this "right" is limited to resident labour. That is to say, the "right" does not accrue to non-resident labour coming from outside the estate to work on the estate. This fact is pertinent to the acuteness of the present issue. As the system operates, the village labourer's child has not the right of the resident labourer; and as the village labourer is a Sinhalese and the resident labourer is usually an "Indian" (in most cases a "stateless" Indian), it is not surprising even though it is not accurate that the Sin-

halese village inhabitant should feel that he is discriminated against on a racial basis. (The truth of course is that the "right" accrues to residence and not to race. The resident Sinhalese labourers too have the same "right" to their children being employed by the estate).

Let it be added that the trade unions have been alive to the question and have sought to extend the right of the resident labourer to all estate labourers. However, the unions have not succeeded in this demand. Non-resident labour continues without this "right". Moreover, precisely by reason of this "right" which compels recruitment from the resident labour population, the avenues of employment on the estate for non-resident labour tend to become restricted; and because of the present racial composition of resident labour, it is easy to present the result as a form of favouring the "Indians" against the Sinhalese in respect of estate employment. It bears repeating that this racialist interpretation is false and that the approach of the unions has been free of racialism.

What the racialists, including those responsible for the "Employment of Ceylonese on Estates Bill", do not realise or, realising, do not appear to care about, is the fact that this Bill, if carried into law, will on the one hand almost completely destroy the "right" which the unions have won for resident estate labour and on the other hand enable the estate employers to start systematic mass retrenchment under cover of conforming to the law. The point requires explanation.

To begin with, from the point of view of the employer, the above mentioned "right" won by the trade unions has probably resulted in "over-employment" on the estates which conform to this agreements. In other words the trade unions have compelled them by the establishment of this right to employ more labour than they strictly need. Given the opportunity, these estates would like to reduce their labour force. This Bill gives them the opportunity.

It is to be noted that the Bill is said to be needed because there is said to be an insufficient number of citizens of Ceylon employed on the plantations. The proportion of Ceylonese citizens who are resident is even smaller and indeed very much smaller than the overall proportion of Ceylonese to non-

Ceylonese in the labour force employed in estates. It is therefore unlikely that Ceylonese citizens in anything like the required number will or can be found among resident Ceylonese labour to complete the quotas. Such Ceylonese will have to be found from non-resident labour—and the “right” established by the unions does not apply to non-resident labour. Consequently, the employer will be enabled to simply refrain from recruiting fresh labour. To the resident non-Ceylonese labour claiming their trade union “right” he answers by simply pointing to the law which imposes a quota and therefore prohibits his recruiting the predominant mass of resident estate labour because it is “Indian”. To the non-resident Ceylonese seeking employment he simply says he has no vacancies. He both destroys an invaluable trade-union-established right of the workers and also starts systematic retrenchment under cover of the law.

It must be stressed that there is no law in capitalist Ceylon to compel the filling of a vacancy in any workplace. The employer may be fettered in his right of dismissal of an employee; but he is free in law and practice to suppress or abolish a post. The size of the Labour force is exclusively in the employer's determination. In other words, from the employer's point of view there is not necessarily a vacancy when a person ceases to hold a post. Now, the quotas under the present Bill are to be filled only in the future through recruitment to vacancies as they arise. But, as has been shown, there need be no “vacancies” unless and until the employer chooses to think, from the point of view of his own interest alone, that a vacancy exists.

This Bill will therefore place a powerful instrument against the workers in the hands of the estate employers. What is more, their drive against the estate unions will be facilitated because on the one hand racialism will be introduced by law into the labour force and on the other the trade unions will be weakened in their struggle against retrenchment. Like all racialist Bills, this is an anti-working class Bill.

Further, it will be clear in the light of the preceding analysis that Sinhalese labour is not likely to gain anything much, if at all, by way of new employment because of this Bill. It will be a long time to come before

it can have any serious impact on the racial composition of the estate labour force.

In the meantime masses of the stateless “Indians” on the estates will stand denied more and more of their traditional avenue of employment for with their forefathers certainly were specially recruited. These people will be thrown into the ranks of the permanently unemployed and, being subject already to disabilities in other fields, they will simply fall into pauperdom. No country can contemplate such a process with equanimity. It is simply inhuman. No civilized people can tolerate it.

It is plain that this is a vicious Bill which also constitutes a confession of bankruptcy by the S.L.F.P. Government in regard to much wider problems.

To begin with, even the racialists would not have required this Bill in a land of adequate and expanding employment opportunities. Instead we have expanding unemployment. Secondly, there could have been no possibility of this Bill if the problem of the “stateless” had not existed. Far from solving this problem, the S.L.F.P. Government has only made it more acute.

Manifestly, this Bill does not serve to solve or even ease the problems of unemployment and of the presence of a mass of “stateless” people in Ceylon. On the contrary it will serve to render both problems more acute by facilitating retrenchment on the estates. As shown, the Bill cannot even help in the near future the people it is supposed to help. It is a Bill that is vicious in principle and vicious in its consequences. Not only organised labour but also all progressive forces and all humanistic forces will have to resist the Bill.

The resistance need not of course be negative. That is precisely the kind of resistance which facilitates misrepresentation by the racialists. The opposition to the Bill must be conducted in the proper perspective. What the country requires is a planned programme of bold measures systematically directed towards rapid economic development. The industrialisation of the country is the only means of developing the economy rapidly. Such industrialisation will require a tremendous new labour force which will

have to be drawn precisely from the rural or Village population whom this Bill is supposed to benefit. That, plus a settlement with the Indian Government on the problem of the stateless which will enable the Indian Government to resume registration of Indian citizens in Ceylon, are the need of the hour.

Let it be added that stateless labour itself must reject the calls and programmes of their own racialists in respect of this question. Far from withdrawing into new racial seclusion, they must link themselves directly, integrally and organically with the progressive forces in Ceylon with a view to conducting a common fight for a common end.



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BANKRUPTCY OF A LEADERSHIP

By A. HAMILTON

OVERSHADOWING events in West Indian politics during mid-February was the general strike in British Guiana which paralysed the country for four days and culminated in the deaths of five people, four of them workers, and numerous injured. The workers, angered by local and foreign capitalist oppression, burned \$48 million (£10 million) worth of capitalist property. In consequence, the government led by the so-called Marxist, Dr. Jagan, was forced to rely on British troops for the restoration of law and order and his cabinet sent for troops from Britain at the height of the turmoil to restore tranquillity to the country.

Although British Guiana is not situated in the West Indies, it is linked historically with these territories as a result of British imperialist domination and events there readily penetrate the ranks of the West Indian workers. Now confusion is rampant: many West Indian workers are asking themselves how it could be that the British government, sworn enemy of progressive governments in colonial areas, sent troops to protect the Jagan government, when in 1953 it overthrew his government, suspended the constitution and dismissed all the ministers. This is a situation unique in the history of the colonial liberation struggle. Dr. Jagan's government is undoubtedly the most progressive in the Commonwealth and colonial empire; yet reaction was so potently organized that a reactionary leadership was able to entrench itself in the working class. It is this alienation of the working class that made Jagan's People's Progressive Party (PPP) vulnerable to the blows of imperialist agents.

These agents, being skillful and experienced, systematically indoctrinated the workers of British Guiana with racism, anti-communism and a variety of idiosyncracies hostile to their own interests. Above all, they blame the poverty-stricken conditions of the workers on the government and not on colonialism. Naturally, the workers directed their fire against the government as well as against capitalist property.

ECONOMIC STRAIT-JACKET

The economy of British Guiana is dominated by two gigantic monopolies whose products, sugar and bauxite, constitute 86 per cent. of the export trade. The banks and the majority of insurance companies are all foreign-owned while there is a native merchant class closely allied to imperialism. Consumer goods that could be produced at home have to be imported. Thus the whole economy is geared to drawing the wealth out of the country. This, of course, has meant dire poverty for the working people.

Under colonial rule there is not much any government can do to ameliorate the conditions of the working people, especially when the means of production and the monopoly of foreign trade are in the hands of imperialism. So the government again sounded the toxin for independence. Meanwhile they sought to rectify the miserable conditions of the masses by the introduction of a development plan. This envisaged the establishment of a Central Bank and Planning Unit; the institution of a currency exchange control to curb inordinate outflow of the country's capital; construction of consumer goods industries; diversification of agriculture; and, significantly, overall social reforms which would benefit the poor. But the plan required money for its implementation. Where was this money to come from?

Leaving aside for a moment the scope for manoeuvre available to a colonial government, the money could have been obtained from the conservation of wealth consequent upon nationalization of the imperialist interests. But the government preferred, in Jagan's words, to 'play ball' with the imperialists 'marking time'. Even these limited proposed reforms, as has been seen, aroused fury in the hearts of the imperialists and their local agents. Understandably Dr. Jagan appealed to Britain and the United States for a loan but the amount conceded by both governments was inadequate for the fulfilment of the plan.

In face of its need for a huge sum of money and Britain's refusal to approve loans from communist countries, there remained no other source for the government than the internal one—the population.

THE BUDGET

To meet the required 41 million dollars for the development plan, a budget was introduced affecting mostly the upper layers of the population and the capitalists. The proposed taxes were as follows: a capital gains tax which takes a slice out of 'un-earned income'; a property tax; increased taxes on insurance companies; a gift tax affecting property and income transfers; increased taxes on non-essential luxury goods and slight increases on consumer items; compulsory saving scheme that exacted 2½d. on every 4s. 2d. over an income of £20. 16s. 8d.

When the proposals were made known as the budget was about to be introduced the reactionaries utilized it as their weapon of offensive against the government. The mounting fever of reaction swept the urban areas overnight. The aims of the budget were grossly distorted to the workers. Slogans like 'Budget soaking the poor'; 'Red Hell under PPP'; 'Down with red imperialism'; 'A million years under the British rather than one under Jagan'—all these were directed against the government.

At this point, however, it is interesting to note that over 70 per cent of the population was not affected by the compulsory saving scheme, their earnings being below the figure set; only the small minority of the upper layers earn above \$100 per month, making them eligible. But there can be no doubt that the only justification for the workers' discontent in connexion with the budget lay in the increases on consumer goods, which were subsequently withdrawn in the face of onrushing protest. Furthermore the government raised the ceiling for compulsory savings from \$100 to \$300.

THE STRIKE

These concessions to the workers did not deter reactionaries; it only reinforced their determination to overthrow the government. On February 13 the pro-capitalist

TUC called a general strike for which there was no immediate response from the workers. Commercial firms locked out their workers, thus adhering to the strike call of the TUC. Altogether it was big business that persuaded its employees to strike.

Two days later the capitalist party, the United Force, headed by Peter D'Aguiar, followed by the People's National Congress, led by the African Gaitskell-like socialist Forbes Burnham, demonstrated throughout the city centres, gathering the workers behind them. This intensification began the day after the Prime Minister announced the concessions.

Events came to a climax on February 16: British Guiana was at a standstill. All the workers were now out on the streets; those who struck were civil servants, teachers, nurses, stevedores, transport workers, sewerage workers, clerks, electricians, telecommunication workers, postmen, street-sweepers and grave-diggers. Also infected by the strike were the police, who immediately demanded a pay rise. In this situation the government was naturally completely helpless. Armed clashes with the demonstrators and the police followed, pushing the latter reluctantly into defence of the government. However, the two political partners continued to demand complete withdrawal of the budget, while the TUC submitted a number of conditions for a return to work. Three of them were: no more talk of nationalization; removal of the proposed advertising tax; removal of the compulsory savings tax and increased company tax.

Before the government could have rejected or accepted the TUC's conditions disarray seized the camp of reaction. Instead of achieving their desired objectives the contrary happened—Capitalist property was being burned to the ground. This impelled them to re-examine the fruitfulness of a prolongation of the strike, and they shamefacedly joined with the government in calling off the strike.

It was not expected by the reactionaries that the workers would have resorted to 'foul play'—burning and looting—because it was reaction's intention throughout the course of events to let capitalist property

remain inviolable. But the workers, on the other hand, viewed events with different spectacles, despite the fact that their revolutionary energy was channelled for the preservation of capitalist interests. They were, nevertheless, unconsciously reacting to exploitation and oppression.

DIVISION OF THE RACES

What played a fundamental role in this crisis was that endemic disease of capitalism: racism. British Guiana is populated with representatives of practically every race of mankind. It is sometimes referred to as 'the land of six races'. Of the total population of just over half a million, East Indians account for 45 per cent. and Africans for 35 per cent. As a consequence of imperialist design and the impoverished conditions of the people there has always been constant friction between these two dominant races.

In the two leading cities, Georgetown and New Amsterdam, there is a predominantly African population. Conversely, the East Indians are concentrated mostly in the rural areas. The other minority races are scattered throughout the country, with the exception of the Amer-Indians who are concentrated on government reservations in the north-west. Similar to this racial concentration there is the tendency towards racial occupation and the type of work each race does.

The Africans form the majority of the working class. A small percentage of this race could be found in big business, but equally there is an upper layer who belong to the middle class: lawyers, doctors and civil administrators. Likewise the police force has an African majority. The minority races—Chinese, Portuguese, English and coloured—are of the middle and top layers of society, enjoying the best-paid jobs. Of this category the Chinese in particular are small businessmen. The overwhelming majority of the East Indians are farmers and sugar plantation workers, but there is, too, a numerically strong merchant and petty capitalist class within this race.

In 1950, for the first time in history the races were united. Militants of different races combined themselves into one com-

pact vanguard to struggle against imperialism and local reaction. With the formation of the People's Progressive Party, attracting on the basis of its programme the lower and middle strata of each race, racial antagonism slowly began to disappear.

WHAT HAPPENED ?

When all is said and done the PPP cannot escape criticism for what has happened in British Guiana. A document issued by the Propaganda Committee of the party after the strike states :

Eight years of reaction in the city erupted all at once in one confused movement against the PPP government, led and organised by a fascist organization which had wealth, propaganda and organization of enough magnitude and strength to disrupt the economic and administrative life of the city, on which the whole country depended, and to make it impossible for the PPP to govern, force a suspension of the constitution.

This is a shocking confession of the total bankruptcy and inability of the PPP to organize the workers. Not only is it a confession, but it also reveals the bureaucratic short-sightedness of the party's leaders, because for the fascists alone, 'wealth, propaganda and organization could not have disrupted the economic and administrative life of the city without the help of the workers. How did the fascists manage to get the support of the workers? Surely it was due to 'eight years' of no serious organizational and propaganda work among the working class by the professed Marxists of the PPP.

To further substantiate this assumption it is necessary to review the 'eight years of reaction'. Under the pressures of world imperialism in 1953, at the time of the suspension of the constitution, the frail tendencies of the party succumbed to the swamp of reaction. Forbes Burnham, who was then leader of the Right wing, unsuccessfully made an attempt to capture the party leadership. His endeavours necessitated a protracted struggle in which the Jagan Left wing emerged in control of the party machine. For a considerable time, however, the Burnham faction, predominantly composed of middle-class African

elements, continued to call their faction the PPP. Thereafter, in 1955, the Burnham faction changed its label and subsequently merged with the middle-class United Democratic Party which had been an opponent of the united PPP. Hence the People's National Congress was born, thoroughly imbued with African chauvinism and projecting a program of 'Gaitskell-like' socialism.

Parallel with the development and consolidation of political forces since the split, the Jagan PPP, whose original stronghold was the rural areas, still had influence among the city workers which rapidly diminished because of the party's failure to mobilize them. Even as late as 1958 when reaction was in full swing it was a common saying among African workers: 'The Indians have guts—we Blacks don't'. Be it noted that this expression testified to the irresoluteness of the Anglicised African middle class political leadership that was in the process of imposing itself on the workers. But the PPP confined itself to 'electoral work' and verbal warfare with its opponents. Having won the 1957 elections, and preoccupied with the administration of things, the party more and more drifted away from the workers,

thus paving the way for a further consolidation of racist reaction. And so reaction developed with unprecedented momentum.

The local bourgeoisie, distrustful of Burnham, chose Peter D'Aguiar as its leader. He formed the 'anti-red front'—the United Force. With redoubled efforts the PNC vigorously embarked upon what the PPP should have done: the building of local branches in localities in the city as well as in the rural areas where there is a considerable number of Africans. By 1960 the sights were set: all the parties measured their programmes with each other on what was good for the country. Every issue was fought by the PPP from the standpoint of party versus party, instead of the class standpoint. At the 1961 general election the PPP, supported by the East Indians, was returned to power with 20 out of 35 seats, the UF and PNC gaining four and eleven seats. This victory was to prove farcical for the PPP Marxists, for the 'whole country depended' on 'the administrative life of the city' which was under the control of 'hostile forces'. The result was that these myopic Marxists had to call upon the British instrument of coercion to maintain their very existence.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM

By R. S. BAGHAVAN

I. INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the years various critics have levelled the charge against Marx and Engels that they have nowhere set out their philosophical method in a self-contained work.

Marx had hoped he could. In 1858, in a letter to Engels, Marx wrote: "If there should be time for such work again, I should greatly like to make accessible to the ordinary human intelligence, in two or three printer's sheets, what is rational in the method which Hegel discovered but at the same time enveloped in mysticism..." (1)

Engels, after Marx's death, seems to have been working on a similar plan, but, unfortunately, all he has left us are fragments and unfinished drafts, which, moreover, remained unpublished for a long time. (2)

The published philosophical works of Marx and Engels were critical and polemical. Their early works "The Holy Family" and "The German Ideology" were critical studies of prevailing philosophical trends. Marx's "The Poverty of Philosophy" was a reply to Proudhon's "The Philosophy of Poverty" and may justifiably be titled "Anti-Proudhon". Engels in his last years published "Anti-Duhring". The point the critics miss is that one has to have a philosophical position in order to polemicize against other schools of thought. Marxism did not drop ready-made from the sky; it was developed in critical conflict with traditional concepts and prevailing ideas.

In answer to the critics, Lenin wrote in his philosophical notebooks: "If Marx did not leave behind him a 'Logic' (with a capital letter), he did leave the *logic* of *Capital*, and this ought to be utilized to the full in this question. In *Capital*, Marx applied to a single science logic, dialectics and the theory of knowledge of materialism (three words are not needed: it is one and the same thing) which has taken everything valuable in Hegel and developed it further." (3)

Marx and Engels have indeed left us a rich heritage of applied dialectics. With materialism as their fundamental premise and dialectics as their method of investigation, they made brilliant analyses of history and economics.

But the disadvantage arises that a wide field has to be covered before one gets a general idea of the philosophical methods of Marxism.

It has been the practice of most writers on the subject to follow the historical method of presentation. This method which would be proper in a biographical study is hardly suitable in an introductory exposition of Marxist philosophy, for the general reader more often than not gets discouraged in following Marx and Engels through their tedious polemics against various nineteenth century philosophers, most of whom have passed into obscurity.

Our treatment is schematic, not historical. The main laws of the Marxist method have been listed, illustrated, for the sake of brevity of presentation, by a few examples. Moreover, dialectics being universal, there is no limit to examples, and with a multiplicity of them, the reader would be unable to see the wood for the trees. We have also not gone too far into the specialized branches of human knowledge, and leave it to the reader to follow up his interests in the books written by the specialists.

It must also be added that quotations have been used here, not as invocations of authority, but as finished expressions of the ideas to be conveyed.

II. THE TASK POSED BY HISTORY

Hardly had the echoes of the great French bourgeois revolution of 1789 died away than independent movements of the proletariat began: in 1831, the young working class of Lyons staged an uprising, the first independent action of the working class in history; by 1837, the English proletariat had launched its Chartist movement. (4)

Everywhere in Europe the workers were raising their heads, open outbreaks of the class struggle regularly disturbed the "normal" functioning of bourgeois politics. The radical intellectuals, shadowed by insecurity, shifted from one philosophical position to another, sometimes flirted with shades of socialism, but invariably ended either in verbose impotence or as shameless agents of the bourgeoisie.

The exceptions were few. In 1845, one of them, a twenty-seven year old German, already an exile in Belgium, wrote in his note-book :

"The philosophers have hitherto only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the task, however, is to *change* it." (5)

The young man was Karl Marx, and the success with which he applied himself to the task is clearly indicated by the fact that his work has inspired gigantic social movements all the world over, while the bourgeoisie still direct towards his memory and his followers their unrelenting hatred.

* * *

"The philosophers have hitherto only *interpreted* the world...the task, however, is to *change* it."

Let us note, however, that change occurs everywhere, and at all times, and also independently of the activity of man. All inorganic matter once moulded into shape by nature or man is subject to corrosion; birth and death is the basic rhythm of life.

Society too changes, but blindly and imperceptibly most of the while. Our task is to participate in this change actively, to give it conscious direction.

It is therefore necessary that we study the phenomenon of change. The formulation of the laws of change in general will help us to establish the laws of social change.

And this is exactly what Marxist dialectics has done for us. As Engels says:

"Dialectics is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development in Nature, human society and thought." (6)

Once we know the laws of change in human society, we can see where and how our activity may be integrated into the process of change taking place, for the reorganization of society is the crying need of our time.

III. MATERIALISM

The basis of Marx's philosophy is materialism, and the essence of materialism is not at all difficult to understand and accept. Marx once said that so long as we observe and think we cannot help being materialists.

And since the word "materialism" itself is easily misunderstood (the more so because Marxists term all non-materialist schools of philosophy as "idealist" schools), let us see what Marxists mean by materialism.

Bukharin draws a good distinction between theoretical or philosophical materialism and idealism and practical materialism and idealism. Marxists, he says, are materialists in philosophy and idealists in practice. (7)

Philosophical materialism is not a crass self-dedication to the material things of life but a point of view which asserts the primacy of matter.

The Marxist definition of matter is given by Lenin :

"Matter is a philosophical category designating the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them." (8)

Marxists proceed from the recognition of the world as a reality independent of our consciousness.

And not only Marxists. This view was held by ancient philosophers in China, India and Greece. When Europe awakened after the intellectual slumber of the Middle Ages, philosophers began once again to expound this fundamental idea, although not quite so clearly and systematically as did Marx.

With the advancement of scientific knowledge this position has had to be acknowledged by non-Marxists as well.

"All physics is *realistic*," wrote Albert Einstein, "in so far as it starts from the hypothesis of a *reality independent of perception and thought*." (9)

Another famous physicist, Max Planck, writes: "Belief in some sort of reality outside us...alone provides the necessary point of support in our aimless groping..." (10)

These views are nothing but materialist. As Lenin says:

"The one property of matter, the assertion of which defines philosophic materialism, is that of being an objective reality existing apart from our consciousness." (11)

Marxism is materialist in this philosophic sense and has received the support and confirmation of modern science.

Science has definitely and unquestionably established that life, living matter, originated from the non-living. Though science has not yet determined the exact mechanism of the process, the evolution of life from inanimate matter is an established fact. And life at a certain stage of its evolution produced the mind. (12)

There have been three broad stages in evolution:

NON-LIVING MATTER

LIVING MATTER

LIVING AND THINKING MATTER

The process has taken thousands of millions of years—man has been on earth for over 500 million—an inconceivable period of time.

The human mind, then, has not existed from the beginning of time. It is a product of nature and is conditioned by society.

Thus, not only is mind a product of matter, it is also inseparable from matter. This is the meaning of the concept of the primacy of matter in a nut-shell.

The progress of scientific knowledge has thus shown the correctness of Marx and his materialist predecessors in maintaining that ideas were shaped by the world of reality—by one's biological, physical, historical, social and psychological background.

Erwin Schrodinger writes :

"The first observations of nature by primitive man did not arise from any consciously constructed mental pattern. The image of nature which primitive man formed for himself emerged automatically, as it were, from the surrounding conditions, being determined by the biological situation, the necessity of bodily sustenance within the environment, and the whole interplay between bodily life and its vicissitudes on the one hand and the natural environment on the other." (13)

Marx expressed his ideas :

"To me...the idea is nothing else than the material world reflected in the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (14)

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness." (15)

Although, as we stated above, this truth was guessed at by the Ancients, a large number of philosophers and schools of philosophy both before and after Marx held idealist positions: they maintained that ideas were supreme and that reality was fashioned after the idea.

One school maintained, after Schopenhauer "The world is my idea". (16).

Another philosopher, Descartes wrote: "I think, therefore I am." (17)

The basic difference between idealism and materialism was defined by Engels:

"The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking to being...ideas to nature...which is primary, ideas or nature? The answer the philo-

sophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of ideas to nature and therefore in the final instance, assumed world creation in some form or another... comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism." (18)

In his lengthy work "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" Lenin repeats this definition of materialism:

"This is materialism: matter acting upon our sense organs produces sensation. Sensation depends on the brain, nerves, retina, etc., i.e. on matter organized in a definite way. The existence of matter does not depend on sensation. Matter is primary. Sensation, thought, consciousness are the supreme product of matter organized in a particular way." (19)

In conclusion, let Trotsky sum up:

"The whole strength of Marx's method was in his objective approach to economic phenomena, not from the subjective point of view of certain persons, but from the objective point of view of the development of society as a whole, just as an experimental natural scientist approaches a bee-hive or an ant-hill.

"For economic significance is what and how people act, not what they themselves think about their reactions. At the base of society is not religion and morality, but nature and labour. Marx's method is materialistic, because it proceeds from existence to consciousness, not the other way round..." (20)

IV. CHANGE IS THE ONLY ABSOLUTE PHENOMENON

Change is the only absolute phenomenon Marxists acknowledge.

The recognition that nothing is eternal has compelled many branches of the natural and social sciences to adopt an evolutionary approach to their subject matter.

In his "Dialectics of Nature" Engels gives an account of the revolutionary impact the acceptance of this basic fact has had on the sciences in the 18th and 19th Centuries. (21)

Let us make a brief survey of some of the sciences.

Cosmogony

On the basis of earlier suggestions by the philosopher Kant, and later scientific evidence, Laplace put forward the now famous nebular theory of the origin of the planets: aeons ago, the universe was a mass of high temperature gas; on cooling there condensed rapidly spinning molten spheres — the stars; from one such star, the Sun, smaller drops were flung off which kept revolving round the mother sphere—the planets, Earth, Venus, Saturn etc.

Change then is the basic theme of the Laplacean theory of cosmic evolution, not gradual change, but change with explosions, creation of planets, cooling of gases and hardening of solids.

This theory has been modified, amplified, contradicted. But since Laplace, this is uncontested: the universe has a history of birth, growth and decay. The old concepts, of a ready-made world in which only regular seasonal variations occur, were shattered.

Geology

Under scientific investigation, the earth's crust yielded its story. The mountains and oceans had not been eternal; the cooling of the earth's crust had been uneven; cracks had occurred, and molten lava had streamed out; land masses had been suddenly elevated, new oceans developed. As the cooling process went on, the earth's crust began to harden and to take on definite shape, water became cool enough for life to develop.

Biology

In 1859 Darwin's "Origin of Species" was published, providing convincing evidence for the earlier conjectures of animal and plant evolution.

Through the ages complex organisms had developed from the simplest micro-organisms. Specialization and adaptation to environmental and other conditions produced the distinguishing characteristics of the species as we know them.

Darwin's suggestions as to the mechanism of the process, the principles of natural and sexual selection, "the survival of the fittest" in the struggle for existence," are insufficient by themselves to explain evolution, and have been supplemented and modified by further investigation and theories. But after him evolution of living beings is an accepted fact. Not only is there a geographical distribution of animals and plants, there has also been a slow but uneven development in time. The doctrine of the fixity of the species received a mortal blow.

Anthropology

When the Europeans set out on their voyages of discovery they found many lands populated by peoples at lower levels of civilization. And while some were satisfied with relating traveller's tales about the peculiar social and sexual customs of the strange peoples, other set out to convert them from their "immorality" and make them good Christians.

After the discoveries of Morgan whose work was followed by others, the basic unit of man's social existence, the family, was seen to have had a history. From the promiscuity of the early savages to the group families of the barbarians, from the polygamy and polyandry of the Orient to the monogamy, adultery and prostitution of the Occident, there was an underlying social pattern, an unfolding of family forms in time.

Sociology

Society had changed, but blindly and for a large part imperceptibly, that few noticed it or cared. Conservative people in every period thought of history as a God-inspired achievement of a perfect society, that is, the existing one. Wars and revolutions were unfortunate disturbances of the smooth functioning of "normal" life.

But to Marx who discovered the laws of social change, good harvests and famines, wars and revolutions, and the perpetually erupting class struggle, were integral parts of the process of world history. Capitalism was only a stage in the progress of human society; it would develop further, and capitalism would be replaced by a new, a socialist society.

Alas, for the smugness of the philosophers of the status-quo, change had ravaged everything they had considered fixed and unchanging and handed down from time immemorial. And science has recognized the importance of the consideration of evolution, development and change.

So we can agree with Engels that . . . "the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the apparently stable things, no less than their mind images in our heads (the concepts), go through an uninterrupted process of coming into being and passing away, in which in spite of all seeming accidents and of all temporary retrogressions, a progressive development asserts itself . . ." (22)

IV. RULES OF DIALECTICAL THOUGHT

Scientific investigation has scored great successes by using the method of isolation, by studying a thing or process having eliminated all else that is, for the moment, irrelevant.

The classical case was that of Galileo's discovery of the regular beat of a pendulum. The story goes that Galileo, gazing at an ornate chandelier swinging gently in the breeze during Church service, was able to see in the complex system just three things: the point of suspension, the length of the suspended system, and the heavy weight attached to the end of the system.

Though the breaking up of a complex system into simpler parts helps the study of any individual thing or process, it is by no means all there is to the study of the original complexity.

Dialectics seeks to study the all-sidedness, and the complexity, of a thing or process, to understand the richness of its content.

The following rules distinguish dialectical from its opposite, metaphysical thought;

- 1. Things and processes must be studied in their contexts of space and time.**

"An accident occurred," is a statement that is incomplete and therefore meaningless.

by itself. But if the place and the time are specified the statement has meaning.

Juxtaposing things or events out of their contexts produces anachronisms or absurdities, a fact that has been exploited by fiction writers, notably by Washington Irving in his "Rip van Winkle" and Mark Twain in his "Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

As Trotsky points out, a pound of sugar on the table is very different from a pound of the same sugar in a bucket of water. (23) The context is changed, and the sugar has taken on a very different quality.

Every farmer knows that the success of his crop depends not only on the quality of the seed but also on the nature of its context; the soil. Every child knows that wild plants differ at least in size from the same plants grown in plant pots. When the context is changed, the characteristics of the plant change with it.

There is quite a difference as we all know between a rupee in one's own pocket and a rupee in someone else's. It is not a simple thing to remove a rupee if the context is another's purse. Removal without his consent is an act punishable under the law; obtaining it with his consent is a deal subject to the rules of money-lending.

The context of a thing or process is always all-important.

2. Things and processes must be studied in their inter-relations with one another.

Just as one cannot isolate any thing or process from its space and time contexts, one cannot isolate things and processes from other things and processes.

The recent history of England would be incomplete and also inexplicable without a consideration of her Empire, especially of India.

Trotsky says that revolutionaries should study America and England together, because "...the United States and Great Britain must be regarded as twin stars, one of which grows dim the more rapidly as the brilliancy of the other increases." (23)

Franz Mehring writes: "Historical materialism is no closed system crowned with an ultimate truth; it is a scientific method for the investigation of human development. It begins with the indisputable fact that men live not only in nature, but also in society. There are no such things as isolated men; every man, who by accident is left outside human society, quickly starves and dies...." (24)

Marx says that "Circumstances make men as much as men make circumstances." (25). And again, "By acting on nature outside himself, and changing it, man changes his own nature." (26)

Engels emphasises that "Dialectics is the science of inter-connections." (27).

3. Things and processes must be studied in the process of their development.

It is generally accepted today that a study of a thing or process in dynamic change is far more complete and rewarding than a study of it in a static state.

Engels has already warned us that "the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready made things, but as a complex of processes...." (22)

Trotsky says that "Marx's method is dialectic, because it regards both nature and society as they evolve, and evolution itself as the constant struggle of conflicting forces...." (28)

Elsewhere Trotsky writes:

"Vulgar thought operates with such concepts as capitalism, morals, freedom, workers' state, etc., as fixed abstractions, presuming that capitalism is equal to capitalism, morals are equal to morals, etc. Dialectical materialism analyses all things and phenomena in their continuous change, while determining in the material conditions of those changes that critical limit beyond which "A" ceases to be "A", a workers' state ceases to be a workers' state.

"The fundamental flaw of vulgar thought lies in the fact that it wishes to content itself with motionless imprints of a reality which consists of eternal motion. Dialectical thinking gives to concepts, by means of

closer approximations, corrections, concretizations, a richness of content and flexibility; I would even say a succulence which to a certain extent brings them closer to living Phenomena. Not capitalism in general, but a given capitalism in a given stage of development. Not a workers' state in general, but a given workers' state in a backward country in an imperialist encirclement, etc.

"Dialectical thinking is related to vulgar thing in the same way that a motion picture is related to a still photograph. The motion picture does not outlaw the still photograph but combines a series of them according to the laws of motion..." (29).

"Dialectics," Engels says, "...grasps things and their images, ideas, essentially in their interconnection, in their sequence, their movement, their birth and death..." (30).

4. Things and processes must be studied in relation to the purpose with which we study them.

Consider, for example, the study of man:

Biology sees in him a complex organism, the result of a long process of evolution, conditioned by the laws of heredity, and labels him "homo sapiens."

Under chemical analysis, man can be reduced to some 70% water, so much calcium, carbon, etc.

Anatomy studies him as an arrangement of bones, muscles, nerves, and so on.

The psychologist presents a different picture of man as an animal with a highly complex mental structure and capacity.

All these aspects are of slight consequence to economics. For the economist man is, above all, a *producing* animal.

Marx says:

"Man can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion, or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to *produce* their means of subsistence..." (31).

Each branch of human knowledge has taken an isolated aspect of man for its study. But man himself is not merely the sum total of all these abstractions. Though we need abstraction and isolation of certain aspects of a thing or process to enable us to study it, we have always to bear in mind the richness of form and content of the original. Else, we too will be like the blind men of the fable who sought to perceive the elephant by feeling only the parts nearest to them, and instead of synthesizing their observations, fell out among themselves.

5. The results of an investigation depend on the standpoint of the investigator

This truth was borne out by the work of Copernicus.

To us, on Earth, the Sun seems to move around us once a day, and move a complete circle against the background of the stars once a year. By shifting the axis of the solar system from the Earth to the Sun, it was seen that the Earth rotated on its axis daily and revolved around the Sun yearly. Not only did this view simplify man's picture of the solar system and the universe, it gave man a new perspective, and it was clearly seen that the Earth itself was only an ordinary and fairly small planet.

Or let us view, with Einstein, the fall of a stone from a moving train. If we are in the train the stone seems to fall vertically downwards. But from the embankment we see that the stone is moving in a curve produced by the effect of two motions—the forward motion of the train and the downward motion to earth. (32)

Thus the result of an investigation depends very much on our standpoint, a fact that Einstein did much to elaborate with his celebrated theory of relativity.

6. Scientific laws are limited generalizations

When facts and observations have been accumulated, a theory is formulated. The facts must be arranged in a pattern because, as Poincare says, "Science is built up of facts, as a house is built up of stones; but an accumulation of facts is no more a science than a heap of stones is a house." (33)

The arrangement then reveals certain generalized relationships—these are called laws.

But it would be a mistake to apply these laws outside their range of validity.

For example, for the purposes of ordinary life, we may take it that the earth is flat. In fact, men lived quite happily for centuries without suspecting that this view was a very limited one. But for the purposes of inter-continental sea travel it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that the Earth is really a sphere; and for more exact purposes, we have to make allowances for the fact that the Earth bulges at the equator and is a little flat at the poles, like an orange.

When attempts were made to explain human history as a continuation of the Darwinian "struggle for existence" in animal evolution, Engels objected: "The most that the animal can achieve is to *collect*; man *produces*, he prepares the means of life in the widest sense of the words, which, without him, nature would never have produced. This makes impossible the immediate transference of the laws of life in animal societies to human ones." (34)

When Mikhailovsky interpreted Marx's historical materialism to be a "supra-historical" principle, Marx corrected him, claiming that his conception was only a "general result" and a "guiding principle".

As the Russian reviewer of "Capital" correctly pointed out:

"In his (Marx's) opinion every historical period has laws peculiar to itself....As soon as life has gone through a given period of development and is passing over from one given stage to another, it begins also to be controlled by other laws...." (35).

Trotsky repeats the same point:

"It was not Marx's aim to discover the 'eternal laws' of economy. He denied the existence of such laws. The history of the development of human society is the history of the succession of various systems of economy, each operating in accordance with its own laws." (36)

To illustrate that each law has only a limited range of validity, Plekhanov once quoted the following example: consider a man eating bread; the laws that work on the bread once it is in the stomach are the laws of digestion; but the laws that determined why it was bread and not cake that was eaten are the laws of economics. (37).

Further, the laws of nature themselves change with time. Two English mathematicians, Milne and Dirac, have shown that natural processes speed up to compensate for the cooling of the sun. (38)

Dialectics rejects all concepts of eternal and abstract truth: Lenin says, after Hegel

"The fundamental thesis of dialectics is: there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete." (39)

(To be continued.)

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THE WAY OUT FOR THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE

By V. KARALASINGHAM

IN the long and chequered history of the Tamil speaking people in Ceylon, never before have they faced so critical a time as the present. In rapid sequence successive governments of the UNP, MEP, and SLFP have taken decisive steps against them. It is no exaggeration to say that the Tamil speaking people have been reduced to the position of an oppressed national minority. This oppression is manifest in all fields—in open legislation, in concealed administrative actions and regulations, and finally, in the direct connivance, if not active encouragement by these capitalist governments of pogromist activity against the Tamil speaking people.

In the legislative sphere the notorious acts of the Governments are (1) the passing of the Indian and Pakistani Acts of the UNP government which at one stroke deprived nearly one million Tamil speaking peoples employed in the tea and rubber plantations of their political and civic rights (2) the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 which denied to the Tamil language an equal status before the law and imposed on the Tamil speaking people the Sinhala language and (3) the Language of the Courts Act of 1961 which imposes on the law courts at all levels and including the wholly Tamil speaking areas of the Northern and Eastern Provinces the Sinhala language. In the administrative field the scarcely veiled effort of the UNP to pursue discriminatory land colonization policies in the Northern and Eastern Provinces is now the declared policy of the Government. The purpose openly canvassed at less guarded moments of such land colonization is the gradual reduction of the Tamil speaking people to a minority in these areas. Appointments to the public services and other public institutions are no longer on the basis of merit and by an unwritten law a quota system has been introduced to the grave prejudice of the Tamil speaking people. And where no quota system operates, there is flagrant

and open discrimination against Tamil speaking people in the matter of appointments to and promotions within the public services. Even institutions of higher learning, as evidenced in the recent scholarship awards of the University of Ceylon, are not free of discrimination. Development projects are determined not on economic considerations but are so formulated to exclude as far as possible the Tamil speaking people from their benefits. Again, governments have not hesitated to introduce vicious disparity in wages between equally qualified Sinhalese and Tamil speaking persons for identical work—thus while a Sinhalese pundit is paid a graduate salary, his opposite a Tamil pundit is paid on a much lower scale. The Tamil language (Special) Provisions Act, the so-called reasonable use of Tamil Act was intended to soften the harsh provisions of the Sinhala Only Act and was a sop to the Tamil speaking people. Even this admittedly show-piece legislation is proving irksome to the racialist elements, and accordingly the regulations framed under the Act completely negative even the limited objectives of the 1958 Act.

More ominous than legislative and administrative discrimination against the minorities is the resort to pogroms against them by the ruling class. The tragic events of 1956 in the Gal Oya valley and the communal disturbance of 1958 demonstrate that if necessary the capitalist class would even organize pogroms to further its reactionary aims. The dangers of pogroms are not merely the physical destruction and inhuman barbarities that inevitably accompany such action. Pogroms once used by the ruling class give rise among all minorities to a perpetual sense of fear and insecurity. Today all minorities, and in particular the Tamil speaking people live in terrible fear and uncertainty. They are haunted by the worst forebodings. The slightest political tremor sends them to seek safety in a contiguous Tamil speaking

area. And the tragedy is that the Tamil speaking people who reside in the predominantly Sinhalese areas do so out of economic compulsion. Whatever be the dangers to their lives and property they must necessarily maintain their employment or engage in other remunerative work since opportunities are so restricted in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The oppressed position of the Tamil speaking people is generally recognised that it is needless to enumerate specific instances. All parties which have any degree of popular support among them from the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress on the Right to the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party on the Left are agreed about the reality of the oppression. The recognition by the Tamil speaking people of their "second class" status is a step forward. In the words of Lenin "a slave who is conscious of his slavery is half free." But to achieve full freedom and equality before the law is another matter, and it is to this question that the Tamil speaking people must find an answer.

II

WHY HAVE THEY FAILED ?

It is worthy of note that all the parties that have hitherto gained the confidence of the Tamil speaking people have done so on the basis of resisting the chauvinism of the majority community and securing for their people their legitimate demands. Nay more, because to these just demands were added the most bizarre claims, e.g. fifty-fifty, federalism, etc. But the period of ascendancy of the Tamil Congress, and later of the Federal Party, has signified to the Tamil speaking people not an increase but a diminution, indeed a sharp and precipitous decline of their fortunes. What heightens their tragedy is that their present plight cannot be attributed either to their apathy or their lack of support to the parties which at different times spoke for them. Apathy there never was on the question of minority rights. If anything the last 30 years of politics in the Northern and Eastern Provinces has revolved round precisely this question to the exclusion of all others. The popular support for the traditional

Tamil parties has been so enthusiastic and overwhelming as to incur the envy and jealousy of their rivals. Thus at the 1947 general elections, the Tamil Congress obtained 14 out of a possible maximum of 18 seats. At the 1952 general elections although the Federal Party now fought the Tamil Congress, the latter held its own conceding a bare 3 seats. The 1956 general election saw the virtual collapse of the Tamil Congress, and the emergence of the Federal Party as the political spokesman for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. This position was further strengthened in the Parliamentary elections of March and July 1960. At the last election in July 1960 the Federal Party won 16 of the 21 seats it contested. Impressive though these figures are of the wide support the Party has received from the Tamil speaking people, they are in a sense somewhat incomplete. To the Federal Party total of 16 seats must be added those of all other Tamil members of Parliament, including that of the sole representative of the Tamil Congress, since these men have not only voted with the Federal Party on every major question but have also no politics independent of the Federal Party. In the history of parliamentary democracy no other Party anywhere could claim the support which the Federal Party enjoys. Neither has this support been limited only to parliamentary elections. The Satyagraha movement of January-April 1961 showed conclusively that the masses in the North and East were ready even to answer the FP's call for extra-parliamentary action.

The question inevitably arises why in the face of such overwhelming popular support, the actual experience of the Tamil speaking people is something altogether different from the promises held out to them. Indeed it would appear from the figures given above that the growth of the Tamil Congress, and later of the Federal Party is in inverse proportion to the actual gains of the Tamil speaking people—the more these parties gained in support the less were the real rights resting with the people they claimed to represent and fight for. It is at best but a partial answer to say that this period also marked the steady growth of Sinhalese communalism, the natural accompaniment of "fifty-fifty", and federalism. In reality this

is no answer at all since the very formation of the Tamil Congress, and later of the Federal Party, was sought to be justified on the ground that only organisations of this type could resist the communalism of the majority community, and secure for the minorities their just rights. Where the *raison d'être* of a party is its claim to overcome the communalism of one group, it is an open confession of defeat to say that this communalism has grown to the point where it directly attacks the people on whom the Federal Party rests for support. The support of the people was given on the promises, assurances, and claims of the Federal Party that it was the best agency for defending the rights of the Tamil speaking people against the growing forces of Sinhalese communalism. To plead the fact of the undoubted growth of Sinhalese chauvinism as an excuse is downright evasion of political responsibility for the failure of the traditional parties of the Tamil speaking people to defend effectively the rights of the minorities or to hold out a clear perspective for the future.

The failure of the conventional Tamil leadership to arrest the steady deterioration of the position of the Tamil speaking people cannot be ascribed to the subjective weakness of individual leaders. This is particularly so of the leadership of the Federal Party who are presently the undisputed political representatives of the Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. They have resisted the enticements of ministerial office and have successfully withstood pressures from various quarters to deflect them from their declared goal. But good intentions and deep seated loyalties—essential qualities no doubt—are a poor consolation for the rapidly shrinking position of the Tamil speaking people.

We now come up against a strange paradox. The Tamil speaking people have been led in the last decade by an apparently resolute leadership guided by the best intentions, receiving not merely the widest support of the people but also their enthusiastic cooperation and yet the Tamil speaking people find themselves at the lowest ebb in their history. Despite all their efforts the people have suffered one defeat after another, one humiliation after another.

How is one to explain this yawning gulf between the strivings of the people and the virtually hopeless impasse in which they find themselves?

In politics as in war it is not enough to have an honest leadership and a loyal following. While these are necessary, they do not win wars. The integrity of a High Command and the obedience of its ranks would ensure that there would be no surrender but they cannot assure victory unless the strategy of the commanding staff is superior to that of the enemy and the army itself is equipped with weapons adequate to accomplish the tasks before it. To put it simply, no army however brave its soldiers can win a war if it is equipped with bows and arrows, and if moreover, the strategic vision of the leadership is as myopic as the weapons are primitive it would be idle indeed to expect such an army to maintain morale let alone win a war under modern conditions. *And so it is in politics!* The strategic thinking of the Federal Party is so completely outmoded that any action on the lines of their plans is well nigh suicidal and the weapons which they employ are not merely antediluvian but are almost self-destructive. No wonder therefore a sense of demoralisation and frustration has now overtaken the people.

The fundamental flaw in the political strategy of the Federal Party is their conception that the fight for the rights of the Tamil speaking people is the responsibility solely of the Tamil speaking people themselves and that it is only the Tamils who can wage this fight and that they must do so as Tamils. Therefore it is necessary for the Tamils to build their own exclusive organisations to lead the Tamil people in their fight. There is of course nothing original in this view, since the Federal party began its career as a splinter group of the Tamil Congress which really was the father of this idea. But in fairness to the Tamil Congress it must be said that when its leader Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam originated this theory there may have been some justification. All bourgeois politics of that period, including that of Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, was bargaining with the imperialist overlords for this or that concession and within that

framework of capitalist politics where British Imperialism was the sole and final arbiter this method may have brought some crumbs. But to cling to this thinking under the conditions prevailing today where there is no overlord, a super-arbiter, holding the scales as between the different communities and dispensing favours now to one and then to another community is to lose touch with reality; and to base one's politics on it is to invite certain disaster which not even the good intention of the leadership can avert.

The basic weakness of the Tamil speaking people springs from the fact that they are a minority and this indeed is at the root of their problems. The strength of the forces arraigned against them derives from the fact these elements are able to draw support from the community that is numerically more powerful. Besides the disproportion of numbers there is also the fact that a substantial number of Tamil speaking people live in isolated pockets in predominantly Sinhalese speaking areas. In this context it is obvious that to organize the Tamil speaking people under a communal banner like that of the Tamil Congress or the Federal Party is to expose them ultimately to unnecessary perils, and what is far worse, to sustain and strengthen the very forces which are opposed to their legitimate demands. But politics does not end here.

Organisation of the people soon leads to some form of struggle for the attainment of even the most elementary demands and when this happens it must necessarily take place on a plane most disadvantageous to the Tamil speaking people. Under a Tamil organization and a Tamil leadership—the cry so dear to the Federal Party—the legitimate struggle for democratic rights is completely submerged and lost sight of and what comes to the fore and dominates the entire scene is primitive tribalism: Tamil vs. Sinhalese. At this level the lesser tribe must meet inevitable defeat. And as the principles of tribal warfare, and not the Marquis of Queensberry Rules and the Geneva Convention, regulate the struggle, defeat is also accompanied by humiliation and degradation. The bestial aftermath of May 1958 is the clearest proof of this. And the breast beating of the Federal Party hierarchy thereafter

is of no avail since the whole course of preceding politics predetermined that outcome.

When the Federal Party next talked of extra-Parliamentary action at the beginning of 1961, the stress was on non-violence and *Satyagraha* as the means for achieving their goal. Although the first *Satyagraha* campaign has long fizzled out, Gandhian posturing in the future is not ruled out and therefore it is worth examining whether *Satyagraha* is indeed the answer to the problem of the Tamil speaking people. Particularly because this word is so closely identified in the popular mind with the successful Indian Independence movement it is essential to examine its applicability to the specific conditions in Ceylon.

It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi advocated and popularized in India *Satyagraha*, non-violence and civil disobedience as the means of achieving Indian Independence. Before doing so in India he had employed these means in South Africa and had attained a measure of limited success which however was short-lived. In due course the Indian National Congress which was in leadership of the anti-imperialist movement accepted the methods of Mahatma Gandhi and it was officially committed to *Satyagraha* non-violence and civil disobedience as the means for achieving independence.

Now it is a debatable matter whether Indian independence was finally achieved because of these means, although to be sure their employment did bring about the awakening of the Indian people from centuries of submission to foreign rule. It is a matter of debate because one must not forget the impact of revolutionary mass action on the course of the events leading to the passing of the Indian Independence Act of 1947. These events briefly are the basically non-violent mass action of August 1942, the strike wave of 1945-46 with the INA demonstrations of the same period culminating in the mighty Indian Naval Mutiny of 1946. The recapitulation of these revolutionary events is not intended to detract from the importance of the Gandhian methods of struggle. What is sought is the setting of events in their proper perspective and when this is done non-violence, *satyagraha* and

civil disobedience find their rightful place as the great awakers of the Indian people to national consciousness. But the further movement from national consciousness to national liberation was achieved by revolutionary mass action.

Pre-Gandhian politics in India oscillated between the frustration of individual terrorism and the toadyism of the upper layer of Indian society, and both each in its own way, strengthened the hold of British imperialism on the country. Thus it was that a civil administration of a few thousands backed by an army of occupation numbering not very much more, was in absolute control of over 400 million people. Mahatma Gandhi rightly sensed that if the people were but roused it would be impossible for an alien army of mercenaries to rule a country so large as India. Accordingly by the non-violent mass struggles and individual satyagraha campaigns of the twenties and early thirties he sought to awaken the millions who till then were outside the pale of politics. Thousands upon thousands responded to his call, defied the law, filled the jails, and patiently submitted to the savage *lathi* blows and machine gun fire of the imperialist Police and military. They did all this and many more acts of immolation because of their supreme confidence that it was impossible for a hopeless minority of white sahibs to keep over 400 million in subjection. Even in the darkest period of repression this fact alone was sufficient to renew the courage of the weak and the faltering.

But what is the position in Ceylon? The struggle of the Tamil speaking people is not against an alien ruler resting only on his bayonets for support, as was the case in India. The Government of Ceylon, whether one likes it or not, rests on the support of a large section of our people and so long as this support is forthcoming, it would be the worst folly to adopt those methods which India had employed during one phase of her struggle against a regime imposed from above, completely isolated from the people and maintained and buttressed solely by the strength of its armed forces. The disregard of the fundamental difference in the nature of the regime in British occupied India and that in the Ceylon of today can only mean that *Satyagraha* in the conditions

of Ceylon far from achieving even the limited success it did in India may well prove a death trap for the Tamil speaking people.

Even the Federal Party leadership has, at least impliedly recognised that as against a government enjoying a measure of popular support it is foolhardy to launch a *Satyagraha* movement, particularly in view of the experience of its own earlier "anti-Sri" campaign. That is why it restricted the *Satyagraha* movement of 1961 to the contiguous Tamil speaking provinces of the North and East, but in doing so it made a parody of *Satyagraha* and *Satyagraha* in its turn is but a parody of a genuine mass struggle. Such is the impotence of the Federal Party that what took place under its aegis as the "final struggle" turns out to be a parody of parody!

If the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for basic democratic rights is to go forward, they must face the hard and unpalatable fact that no mass movement however broad and deep going it may be in the North and East is going to succeed if it is a movement only of the peoples of these areas. This is not to say that such movements involving only a part of a country are always doomed to defeat. The Bengali language spoken in East Pakistan attained parity of status with the Urdu language as one of the official languages of Pakistan after a mass struggle confined entirely to Bengali speaking Eastern Pakistan. How was this possible in Pakistan and why is such a struggle futile in Ceylon? Besides the uniquely advantageous bargaining position of East Pakistan in relation to its Central Government arising from (a) its separation from West Pakistan by over thousand miles of Indian territory and (b) the linguistic identity and close cultural affinity of East Pakistan with the adjoining Indian Union State of West Bengal, simple economic facts provide the answer. East Pakistan accounts for 85% of Pakistan dollar earnings, 65% of her exports and of well over 50% of her national income. Jute and tea, Pakistan's principal exports are entirely grown and processed in East Pakistan. These telling facts of East Pakistan's economic preponderance needed but the intervention of the Bengali speaking people to compel the Moghul rulers of Rawalpindi to accord parity of status to the Devnagri language of Bengali with the Arabic Urdu

language of West Pakistan. However offensive it may be to the *amour propre* the no less simple economic fact is that the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon are economically the most backward and peripheral areas, receiving rather than contributing to the national exchequer and totally dependent on the country's general prosperity to soften the rigours of Nature herself. In this situation not even the most intense localized pressure from these Provinces can move a Government to making any concession.

Although they answered a call of duty in participating in the *Satyagraha* movement January-April 1961, instinctively the masses too have realised the hopelessness of their plight. That is why unlike in India where the first repression is but the prelude to greater effort on the part of the masses, the repressive intervention of the state also immediately brought to an end the *Satyagraha* movement itself.

(To be continued)



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UNDERSTANDING AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT TO SOCIALISM

By BABA OLUWIDE

Secretary, West African Socialist Youth Group in London

FOR the best understanding of Africa's historical road to Socialism, we would in this article begin by looking at the social structures of primitive Africa. Then we would examine how the age of imperialism altered the face of Africa. And finally, from the study of the political and economic situation in Africa today we would attempt to visualise what the future holds in store for Socialism in Africa.

THE PRIMITIVE PAST

Primitive Communism: Fact or Myth ?

Often one hears it asserted by western bourgeois intellectuals and even communists that there is or was communism in Africa. All that remained for communist parties was to transform this communistic structure into an industrialised communist state or, as the case may be, to eradicate this structure, train some Tshombe-type of local bourgeoisie and build up a capitalistic society. Well, forms of society are not things to be established or replaced like a stage curtain. They develop along certain historical lines but by deep understanding of the history and organisation of any structure, men could hasten change by revolution. For a long period in Africa change had taken place gradually but surely. So that many anthropologists could record different types of social organisations in their very pure state. One of the most outstanding of these, sarbah,¹ went to the opposite of the myth of primitive communism. According to him African society was organised on a property owning autocracy basis. According to him private property was recognised by law and there was no one, slave or sire who did not have property rights against anyone, king or master. And I suppose it was Mary Kingsley² who recorded that every child had its

own hen, sheep, and trinkets. And woe betide the father or stranger who tried to alienate him from his legal ownership. I suppose too that woe will betide the mother who tries to take away the toy or pig-safe of an American or Russian child. In Dr. Johnson's voluminous work³ we see the evidence on every page pointing to an African society as an organisation of royal kings and slaves. Even in this society one could see a slow change towards a society where the political Chiefs were the richest controllers of production and distribution. One sees the strongest evidence against this myth of primitive communism amongst the Bushmen. The Bushmen are food gatherers who move about in nomadic bands headed by a hereditary leader. Yet within this tiny⁴ and backward community individual property and inheritance are well noted. In fact these Bushmen who move with cattle and family from place to place have a law of land tenure!

Even amongst the Tswanas a sympathetic scholar⁵ found in this closely knit society that hereditary rank and status play a conspicuous part in determining a man's position. Tswana society was organised in layers beginning with that of the family-household and the family group. The next layers were those of the kindred, the ward and the section of town. Within a family group there is that unselfish utilisation of labour and produce found only under socialism, but in the town as a whole rank and social class not only differentiate an individual from another individual but it also determines one's ward and one's rights. There are what we call royal and headmen wards. These are presided over by princes and men of rank. Members from these wards enjoy more status than those from ordinary wards especially if the latter belong to the wrong sex or age

1. Fanti Customary Law
2. West African Studies
3. History of the Yorubas

4. Average Population is, 75
5. I. Schapera: Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom

group. In the wider Tswana nation social distinctions are made according to tribal origins. One may study every one of the hundreds of African communities, one would still find a pervading evidence against the existence of communism. But we would take just one more.

The people of Barotseland are ruled by a grand council called the Kuta. The Kuta is not only the legislative but also the judicial, the executive, the military, the ecclesiastic and THE ECONOMIC authority. It is naturally inferred that there are classes of rulers and idlers AND of toilers and exploited. Immovable property is associated with titles and privileges. According to a Western jurist,⁶ this association is important in maintaining the enduring framework of Lozi (Barotse) society. Social class structure in this primitive society persists through generations. Chattels too are inherited through generations and are standards that stand as cross-linkages between social positions. Property in Lozi law does not consist of rights over things themselves for use but of claims on persons in respect of things and things are links in institutionalised relationships between persons. To live as a Lozi, a man must have rights to agricultural land and these he obtains as a subject of the king and a member of a village. Lozi society, it is concluded, on the whole was a society dominated internally by status rather than by human contact and contract. Of course, there are innumerable though smaller communities that look like communistic, and might have been the basis for the development of this myth. I quote only two instances

The Gikuyus (misnamed Kikuyu by the British Governors) who live in Kenya have no kings nor easily definable status. Here, according to a native anthropological scholar of great note⁷, status is defined by one's age group. There are adolescent age-groups whose duties are to obey their elders, learn art, farming, etiquette, cookery and social history. There are warrior age groups and Elders' age-groups who rule.

There are the retired age-groups who advise and retell social history and customs. There is so much social union that the slightly more wealthy have only the privilege to be hospitable. This does not make Gikuyu society communistic, it only illustrates a phase in social development. In such a phase, be it amongst the south American Indian or the Swedish mountaineers, people lived in villages among their kinsmen co-operating in production which they distribute liberally. In such societies there are no banks or methods to store up money or food and raiment. One therefore has to co-operate in this self-sufficient economy. Give it time and you have feudal society.

The Ibos who live in Eastern Nigeria have a very democratic way of directing their village affairs.⁸ Economically there are not so much economic classes as forms of property. There is the communal, including shrines. There is the family property, including huts and there is the private property, including clothing. Private property though individually owned and transferable, devolved to the heirs as family property. In these two societies and even in the more advanced ones we do not find a communistic way of organising society but elements of communism. We find these elements in the co-operative methods of production within the community. In the family, goods are distributed according to need. Amongst the communocratic ones we find a "socialist democratic" way of running society. Since one cannot, because of the free health service call Britain socialist, so one cannot because of these admirable elements, call African societies communist; neither are they capitalist as Sarbah would want them.

The best view for Marxists to take is to regard Africa as containing different types of social structures slowly but surely following the historical dialectical change to a more advanced society. As observed by another Trotskyist who is also a sociologist,⁹ the societies existing when the Europeans arrived in Africa varied from early barbarian to feudal. The latter applied to many African Kingdoms.¹⁰ The commune in the

6. Max Gluckman: *Judicial Process among the Barotse*
 7. Jomo Kenyatta: *Facing Mount Kenya*
 8. Green M. M.: *Ibo Village Affairs*

9. Cliff Staughter: one of the Editors of "Labour Review"
 10. See *Land Tenure and Alienation as in Rattray's Ashanti Law and Constitution*

village, even with the sweet trappings of clan and kinship, was only the form taken by labour, which still supplied a surplus to an incipient or developed ruling class. This was the situation in Africa as Europeans came to find it over a hundred years ago.

THE COLONIAL PAST

Western Scholars have concluded in innumerable writings that British colonialism in Africa was an unintentional accident. Psychologists hold that imperialism is the natural development of the supra-egoistic nationalism philosophied by Wagner and Hegel and the superior-race theorists. Their individualism took a concrete part in developing Bismarckian super-nationalism which resulted in the spirit of national competitiveness. These emotions found outlets in the scramble for Africa. As Marxists, whilst not denying the part played by these and other factors we know that the correct explanation is that of Lenin. Imperialism, said V. I. Lenin, is the highest stage of capitalist development. The Africans knew the result of this when they established contact with the colonising powers. They had to provide the raw materials to feed the gigantic machine innovations in Europe. They were 'persuaded' to do this by various means. In Southern Africa able bodied men had to sell their labour in the mines in order to find money to pay the Hut Tax. Communal structures were disrupted. In the Gold Coast, farmers had to grow economic crops¹¹ in order to buy the new articles of civilisation—mirrors, tea etc. Food crops went uncultivated. In Liberia, the pro-American government could have avoided poverty. Starvation forced men into the Firestone Tyre plantation to be practically enslaved. The Africans were not only producing surplus capital for the investors but were also sources of surplus labour. Unemployed figures were more in per centage calculation than those in Europe. In fact both Europeans and Africans were exploited though one more than the other. Africa also provided the classical dumping market. Surplus goods that could not be consumed by the unplanned economies of Europe were sold to Africans. The prices of these and of the

raw produce were dictated by the foreign companies. One need not go into the details of the happenings in Africa as this is a field of study in itself. One can only refer to the lot of the Congolese and to the part played by the Union Miniere in that country. They are the best visible example of what imperialism meant to Africa.

As capitalism had to develop things like a culture or a scientific invention in spite of itself and for its own good and evil so imperialism, in Africa had to go into fields other than that of maintaining an economic structure at home. The backward formations of society in Africa were disrupted as far as it would not lead to their progress but to their remaining more backward. By a method of Indirect Rule¹² African social and human potentials have been kept backward. Chiefs became agents of the government. Clashes between customary law and European law resulted, and for disobedience the repressions became more intense. This, when there was no fear to the agricultural-slave-capitalist economic structure. Roads and railways were built to carry the produce more cheaply and production expanded. Drivers had to be taught how to read the signs. He became literate and more productive and also was able to read the Communist Manifesto. Hospitals were built and humanitarian sinners like Dr. Albert Schweitzer built more clinics to cure sleeping sicknesses and raise labour productivity. Churches were built to preach the art of giving unto Caesar what is not Caesar's. Christians accepted the regimes and looked for their enrichment, from their poverty, in Heaven. Young men were sent to Oxford and the SORBONNE to come back to help maintain the systems as ASSIMILADOS. For, by the end of the First World War it was realised that to continue the profitable business of colonialism necessary as the tonic of capitalism, the American not excepted, native, civilized and servile personalities must be built into the petty-bourgeoisie. Had not that great upheaval, the Russian Revolution, offered a lesson of what might follow if working men of all nations united. It is easier to fan a rebellion against foreign capitalists but in league with a native bourgeoisie the fight would be longer. Then the

11. e. g. Cacao

12. See Lord Hailey: African Survey

second world war and the liberation of the Chinese people. Imperialism felt the haste to change its tactics. Political independence followed beginning with India's. In Africa the creation of a new elite was stepped up. So that today we have a sort of economic situation and all sorts of economic political set-ups that demand elucidation if the ingenious knots into which retreating western Governors had thrown them were to be united and understood.

THE COLONIAL PRESENT

Africa today is a neo-colonial collection of institutionalised nations. There are three categories; the Archaic, the neo-colonial, and the Progressive. Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa are the classical examples of the states with reactionary governments and archaic social structures. Liberia is governed by a class of western orientated families who prefer to call themselves Afro-Americans. They use a sort of parliamentary democratic legality directed by an autocratic President Dr. and Pastor William Shadrack Tubman. Easily the richest man in the country he seems to take his ideas from despotic Haiti. The Firestone Rubber combine practically directs the country's economy just as the "Union Minier" equals Katanga. There are the upper class composed of the Afro-Americans; a middle class of semi-intellectuals and the mass of firestone labourers and peasants in the interior. In African affairs the President regards himself as a Metternich (the 19th century last great autocrat of the Austro-Hungarian empire). He has rallied ilk statesmen to form the Monrovia Powers which is for reform not revolution in the burning questions of African union and social welfare legislation. In the United Nations Liberia often votes with America against the workers' and Afro-Asian-Latin American states.

Ethiopia is the dream world of royalists the world over. It is a purely feudal state with modernisation policies. One need not be told what its policy would be in a changing

world. Emperor Haille Selasie rules with a firm hand. The courtiers are so many and his foreign friends so strong that one may not expect any change in the country until the Lion of Judah is dead and well buried. Southern Africa is the boiling pot of Africa. Coerced by a white minority who form the ruling class the blacks live in a fascist country in enclosed reserves and in a state of permanently officially defined racial inequality. In fact, though the least socially advanced of African communities the South Africans enjoy the highest standard of material welfare and of the subjugation of Big international finance. (If you want the statistics you need only to collect a year's London "ECONOMIST" and check the company reports, and quoted prices for south African shares). South Africa is the depository and the last investment market of western Imperialism. Shares are transferred from unpredictable Guinea to be deposited in safe South Africa. All countries, Holland, Britain, America, have investments in the Afrikaner republic. Recently when it looked like victory for the south African rebellion, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, the millionaire, in consort with some Americans was positively planning to seek a removal of the extremist Verwoerd Government with a liberal one comprising of conservative Africans and liberal Europeans. Which goes to show that so long as the Machine could be kept to produce money, nobody cares who rules or who is misruled. That politically backward but economically advanced country is going to offer world revolutionary history a great surprise soon.

Nigeria is the demonstration piece Lenin would have loved to use when writing his great work on imperialism. Here in Nigeria imperialism ruling its neo-colonialist territory through a rising local bourgeoisie, foreign companies are given great play. Profits from produce totalled £102 million ¹³ in a country whose national budget is not a £100 millions per annum. The working class leaders are jailed while two of the main parties call itself socialist. There is no actual definition of classes YET, but one

13. Cocoa	26,187,000	Cotton	9,380,000
Ground nuts	23,134,000	Rubber	5,577,000
Palm Kernels	19,196,000	Itided Skins	3,282,000
Oil	13,151,000	Coal	266,000
Tin ore	5,668,000		

could see the constant absorptions and contra consolidations going on. In foreign affairs Nigeria, is anti Russia¹⁴ and a pillar of the British Commonwealth. It is also a member of the anti- Casablanca Bloc.

The Casablanca Bloc might well be called the most progressive countries in Africa. They are for an African union (pan-Africanism), for fuller independence and neutrality in world power politics. President Nkrumah of Ghana looks like the spokesman. In his country his party, the CPP of Ghana says it is socialist. Some radical measures like co-operative purchase of farm produce are implemented. The Uniliver combine still takes its profits and still controls retail trade. But the President is effecting more control of the consolidated Selection Trust, the miners of Ghana's precious metals. Of course the President controls everything. A popular dictator with radical measures. A Socialist using non-socialist methods. The Osagyefo (Reedemer) recently quelled the workers' strike. Where he is going no one but Kwame Nkrumah knows. Whereas there is a conscious effort towards socialism in Guinea whose President seems to be the source of all progressive ideas of the Casablanca Bloc. Guinea got independence from and got all movable things moved away (including Government typewriters) by France. The Democratic Party is the leading party that claims to be Marxist. Party policies seem Marxist but they are carried out slowly. But an experiment in communocracy is getting applied by the party. It is the boldest in Africa yet and ranks only with the idea of the Cuban Village co-operatives. The President said he was applying the African's natural democracy. If it leaves international finance and local traditionalists undisturbed and spends its force to re-adapt primitive communism a primitive communist Guinea may fail to become that first socialist state in Africa we all hope it shall become. What impresses one very much in Guinea is President Sekou Toure's idea of Total Reafricanisation.

THE SOCIALIST FUTURE

Re-Africanisation,¹⁵ implies full independence from colonialism. That is, all foreign evils to Africa including capitalism and individualism shall be eradicated. This does not mean orientation towards Moscow. It means real independence to readapt all things African. The African's Communalism may be called Marxist for want of a better word. If we really re-africanise we would have that nation of co-operative villages run democratically by all people. It is not a class struggle the African wants but the struggle for the people. In Guinea the people who were against independence are no more in their previous positions. Those who believe in the people including chiefs are removed as chiefs and given jobs befitting their ability and sense of service.

Applied scientifically Sekou Toure's Re-africanisation might be the best method for socialists in Africa. Firstly despite its cloak it is the easiest way to put Marxist method and philosophy to the masses without their being aware of it and without being contradicted by the seemingly nationalistic leaders. Nationalism has not spent its force in Africa. If the remnants of imperialism left in Royal Ethiopia, in the South African Reserves, in the double dealing method of Nkrumah, in the neo-colonialism of Nigeria, in the British South African Company,¹⁶ in the bourgeois-minded idea of primitive communism, in American interference in Trade Unionism, and in the many other things being perpetrated in Africa. Africa is not free. When it is free the Marxist shall identify a very clean canvas. Sifting well African customs that are good he shall be able to build a socialist society in Africa. This is the future of socialism in Africa. To achieve it the Marxist must free Africa from imperialism and Re-africanise it but with Marxist methods and theory.

14. At independence Russia was not offered emolument right. And now that the U.S.S.R. has an embassy in Lagos the number of Staff is limited.
15. Toward full Re-Africanisation: Sekou Toure (Presence Africaine, Paris)
16. British South Africa Company founded with Royal Charter by Cecil Rhodes in 1889
b. Profits from mining Royalties 1954-60—50 millions.

c. Owns 99% of the shares of the Rhodesia Railway Trust
d. B.S.A. Coy. owns mineral rights over 16,000 Square miles of Nyasland.
e. 1957 Royalties received—8,857,691 wages paid to African mines—7,341,374
f. Coy Sold administration of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and the land for 3,750,000
g. Figures from Fenner Brockway in the "Tribune"

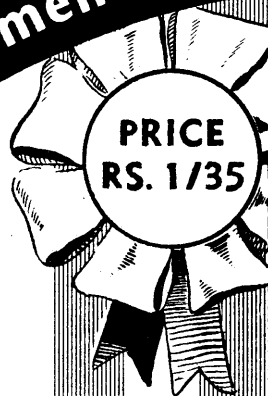
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THE FAILURE OF OUR LAND POLICY

By ANIL MOONESINGHE M. P.

CEYLON is an agricultural country. But her agriculture has two faces. On the one hand there is the highly capitalised commercial crops grown on modern lines and semi-processed like tea, rubber and coconut and there is on the other hand the subsistence farming of food crops such as paddy (rice) vegetables etc. The difference in efficiency may be illustrated by showing that whereas labour productivity of tea and rubber is Rs. 1461 that of domestic agriculture is only Rs. 585. The fact that the plantations have the highest intake of fertilisers per acre in the World, is illustrative of their development.

Since 1948 all Governments—United National Party, M.E.P. and the present S.L.F.P. have had a continuity of land policy (perhaps it was more liberal in respect of alienation of crown land to peasants under the M.E.P.-S.L.F.P.) and also of Agricultural policy except for the period that the ex-Trotskyist Mr. Philip Gunawardene was Minister of Agriculture.

The policy was one which sought to resuscitate the fallen agriculture of the dryer areas of the Northern and Eastern portions of the Island which in the days of the Sinhalese kings between 100 A.D. to 1250 A.D. constituted the granary of the nation and the cradle of its civilization. In the old days huge rain-water and river fed reservoirs or "tanks" were constructed to permit cropping of paddy twice a year. An intricate and highly developed system of canals ran through these provinces until they fell into desuetude after 1200 A.D.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake the Architect of Capitalist Ceylon in its present form was committed to this policy of investing huge sums of money to resurrect these irrigation works; to transplant peasants from the overcrowded Southern half of the island to these areas in colonies which were to be clusters of lands and houses in the midst of the wilderness connected with roads, all

entirely built by the state. This was sarcastically called the policy of 5 acres and a cow.

Politically, he believed, that in creating a landed and house owning peasantry he would have a Maginot Line against the L.S.S.P. and deprive it of the support amongst the more poverty stricken elements in the Western and Southern littoral. Further it would help to establish the U.N.P. as a party trying to restore Lanka to her former greatness—thus solidifying its nationalist base. Finally this policy of planting Sinhalese in areas which the Tamils had conquered a few centuries ago would help to stabilise the U.N.P. politically in the border areas, with Sinhalese colonists.

This land policy was followed without any scientific investigation, without any planning and without working out the cost—return ratio. In fact the present lack of development of industry, the low level of paddy and coconut productivity is the direct result of this policy.

Vast sums of money have been sunk into these schemes and are continuing to be sunk. The actual return will be forthcoming only over a period of 20-30 years. In the meanwhile the annual returns on these investments are in the region of about 10-15%

An underdeveloped and economically backward country like Ceylon with a semi-colonial economy seeks quick methods of increasing productivity. We need projects which do not require immense amounts of capital for we are very short in that respect, whilst we need to develop Agriculture and Industry. Since most of our population is a rural one living at subsistence level we have to adopt methods which would raise their productivity and standards of living. In addition schemes must be introduced which will absorb the estimated 1½ million unemployed and under-employed.

It is instructive for the moment to look towards the state of Agriculture in the World,

It is evident that there is a crisis of Agriculture in the Soviet and Chinese areas. Agriculture is at a low ebb in countries like Brazil in South Asia and even in Southern Europe.

Agriculture in the U.S.A. is a massive modern occupation. The secret of its success (if one leaves out for the moment the problem of Agriculture and prices in the setting of U.S. economy) is its very heavy capitalisation. Whereas the per worker investment in U.S. industry is about Rs. 70,000, the per worker investment in agriculture is Rs. 200,000. Thus U.S. agriculture because it is capital intensive is able to use modern methods to raise productivity. The crisis of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is precisely its under capitalisation and its dependence on extensive instead of intensive culture.

This is also proved in respect of agriculture in this country. Productivity in Tea is highest and that industry is the most capitalised—in fact the production has gone up by a further 25% in the last ten years with the increase of fertilisers application of better methods of upkeep as the main reasons.

Before we examine the merits of the present land and agricultural policy a look at the increase in rubber productivity will be helpful. Nearly 200,000 acres of rubber are being replanted under the subsidy scheme. Calculating at the selling rate of Re. 1/- per lb the cost of Rs. 200 million will be repaid between 1½ years to 2 years by the increased production.

It is evident therefore that further application of capital, replanting, heavier application of fertilisers and more effective biochemical steps have paid quick dividends for the investment of much less capital than that so far devoted to the dry zone.

Of course there is one disadvantage—the diversification of our crops will not result in the first instance. On the other hand as we do not intend to give up Tea production completely but as we intend only to reduce the percentage of dependence upon it, we have to have better production methods to reduce the COP (cost of production) per 1 lb. of tea which is now at about 1/50 to 1/60. Vegetative propagation methods in replanting contour planting more terracing and

erosion control, will be able to raise productivity to about 2000 lbs. of made tea an acre. This is the only way for us to compete with the newly planted and re-planted areas of Assam.

What are the results of our investments in the Dry Zone, on the other hand?

The annual production in the Dry Zone colonisation areas is 16% of our capital outlay. It has been estimated that in 1951 it cost nearly 13,000 to place a colonist in the Dry Zone—Of course this includes, roads, irrigation, housing and overhead costs. In addition the recurrent cost per colonist annually is Rs. 50/-. Today colonisation has dropped to Rs. 10,000/- per colonist. The total outlay for major colonisation schemes is about Rs. 450/- million to date. The total return so far has been in the region of Rs. 30 million.

Every year 1/3 of the loan fund expenditure is set aside for land development and irrigation. It is of course true that there has been annually a departmental underexpenditure of between 30-40%. In fact the Director of Irrigation has admitted that unspent voted funds will take 10 years at the present rate to be used up!

Thus out of the colossal expenditure what has the return been in terms of actual development. Practically negligible, is the only balanced reply, that can be given.

The Interim Report of the National Planning Council states that 800,000 acres are awaiting development at a cost of Rs. 3,000 million. Thus as the Agricultural Plan states (page 35) 450,000 acres (which the Ministry of Lands says is necessary for increasing paddy cultivation to make us self sufficient taking into account an increase of 2 million population), will cost Rs. 150 million per year for 10 years. Such an expenditure would stunt industrial growth and as a result the attainment of a balanced economy will not be possible.

Further as the report of experts from the Maha-Illupallama Farm Station states, in essence, the present colonisation schemes are not at all successful. It is true that the better lands now being colonised will be able to

support some peasant families in somewhat different conditions but at what cost to the country and its all sided development.

It is the view of those experts that there has been a colossal wastage of timber and that the most economical use of the land is not being made. Apparently the lands given to colonists have been on an arbitrary basis giving them some paddy land, some high land and some dwelling land at will without any consideration of the scientific basis of land utilization. It is the view of these experts that in fact the topographical climate and soil conditions of the Dry Zone render cultivation extremely difficult. Our forefathers developed the tank-village system of cultivation with a widespread system of irrigation canals. Even modern cultivation must approximate to these systems to obtain economic and successful cultivation.

Mr. E. Abeyratne, Research Officer (Tropical Agriculturist July-September 1956) after years of research and experience of planning of Agricultural Development in the Dry Zone states that cultivation must be on the basis of individual river valleys and that rain water-sheds should be the demarcation line of areas of development. He further shows that a very diversified system of land use is utterly necessary "even on relatively small extents of unirrigable land" and that integration of animal husbandry is part of this diversification. As artificial fertiliser is not so effective—the latter variant is important. It is his opinion too that co-operative farming combined with individual cultivation of limited plots is the best way of development.

What is the alternative? As already mentioned tea, rubber and coconut with replanting and improved bio-chemical methods, and increased application of fertilizers will increase productivity in a short time. Where it is necessary to change cultivation on marginal lands as in mid-country Tea estates this variation could be followed.

So far as Rice production is concerned increasing application of fertiliser on the

basis of soil surveys will give immediate results. Of the 220,000 tons of fertiliser used in Agriculture in 1956 nearly 4/5 was in the tea industry and paddy accounted for less than 5% when the total acreage under tea is 600,000 acres whilst that of subsidised (i.e. subsidised) paddy is 1,000,000 acres. Thus even an aid scheme distribution of manure would result in vast increases in production (provided that manure responsive plant cultivation is carried out) and this would raise the output from 45 bushels to about 60 bushels per acre.

Another aspect is the cultivation only in one season of nearly 700,000 acres of paddy land. Out of this it is estimated that 250,000 acres could be cropped in both seasons provided that minor and village irrigation schemes are repaired or brought into being. It is well known that the construction priority list of village and minor irrigation works is behind hand. A rough estimate of about Rs. 100/- million has been made to complete those works. This would bring paddy cultivation close to self sufficiency in 5 years.

The balance sheet of 30 years is now **ready and we are in the red**. Big schemes like the Gal Oya are feasible only when our rate of development reaches about 7% per annum. At the moment it is less than 1% per annum nett (compared to Japan 21% of the gross national product and Yugoslavia 13%). Schemes of a multipurpose nature may be started but phased over a period of years and drawing only a small percentage of the development expenditure.

The immediate results of the abandoning of the Mahaveli and Walawe schemes and the disbandment of the Gal-Oya Board (which spends 3/4 on its own upkeep and only 25% on development) will result in widespread unemployment. It is estimated that nearly 40,000 persons will lose employment. Without preparing schemes of alternative employment in industry etc. these poor folk have to bear the brunt of a decade of foolish policies.

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