

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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A SIGHT FOR SEOUL EYES!



The police, out of riot uniforms, began cleaning the campus of Seoul's Korea University on Tuesday as calm returned.

**The
Student
as
Rebel-Hero**

SRI LANKAN CRISIS — The New Phase

— Mervyn de Silva

- Failure of Sri Kotha's de politicisation program
- How repression radicalises the youth
- Open economy, consumerism and the welfare system
- Students, T.U.'s, Sinhala Opposition, T.U.L.F. and Democracy
- (Repeat) Can Sirima do an Aquino?

- ★ Rajiv's options and the Delhi deterrent
- ★ Anura on "our diplomatic isolation"
- ★ Will the Sri Lankan conflict be regionalised?
- ★ The U.N.P.'s catch — 22 situation

MAHAWELI — Will we export rice? — Kumar David
Male chauvinism in Sinhala tele-cinema — Jayadeva Uyangoda
The Fuelwood Project — Camillus Liyanage



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TRENDS

PUBLIC SECURITY AND PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE

The government has decided the ISLAND reports to introduce amendments to two Acts soon. One is the Public Security Act, and the other is the Parliamentary (Powers and Privileges) Act. Of course, this is pure coincidence. But the amendments themselves are certainly worth noting.

Today, the law empowers the President to issue a proclamation imposing Emergency rule or extending the prevailing Emergency each month. Whereupon Parliament debates the matter, usually in the last week of the month in the present circumstances, and as a rule, the motion is passed.

The Communist party — both the former MP for Kalawana, the late Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama and the present, Mr. D. E. W. Gunasekera voted against the extension. The M. E. P., also represented by one MP, its leader, Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene abstained or voted 'No'. It was only last month that the main Opposition party SLFP decided to vote against.

When the amendment is passed, and with the UNP's 5/6ths majority that is a foregone conclusion, the extension of Emergency will be automatic.

The present Parliamentary Privileges Act allows the House, in the case of a 'breach',

NEW PRICE

The sharp rise in the price of imported newsprint has forced all newspapers and journals in Sri Lanka to raise prices. The LANKA GUARDIAN has been reluctantly compelled to do the same. The price of the L.G. from August 1st will be Rs. 5/-

to hold an inquiry and then reprimand and warn the offender or to impose a fine of Rs. 5,000. Without imposing a fine, it has the power in serious cases, to sentence a person to jail, up to 2 years, or both. If the proposed amendment is passed the fine and/or 2 year term remains, but the jail term can be of either description.

ESCALATING UNEMPLOYMENT

In Sri Lanka today there 800,000 jobless persons, and 125,000 to 150,000 school-leavers, male and female, enter the labour market. The economy finds it increasingly difficult to accommodate these demands, says a statistical survey of the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

Between 1982 and 1986 (the last year in the survey) employment growth has "drastically declined", particularly when compared to the high growth rate maintained in 1978-82. 200,000 labour opportunities are generated each year. The number of 'the working age group' however continues to rise sharply and by the turn of the century, it will be more than 60% of the estimated total population of 20 million.

STRICTLY PRIVATE

The Commission of Inquiry has been appointed to report on the

privatisation of State Corporations and Government-owned Business Undertakings. The President has named six persons which includes Mr. Baku Mahadeva, the Treasury Secretary as Chairman. There is one other senior civil servant, Mr. Laksman de Mel, Secretary to the Ministry of Trade, and recently appointed Chairman of 'Air Lanka'. Yet another Ministry Secretary, but not from the civil service, is Mr. Justin Dias. The rest are from the private sector—Mr. D. S. Jayawardane, Chairman, Lever Bros, Mr. C. P. De Silva, Chairman, Aitken Spence and Mr. D. S. Jayasundera.

According to the Gazette Extraordinary announcing the appointment of the Commission, the inquiries will NOT be public.

BLACK IS NOT BEAUTIFUL!

Mr. Anil Monesingha, the MP for Matugama (SLFP, formerly Marxist-Lenin-Trotskyist) told Parliament, the SUN reported on on its front page has bought a kilo of Tamilnadu rice at Kirillapone. "The rice was black in colour, probably because it came from Tamilnadu" he quipped. Taking the rice home he had cooked it and found it tasted remarkably like gingelly oil". Helpfully, the SUN headlines it 'Thala Thel'.

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THE STUDENT — EYE OF THE STORM ?

Mervyn de Silva

Jesting Jennings played a joke on the Duke of Gloucester, and His Royal Highness, no Victorian, was quite amused. The plaque at Peradeniya, which commemorates the University's formal opening by H.R.H. proclaims that the campus was declared 'more open' than usual because the Law Faculty and an advance unit of the administration had in fact moved in sometime before the ceremonial opening. The new Peradeniya University, Ceylon's first essay in the residential university system, was already in business.

The Health Minister, Dr. Ranjit Atapattu, one of the more level-headed, and sweetly reasonable of UNP big-wigs, tried loyally and valiantly, to spike Opposition guns when SLFP-MEP-CP speakers tried to make much of a warning by President JR that the government would shut down all campuses. The newspaper report, said the Health Minister, missed the point. His Excellency's remark was only a jest, he said, adding that President JR had alluded to a remark made to him earlier. Somebody had told him that the only university that was not closed was the Open University!

Jokes apart, most universities are today more closed than usual. Of course Dr. Atapattu was quite right when he said that 'university crises are not a new phenomenon'. Before 1971, many campuses, particularly Peradeniya, were astir. 'Campus rumpus' became the newspaper caption writer's favourite in the run-up to the 1977 general elections, and student-police confrontations, increasingly violent. After the

United Front's crack-up (the LSSP withdrawal) the UNP opposition cleverly capitalised on both student and labour unrest; even 'A' level students in some of Colombo's leading schools took the streets... UNP stalwarts were an encouragingly visible presence in those street demos.

Now roles have changed with the UNP, so ably on the offensive in 1976-77 finding itself on the defensive. (There is one common factor, however. A much weaker LSSP, following its disastrous decision to break ranks with the three-party alliance and Oppositional movement in general, stands politically on the UNP side of the fence on the major issue of boycotting the local polls).

The campus unrest is a signal of a deeper malaise. In fact, the specific grievances and issues, matter less than the symptomatic character of the issue itself. And this issue, most importantly seen in the context of accelerating events that drag Sri Lanka's politics from a befuddling confusion to the near-anarchic great disorder under the heavens, Mao's phrase. Consider just a few recent developments.

The Prime Minister, supported by several senior UNP'ers, including some Deputy and District Ministers, demand that the visits of Indian vessels bringing relief supplies be stopped forthwith. Or, as a compromise, that the ships are ordered to berth in Colombo harbour, and the supplies handed over to Sri Lankan authorities, with local officials distributing the goods, if necessary with Indian Red Cross representatives in attendance. This

point of view is put out as a press release by the UNP Parliamentary Group. On the same day, the ISLAND PRIDE (surely an insensitive or provocative Indian choice of a vessel) enters Kankasanturai, and goes through the usual exercise. What is more, three more ships are on the way! And Mr. Dixit, the Indian High Commissioner, tells the press that 'no official communication' about the Group discussion (or the Prime Minister's recommendation) has reached him. Meaning of course, the Foreign Ministry, the proper channel. Conclusion? The falcon does not hear the falconer.

Regard next an important internal issue. The Prime Minister (and earlier the Finance Minister) express their views on the JVP from public platforms. Both are basically sympathetic to the JVP and certainly critical of the arrests now being made of JVP'ers and other "subversives". Besides the question of legalising the proscribed JVP is discussed at the highest levels. But the raids, detentions go on regardless. Another important issue. As the UNP bandwagon rolls, we hear on radio and TV, and read in the semi-official press an anti-Rajiv barrage, especially on the flotilla and the 'Mirage' intervention. In the U.S., however, the National Security Minister, more or less exculpates the Indian leader who, he says has been misinformed and misled by his advisers.

Again, whether India has renounced the 'good offices' and mediation role or not, it is the considered view of the Sri Lankan Establishment and the media that the Indian intervention has robbed Delhi of all credentials and claims to play that part. "Ope-

ration Liberation" achieved its objectives (see 'PASSAGE TO AND FROM INDIA'), the LTTE has been taught a lesson and must be taught more, since it still remains intransigent. Only then can the government think once again of negotiations. But the Sunday *ISLAND* (12/7) reports that two Ministers are having confidential talks with Mr. Dixit. (It is even rumored that some VIP's may go to Delhi — or likely to go to Delhi — to meet Mr. Gandhi!)

Still on the 'internal', but even more domestic. "WE LOVE

YOU VINCENT, WE WANT YOU VINCENT", reads posters on walls and vehicles in Colombo North, a defiant vote of confidence on Mr. Vincent Perera who resigned from ministerial post and his parliamentary seat, evidently over some dispute about M. C. nominations. Mr. Perera is not only a humble and honest UNP'er. He was Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, Chief parliamentary whip, and a member of the party since 1949!

Meanwhile a former UNP MP, and six others have been expelled from the party for filing nomi-

nation papers as 'Independent' candidates. (The LSSP has suffered an even more serious setback with the resignation of party members in Kandy over the 'boycott' issue, one 'rebel' being Mr. Wickremaratne, a wellknown figure in the district).

ECONOMIC SCENE

The economic situation can only get worse, not better. Mr. de Mel knows that best. That is why he shouts about defence spending and the shout becomes a scream just before he takes flight on his annual pilgrimage to Paris. ('State of the Economy' p.14). Oil prices may have gone and stabilised but poor export prices, debt repayments, and military spending have 'bunched' up. One of the corporations that has been made the debt burden heavier is "AIR LANKA". The Air Lanka Commission report has made the suspicious smell of high-level corruption a reality — the suspicions confirmed, the smell a stench. Nothing angers a people more, and this is truer of educated youth and the middle-class intelligentsia, than corruption, extravagance, vulgar ostentation. Often, they tolerate economic hardships and deprivation more stoically. But when their private and group privations exist in conditions of upper-class ostentation, and the Establishment's profligacy, waste of national resources, and rampant corruption, the aggrieved and angry breaks out in a righteous wrath. The result is sporadic outbursts of protest, agitation and violence — not revolt or revolution.

Corruption together with repression is a potent and deadly mixture, as the upper-class lifestyle becomes increasingly visible and disgustingly ugly, while the gap between this privileged class and the vast majority gets wider. These are the lessons from the Philippines, a country which, once accustomed to a lively democratic system, albeit wildy and exotically American, had to live under Martial Law, a Referendum and a rubber-stamp parliament, somewhat like South Korea.

U' grads got freedom to talk under UNP — Ranil

Education, Youth Affairs and Employment Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe said yesterday that it was under the UNP that university students got the freedom to express their views.

The UNP has a lot of members who are university-educated. They did not go out of the country for university education.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike got university students involved in politics in 1970. She destroyed university education. After 1971 even children who worked for her were killed. About 20,000 were massacred. A large number of students were missing.

S. D. Bandaranayake (SLFP — Gampaha) "What took place then was a CIA-inspired revolution".

Continuing the Minister said during the past regime not only students even university lecturers were shot down.

A number of our friends were killed. What were the 'offences' they committed?

University students were arrested and killed. Thousands were killed on the orders of the then SLFP government.

Graduates who passed out at that time were given jobs by the UNP government. There was a lot of frustration and despair as those who passed out did not get any employment.

The SLFP is trying to make university students scapegoats. The Opposition does not know what it says or does.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, according to an interview in "The Island" had said she would get rid of Mossad and stop Sri Lanka security forces being trained in Pakistan if she comes to power.

To which country would she send the forces for training? To America?

Even Probakaran had never wanted the Sri Lanka forces training in Pakistan to be stopped. He had asked for the withdrawal of the Army from Jaffna. Is it surprising that the President had said such lunatics should be sent to Mulleriyawa when statements of this nature are made the Minister asked.

(ISLAND)

POLICE ROLE

On South Korea, John Burgess of the *NYK Times* encapsulated a lesson from exciting political experience in a few well-chosen words. It is the police that 'radicalises' the student.

In an *ISLAND* symposium, the distinguished Dean of the Law Faculty Prof. G. L. Pieris shares the basic "handful of miscreants" thesis of the Health Minister, Dr. Atapattu. He does not agree with the student view of the "police presence" but he does explain it fairly:

"For instance the students feel that the Police presence in the campus is not justifiable. They feel that a campus has some kind of 'Immunity' like the embassies for instance which are not under any local police jurisdiction. But this is a false idea.

"If the Police feel that there is imminent danger of untoward incident on campus, they can have the authority to post Police contingents in campuses like in any other part of the country. Actually, they do not even have to inform the Vice Chancellor under the law, though that is done as a matter of courtesy.

"The students identify this as some kind of state interference that is uncalled for.

"So there are such misconceptions that has lead to the polarisation."

The former Education Minister, Dr. Baduidin Mahmud takes a larger, more liberal view:

Mr. Mahmud said it was natural for students to agitate. Those things happened during his (Mr. Mahmud's) tenure as Education Minister too.

"However, the authorities are ruling with an iron fist.

They are aggravating the situation, because students as a rule do not react kindly to repression.

They are now becoming an additional burden to the country's problems."

"This is sad. The students should be taken into confidence, and the authorities should talk to them."

UNP AND DE-POLITICISATION

The hardline, if somewhat cal-low, UNP view is that student activists, usually left-inclined, representing about 10% of the campus community are the 'miscreants' and 'trouble-makers'. Otherwise the students would be quiet, attend lectures, argue in the canteen, visit the library and take the first bus home. Most UNP'ers, the politicians, academics and administrators, identify this mischief-making minority with the JVP. Mr. Meril Kariyawasam puts across this view with exemplary candour:

HORSE'S MOUTH

The Prime Minister has said that the people are quite suspicious of the Indian relief supplies now being distributed in the north. One UNP MP has wondered whether these goods are part of an advance 'stock-pile' for future Indian troops! President JR however reminded a party rally that Sri Lankans should rely on proverbial wisdom. We should not look a gift horse in the mouth. We consulted a UNP think-tank to clear the apparent confusion and this comes from the horse's mouth. "The consensus in the party is that we should not look a Trojan Horse in the mouth".

"Today the JVP was behind the whole drama and was using students as their catspaw for their benefit. As a result, many students have fallen into their trap".

A much sharper and more revealing statement was Education Minister Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe's contribution to the

debate in Parliament. "Mrs. Bandaranaike got university students involved in politics in 1970". The criticism here is not of a particular brand of politics — today's or yesterday's — but of the politicisation of the student. This must come as a surprise to almost every Colombo alumnus, since from the forties the Thurstan Road campus was the hot-bed of politics, and sometimes regarded as an extension of the LSSP headquarters located on nearby Bagatelle Road! The number of Ministers, Speakers, Opposition leaders, Senators, M. P.'s, full-time lawyers and part-time politicians, newspaper proprietors influencing and intervening in politics, editors, journalists and commentators writing about politics, who have known the campus as their nursery, is legion.

Besides, from the 1960's at least, both Colombo and Peradeniya have seen official or semi-official party branches sprout forth. And why not? For all major parties, the university is a recruiting ground for future MP's and think-tanks. Party-affiliated student groups have been a ready resource for talent-spotters.

Student politics is tolerable, even welcome, as long as it is the 'correct' politics. That is the obvious inference. It is not necessarily a blinkered U. N. P. view. It is the reaction of the party in power. All other politics is mischief-making at best, subversive at worst.

Even this interpretation as a rejoinder misses a far more salient point. Previous UNP and non-UNP regimes sought to establish or strengthen support-bases in the campus and influence or control student opinion, at least of those sections receptive to politics (usually all faculties except the non-arts), and frequently through like-minded academics (party sympathisers) or crass opportunists placing a side-bet on green or blue or blue-red, which comes out pinko. Intellectual disinclination and the

self-assurance founded on the certainty of a secure, high-income private or state sector job gave the students of science, medicine and engineering the luxury of self-imposed solitary confinement in lib-lab, not the luckless British parties, but library and laboratory.

De-politicisation is a different order of battle, the objective of a well-conceived strategy and or the inevitable consequence of a social-ideological program, political and economic in its chosen instrumentalities.

The UNP cannot be blamed if it was blessed by an eccentricity of the electoral system with a 5/6ths majority. It was, after all, a victim in 1956; the most notable sufferer was the present

party leader who lost to a man contesting two seats. The UNP was short-sighted and greedy in enjoying the rewards of that electoral quirk, and is now paying an enormous price for it. In 1980, it expelled Mrs. B. from parliament and deprived her of civic rights. Yet another constitutional amendment led to the TULF's exit. It closed the door to the most influential (Sinhala) political personality next to President JR, and opened the door to the democratically elected Tamil leadership. In a sense, parliament, as we had known it for 30-35 years was 'de-politicised'.

In the new approach to the university, there two conflicting tendencies. Whereas a conscious

attempt was made to divert student attention from politics, whether by coercion, co-operation, and persuasion, friendly and unfriendly, the university's administrative and academic hierarchy was systematically politicised. Both non-UNP and anti-UNP students and dons resented this trend while some resisted it.

The well-meaning Dr. Atapattu laments the fact that student trouble-makers are letting down their "poor parents" who expect so much from a graduate son or daughter. "Poor" is right, more in economic terms than in the sense of pathetically helpless. And these parents, labour or lower-middle-class, are bearing the brunt of mounting economic pressures. A good many are likely to be critical or hostile to the regime. With the campuses more closed than open, with more and more students interrogated by the police or locked up and detained under Emergency and PTA, both student and family have their first encounter with the police.

MOMENT OF ILLUMINATION

This is not merely an initiation ceremony, it is a moment of illumination, a leap into knowledge, that unites parents and their offspring. As long as these draconian laws were used against Tamil terrorists and 'their boys' it was okay, especially if the battlefield was faraway.

In this emotionally charged situation, it was naive to think that chauvinism, whether genuine or politically opportunistic, would not invade the campuses. If unscientific everyday social observation can be relied on, chavinism, and its latest by-product, a virulent anti-Indianism, seem to be more a middle-class phenomenon, with an upward and downward reach to the lower-middle and upper-middle, than a malady of urban working class or the rural poor.

Indians, overseas at least, is a nation of shop-keepers. From Guyana to East Africa and to Fiji (in South-East Asia, it is more the Chinese rather than

Passage to and from India

The Sri Lankan Government's recent military action against the Tamil militants may have succeeded in achieving what Colombo claimed was its objective, that of demoralising the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). But it has been only partially successful in fulfilling its real purpose, stopping coastal infiltration by militants into Jaffna and Mannar from Tamil Nadu.

Sri Lanka has been desperately trying to seal the Palk Straits. Colombo first banned fishing in the Jaffna peninsula, to stop the "Tamil terrorists" posing as fishermen from crossing. Then it gradually strengthened its naval presence in the Palk Straits with Chinese-made gunboats to spot the militants' speedboats. Finally, on June 2, Sri Lankan security forces took over from the LTTE, the strategic Vadamarachi area, which includes the northern and north-eastern coastline of the Jaffna peninsula, a couple of hours by speedboat from Vedaranyam in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu.

Colombo then claimed its military operations had been successful. Said National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali: "We wanted to cut off the lifeline of the Tigers by taking over the Vadamarachi coast. It will no longer be easy for them to ferry arms and ammunition from Tamil Nadu to Jaffna."

But the hopes were misplaced. INDIA TODAY'S investigations last fortnight revealed that the additional security arrangements had only marginally affected the earlier free movement of militants from Tamil Nadu. All five major militant groups have been making an average of one trip a week to Jaffna, Mannar, or even Mullaitivu in the north-east from different parts of the Ramanathapuram coast after the Vadamarachi operation.

— S. H. Venkatramani (I. T.)

the Indian presence that has high-visibility) there is no need to rent an anti-Indian mob.

TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions came next, the same year as Mrs. B.'s expulsion. The unions are the battering ram of the organised working class. Traditionally the Left has dominated the unions, although the SLFP and UNP, have sponsored as in the case of the students unions of their own. The SLFP in office has used 'State patronage to build this base, and therefore its staying power, in defeat, has been suspect. Not so the UNP which started it in opposition — the singular achievement of one man, J. R. who re-wrote the politics of the Senanayakist UNP. (The J. S. S. has yet to stand the real test of survival once the protective patronage and reward-system are no more).

The unions were battered into submission; knife and cycle chain, with the khaki-clad looking on, for leaders and activists; worker Somapala dead, 80,000 sacked. The unions de-linked themselves from opposition parties or there was a mutual self-defensive distancing of worker and politician. Only a few like the C. M. U., non-party anyway, remained intact, in the face of aggressive de-politicisation. In today's context the temptation is to say the students came next. Actually they were the first target. If the U. N. P.'s actions against the SLFP and the TULF were short-sighted, the UNP's criticism of rebellious students shows it is also short on memory. Very early in the regime, student protesters on Thurstan Road, (along with a Lake House journalist and cameraman!) were jumped by 'goons', dragged into 'anonymous' vehicles and taken to a party office!

CONSUMERIST CULTURE

While the ideal was a 'dharma-mista society', the open economy in fact heped to nourish a consumerist culture, especially among the middle-class and youth, the very antithesis of the Buddhist ideal. Not surpris-

singly Prof. Sarathchandra was the first to draw our attention to that contradiction, though many an articulate Buddhist monk has used this radical change for polemical purposes. Whereas both stressed the inherent contradiction, the accompanying hypocrisy and the debasement of values, they did not see it as part of the de-politicising process nor foresee that the path of consumerism, unlike in Singapore, the external ideal

S. C. on police torture

The Supreme Court allowed the fundamental rights application of a resident of Nalluruwa, Panadura — Amal Sudath Silva, holding that he had been subjected to tortuous, cruel and inhuman treatment while in police custody by one or more police officers of the Panadura Police Station.

Justice E. A. D. Athukorale, in a strongly worded judgement (with Chief Justice S. Sharvananda and Justice L. H. de Alwis agreeing) observed that the facts of the case disclosed that certain police officers adopted third degree methods on suspects while being held in their custody. Such methods, he said, could be described as barbaric, savage and inhuman. Such police action only breed contempt for the law and would tend to make the public lose confidence in the police.

or model, was destined to be a short one for the vast majority of people, given the nature of our economy and its pace of growth. The post-1983 events and their crippling impact on the economy have made that road even shorter. While the good times lasted however, a new generation was literally hooked on consumerism. With it however came other "imports" — not just the fast car and the

motor-bike that created new rhythms of youth behaviour but drugs, introducing new types of crime and violence among the "hooked generation".

SINGAPORE MODEL

Singapore's current challenge is just the opposite. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, an extraordinarily intelligent, spartan patriarch with a strong trace of confucianism in his thinking, performed the miracle of converting an entrepot into a prosperous mini-state by the most thorough-going exercise in de-politicisation. He locked up his radical comrades in one fell swoop know as 'Operation Cold Storage'. They are still there 20 years later. All ideological and political debate was closed for all time. Nobody need discuss what to do or why 'A' was better than 'B'. Lee had decided all that. The only question was how best to do what Lee wanted done. Pragmatism was God. As he said in a recent interview:

"We have only one unalterable principle by which we are measured — Does it work?"

No need to think, no need to debate, just do it. It was Orwell 1984 out of the all-knowing righteous emperor. Now Singapore is in trouble. With living standard high, with all the world's goods in the supermarket, the educated young Singaporean is beginning to think, pose questions, criticise and hold group discussions. 21 persons have been arrested for a Marxist conspiracy; its leader is an expatriate Singaporean intellectual now at Oxford Univ.! The same problem of educated youth has cropped up in South Korea on a much larger scale.

No, the Singapore model was inapplicable from the start. What bits and pieces were grafted on Sri Lankan society has distorted our way of life. It has also resulted in dislocation at a time when the disintegrative impact on our social fabric of the ethnic conflict is increasingly severe.

STUDENT CHAUVINISM

There were no spontaneous anti-Indian demos after the flotilla and the 'Mirages'. All were sponsored, all middle-class.

In his introduction to the *SUNDAY TIMES* symposium, Romesh Fernando begins with the brutal killing of student leader, Pathirana, underlying as it did interneccine campus conflicts. That the average, immature Sinhala undergraduate should be swept away by ultra-nationalist passions in the current context is not difficult to understand. Also understandable, if less easy to excuse, is the behaviour of their political patrons and *gurus* who obviously saw in chauvinism a short-cut to power, on a larger terrain, or as an easy release for pent-up personal frustrations and phobias. But I find Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara a bit too cheerful in his reading of the situation and decline of chauvinism.

"Mr. Nanayakkara says that Sinhala chauvinist parties such as the JVP had exerted considerable influence on the campuses some time back."

"That position had changed now, and the students are veering to the left, particularly the the radical left in the campuses."

"That was because the Sinhala chauvinistic parties' anti-government posture has lost currency, because of chauvinistic posture of the government itself. So these parties are being identified with the government in some way, and hence losing their allure."

"The main reason for campus agitation is the frustration felt by the students, especially since the government has made inroads to restricting the free education system."

The private fee levying campuses have aggravated this sense of frustration. On top of that, genuine student agitation has been curtailed. . . . repressed.

He is dead right though on 'privatisation' and student grievances. I would however attach a greater significance in terms of Sri Lanka's political development. Privatisation is not a panacea for Third World ills, argues Mr. de Mel. Nor is it pure evil. While Mr. Nanayakkara is correct to associate it with privilege, and the creation of new protected enclaves for

U'grad support for 6-party elections call

The boycott at the Colombo University by a section of students on Monday took a new turn yesterday with the entire student body boycotting lectures and holding meetings pledging support to the six-party alliance now calling for a general election.

Students held a demonstration within the campus demanding the release of the students now in Police custody and expressing their solidarity with the protest campaign organised by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, SLFP leader.

All students boycotted lectures for the second day yesterday after a series of meetings headed by the leaders of Trade Unions.

the affluent, it represents to my mind frontal or tangential attacks on the welfare system. The pillars of that welfarism were food, health, education, and in a wider sense, trade unionism.

The crackdown on Sinhala youth was a rude awakening to the Sinhala middle-class and intelligentsia, even to Marxists and Third Worldist radicals.

"Our boys" were being beaten up, detained, tortured or killed. The awakening followed a face-to-face confrontation with "The State of National Security", the more modern and sophisticated institutional guise of old-fashioned Third World authoritarianism. It was a poor "unknown" Sinhala youth from Panadura, Amal Sudath Silva who was subjected to what three judges of the Supreme Court called "barbaric and inhuman" torture by four Sinhala policemen, including an officer. (See S.C. on 'Police Torture'). It was a Sinhala undergraduate that died on May day in the sacred precincts of the Nara-hempita temple. . . not kovil or church.

POLLS — AS SAFETY VALVE

Except in times of explosion and violence, and these were intermittent, few and far between student steam was let off through student elections. But elections to student assemblies are increasing rare, the campuses, if not closed, are not functioning normally. But the campus is a cameo. What has happened on the campuses is a symbolic illustration of the national situation. The political system was half-closed in 1978, when the old parliamentary system was replaced by an all-powerful executive presidency in order to ensure political "stability" for "rapid growth". The referendum was held in order to preserve that stability in order to continue the "development work" and reap its full benefits which the masses would then enjoy.

Has this development narrowed the gap between haves and have-nots or widened the disparities. . . and more crucially and dangerously made the disparities more glaring? When G.M.O.A., once an association of the high-income, status-carrying privileged, launches a strike, for better pay and allowances and when University Professors join their junior colleagues in a similar encounter with the government on a primarily economic issue then an obvious

question arises. Is there something radically wrong with the GMOA and UTA or is there something wrong in the "development policy"? (Incidentally the GMOA has now locked horns with the U.G.C. on the issue of the North Colombo Medical College — an institution, highly controversial from its inception, that illustrates the privatisation-privilege connection).

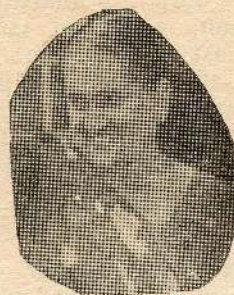
This stage of the national crisis has produced two new developments. First, an in-gathering of anti-UNP forces at the political level, and in other related areas, mainly the unions, and student organisations. Second, the demand is for 'elections' or more strikingly "boycott" of elections — local elections by the 6 party Front, in order to dramatise its demand for a general election and parliamentary by-elections by the T.U.L.F. Public opinion and the main political forces in the south want to prise open the closed system.

DEMOCRACY

In short, the main issue on the national agenda is Democracy. It had to be so. For the Sri Lankan crisis is fundamentally a crisis of the Third World state, the authoritarian state and its preferred patterns of growth (the developmental model favoured by most Third world elites), all captives of the global economic situation. True, the ethnic conflict and the Tamil youth resistance, the armed struggle, was the dramatic manifestation of that crisis. It is also true that the armed conflict has steadily eroded the power of regime and State, and thus emboldened the long/inactive and enfeebled opposition. It has drained the regime's resources while its exposure of the regime's incapacity, if not impotence, has rapidly alienated the UNP from the Sinhala constituency, including sections of its traditional powerbase. (The formation of the Senanayakist E.L.J.P. and the evident internal dissension on the major issue, India, and minor issues, like nominations are the obvious signs).

Nonetheless the exclusive attention of almost all analysts, local media, academics and the intelligentsia, Sinhala and Tamil, as well as foreign commentary and reportage, was given to the ethnic issue, as if that is the root of the national crisis. This attention was somewhat out of focus; and the image was blurred. It is for this reason that the L.G., certainly in the past two years, has concentrated on the question of democracy (and fundamental rights) and on foreign policy, as the ethnic conflict became, as it is inevitably had to, externalised.

The A.P.C. marked the total isolation of the S.L.F.P. June 1987 sees the isolation of the U.N.P., and a coming-together of all anti-UNP forces under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Among the principal supportive groups, objectively speaking, are the unions and the students. (See **Students Support and T.U.'s Call**)



Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike

The breakthrough for the S.L.F.P. came late last year. The S.L.F.P. played its ace against the U.N.P.'s weakest card — foreign policy. The L.G. made the speech of the Opposition Leader Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, and the foreign affairs debate its cover story. to sneers and jeers from the UNP, from Opposition intellectuals, from the academic community and its cohorts, and the pundits in Colombo's Diplomatic colony. L.G. (Dec. 15) The Opposition leader returned to that theme even more aggressively last month. (See **UNP's International Isolation**). Tactically, the SLFP has moved leftward, even accommodating on its platform 'Trotskyist' world revolutionary Vasu! It has made an opening to Delhi, when

an important section of the UNP is on a nationwide anti-India blitz, while other top UNP'ers are desperately keen on patching up things with Mr. Gandhi.

SLFP chauvinism has been softened markedly. The coincidence of SLFP-led 6 party Front's rejection of "bogus" local elections and the TULF's "travesty of democracy" vis-a-vis the by elections was fortuitous. Yet, it could be an opening, first to the Tamils in the South, and then to the TULF. Meanwhile the UNP, under severe pressure from India (See **Rajiv gets his act together**) is threatening to appoint a Commission on "North-East Merger"!

The 6 party Front incidentally has also paved the way for a family reunion, apparently a minor subjective factor but not so negligible when one remembers that this is a political family, the last surviving dynasty, which is precisely the reason why the UNP engineered the break-up of party AND family.

At the Campbell Park rally, Mrs. B. said she would, if compelled, carry the non violent democratic struggle to the streets. Can she?

PEOPLE POWER

It was a student's death, after police torture, that sparked the South Korean crisis. It led to a massive demonstration of 'Peoples Power', a repetition of the Philippines experience in "a Parliament of the Streets" Both thinly disguised dictatorships collapsed.

What has collapsed in Sri Lanka is the dream of a "Grand Coalition", a dream shared by many SLFP'ers too, including lapsed Trotskyists. An analogous vision, energetically supported by the Sinhala business class and large segments of the Sinhala intelligentsia (a "Sinhala Consensus") has also failed to emerge. The issue of democracy, and power-sharing (a challenge to UNP hegemonism) has become the dominant question. But how to restore democracy?

(Continued on page 18)

CRISIS (2)

Has Rajiv got his act together?

The flotilla was a feint. And a test of Sri Lankan will. The decision on intervention, however mild or physically harmless, had been taken. The unresolved Sri Lankan crisis had reached a stage where Mr. Gandhi's domestic-political problems and needs (electoral defeats, blows to personal prestige, party pressure) coincided with recent stresses in India's security environment. (Pakistan, primarily, and to some extent, China). This confluence of personal, domestic and regional problems, rekindled the paranoid fears of some sections of the Indian and Congress elite about 'de-stabilisation', while simultaneously affording Mr. Gandhi an opportunity to adopt his mother's reflexive fall-back position on similar circumstances — "foreign hand", externally-induced de-stabilisation. Particularly galling to Delhi was that Sri Lanka was being supported or encouraged by Pakistan its US-supported

regional rival. The evident failure of its diplomatic work as mediator has also presented a challenge to India's regional status as paramount power and to its aspirations for world power standing in the 21st century. The "soft option" (the good offices, mediation or in short, the diplomatic) had failed, a humiliation to Mr. Gandhi and bruising to India's self image. The soft option had to be abandoned, the 'hard option' taken up.

But the "hard option" has degrees of hardness. So, how to impose its will effectively without taking the extreme option of military intervention, Cyprus-style or any other. It chose the soft-hard option — humanitarian intervention, ready to take the international consequences. As it happened, the consequences proved an acceptable price — a media barrage which harmed India's and Rajiv's image but little real

damage to Indian diplomatic interests. Delhi's calculation that few states will publicly criticise, let alone condemn India, was right. The international barrage would blow over; the domestic media barrage is already a fact of life for a harassed Mr. Gandhi on matters far more sensitive and damaging.

What next? By the intervention, India has appeased Tamilnadu, for the moment; it has demonstrated to the Tamils in Jaffna that they will be protected against exercises like 'Operation Liberation'; it has demonstrated to the region, the world and to the national constituency, that force-projection will be its first choice if India's regional paramountcy is openly questioned or challenged.

The act of intervention, whatever its character, has logically led to a qualitative change in role — no longer the good offices 'meditaor' of the past, but a more assertive, semi-partisan player in the game.

Delhi deterrent

That's the first important result. The second is the Delhi deterrent—Jaffna cannot be recaptured. It has intervened, and it will intervene, even more toughly.

The change in role is clear in the style and content of Mr. Dixit's brief statement to the press, and his prompt denial that Delhi has sent "new ideas". The issue is an internal one — Colombo can do as it wishes but... "considering the implications of this course of action or any other". The Delhi deterrent, the mailed fist in the kid glove.

The style is also interesting. A diplomat works within the policy parameters demarcated by his government. He works best when those parameters are clearly defined and the government speaks with one voice. Both these were in some doubt up to the intervention. Policy was not sharply

NEW DELHI, July 6.

The Government of India is still awaiting a reply from the Sri Lankan Government with regard to the restarting of negotiations for the settlement of the ethnic crisis. The Government hopes that the positive atmosphere built up by the relief operations in Jaffna could be used to arrive at a settlement. On the other hand, the Government is clear that maintenance of peace in Jaffna is an essential pre-requisite for the continuation of any negotiation process. These points were made by the External Affairs Minister Mr. Narain Dutt Tiwari, to THE HINDU today.

Mr. Tiwari said India still believed that the December 19 proposals remained "a

valid basis for further discussions on the ethnic issue." He observed that while the immediate focus was on providing relief supplies to the people of Jaffna the Government of India also hoped "that the Sri Lankan Government will take measures to assuage the sense of embitterment and alienation which has arisen in the minds of its Tamil citizens following the recent military operations in Jaffna peninsula." In response to a question, he added that the nature of the Sri Lankan Tamil representation in any future talks was not really a decision for the Government of India to take. "This is a matter which should be decided by the Sri Lankan Tamils themselves," he observed.

defined, there were too many advisers and spokesmen, and too many channels of communication between Colombo and Delhi, and vice versa.

The Indian envoy now talks with much greater self-assurance, and his statements have a greater consistency. What is more, and this is equally revealing, he talks a lot but says little!

What is the message? It's all up to you, it's your problem. If you want our help, please say so, we are willing to assist. But when you come to talk to us, kindly come with some 'new ideas'. If such ideas are as reasonable as December 19, good; if December 19 plus, better. All this of course, if you are still keen on a political settlement, as you keep saying. On the other hand, if your real desire is the

military option, go ahead... but remember the "implications"!

This puts Colombo in a Catch-22 situation on both options. Colombo retreated hurriedly on the Dec. 19 offer because it was nervous about Sinhala and Muslim reactions, although the latter was made to look the more important consideration. A politically embattled regime in a hard-pressed and worsening situation cannot yield any more ground to the Sinhala opposition. Prime Minister Premadasa knows it, So does every UNP stalwart — you have only to take a look at their faces!

CATCH - 22

The military option is even more of a Catch 22. Already it is not only the LTTE and the Eelam propaganda network but influential voices in Delhi that

allege Pakistani and Israeli involvement in the military offensive, planning as well as operational. While this could well be propaganda to fit into the 'de-stabilisation thesis', it leaves Colombo in great difficulty. The most helpful sources — arms, advice, training — are those self-same sources that Delhi regards as hostile to its national security and regional interests. Thus such help only strengthens Delhi's case, whether propagandist pretext or not.

Having watched the conflict getting 'externalised' can Colombo afford to regionalise it? If it is ready to take the risk, and there is a show-down, will the supporters come physically to our aid? Or will we be left alone, when the chips are down.

— M. de S.

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CRISIS (3)

Moscow talks on regional issues

"Slowly but surely Sri Lanka's festering ethnic conflict has been transformed into a national crisis that threatens not only its polity but its security. It does look as if an essentially domestic conflict is now a regional issue with just the possibility of being dragged into the vortex of superpower politics. Will a helpless little island enter the final circle — the unexplored zone of ultimate danger?" — L. G. May 15

Despite the seriously troubled situation in the Punjab, the outbreak of violence in many parts of India such as Darjeeling where the GNLF has launched a new offensive, and most of all his preoccupation with Haryana, Mr. Gandhi chaired two special sessions on Sri Lanka. All his top ministerial and official aides were present.

He then left for Moscow. Pure coincidence of course. The Festival of India was the formal occasion. Unveiling a bronze statue of Indira Gandhi, Mr. Gorbachev called her 'the great daughter of a great people'. But behind the lavish praise was a political message. Relations between Rajiv's India and the USSR were sometime marked by some doubt and uncertainties.

How close will young Gandhi, the man of the 21st century, move towards the U. S.? In 1985-86, Moscow made some overtures to Pakistan, and showed willingness to discuss a mutually satisfactory accord on Afghanistan. Talks were held and US analysts like Selig Harrison were predicting a deal, via the UN sponsored "proximity talks". Nothing happened.

It is clear that the Soviet Union attributes the failure to Pakistan, a view fiercely contested in Islamabad.

The fact however is that Moscow believes that Pakistan used the Soviet offer to increase its leverage on Washington at a time when there was strong Congressional opposition to US aid to Pakistan because of the Symington amendment. Senator John Glenn led the anti-Pak lobby, and the issue was Pakistan's nuclear program. Also AWACS. The Soviet Union believes that it was 'used' by Pakistan, to extract concessions from the U. S.

It is against this background that the Gorbachev-Gandhi talks on regional issues should be understood. The following reports are from the HINDU's special correspondent and PTI.

Gorbachev — Gandhi on Sri Lanka

The Soviet Union consistently supported India's stand on Sri Lanka during last week's talks between Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. 'The Hindu' reported on July 4. In a special despatch from Moscow by its special correspondent, the paper said at last Friday's talks between the two leaders centred around regional issues notably Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan.

The report said: "On Sri Lanka

India found the Soviet Union consistently supporting its stand. This implied that the Soviet leader appreciated the compulsions that led the Indian Government to undertake the airdropping mission in Jaffna."

'The Hindu' in a report from Moscow on Friday said: "In Sri Lanka the Soviet Union has shown complete understanding of the Indian stand — particularly the compulsions that led to the air-dropping of relief supplies

in Jaffna. By sheer coincidence, Mr. Tiwari then in Moscow met Mr. Gorbachev around the time Indian transport planes had returned from Jaffna and found the Soviet leader satisfied with the Indian analysis of the situation. At the same time Colombo could not have missed the message from Moscow implied, among the other things by the hints that led the Sri Lanka President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to postpone his State visit to the Soviet Union.

India will overcome difficulties: Gorbachev

K. K. Katyal

MOSCOW, July 3.

Mr. Gorbachev and the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had by now concluded their talks, spread over two rounds totalling four hours, and the Soviet leader's responses spoke eloquently of the smoothness of the discussions. Mr. Gorbachev was in a jovial, relaxed mood, explanatory in his brief formulations even though it was an impromptu question-and-answer session, squeezed in between two engagements — the signing ceremony and the formal lunch in honour of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gorbachev was asked whether, in his opinion, the situation around India had changed since his visit to Delhi seven months ago. He replied: "Everything flows, everything changes, if there were no changes we would not have anything to talk about." Did he and Mr. Gandhi discuss the Sino-Indian relations? "We touched upon all international problems." Had he devoted so

much time to discussions with any other visiting dignitary? "No" he said after a pause. The relations between India and the Soviet Union, had become dynamic, he said, referring to the significance of today's agreement.

Indo-Soviet ties

Mr. Gorbachev later dealt with Indo-Soviet relations at his lunch for Mr. Gandhi. "There is no place for mistrust in relations between the Governments and the people of Soviet Union and India. But mistrust is trying to put outside pressure on them. Certain political quarters in the world are literally allergic to our good relations. Those are the people who are committed to militarism, escalation, confrontation and fuelling regional conflicts. It is not to their liking that India plays a role as a major modern power in world politics. They wish to arrest its growing influence in international relations. And we see that they use any means to put pressure on India and that

attempts are being made to destabilise the situation in and around the country."

The Soviet Union, he said, fully appreciated the concern of the Indian people over the hostile anti-Indian campaign to erode its international potential.

Destabilisation threat

From Mr. Gorbachev's luncheon speech and the replies to Indian correspondents, it was clear that the destabilisation threat to India figured in his discussions with Mr. Gandhi and that the Soviet Union fully appreciated India's concern and backed it fully in that context. His unspecific reference to changes in the region around India could well be interpreted to mean that Pakistan was a part of this process of change — as the earlier Soviet hope for a positive response to moves for Afghanistan settlement had not materialised and Pakistan got sucked more and more in the U. S. orbit.

PAKISTAN — most visible tool of cold war tension

NEW YORK, July 7.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has described Pakistan as the "most visible tool of cold war tension" and accused it of exploiting its link with the United States in its dealings with India.

In an interview that is the subject of a raging controversy, Mr. Gandhi said cold war was a "terrible nuisance in every way," mostly because of induced tensions. "In our own area, Pakistan is, from our point of view, the most visible tool of cold war tension," he added.

The interview covered a wide range of subjects including India's relations with the superpowers and its neighbours as well as on its economy. The introduction describes Mr. Gandhi as "this fascinating modern leader of the world's second-largest nation".

Question: The United States plays Pakistan and China off

against the Soviet Union. Doesn't India, in a sense, play the Soviet Union off against China and Pakistan?

Mr. Gandhi: (laughing). Well, we try not to play anyone off against anyone.

Question: If the cold war did not exist, would your relations with China and Pakistan be easier or more difficult?

Mr. Gandhi: I think they would be very different. With Pakistan, I think there would be no problem at all. With China, it is very difficult to say. The Sino-Indian war of 1962 was a very major turning point in our relations. How much 1962 relates to the cold war is difficult to say. Perhaps 1962 would have happened with or without cold war.

The Prime Minister answered in the affirmative when asked if this was an issue of territorial conflict more than part of the

cold war. "Those problems are not necessarily linked to the international power struggle" he added. Asked if he meant that Pakistan would not be able to exploit "the Washington link" in its dealings with India if there was no cold war, Mr. Gandhi replied, "Yes".

Mr. Gandhi said Pakistan was supporting the Afghan guerillas "because it is the key to aid from Washington."

Asked if he saw any hope of cooperation with China, Mr. Gandhi said, "It is very difficult to say at the moment, because the border problem vitiates all our talks".

Question: Are the Chinese still involved with supporting secessionist and anti-Government movements in Assam and elsewhere?

Mr. Gandhi: It is very difficult to say how strong the links are — (PTI)

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Lanka's economy must adjust to consumption and investment — *World Bank*

The World Bank has told the Sri Lankan Government that the economy must adjust to consumption and investment levels that are compatible with the reduced domestic and foreign resources now available.

"Growth is slowing, unemployment is rising, the fiscal situation is precarious and a balance of payments crisis is not unlikely", a recent report of the World Bank states.

However, the Bank concedes that the need for an increasingly urgent economic adjustment comes at a very unfavourable moment as in addition to the serious deterioration in the terms of trade, the Government's capacity to make difficult decisions is weakened by the ethnic conflict and the upcoming elections in 1989.

But "poor export prospects in the medium term, the bunching of the maturities of the loans contracted on commercial terms in the early 1980's and substantial losses of reserves in the last two years", the Bank says "make an economic adjustment difficult to postpone further."

Because of the "cost" of adjustment in a pre-electoral period, this confidential study notes that the Government seems to have opted for a policy of gradual policy changes. "The real exchange rate was depreciated in 1986 in relation to the SDR by maintaining the rate of the Sri Lankan rupee vis-a-vis the declining US dollar. The fiscal situation has benefitted from the Government's decision not to pass on to consumers the decline in the prices of imported commodities, particularly oil". The Bank says neither measure has balances.

As further delays in these reforms would substantially increase their costs, this report recom-

mends that the Government consider their implementation as a matter of urgency.

"The first priority of such policy reforms is to achieve a more favourable balance of payments position. Secondly, as indicated in the budget speech, the policy reforms should aim at reducing the high public sector deficits, thus eliminating a major source of macroeconomic imbalances. Ensuring that public expenditures are being used efficiently as an essential part of such an exercise. Finally, while in most sectors of the economy the Government has undone the complex pre-1977 system of regulations on private entrepreneurship, the industrial sector still suffers from the large presence of inefficient public manufacturing enterprises and the

legacy of the import-substitution bias that guided policies before 1977"

"This holds true in spite of the substantial industrial policy reforms that have been introduced since then. A change in industrial policies aimed at improving the efficiency of the manufacturing sector and at increasing its export orientation is thus the third priority of policy. Such a three-pronged program of economic reforms is consistent with Government objectives, would allow the correction of existing macroeconomic imbalances, a major deterrent to future economic growth, would provide the supply incentives necessary for sustained growth, and could create, in the medium term, the employment opportunities necessary to reduce the currently high rate of unemployment"

T.U.'s national protest

Thousands of workers will observe a National Day of Protest on July 30, picketing outside their workplaces and stopping work for a limited period. L. W. Panditha, a spokesman for the organisation of 22 trade unions said.

He told a news conference the aim of the protest action, to be organised in all major towns in the island, would be to draw national and international attention to state repression on opposition political activists, trade unionists and students, the high cost of living and corruption within the government.

The 22 trade unions are demanding the release of all political prisoners arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Regulations and held without trial, said Mr. Panditha, the chairman of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions.

They were also demanding the repeal of all repressive laws including the PTA and the Emergency Regulations, the restoration of democratic rights, and the removal of bans on political parties and trade unions.

He said the protest action would not be limited to the 22 trade unions and any organisation which supported their demands could take part.

All workers taking part in the protest would wear badges to work on July 30, stop work between 1.00 p.m. and 2.00 p.m. and hold pickets outside their workplaces, he said.

Workers from the government and private sectors and the estates would take part in the protest, he added.

Among their other demands are:

* the reinstatement of all workers who took part in the July 1980 strike

(Continued on page 28)

Anura on "our international isolation" — and the UNP's JVP double-think

Now, Sir, the fact remains that we have isolated ourselves on the world stage. We are totally friendless. All the speeches in San Francisco and all our *poofajying* and *pandanfyng* Singapore have washed ashore. Where are our Third World friends? Did Israel speak on our behalf? You antagonized all the Arab countries because of your connection with Israel. Have the Israelis spoken one word on our behalf? Those Israelis are supposed to be training our army but we have not won one battle with their assistance. Thanks to the armed forces of Sri Lanka for which all of us are grateful, we have been able to at least capture 25 per cent of the Jaffna territory. Israel has not made a statement on behalf of the Government of Sri Lanka. That is the isolation we find ourselves in. So, what is your real policy? The Prime Minister says India is to be blamed, that India is positively the aggressor. We all agree with it, but some people in the Government take a special delight in attacking India. That is their problem. Let them sort it out with India, Then some other section of the Government is all out to appease India. They go to Delhi and say, "India must mediate in this. Without India's assistance this cannot be solved." I am reliably informed that one of the leading Government politicians who organised the *satyagraha* outside the India House went on the next day and made a personal apology to the Indian High Commissioner. !!

I do not want to mention names. Now, this is the kind of double dealing we get in the UNP Government. Some are attacking India, some are appeasing India, and some are not talking a word about India. Those who are responsible should have at least made a statement to the country. Nobody talks about it. Therefore,

we are faced with a completely perplexing and confusing picture which none of us can understand. This is the tragedy of the non-coordination and confusion in the highest ranks of the Government.

Then, Sir, take the JVP. You are attacking the JVP and you are arresting them all. The prime Minister goes to Beliatta and says that any policemen who arrests a JVP'er without a reason will be cursed in his next birth. He says *sapakarai*.

Then take the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel. He goes to a meeting and says this — I am quoting from the "Island" of 27.5.87.



Mr. Anura Bandaranaike

"He said the greatest harm one can do to Sri Lanka's image that would militate against getting aid was the publication of highly exaggerated stories in the mass media. Some of the police reports in the press on JVP and other subversive activities were like "Aesop's Fables".

There can be a front in the North and East but why try to open other fronts in the South and the hill capital. People who think that once stories like this are published, Uncle Reagan or Auntie Thatcher would come with bags and bags of aid are sadly mistaken. We are only disgracing ourselves.

They have become uncle and auntie all of a sudden. Now who thinks that uncle Reagan and Auntie Thatcher are going to come here with bags of money!

He is not saying that to the Opposition. He is saying that to the Government. This speech is directly meant for his Government

colleagues. He says that if you think you can raise scare stories about the Marxist JVP and think that America and England are going to come to our aid that is one of the most foolish things one can do. He says that we are only disgracing ourselves by that. That is what the Minister of Finance says. When the Government talks in two tongues on the JVP, how can we support the emergency? One says that the JVP has to be blamed for all acts of sabotage. You are arresting a large number of people. Then what happens? Somebody else gets up and says — it is no other person than the Minister of Finance himself — that all this is absolute eye-wash, and we are disgracing ourselves. These are the stark contradictions, unfortunately, as the hon. Member for Kotmale (Mr. Ananda Dassanayake) says, of this wonderful Government which has left us with no alternative but to seriously consider and vote against the emergency because we are convinced that you are totally incapable of handling this situation.

Mr. Deputy Chairman. I would like to make only two other points before I conclude. That is, we, in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party have always at times of great national peril offered our assistance to the Government. His Excellency the President met about three months ago and briefed me about — this is before the Indian flotilla arrived here — a letter he had received from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. This I believe was some time in March or early April and he wanted to meet Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. With great difficulty I persuaded her to talk to His Excellency the President and she agreed, and both of us went with the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party — I believe the hon. Third Member for Colombo Central, Mr. Haleem Ishak also went

with us—and met him. He showed us a document—I do not want to talk about the contents of it—which clearly showed that India was getting ready for some act of aggression. We did not know what it was. In fact, Mrs. Bandaranaike told His Excellency the President that we will, if there is any problem like that, do everything possible to defuse the situation and help Sri Lanka. After that she sent Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, — on the request of the Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party — a cable asking him to desist from doing anything which will harm the integrity and the sovereignty of our country. Now that was the act of a responsible, former Prime Minister who had been Prime Minister of this country for 12 years, who had been Foreign Minister for 12 years and who is known to the Gandhi family personally for the last 25 to 30 years.

U. N. P. REACTION

Now, how did the Government react? His Excellency the President gets up at a public meeting somewhere and says, "How dare Mrs. Bandaranaike send a cable to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi? His Excellency the President calls her and tells her, "Help me to solve this problem" So when she, as the Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and a former Prime Minister and a personal friend of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's family, sends him a cable asking not to harm Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike is attacked! What does His Excellency the President say? "Who is she to write to him"? Surely, Mr. Deputy Chairman, if this is the kind of dirty low way in which the Government treats the Opposition, can you blame us for opposing the Emergency? You seek our assistance and when we offer it you turn round and blackguard us.

Then recently His Excellency the President talked to me over the India flotilla for nearly three and a half hours. I have three witnesses, in fact, four: His

Excellency the President himself, the Hon. Minister of National Security, General Sepala Attygalle and the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed. The four of us discussed this situation. His Excellency the President wanted to summon Parliament. I said, "Very good. Please summon Parliament and we assure you that we will not ask for a debate on that day". I did not ask for a debate.

Then I proposed to His Excellency the President that both the United National Party and the entire Opposition — the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and if the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and the Communist Party were agreeable — bring a joint Resolution in the House to show at least that the Sinhalese people are united in condemning India and asking India to desist from sending this flotilla, this was two days before the Indian food aid arrived. This was on a Monday; the Indian flotilla arrived on Wednesday. The special Session of Parliament was on a Tuesday. In fairness to His Excellency the President I must say that he agreed straightway and said "It is a very good idea. If the entire Opposition both the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Communist Party and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna plus the Government can have a joint resolution, at least that will give some faith to our people because your party and our party represent about 90 per cent of the people of this country. At least it will give them some hope that the major parties are united in opposing the Indian action that will take place 48 hours later". Then His Excellency the President in his wisdom requested Mr. A. C. M. Hameed, the Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs to draft an appropriate Resolution.

I came back, I telephoned all my members of Parliament and I must say they all agreed — some of them with some reluctance — but they all agreed to the joint

Resolution. I talked about it to the hon. Member for Maharagama and in fairness to him he also agreed to it and was extremely co-operative. But I could not get through to the hon. Member for Kalawana because he was not available that evening. Now, Sir, this is how we reacted.

When we met His Excellency the President later on that same night I have two witnesses here, the hon. Third Member for Colombo Central and the hon. Member for Maharagama—not one word was said about the Resolution. The hon. Member for Kalawana was also there and there were a number of other Ministers and leaders of the Government but not one word was talked about the Joint Resolution because the thinking had been, if we had a joint Resolution, the Opposition would get some advantage. This was told to me by a senior Cabinet Minister who was there. He called me to a side after meeting was over and said, I am sorry what happened about this. Some people thought you will get some advantage." Even at a time when the nation is burning, when we go with good intentions and offer the Government our assistance in a joint Resolution that is all we can do with our limited resources in the Opposition — even that is turned down for cheap political advantage by the United National Party. I want this to go on record, Sir, because I want to show this country that we have ample evidence that at every given time we have offered our assistance to the people of Sri Lanka in the hour of need. Therefore, Sir, if the United National Party wants to play politics with us, I am afraid we will have no alternative but to decide firmly that on every occasion after this we will continue to vote against the Emergency because the Government has not the slightest intention or the slightest idea of ending terrorism in this country at all.

— (Hansard)

Dismantling the state control apparatus

Maggie Ford (*Financial Times*)

The people's demands for the foundation of a democratic state fall into eight basic categories;

- Free elections, with universal suffrage and secret ballot;
- Civilian control of the military, and an end to its involvement in politics;
- Freedom of the press;
- An independent judiciary and a fair legal system;
- Revision of the National Security Law;
- The independence of public officials and an end to corruption in all areas;
- Equal opportunities in economic and social spheres for women, lower income groups, and people from different regions;
- Balanced development spending and equitable distribution of the benefits of the country's economic progress;

The immediate object of democratic change, South Koreans say, is to untie the apparatus of state control. The starting point is the military, which is in turn underpinned by the police and intelligence services and administered, frequently against its will by the judiciary.

The system has allowed bribery and corruption to flourish, they feel, enforced by the threat of action from the authorities if people refuse to take part. Koreans want to develop independence and respect for legal process in their institutions.

POLICE BEHAVIOUR

The case of the death of a tortured student is a case in point. Two policemen were asked to take responsibility by their superior officers. They were promised that their families would

be supported, and that assistance would be provided for them to move away from accusing neighbours. They appear to have been led to expect short sentences, and of course would have received good treatment while in jail. The question of who actually committed the crime, the matter of evidence and legal process were simply ignored.

Those Koreans unfortunate enough to be involved in car accidents experience similar problems. Whether at fault or not, a driver is immediately arrested and taken to the police station, where compensation for the victims is negotiated. Failure to agree will bring official charges, which are to be avoided, they will result in fines and removal

Students as leaders

Demands for democratic institutions and guarantees for human rights are ideas that students here share with the traditional opposition forces, both past and present. However, the students also emphasize U.S. culpability in supporting the military-dominated politics since the 1961 coup of Park Chung Hee. Furthermore, they question the role of the United States and Japan in South Korea's economic development, and urge a new focus on issues of income distribution and equity. This focus on strategic and economic dependency augments the student's increasingly strident nationalism — a nationalism that is based on pride in economic development and a perception of South Korea's elevated international stature.

Although most South Koreans are uneasy with the more extreme student views and neo-Marxist rhetoric, there is widespread support of the demands for constitutional revision and direct presidential elections. The escalating violence since June 10 has forced the government to reconsider the idea of dialogue and compromise. While it is the students who have led the way and who have provided the dramatic imagery for the world press opposition party leaders have the support of a broad range of religious, labor, intellectual and citizen groups.

As an American, I worry about my government's response to the extraordinary situation here, and I hope that the Reagan administration does not revert to supporting "stability" at the cost of draconian repression. Recent public statements urging South Korea's government to return to negotiations, and to check the urge for military intervention, are an encouraging shift from a past policy of "quiet" diplomacy.

(The writer, Michael Robinson is professor of Korean Studies at the University of California)

of the driver's licence. Legal process is again ignored.

Further abuse of the law occurs under the National Security regulations. Originally framed to deal with Communist spies, this law has been widely abused, South Koreans complain, to include such offences as insulting the President.

Young businessmen and those in banking and finance are particularly concerned about the issue of the independence of public officials. They allege that the Pan Ocean scandal, in which the chairman of a major shipping company committed suicide, was "only the tip of the iceberg."

The Office of National Tax Administration investigated the company and found widespread evidence of fraud and foreign exchange irregularities. But businessmen say that the independence of the tax authorities

tion Party are subject to arrest if they annoy the Government — the deputy leader of the main Opposition party is in jail at the moment — and anyway, the National Assembly has no powers to take up complaints with the authorities.

Demands for equal opportunities get to the root of some of the basic social problems in the country. Women, although often highly educated, have few rights. Family and inheritance laws, the product of Confucianism, resemble those in Islamic countries, and women are frequently fired from their jobs when they get married.

Trade Unions

Workers are under strict control, with no trade unions allowed and often low wages. There is wide agreement that the fruits of the country's prosperity should be more fairly shared, while businesses remain competitive internationally.

Opposition leader Kim on students

"I have been urging my countrymen and students not to use violence," Mr. Kim said, "but they had no choice to fight against these militaristic, brutal policemen hurting all these civilians and students."

cannot itself be guaranteed. A tax investigation is reported to be a widely used ploy in dealing with companies which fail to toe the Government line.

A free press is one important way to protect the independence and freedom of individuals and institutions, South Koreans believe. At present, letters to the editor are not published in newspapers, partly because a signed letter will invite a visit from the authorities to its author. But the press has achieved significant freedoms in the past few weeks and has played a strong role in the present movement for change.

Although South Korea has an elected National Assembly, complaining to an MP is not really an option. MPs in the Opposi-

Regional development is a particularly thorny problem. The Eastern side of the country, including the cities of Seoul and Pusan has received almost all development spending over the past 20 years. The western side, including the city of Kwangju, is an agricultural backwater, with only a few factories providing employment.

Although this area has seen increased spending on industry and infrastructure in the past few years, young South Koreans believe that efforts must be increased.

The articulate nature of the South Korean opposition is a function of the level of education, which is exceptionally high.

More than half the adult population of Seoul has either graduated from or currently attends a university. The demands of the people reflect a more Western attitude to rights and freedoms than many would expect in an Asian country.

But the scale of the expectations which this generates causes problems. As one foreigner put it: "It takes South Korea five years to achieve something that took Japan ten years, the pace of change is so rapid."

The people of South Korea have been fighting seriously for democracy for only 20 days. The crucial factor now is whether their President is capable of change at the same pace as his people.

THE STUDENT . . .

(Continued from page 9)

Movements self-styled precisely in those terms (MRD in Pakistan RDF in South Korea) have both succeeded and failed. Last year this journal published an article titled "Can Sirima do an Aquino?" (LG 15/3/86) only to receive a cutting reply from Prof. Carlo Fonseka. The question is still open. "Peoples Power" won in South Korea and the Phillipines; it was forced to retreat in Pakistan and Bangladesh, also led by two women, Benazir and Hasina, both daughters of assassinated leaders.

The war in the north goes on, with LTTE returning to the fray quicker than we expected, and advancing from land-mine and booby trap, from ambush and isolated attacks, to frontal assaults on newly established, fortified positions, to confound the planners local or foreign or both, of 'Operation Thunderbolt' re-named 'Operation Liberation'.

In the South, the battle is just beginning, and the State is getting ready ('See TRENDS). There is great disorder under the heavens and on earth. But is the situation, to complete the Maoist dictum, excellent? And for whom and what?

Part II

MAHAWELI : WHAT NEXT ?

A Kumar David, BSc Eng PhD.

III. INVESTMENTS AND RETURNS

Breakdown of costs, cash flows, external contributions and other details are available in official documents although it is not always possible to easily construct an accurate component wise picture in respect of all projects. For example it is not possible to disentangle from the body of official statistics an estimate of to what extent the exchequer has been compelled to resort to foreign borrowing at commercial rates for meeting the budgetary cost components of projects by conversion of foreign funds to rupees.

The following table gives an approximate estimate of some important financing components for several projects. The estimates are approximate in that actual cash flows occurs year by year (factor costs) but their meaningful aggregation must refer to a common base, an exercise which has not been performed here. The conversion of foreign grants and loans to rupee equivalents should also preferably done at the particular exchange rates prevailing at the relevant transaction dates of each trancheon. Notwithstanding these limitations the table below does throw considerable light on certain issues.

An AMP overall figure of about 28 to 33% for the portion of costs which have to be met from budgetary provisions is therefore a very reasonable estimate. However, in respect of anticipated commitments over the next five years, foreign assistance will fall to about 57% and governmental provisions rise to about 43%.

The governments, (a) current account surplus (that is revenue less recurrent expenditure), (b) capital expenditure, (c) total external resources including of grants, loans and commercial loans and (d) grants and project loans only, are tabulated below for the years 1982 and 1986.

The capital expenditure in (b) and grants and project loans in (d) are inclusive of Mahaweli. Since the current account surplus and external sources are inadequate for financing capital expenditure, domestic borrowing is resorted to. To conclude whether a part of governments own contribution to Mahaweli capital formation should effectively be considered to have come from foreign funds raised at commercial rates would require the processing of more data than is currently available. The relationships in the above table are, however, suggestive.

Computation of benefit to cost ratios may still be considered premature, but a word needs to

Year	Rupees Billion			
	(a) Current A/c Surplus	(b) Capital Expenditure	(c) Total External Sources	(d) Grants, and Project Loans
1982	-2.3	18.7	8.8	6.6
1983	1.3	21.7	11	8.6
1984	8.5	19.7	11	10*
1985	3.0	24.2	14*	10*
1986	4*	26*	15*	10*

*Estimated

PROJECT FINANCING ARRANGEMENTS (Approximate)

Project	(a) Estimated Total Cost Rs. M	(b) External Funding Rs. M	Difference (a) — (b) Rs. M	(a) — (b) as a % of (a)
Victoria	8000	4800	3200	40%
Kotmale	8800	5800	3000	43%
Maduru Oya	2700	1500	1200	44%
Randenigala	4700	3600	1100	23%
Rantembe	1500	n. a.	—	—
System C	4500	3700	800	18%
System B (LB)	5700	4700	1000	18%
System B (RM)	4700	3000	1700	36%
Transbasin Cnl.	n. a.	2200	—	—
System G	300	25	275	90%

be said in respect of the basis of computation. It has been suggested that where outright grants or soft loans have been employed computations should be made with corresponding small or nil allocations on the cost side in respect of these components. In effect this basis of using an accounting rather than an economic opportunity cost basis for project evaluation is unsound. Although, admittedly, Western goodwill and support was not freely convertible to any form of capital formation whatsoever, which Sri Lanka may

have requested, it would nevertheless have been transferrable within a certain range of activities or within alternative structurings of Mahaweli development. Hence, irrespective of the actual grant or soft loan facility that may have de facto been provided, appraisal of Mahaweli projects must proceed on an opportunity cost basis.

The benefits to be derived from the AMP must be similarly valued on the basis of their real economic contributions. An indication of expected benefits of power and rice production are derived in the following paragraphs.

Mahaweli generated electric energy should similarly be valued as replacement for equal quantum of electricity generated at a modern coal fired conventional thermal power station which could have served as an alternative project. Falling oil prices have held world coal prices in check at about US \$ 40 per ton (1986) including transport and price escalations in the medium term, are likely to remain small. At an efficient (38.5%) modern station, a ton of coal produces 2.81 MWH of electric energy, translating as 1.42c (US) per kWh.

Capacity costs of thermal power stations have also held steady at about US \$ 800 per KW installed for unit sizes of interest here and assuming simple straight line 20 year capital defrayment, a 12% interest rate and a 70% plant load factor the capital component of energy costs is about 1.44 c (US) per KWH. Adding 20% to the sum of fuel and capital charges for O & M and administrative costs, hydro energy replaces a thermal alternative costing 3.43c (US) or about 85c (Sri Lanka) per KWH. The economic value of power from the principal AMP projects is then as follows:

Project	Average Annual GWH	Annual value of energy Rs. Mill.
Victoria	780	663
Kotmale	455	388
Randenigala	525	446
Rantambe	250	213
Total	2010	1710

Obviously for economic valuation as described here, rather than power planning, average energy and not the smaller firm energy (1610 GWH total is the correct quality to use. The pre-AMP Ukuwella and Canyon plant have not been included and a potential of 36 GWH at Maduru Oya and possibilities of Stage II extensions at Victoria and Kotmale have not been considered.

This Rs 1.7 billion return on the previously tabulated overall project costs are not resoundingly attractive. Conversely, a 350 MW coal fired station at a capital cost of about Rs 7 billion and with fuel costs of about Rs. 15 billion (discounted to 1986 rupees) spread out over a 20 year life span would have generated the same annual energy for this duration.

Clearly therefore the full justification of Mahaweli development leans on the multipurpose character of the programme and depends very much on substantial rice production. Of course in theory if 300,000 acres were opened for cultivation, 450,000 acres asweddumised in the two seasons and 460,000 mt (metric tons) of rice values at between Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 billion (including freight) equivalent in rice imports, substituted for, a major improvement in benefit to cost comparisons is depictable.

It is here that the first major difficulty occurs. The country is already near self-sufficient in rice — for example in 1984 only

38,000 mt were imported in comparison with domestic production of 1.69 million mt of rice. The increase in rice production has been sustained over several decades under the stimulus of improved production methods, provision of irrigation facilities, use of high-yielding varieties and price incentives. Those critics of capital intensive irrigation investment, who feared that a more productive generalised emphasis which included small-scale and traditional sectors may be neglected in the rush towards large projects, have been proved more correct than they expected. The sustained general effort has in any case turned the trick even before Mahaweli came on stream!

Rising population will increase rice requirements in the medium term while long term requirements will be affected by fertility rates and changing food habits. Rising productivity will continue to provide some of these additional needs leaving little justification for massive short term increases in rice production. The possibility of rice exports may be considered but if export promotion is the objective, rice is far from the ideal commodity.

Superficially, the need to maximise returns on the vast investments, that have already been made motivates continuing rapid investment and the quick completion of down stream developments, but the possibility of gathering the fruits of these investment is complicated by a problematic reality.

(To be continued)

National Fuelwood Conservation Programme

Camillus Liyanage

Firewood which provides energy for 94% of the population in this Island is rapidly becoming a scarce commodity. The supply of fuel wood comes from 3 main sources.

1. Rubber wood 18%.
2. Agricultural Residues 28.9%
3. Forest and other wood 53.2%.

Since it is indigenous and renewable, naturally it has a vital role to play in the energy scenario in Sri Lanka. It is a commodity which could be produced and distributed any where any time sans sophisticated facilities. However the country is in the grips of losing this valuable source of energy due to various avoidable-forestation for power projects and unavoidable reasons—dramatic depletion of forest cover in Sri Lanka and if timely action is not taken, there is no doubt that the country will be thrown in to turmoil which will have repercussions in every perceivable form of human activity. Apart from the consumption for cooking great portions of fuel wood are also consumed by the Agro-based industries and other small scale industries considering the political, economic and social framework, to redeem the country from such a situation will require gigantic efforts and sacrifice nationally and individually.

Given this background, any interventions to ameliorate this situation by any individual or organisation, government or non-government need to be viewed with respect and encouragement.

The national energy policy strategy formulated by the MPE has highlighted the need for a firewood conservation programme as a short term solution. Accordingly His Excellency the President has accorded high priority for the N.F.C.P.

However if the impact of using improved stoves is to make a dent on the energy situation a large number of stoves have to be disseminated. This requires considerable amount of organised efforts to mobilise and coordinate inputs and services provided by a number of individuals and organisations. Moreover it becomes more complex as planning and implementation of stove projects cannot be subjected to orthodox management practices which is inevitable since social, cultural and traditional practices have to be considered.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Short term

- To increase the availability of firewood by helping to use firewood more efficiently, thus reducing pressure on existing resources.
- To create awareness of the need for conservation and effects of deforestation.
- To be self reliant in energy.

Medium Term

- To develop a built in mechanism in the village infrastructure for a self sustaining programme on fuelwood efficient stoves dissemination.

Long Term

- To minimise deforestation and its all effects.

Because of the multitude of problems that would be created and magnitude of the consequences that would follow, there is a grave urgency for immediate action to avoid a probable fuelwood shortage.

The following are possible solutions to an impending fuelwood crisis;

- establishment of fuelwood plantation.

- use of alternative fuels
- conservation of firewood.

The first option is an essential long term approach which requires large investments and large areas of land and also takes a long time to provide the results.

The second option is beyond the means of ordinary man since kerosine, gas and electricity which are the main alternatives are either too expensive or not accessible to majority of the rural population. Use of bio gas and solar energy are possibilities but initial investments are high and the technology available is not fully developed yet for wide-spread dissemination.

The third option is essentially a short term solution, the benefits of which would be felt immediately.

While long term solutions are necessary, the need to use available firewood resources efficiently and sparingly cannot be overlooked. Apparently the open hearth which is the most widely used means of cooking is very wasteful of energy. If a more efficient stove could be used instead of the traditional open hearth, considerable quantity of firewood could be saved thus increasing the availability.

This would eventually help to mitigate the pressure on existing fuelwood resources.

Moreover use of efficient stoves would assist the rural masses to manage within the available resources in the event of a shortfall in supply without drastically disturbing the normal living patterns or reducing the quality of life.

BENEFITS FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROJECT

Individual Benefits

- Less money spent on firewood.

(Continued on page 28)

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Presidential Commission on Air Lanka

2.2.4 The financial expertise made available to Air Lanka through Dr. W. M. Tillakaratne Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr. D. C. Wijesekera, a very senior Chartered Accountant and who was at one time the President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Sri Lanka, was among the very best that could have been chosen. Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe was, if not the most experienced of Government administrators, certainly one of the most senior public servants. At the time of his appointment he held the rank of Secretary to the Cabinet. Mr. A. N. U. Jayawardena, a lawyer, and a director of many leading companies in Sri Lanka, was another valuable member of the Board. These four very able persons were appointed by the Government to assist Capt. S. R. Wikremanayake in building Air Lanka into a prestigious operation.

Moreover, it is our view that the Government spared no efforts to help these persons in building up a viable national airline.

2.2.5 It is clear to us from the manner in which the Government chose the Board of Directors that it expected exemplary conduct from them. In this context, we are sad to bring to Your Excellency's notice that this potential for sound administration and good management has not been achieved. In fact, from our findings it appears that the Directors in conducting the affairs of Air Lanka have subordinated the development of the Company to their own individual private gain.

2.2.6 In a normal Public Company, it is the responsibility of the Board of Directors to conduct the affairs of the Company towards the maximisation of profitability while being accountable to its shareholders. The Board of Directors are accountable to the share-

holders for the Company's activities, the way in which they guide the Company's operations and how these actions affect its profitability. If the conduct of the Board of Directors is found wanting with respect to the Company's performance and especially its profitability, the shareholders have the power to discipline and even remove individuals or the entire Board of Directors from the control of Company through the normal instrument of the Annual General Meeting. Moreover, at Extraordinary General Meetings, which can be summoned by a quorum of shareholders as outlined in the Articles of the Company, the activities of the Board of Directors can be kept under constant review to ensure the Company's profitability. We find that the absence of the mechanisms for exercising this essential element of control in the case of Air Lanka led to the situation where the Board of Directors enjoyed unfettered power detrimental to the overall progress of the Company.

2.2.7 The two State Banks, the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank, were also shareholders but no or very little control appears to have been exercised by all these parties on the Board of Directors. The possible reasons for this deficiency will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

2.2.8 A great deal has been said by the four Directors of the Board of Air Lanka and its former Chairman both before and outside the Commission that the Government provided it with inadequate capital resources at the start and as a consequence of this constraint the Company had to resort to borrowings and that during the particular time-frame under reference the rates of interest on capital were at high levels both locally and internationally. We wish to draw Your Excellency's attention

to the fact that this Company was granted GCEC status and in the light of this we find it inconceivable that no attempt was made by the Company to make use of one of the fundamental concessions awarded to a Company under the GCEC's aegis in that they have an unhindered right to issue and transfer shares both in and outside Sri Lanka. This option was available to Air Lanka right from the start of its operations. Why such a facility should have been ignored, especially in the early years when there was a great need for infusions of capital to build up its fixed assets base for purchase of aircraft etc., and no recourse was made to either the local or international capital markets, is beyond our understanding. Moreover, during the initial years, when Air Lanka was associated with the highly successful Singapore Airlines, Air Lanka would have been an attractive proposition for investors to consider capital participation in its development. We find no mention of efforts made by the Company to make use of this provision, and in the light of actions that have happened subsequently, the reasons reflect very poorly on the competence and integrity of its Board of Directors. The conclusion that we may draw is that the Board of Directors considered the involvement of additional shareholders to have been inimical to the development of their own private interests.

2.2.9 As we have stated earlier, the major shareholder in Air Lanka was the Government of Sri Lanka. It is our considered view that the presence of the Secretary to the Treasury, Dr. W. M. Tillakaratne, and the Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe on Air Lanka's Board of Directors con-

(Continued on page 25)

Sexual Politics and Ideology in “Dinanno Saha Paradinno”

Jayadeva Uyangoda

This essay is a political reading of the telefilm *DINANNO SAHA PARADINNO* (Winners and losers) telecast on June 10 on Rupavahini. It intends to deconstruct the film in order to unearth its ideological underpinnings and arguments. My main thesis is that the film presents an essentially male-centered critique of women and that it reproduces certain prejudices maintained by Third World expatriates in the West against their own kind. I will treat the male ideology and expatriate prejudices as constituting the political essence of the film.

DINANNO SAHA PARADINNO is the second part of the series *RATAGIYA ATHTHO* (The Expatriates). The ninety minute-long film is scripted, directed and edited by G. D. L. Perera who made a couple of interesting films in the 1960s. Perera is an expatriate living in England. So are most of the cast in this film. This, perhaps, makes this film an introspective venture on the part of a group of Sri Lankans living in a distant and bigger island.

To begin with *DINANNO* is a skilfully crafted piece of visual art. The script, in terms of the technique of the medium, is well-written and nicely executed through fine cinematography. Indeed, the young teledrama makers of Sri Lanka — the latest breed of professional artists to come to our midst — have a lot to learn from this film particularly as to how to make their products technically sound and just watchable. Hence the need to subject this film to critical and serious scrutiny.

However, visual beauty alone does not make a work of art aesthetically perfect. For as Fredric Jameson has pointed out,

aesthetics is a specific mode of representation of social objects, situated in an ideologically-colored terrain of human and social relations. The processing and presentation of these relations within a given medium of representation — in this case a visual art — may, in turn, enunciate networks of social, moral and political beliefs, judgements and standards. In short, there is always an epistemology, an ideology and a world-view hovering over any work of artistic representation.

When one examines *RATAGIYA ATHTHO* from this perspective, one may notice a neatly-formed package of ideologies within which the entire film is enveloped.

The central argument in the film appears to center on the partial dissolution of a Sri Lankan expatriate family living in London. Ari, the husband, is a college student who, while studying, works to support his wife and baby daughter. Typical of many Third World expatriates in the West, the family lives in a small apartment and they don't seem to have integrated with any other ethnic groups. Ruby, the young wife, is not employed. She stays home looking after the baby daughter and doing the household chores. Ruby is not happy with the monotonous life which is totally confined to the walls of a small apartment. She yearns for happiness and joy of life which has to come from a life outside the household. But her complaints are not heeded favourably by the husband, who, again typical of many a Third World expatriates, prefers to forgo happiness today for a better tomorrow. This is not acceptable to Ruby, since according to her, one can enjoy life only so long as one stays young. Ari, mean-

while, decides to bring down his mother from Sri Lanka to help Ruby in looking after the child. This, not surprisingly, leads to another level of household conflict — between the mother-in-law daughter-in-law. Meanwhile, Ari, on Ruby's insistence, finds a job for her in a hotel as a cleaning hand. Then comes a crucial turning point in Ruby's life as well as in the family. She is attracted to an Englishman who stays in the hotel and admires her work as a room attendant. In response to a brief flirtation by the man, and after a not so long debate with herself, Ruby decides to accept the invitation by the man to go and stay with him in his country residence. Thus, Ruby abandons her husband, daughter and the entire family to pursue her newly-charted goal of happiness. Now abandoned by his wife, Ari sorts out his own priorities. He flies back to Sri Lanka along with his mother and daughter. After a while Ruby comes back, disillusioned with her new love. But, alas, she is too late. There is no family, no husband to come back to. She is lost in a lonely world of her own making.

This briefly is an outline of the story of *DINANNO SAHA PARADINNO* from the point of view of the two central characters of the film.

The strikingly male-centered world-view of this film needs to be recognized in order to understand the sexual politics and ideology enunciated in it. In a way, the partial disintegration of the family, as depicted in this film, takes place due to the strains that are not unusual among low income-earning migrants living in the West. Therefore, the conflict between Ari and Ruby in the film has a certain degree of authenti-

city. Yet, this 'authenticity' as represented in the film, is connected to the central argument which seeks to place the burden of the partial dissolution of the family entirely on the young wife. Consider the assumptions on which the husband-wife conflict is enacted. Ari is a young student who works hard and studies at the same time in the belief that suffering today will be compensated by a better and happier tomorrow. Indeed, he wins the sympathy of the uninitiated viewer. Ruby, on the other hand, is not a character created to enjoy such sympathies. Hers is a 'bitchy' one — the exact term used by a viewer who really got impatient with this young house-wife — which reminds us of a similar character in one of last years Hollywood movies, **RETURN TO BOUNTIFUL**. Of course, there may be 'doggy' and 'bitchy' characters among men and women, depending on one's own value judgements. However, the reason why the Sri Lankan audience would generally react to Ruby in such a harsh way is not just the 'unacceptability' of her behaviour, but the ideological package which mediates the interaction between Ruby's character and the viewer. In other words, Ruby's behaviour, sharply contrasted by Ari's character which a moralistic audience can easily identify with, is produced within an ideological realm, to be reacted to by an ideologically motivated audience. The centerpiece of this ideology is the argument that once a woman begins to enjoy 'freedom' outside the confines of the nuclear family, she will certainly 'misuse' that freedom to the detriment of the family itself.

Let us now examine the sequence of events that brings Ruby to the central focus of the drama. Ruby, unhappy with her monotonous day to day life, begins to complain about her boredom. She wants to find a job. The ensuing debate between Ruby and Ari can be seen as carefully constructed in order to present the image of a woman who is selfish, materialistic and insensitive to all her husband's efforts to build a

better future. This 'self-centeredness' of her character, meanwhile, is reinforced through another dimension—sexuality. Ruby's angry outbursts against her husband are, to a great degree, due to her being deprived of adequate sexual satisfaction. Tension between spouses over matters sexual are common under the circumstances of monogamous marriage. However, the sexuality of Ruby, as depicted in the film, ought to be viewed within the ideological ambience of patriarchal prejudices against female sexuality.

Again, the contrast between the husband and the wife, now in terms of the erotic, is portrayed in a strikingly moralistic perspective. Ari appears to have no time or energy or desire for that matter, to meet the sexual demands of his wife, because, as we are told, his body and mind are constantly preoccupied with his work, his studies and his worries over the familial problems. Thus Ari's character demands, and surely receives, the understanding and the sympathy of many a viewer of the film. In contrast, Ruby, the idle young wife, has enough time to indulge her erotic imagination. In two sharply pointed scenes, the viewer is introduced to this world of Ruby's erotic fantasy. One is the disco dance which she watches with the feeling that she is deprived of sensual pleasures. The other is a rather hackneyed scene in which Ruby is shown in bed, overwhelmed by sexual desire but unable to satisfy it because her male counterpart is just not there. Ari's absence in this instance is not an accident. He is at his workplace, forgoing even his sexual pleasures for the sake of the well-being of his family. On another occasion relating to the same issue of the erotic, Ruby's character is projected as one of an unmitigated seeker of the pleasure principle. In this particular scene — which, by the way, is quite effective in marshalling the viewer's moralistic antipathy towards Ruby — Ari tries to convince his wife of the reasons why the family has to put off the pleasures and luxuries of today

for the sake of a better future. Ruby's angry response to her husband reveals more of male prejudice against female sexuality than any new insight into human nature: "I want to enjoy my life when I am young. What is there left in one's life when one is no longer young".

(To be continued)

Presidential. . .

(Continued from page 23)

strained and inhibited the scrutiny of profitability and accountability that would normally have been effected on behalf of the major shareholder, the Government of Sri Lanka, by its Treasury and other officials. In the circumstances that prevailed, the Treasury officials were reluctant to question requests for Government money by Air Lanka, the use to which such funds were put, and the returns which Air Lanka were to give the Government of Sri Lanka for the monies put in. Their role was limited to paying out funds requested by the Company by way of additions to share capital and interest free loans.

2.2.10 We also find it difficult to understand why the two State Banks who had a total share capital of a sum of Rs. 30 million in Air Lanka were quiescent regarding the manner in which their money was made use of by the Board of Directors. Thus the premier financial institutions of the country have also been passive partners in an exercise which the Government expected a great deal from and spent a considerable amount of resources on.

2.2.11 Not only did the presence of the two senior government officials on the Air Lanka Board tend to inhibit the normal government scrutiny that could have been carried out on the use of Government funds by Air Lanka, their actions at time also positively contributed to enhance the authoritarian attitude of Air Lanka towards some regulatory agencies of the State.

(To be continued)



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The Name of the Rose

A Discussion of the Novel & the Film

Radhika Coomaraswamy

Arbitrariness

Finally, in reference to the Novel many people wondered what the title *The Name of the Rose* had to do with the content of the novel. Many dissertations have even been written on the subject. But, Eco in a recent interview confessed that it was a title of a pop song he liked and had nothing to do with the substance of the text. Eco like many modern philosophers accepts human arbitrariness and human whim as an important part of personality and of social life. In the past, and perhaps even in Sri Lanka, we love theories of long term human planning, of conspiracy theories, that people always act because they have deliberate motives and hidden plans, that man is by nature deceptive etc. Eco believes that, though one cannot deny historical patterns it would be folly to overlook the arbitrary, the adhoc and the fanciful in human history. Some aspects of arbitrariness, especially political arbitrariness, lead to Nero or Idi Amin type leaderships. But human individuality and social life are also celebrations of creative arbitrariness, born of human will and human dreams.

The Film

Anthony Burgess, in reviewing the novel the *Name of the Rose* said in ecstasy "I rejoice and the rest of the literate world will rejoice . . ." The book was widely accepted as "the most intelligent and at the same time the most amusing book in years" (*Der Spiegel*). But, I must admit that the same reviews did not accompany the opening of the film. Though Sean Connery received an award recently for his performance as Monk William of Baskerville, the film *The Name of the Rose* has been rejected

in western intellectual circles as a "crudity", a reductionist film which had not captured the depth and diversity of Eco's vision. Though the joint French-Italian-British production, directed by Jean Jacques Annaud, is a box office success, it has been reviled by intellectuals and film critics as a bastardised version of the novel. Where then did Annaud go wrong ?

The Limitations of Visual Themes

In the book *The Name of the Rose*, as I outlined earlier, there were many themes lying side by side and at various levels. Many of them were relevant to the ongoing philosophical debates in literati circles. They included discussion of signs, of contradictions, of discourse of base and superstructure and of Dostoevsky. And yet many of these themes are really only conducive to a written medium. They are esoteric and often convoluted. They are distant and erudite not aimed at the average reader. One cannot visualise in images the philosophical debates within the schools of semiotics, structuralism or deconstruction. If one were to use the film medium, one can only portray them with some element of reductionism, some crude simplification which may sometimes resemble caricature.

Jean Jacques Annaud I think is very conscious of these limitations. He therefore chooses only a few themes from the novel for portrayal. His film is an open attack on the Inquisition, on organised religion, and fanaticism. It is a celebration of human innocence and what he sees as genuine, spirituality. He portrays the poverty and degradation of the common man and juxtaposes this reality to the petty, intense discourse and debates of priestly

intellectuals. This is done very effectively throughout the film. His final scenes attempts to evoke "the genuine spirituality" of the poor and the ignorant using the symbol of the illiterate peasant girl. In other words while Eco's novel has a detached view of social life, Annaud's celebrates heresy. While Eco sees orthodoxy and heresy as part of a dialectical process of history, Annaud takes a definite point of view and makes a deliberate political choice. He is clearly on the side of the heretical forces of society the outcasts, the excluded and the marginal — those who challenge the corruption and hypocrisy of the establishment, armed only with the virtue of poverty.

Activism

As a result of this approach, the film is a fundamentally different experience to the book. It is an activist, rebellious statement. The most important figure as she emerges in the film is the peasant girl. She is miraculously saved at the end from the stake and as she stares at the departing Adso, she looks like the symbol of the Virgin Mary, not the Mary of the plush cathedrals, but Mary who gave birth to her son in a simple stable in Bethlehem. In that sense Annaud powerfully reinforces the heretical myths of Christianity a protest against established traditions, against political tyranny and intellectual sophistry. His then is a different message, though born of the same plotline as the novel *The Name of the Rose*. And the cinema is of course the perfect medium for these themes. The tortures of the Inquisition, the moral hypocrisy of the priests, the dire poverty of the peasants and the hardship of life in the fourteenth century are vividly and powerfully reconstructed. Annaud is perhaps a populist or an anarchist and of course the film medium loves the romanticism inherent in both these strains of human thought. The western intellectual world rejected Annaud's film because the very special quality of Eco's semiotics, his detached

and Hegelian view of history is replaced in the film by an activist approach celebrating poverty and innocence.

I agree with the critics that the film does not do justice to the book. But, to approach films in this manner is perhaps to deny yourself another forceful experience. And infact, despite, the differences from the book, I enormously enjoyed the acting, especially that of Sean Connery, as well as the powerful scenes born of strong convictions.

(To be continued)

Lanka's . . .

(Continued from page 14)

* the removal of restrictions placed on workers who have been reinstated

* the opening of trade union offices sealed by government

* stop student repression

* the reopening of all universities and the restoration of university autonomy

* an all round increase in wages

* a reduction in the prices of essential food items

Mr. Panditha said they were also calling for a democratic political settlement to the ethnic conflict and an end to the war in the north and east.

National. . .

(Continued from page 21)

- Reduces the burden on rural women and time in collecting, transporting and chopping firewood.
- Reduces the time required for cooking.
- Time saved can be utilised for other useful activities.
- Improves hygienic conditions in the kitchen and reduces incidence of eye, skin and

respiratory diseases due to excessive smoke in the kitchen.

- Safety from open fires.
- Convenience in cooking.
- Encourage the use of boiled water, and improve hygienic conditions in rural areas.

Total individual financial benefits of Rs 3 million for 4 years.

Community Benefits

- Creates job opportunities for stove builders.
- Provide impetus to an otherwise dying traditional pottery industry.
- Provides additional income to persons engaged in pottery industry.
- Contributes to improve the quality of life of the community.

National Benefits

- Reduces deforestation and its consequences such as soil erosion, silting of reservoirs, water ways, flash floods etc.
- Reduces the need for large investments and land areas required for fuelwood plantations.
- Saves 70,000 tons of firewood which is sufficient to provide the fuelwood requirements for 36,000 additional households every year.
- Reduces the rate of increase of fuelwood prices.

Total economic benefit to the country in 4 years

Rs. 48 million

Saving 9000 tons of firewood is equivalent to a fuelwood plantation of 900 Ha which would cost

Rs. 9 million

Conclusion

This project has both direct and indirect benefits at different levels. The direct benefits could be analysed in terms of fuelwood saving. The indirect benefits such as time saving, convenient cooking,

improvement of environmental conditions, rural living standards etc. cannot be exactly quantified. Therefore, an economic analysis of the total project will be some what difficult as the project is mainly based on mobilising human resources with a self-reliant approach.

The present consumption of fuelwood per year is approximately 8.5 million tons including agricultural wastes and rubber wood. This will be increased to 10.0 million tonnes by 1990 with the present rate of household and population growth. However, with the introduction of fuelwood saving stoves and the increase of end-use efficiency in fuelwood, the consumption will remain static or rather low. This situation will result in providing ample stock of fuelwood for small rural industries and Agro-based Industries.

LETTER

LEONARD WOOLF

While it was heartening to see your journal and others publish Leonard Woolf's memorandum to the Labour Party Conference of 1938 and the introductory note on it by Jehan Perera and Frederick Spotts, I thought this story may amuse your readers and perhaps reveal Woolf's anti-imperialism in unabashed language!

In William Plomer's collection of scattered pieces *ELECTRIC DELIGHTS* (1987) he recalls staying as Woolf's guest at his home in Sussex in June 1961. (Woolf being then eighty). There was in the corner of his garden a stone Victorian bust "of a serious-looking man". On being asked by Plomer as to who it was, Woolf replied it was James Stephen, a redoubtable 19th century Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He paused and then said rather scornfully: 'He looks it, doesn't he? I invariably use it to pumpshop on'!

Ian Goonetillake

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