

● S.L.F.P., INDIA and U.N.P. Non-alignment Follies ●

— Anura Bandaranaike

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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— *Mervyn de Silva*

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Delhi's Strategic Aims — Lt. Gen. Sundarji speaks

— *Dilip Bobb*

Research, Human Rights — Susantha vs. the Think Tanks

Tilak Gunawardhana reviews “VIRAGAYA”

Sonali Deraniyagala on Private Sector and Ethnic Issue

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THE LEBANON CONNECTION

Has the C.I.D. stumbled onto a Lebanon connection or our house-maids returning from war-torn Lebanon bringing back the most readily available item in the Beirut market-place — an A. K. 47? In the local market it can make the 'ayah' as much money perhaps as her legitimate savings from years of drudgery and high risk living. Or is there something more sinister? Could the house-maids have contacts with what the CID loosely describe as 'Southern subversives'? And why not? Lebanon was the only place, other than Tamilnadu, where Tamil separatist rebels received their training and their weapons.

The ISLAND reported that after the first arrest of a woman in Dematagoda, who had as unaccompanied baggage a machine-gun, four pistols and 120 rounds of ammunition, the C.I.D.'s trail had led to other women, all Sinhalese, in places as far removed as Ambalangoda and Matale — both towns which have witnessed an eruption of politically-motivated violence. This still does not mean that the business is anything more than private enterprise. What is worth noting though is that if the law of supply and demand is now in operation, Sri Lanka "terrorism" has reached a level where it could attract the attention of the international arms trade. The logic of militarisation embraces both the State and its assorted enemies, and the latter seek out supply sources, and these too can be as sundry as the State, and equally mercenary and/or political.

CABINET CHANGES

President J R has made some cabinet changes but none of them have been spectacular. However, political circles and the press have persisted in speculating about major changes. Certainly, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, now abroad for medical reasons, will return to his old post of Trade and

Shipping, once the portfolio of National Security, a post-83 addition is dropped. He will probably remain in the 'Security set-up' as Deputy Minister of Defence. This would only mean a new post for Mr. Amarasiri. None of this makes the "re-shuffle" a major event. What then is the press so excited about?

MULTI-ETHNIC ARMY

The Indian High Commission didn't miss the opportunity to "clarify a frontpage report in the state-owned Daily News. It was headlined "BID TO HOLD A DELICATE ETHNIC BALANCE TWO MUSLIM BRIGADES FOR EAST".

The Indian army, it stated "categorically", is NOT based on communal or religious lines and is an integrated secular force with all regiments having people from all communities and religions".

Since the preamble to the Accord says that Sri Lanka like India is a multi-ethnic society, I.H.C. seems to have put the needle into the ribs of more than the government's spokesman.

TRENDS
+
LETTERS

RATIONAL ACCOUNT

I am enclosing a short piece for publication in Lanka Guardian. I hope the article will measure up to the standards you maintain. The Lanka Guardian is the only journal on which I depend for a rational account of the goings-on in our country. I have been reading your journal for over six years.

Lalith Edirisinha

Rostaq
Oman

PENSIONERS

According to a news item which appeared in the morning English Daily News papers, a few weeks ago, the Hon. Minister of Finance had kindly directed the Governor of the Central Bank and State Banks to grant salary increases to all the employees, consequent to the Public Service Pay increase announced in the Budget.

(Continued on page 4)

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Best Christmas Wishes

to

All Your Readers

From

A Well-wisher

and a

Regular Reader

SRI LANKA'S ENDLESS WARS — THE EAST IS RED

Mervyn de Silva

"Friction is the only concept that more or less corresponds to the factors that distinguish real war from war on paper. . . . Countless minor incidents — the kinds you never foresee really — combine to lower the general level of performance. . . ."

(Clausewitz ON WAR)

With only Prabhakaran's ego and fanatical devotion to the elusive "Eelam" preventing the LTTE from accepting the stark reality that it can never recapture the now 'pacified' Jaffna peninsula, the focus of local and foreign attention has certainly shifted to political developments in the South. Urban terrorism is the preoccupation of the police, especially after the spectacular ambush and assassination, in true Latin American style, of Superintendent Terence Perera, head of the recently formed Counter-Subversion Dept. (CSD).

Terrorism, in city and countryside with well-defined, pre-selected individual targets — UNP politicians and members of local bodies, party workers and trade union officials — is the government's main anxiety, to which it has found an instant answer in the so-called "Green Tigers", party bodyguards or vigilantes.

A more long-term security threat and concern is the politically unsettled deep South where trends indicate a potential low-intensity war, with some marks of a future insurgency. The prevailing climate of fear in that area may allow for a day-night urban centre-rural hinterland 'dual control' relationship between the administration and the militant.

Yet, it was the eastern sector that suddenly seized our attention the past fortnight. Not that it took us by surprise. Every student of our politico-military conflict has recognised that the ethnic composition in an east, regarded by Tamil advocates of the 'traditional homeland' thesis as part of that geographic-cultural entity and included in the Accord as a province which will be linked to the North for a one-year trial period, is the most complex and bitterly contested theatre of the conflict. No community is a majority; the Muslims are the critically important 'second' largest group, the lands to be opened and settled under the Mahaveli project lie there, and strategically located Trinco connects the two provinces, awaiting merger. The Muslims are Tamil-speaking but the urge to assert their own identity at a time when the other communities, Sinhalese and Tamil, are furiously re-asserting theirs, seems to prevail over the traditional linguistic attachment.

When the 'Tigers' massacred Sinhalese settlers, Sinhalese spokesmen in Trinco and Opposition politicians in Colombo, accused the IPKF of 'favouring' the Tamils in the Trinco district. The Ottamavadi incident where some 20 to 25 civilians, mostly Muslims were killed by the IPKF brought

about a new situation to make the Muslim the key factor. The IPKF pleaded 'caught in the crossfire' a professional explanation to which Sri Lankans are so accustomed that it only invited a now predictable scepticism. What is far more likely is that the LTTE is infiltrating Muslim villages and through ambush (as at Ottamavadi) hit-and-run raids and other provocative actions is drawing retaliatory IPKF fire onto Muslim civilians, thus setting off a train of reactions, all of which can be accommodated under the Clausewitzian rubric of 'friction'.

The government came under tremendous pressure from its own Muslim ministers and Muslim people as well as the opposition when reports reached Colombo that the IPKF had killed twenty five Muslim villagers and caused extensive damage in Ottamavadi, a Muslim village, north of Batticaloa. The opposition leader Mr. Anura Bandaranaike accused the IPKF of going on a rampage after a fierce battle with the Tamil 'Tigers', which claimed nine Indian casualties, including a Major.

Muslim opinion was inflamed by another report, later found to be false, that a mosque had been shelled and sacked. Sixteen passengers, mostly Muslims, had been massacred when a bus was ambushed at Valachcheni by "men in uniform". While government Muslim M.P.'s from the province protested angrily in Parliament, Ministers Mr. Mohammed, Mr. Shaul Hameed met President Jayewardene to alert him on "the highly emotional and explosive situation in the east.

Foreign Minister Hameed, alive to possible international reper-

cussions, was asked by President Jayewardene to act quickly to defuse mounting tensions. Local Muslim groups were planning to mobilise Muslim opinion abroad through the World Islamic Congress, and Pakistan in particular. Before the July India-Sri Lanka peace accord, Pakistan played a key role in Sri Lanka's counter-insurgency operation, training batches of servicemen and paramilitary personnel. By the "exchange of letters" which accompanied the accord, Sri Lanka agreed to consult India on the use of 'foreign military and intelligence advisers,' a pointed reference to Pakistan, Israel and a U.K. firm run by former SAS officers. The Indian press which claimed that a Pakistani Brigadier-General, a counter-insurgency expert was responsible for drawing up plans for the last Sri Lankan army offensive "Operation Liberation") in the north, has since then accused Pakistan and Israel of trying to "sabotage" the work of the IPKF. Some papers and

the Indian 'Left' parties speak of Israeli collusion and a "covert operation" which includes re-arming the intransigent "Tigers" through a Singapore-based firm, closely linked to known 'Tiger' sympathisers abroad. Officials in Colombo, citing IPKF sources, said the "Tigers" used "gleaming new weapons" in the battle at Ottamavadi.

While Foreign Minister Hameed was talking to Indian diplomats, Muslims and Defence Ministry officials, a top-level conference in Delhi mapped out a new strategy for the IPKF. According to Indian sources, present at this "strategy session" were Defence Minister Pant, Army Chief, Lt. General Sundarji, Minister of State for External Affairs, Natwar Singh and the Indian High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Dixit. The plan involved raising Indian troop strength from two divisions to three-and-half and tightening control of the North before launching a more concentrated

drive against the LTTE in the East. This may blunt the effectiveness of present 'Tiger' tactics but it does not take into account an imponderable, the cooperation of Sri Lankan Security Forces.

LETTERS...

(Continued from page 1)

In accordance with the Minister's directive the Governor of the Central Bank has summoned the Chairmen of all State Bank to discuss a salary increase for all employees.

We hope that they will on humanitarian grounds also consider the plight of the thousands of State Bank Pensioners and adjust their pensions too. Otherwise we who gave our loyal service to the State Bank, will be left again in the lurch.

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J. V. P — Can elections defuse tensions?

Is elections the answer to the general threat of political violence and the specific challenge of the JVP? The JVP itself has called for a general election in its latest leaflet, reported the *Sunday Times*.

But the official position of the UNP, stated and re-stated by President JR, remains firm. Renounce violence, surrender arms, and the proscription will be removed. Other UNP stalwarts like the Prime Minister and Finance Minister de Mel have publicly called for a different approach. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader has also recommended the lifting of the ban on the JVP.

When President JR was asked about the P.M.'s statements his reply was a cryptic "He must be having more information"!

Hit the JVP hard is the UNP line. Thus, the deployment of more troops in the deep South —

both police and STF, together with the regular army. And there's the new phenomenon of course of the so-called "Green Tigers" or vigilantes, for the special protection of UNP MP's and other party bosses, especially in the "affected areas".

On elections, the UNP seems to have been caught in several minds. The UNP, the oldest party now in parliament, knows the electoral game better than most. It has been in opposition on three occasions — 1956-60, 60-65, and 1970-77, the last a particularly educative experience for a party that had not been known for extra-parliamentary agitation. The UNP, under its new leader, JR, was radically transformed to meet the challenge of a government which had in 1972, used a constitutional device (the 1972 constitution Assembly) to lengthen its term by 2 years. As the

United Front began to lose popularity, and policy and personality differences emerged, the UNP sensed the frustration of the electorate and its slow burning anger. It advanced into extra-parliamentary activism — starting almost immediately after party President Dudley Senanayake's death. The issue was the take-over of Lake House.

The crack-up of the U. F., with the LSSP's exit, saw the beginning of the SLFP's end. Instead of going to the polls, the SLFP lingered on. It was reduced to 30% and thanks to British first-past-the-post system, a pitiful 8 seats — precisely the number the UNP won when S.W.R.D.'s SLFP-led alliance swept the polls in 1956.

What should the UNP do to de-fuse the mounting tensions? Even in army-dominated Asian countries like neighbouring Pakistan and Bangladesh, the growing Opposition's battle-cry is elections. So it was with the Philippines, and soon with South Korea, hardly societies accustomed to popular democratic processes like Sri Lanka.

Yet, the UNP is trapped in a classic dilemma. At first, it wanted to have a by-election at Homagama, the seat rendered vacant by the resignation of Agriculture Minister, Gamini Jayasuriya, who is still a member of the party. His stand on the Peace Accord has made him a hero with anti-UNP forces. So much so Mrs. Bandaranaike is offering not to field a SLFP candidate if he contests as an Independent.

The UNP has now taken the bold step. If it is defeated at Homagama by a narrow margin, the psychological impact will not be serious. The damage is 'manageable'. But if it is soundly beaten, then it may be such a morale-boosting victory for the Opposition that

J. V. P. 'way to peace'

In order to restore peace in Sri Lanka the government should hold an immediate parliamentary general election and a Presidential election. This is advocated by the JVP Central Committee in a leaflet issued recently.

The Opposition the JVP leadership says, should ask the people to return them to parliament with a two-thirds majority in the event of a general election being held. With a two-thirds majority the new government then assuming office can repeal the Provincial Councils Act. This step is necessary for the return of peace, the leaflet states.

The conditions required for the return of peace and the restoration of normalcy, as set out by the JVP Central Committee, are as

follows: The Indian troops should leave Sri Lanka; the Indo-Lanka peace accord between President Jayewardene and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi should be abrogated; the Provincial Councils law which in their view betrays the interests of the majority and creates further division among the people should be nullified; the undemocratic provisions that curtail human and political rights should be removed from the Constitution; Tamil Eelam terrorism should be defeated; state terrorism must be halted; interference by India and the major powers in Sri Lanka's internal affairs should be stopped; complete democracy, people's sovereignty and the nation's territorial integrity must be restored.

The J. V. P has also asked for opposition boycott of Provincial Council polls.

an emboldened anti-UNP working alliance could emerge that would force the government into holding a general election. In any case, it will be a massive psychological blow, that will send today's 'neutral' and 'floating vote' rushing into the arms of the SLFP and its allies. To some extent, a far-seeing JR has anticipated the traditional swing against the incumbent and changed the electoral system. P. R. has been installed. But the uncertainty and confusion in the UNP camp can be seen in the way the JNP leadership and parliamentary group are still feverishly debating the mechanics of P. R. What has so far transpired, if press reports of top-level discussions can be trusted, is a system that may make Sri Lanka P. R. one of the most maddeningly intricate voting devices in the world.

Presidential election by Dec. 1988

A Presidential election is to be held in Sri Lanka within a year.

"WEEKEND" learns that the question now receiving the attention of the government is whether a general election should precede it, or follow it.

The legislation needed to conduct the proposed Provincial Council elections is likely to be debated in Parliament on December 29 and 30, and government hopes to hold the elections before March 1988, official sources said.

Government trade union sources said a Presidential election would definitely be held by December next year, and they had already received directions to prepare for them.

President Jayewardene has gone on record that he will not contest the next Presidential election. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has decided to nominate its leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike for the elections.

— Sun

Cult of violence: GMOA

The GMOA views with grave concern the 'cult of violence' spreading over our country. This trend has almost reached peak level with the recent attack on the editor of 'Divaina' leave alone the cold-blooded murders so rampant these days.

We also note with alarm the number of killings of ordinary citizens, burning of newspaper offices like the 'Aththa', burning of delivery vans and the use of various intermediary tactics directed at negating the freedom of the Press and the rights of individuals to hold opposing and varying views on issues affecting the country.

As an organisation which has on many occasions engaged in highly controversial issues and succeeded in resolving many of them, the GMOA regard the freedom of the Press and the

freedom of conscience of an individual as 'life-blood' of a civilised society. Whether it was levelled against or in favour of us we have always respected the free thinking of the journalistic tradition in this country. We never feared the press but endeavoured to engage in a constructive and critical dialogue on issues raised by them. We have been immensely strengthened by the Press in our just struggles during the recent past. As an organisation, we therefore protest against those who are responsible for unleashing this 'cult of violence' in our country, which is brutalising our society and destroying it.

We call upon all concerned to identify this process and factors which has given rise to this situation and open up the democratic process which has been completely undermined in a subtle way.

To the unknown civilian

*You are one of a thousand perhaps, lost
A mere unlamented, unsung casualty,
Or not even that, not being a very perceptible quantity
In anybody's strategic calculations.
You were not known to be particularly brave,
Nor frightfully timid, but you were there
Facing the armed, unarmed and unprepared
With others, besides your wife and children
In some remote arid agricultural outpost
Where with nightfall only the humming mosquito
Triggered your feeble belligerent instincts.
You were almost another Silindu*
But not quite so entwined in the jungle labyrinth.
You were on the periphery of the social wilderness
Without any worthwhile civilizing links, or a window
To those cosmopolitan worlds living without fear
Protected by container loads of military gear
You were abandoned, and had to be, unlike them,
As we could not afford the funds for your safety
You being so marginal, uninspiring, and dispensable.*

— Tilak G.

(Note: *Silindu in Leonard Woolf's 'Village in the Jungle'.)

US Senate rebuffs Rajiv. . . ?

By imposing new conditions on the transfer of US high-tech to India, the U.S. Senate has equated the Indian and Pakistani nuclear programs and thus put paid to the high hopes expressed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on his return from the US on Oct. 23. He spoke then of a "clear perception" in the U.S. of India's resolve to remain strictly non-aligned, maintain balanced relations with the US and USSR, and not to start a mini-nuclear arms race in South Asia.

Now, Opposition MP's have mocked his 'euphoric utterances' about improved Indo-US understanding and Washington's "tilt to India". The Senate has removed the waiver on the 4 billion dollar arms aid package to Pakistan, in recognition of Pakistan's "essential" assistance to the US sponsored 'war' against neighbouring Afghanistan, and Pakistan's "quiet assistance" to the US in the Gulf war.

It is 'an insidious tendency' says a HINDU editorial while an Indian

cartoonist pictures Mr. Reagan inviting Rajiv to enjoy the pleasures of "nuclear disarmament talks" in exotic climes! (COVER)

There was an uproar in the Indian parliament when the news came of the Senate about-turn, with major Opposition parties joining the government in assailing the Senate move, and flaying Mr. Gandhi for his apparent naivete. By Dec. 16th the final US decision will be taken.

Rajiv angered by U. S. move

NEW DELHI

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has written to the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, to convey New Delhi's sharp reaction to the moves in the American Senate to apply impossible conditions for the transfer of high technology to India and to create problems for it in the matter of aid.

The letter touched off a flurry of behind-the-scene activities, leading to a statement by the U.S. embassy here that the President was "known to be very concerned over developments" in the Senate, hectic consultations between the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. John Gunther Dean, and Washington and his meeting with the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Natwar Singh, today.

The contents of the Prime Minister's letter are not known, however it is believed to have expressed shock and concern over the amendments to two existing laws by the Senate Appropriations Committee. These changes could be used to bar the supply of technical and scientific know-how to India unless it either agreed to subject its nuclear programme to international safeguards or sorted out the nuclear problems with Pakistan. Such suggestions have often emanated from Washington in the past but were firmly re-

jected by India. Additionally, the Senate Committee recommendations sought to bind the U.S. Government to oppose the grant of loans by the multilateral agencies — like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank — to India if its nuclear programme remained unsafeguarded.

Totally unacceptable

The letter was delivered to the U.S. Ambassador who called

on the Prime Minister last evening. The ambassador was told that a linkage between the transfer of U.S. technology and safeguards for India's nuclear programme was totally unacceptable — that it was a distortion of the perspective to equate the nuclear programmes of India and Pakistan, that the U.S. Administration needed to take into account the

(Continued on page 19)

Quid Pro Quo

The amendment that would restrict the transfer of high technology from the US to India under certain conditions has as yet cleared just one committee of the Senate. But because it represents an insidious tendency on the part of some sections of the US foreign policy making apparatus that has far reaching implications for Indo-US relations, it has been taken serious note of by New Delhi. The amendment seeks deliberately to tie the Pakistani and the India nuclear programmes together — with a suddenness that is quite out of the ordinary — and in case Pakistan agrees to halt its weapons programme but India does not abandon plutonium separation, the transfer of high technology to India would be barred. On the other hand, if India agrees to

halt plutonium separation but Pakistan does not stop its weapons programme, aid to Pakistan would be barred. Because the amendment would operate against India only in the unlikely case of Pakistan abandoning its quest for nuclear weapons and also because there is scope for the US Administration to get over the restriction through a Presidential waiver (or some other device) on the ground of national or strategic interests, the threat may be described as theoretical and remote. But the affront the latest development poses to the nation's independent stance is something that the people of India will find too difficult to miss. The US Senate committee, if it has its way, would put US diplomacy on a course that could place its relations with India in some jeopardy


(Hindu, editorial)

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JAFFNA

A Confused Populace

Uncertain times for the besieged peninsula

With the IPKF consolidating its hold in the Jaffna Peninsula, it has become difficult for journalists to report on the situation on the ground. The only way is to enter clandestinely, as **India Today's** Principal Correspondent ANITA PRATAP and Photographer SHYAM TEKWANI did last fortnight. What should have been a day's journey by road from Colombo, took six tension-ridden days.

They reached Vavuniya where they established contact with Dinesh, the local LTTE commander. After a great deal of persuasion, he agreed to take them to Jaffna. The first part of the journey through the jungles of Vavuniya was on a tractor trailer with an escort of seven armed LTTE men and in pouring rain. After five gruelling hours, they made camp for the night in a jungle hide-out.

Next morning they were transferred to a van. By dusk, they entered Killinochi, the periphery of the war zone. Walking over a mile in total darkness, they reached another LTTE hideout near Paranthan. The third morning it was back to a tractor to a 100 yards short of Elephant Pass, the sole gateway to the Jaffna Peninsula where they were left with two guides to complete the journey's most dangerous leg.

They entered the peninsula in broad daylight and for the next six hours waded through lagoons and coconut groves with the intention of establishing contact with the next LTTE commander. But the failure of the guides to do so was the first sign that the LTTE has communications problems. It was only late the next afternoon that contact was established and they reached Palaly. At Palaly, they were told to obtain bicycles to get to Chavakacheri. They were also provided with clothes similar to those worn by the local population. For about a kilometre, they had to pedal through a lane that had the IPKF on one side and the Sri Lankan Army on the other. On the fifth day, they ran into serious trouble. Turning into a lane, they ran straight into an IPKF patrol. Abandoning the bicycles, they ran blindly into a lagoon and swam for their lives with the IPKF in hot pursuit. Perhaps the only reason the patrol did not open fire was that it was the second day of cease-fire.

Having crossed the lagoon, they walked barefoot through swamps and paddy fields and reached a village. But next morning, the guides expressed their inability to take them to Jaffna as the IPKF was all around. But determined to get to Jaffna, they bought two used bicycles for Rs 2,500 each and started pedalling. The local disguise worked — they sailed through 18 IPKF checkpoints and reached Jaffna after a 15-km journey. The next day, they pedalled 30km through Jaffna town. Navatkuli, Chundikulam, Anathur, Ariyalai and Pesaiyoor. Finally, they abandoned the bicycles, and hitched a ride on a truck transporting onions from Jaffna to Colombo. PRATAP's report on the situation in the Jaffna Peninsula:

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) may have lost the battle of the Jaffna but the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) is far from winning the war. Overtly, the city is slowly returning to some semblance of normalcy. The frozen terror induced by Operation Pawan is thawing. The siege is loosening.

The first stirrings of normalcy can be seen in the vehicular movement — slow and staggered, but nevertheless there Schools, banks and shops have opened. The Jaffna Secretariat has started functioning. The market-places are getting busy. Fish and cigarettes can be seen in the stalls — food-grains are coming in, onions are going out.

But a month after the bloody battle drew to a close, the people of Jaffna are still confused about their attitude to the IPKF. Life is not problem now, but living is. Jaffna, which has never known curfew for more than three to four days even at the height of the Sri Lankan aggression, now has a 14-hour dusk-to-dawn curfew. As Jayarathnam, a fisherman of Pesaiyoor said "We cannot step out till 8 a.m. But for a good catch, I must set off at 3 a.m." Women feel it is dangerous for them to venture out. And many government offices cannot function as the army has occupied their buildings.

The non-resumption of electricity has affected water supply and business activities. Many people trudge to army camps for daily rations. Others borrow money from money lender. Says S. Ravindran, assessor in the Government Land Valuation Department, in Chundikulam: "I am borrowing Rs. 1,000 per month for which I pay monthly interest of Rs. 50". The cost of oil, sugar and rice has trebled.

Education — which got top priority in Jaffna ever since British days and was the cause behind the prosperity — is a major casualty. Schools reopened on November 25, but on the first day, hardly a few valiant stragglers could be seen attending. The situation is not conducive for children to go to school and in any case, most of the schools have been converted into camps by the IPKF. In December the 'O' level examinations will be held, but it is doubtful whether the Tamil students in the peninsula will be in any position to appear for the examination. Laments Jaffna Municipal Commissioner C. V. K. Sivagnanam: "The entire generation's education is ruined."

There is public resentment about the fact that the IPKF does not show the same enthusiasm for

restoring civic amenities as it has for consolidating its position. Indeed, technicians can be seen laying cables — not for the public, but for better communication between their camps; all pointers to long stay in the peninsula. In fact, a Jaffna citizen points out that the condition today in Jaffna is far worse than the economic blockade that was imposed in January this year during the Sri Lankan Army offensive.

The LTTE has been brutal with army informers. On November 20, kidnapped Sathish 18, of Navatkuli for providing information. Two days later his bullet-ridden body was found. On November 18, at Periya Kallar S. Kanakaswamy 45, was tied to a lamp-post and killed by the LTTE for a similar offence. And six days later they shot down Nagarathnam, the station master of Mirusuvil. The LTTE has put up posters warning that civilians who rendered any assistance to the Indian Army or the Red Cross would be dealt with seriously. A. Shankaran, in whose hotel the Red Cross team is staying, says helplessly: "There is no other hotel in Jaffna, so the Red Cross is staying with us. But I am so afraid of LTTE retaliation. What are we to do?"

The IPKF may not yet be in a position to prevent sneak attacks and save their informers. But their gain of territorial control in peninsula is almost complete. At every street corner they have entrenched themselves in strategically located bunkers. Regular mobile and foot patrols scour the country side.

While the conduct of some sections of the Jawans is strongly resented by the public and is bringing avoidable discredit to the otherwise disciplined IPKF, almost all civilians who had any sort of dealings with higher officers showered fulsome praise on them. Says Logarajah: "From the captain rank upwards they are really nice, polite and helpful. It's the lowest cadre with whom the public has the maximum contact that needs to be tightly leashed." In fact, wherever possible superior officers have been quick and harsh in dealing with errant soldiers. Two were cashiered on rape

charges. On November 24, when a rich smuggler's house in Ariyalai was being raided, the landlady, M. Balachandran, complained that some gold ornaments were missing. Senior officers lined up the soldiers involved in the raid and had the landlady herself check their uniforms. She finally sheepishly admitted that she must have tied the gold in a sari.

The incident also highlights the fact that the IPKF has become the victim of a well-orchestrated smear campaign, with rumours of rape and damage to civilian property and lives rampant. Asked to substantiate their allegations the civilians refer to vague reports of rape when in fact, the Amnesty International has a record of proven cases of rape of Tamil women by the Sri Lankan Army. In self-defence, a senior officer of the IPKF says. "Yes sometimes civilians do get harassed because we can't distinguish between them and the Tigers."

As far as the LTTE is concerned the IPKF seems to have broken its back. What the Sri Lankan Army couldn't do in a decade, the IPKF has managed in a month. Clearly, the LTTE is on the run. It is disorganised with its top leaders dead or held up somewhere while the cadres function, rudderless in pockets. Even the LTTE's mediator with the Indian Government C. V. K. Sivagnanam, couldn't contact senior LTTE leaders from November 24.

The noose of the IPKF is tightening. It has a strangle hold on the territory from 15 miles south of Jaffna — even the kurukuvazhis (the crooked paths) of the LTTE guerrillas are sealed. The IPKF's biggest achievement has been the smashing of the LTTE's communication network. With the walkie-talkies going out of action for fear of interception, a yawning gulf has developed between the LTTE cadres and the leadership. Observed a Major in the IPKF: "We know that many Tigers are slipping out. But there is nothing we can do as they have their national identity cards."

While the moral of the LTTE cadres in the northern province is still high, in the peninsula, most seem confused. Operation Pawan

has been a major military set-back for the LTTE which virtually ran a parallel government in the peninsula. But now the ground situation is somewhat similar to the pre-1983 days. Says Dinesh, LTTE area commander of Vavuniya: "We have run out of ammunition for a sustained confrontation but we will continue our guerrilla warfare. Instead of living under an unjust system, it is better to die for a just cause." And they have been doing just that. On November 23, two grenades were thrown at the secretariat. And the stillness of the night is often broken by the sound of gun-fire.

But where the LTTE has scored is in its anti-IPKF propaganda war. When the Indian Army first arrived, there was exultation among the Tamils. Such a situation was truly dangerous for the LTTE whose role as protector of the Tamils was threatened. They launched a massive anti-IPKF campaign. And when the IPKF began artillery shelling of Jaffna, Public euphoria evaporated. Today, the population seems torn between their respect for the LTTE and their desire for peace. There is also a sneaking admiration for the LTTE for standing up to the mighty Indian Army.

The Tamils also say that a determined bid must be made to win back the confidence of the civilian population and establish India's bona fides. All that the civilians really want is peace and this desire can be effectively harnessed to swing the mood once again in favour of the IPKF. For this the conduct of the jawans has to be strictly monitored. Jaffna Tamils say that efforts should be made immediately for the provision of basic civic amenities. They also want the IPKF to hand over the civil administration to local administrators.

Jaffna citizens are bristling with indignation at the "imposition" of IPKF administration. And a common complaint, particularly among the educated section is "why are we not being allowed to manage our own affairs. After all, we do have an existing infrastructure." The longer this is delayed, the greater will be the level of suspicion in the minds of the local population.

The Superpower Summit

— a view from the Third World

FOREIGN
NEWS

Who's afraid of Michail Gorbachev? Certainly not Ronald Reagan. He reminded those who were naive enough to entertain such nonsensical notions that he had co-starred with the swashbuckling Errol Flynn — a reply that may have left the lights in Dr. Georgi Arbatov's Institute of North American Studies in Moscow burning late. A U. S. President capable of such disarming flippancy and self-effacement didn't surely deserve the churlish taunts hurled at him by his hard-Right, pro-S. D. I. critics. Not at any rate, when Mr. Reagan was getting ready to host the Soviet supremo on his first trip to the U. S.

Such considerations did not however deter Mr. Howard Phillips, Big Chief of the Conservative caucus, and probably a votary of the Heritage Foundation, the 'think tank' which figured so prominently in the promotion of 'the Star Wars' project. In his considered view, Mr. Reagan was a "useful idiot for Soviet propaganda". Then, getting really nasty, Mr. Phillips used the idiot box to describe "the Great Communicator" as a "weak man with a strong staff".

While the compliment to Ms. Nancy Reagan was undoubtedly well deserved, the generous tribute to the President's senior aides seems slightly excessive in the light of his address a few days earlier to the Heritage Foundation. Mr. Reagan warmed the hearts of the hawks present by promising to press Mr. Gorbachev to set a definite date for a withdrawal from Afghanistan. Fair enough. Over 100,000 troops now nearing a decade's stay strikes one as a not-welcome over-stay, and a habit that small, nonaligned nations should not encourage. On Afghanistan, Mr. Reagan added sternly, Moscow should be invited to "bite the bullet".

Mr. Reagan then went on to say this:

"I'll also make it clear that one the greatest stumbling blocks to increased cooperation and exchange between our two countries is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. . ."

Bowing to the conventional courtesies of personal diplomacy Mr. Gorbachev, who has completely outclassed Mr. Reagan even in the eyes of the western media, may not have wished to ruin his 'Mr. Glasnost' image by embarrassing him on the question Nicaragua. The Congressional report on Iran-Contragate exposes to the world in sordid detail the true nature of the Reagan administration's self-advertised hostility to tyranny and its vaunted passion for democratic practice. The report offers a detailed account of the following:

(1) Between mid-1984 and 1986, Mr. Reagan, his National, Security Adviser and the NSC raised 34 million dollars secretly from other countries through various means. Another 2.7 million was raised from private contributors. All this was secretly funneled to the "Contras" (counter-revolutionaries", described by Mr. Reagan as "freedom fighters" in the tradition of George Washington) in their campaign of murder, arson, pillage, sabotage and terrorism to help oust the Sandinista regime.

(2) Half way through, Col. North took charge of the Fund, and ran this "covert operation" with the active cooperation of the CIA chief William Casey and two National Security Advisers, Macfarlane and Poindexter. Secret Swiss Bank accounts were set up to receive future donations, by a new recruit, retired Air Force general, Richard Secord.

(3) After the Iran arms sales deal, Secord and his aide, Albert Hakim created a new private outfit called "Enterprise". This organisa-

tion, functioning under Colonel North, which was "designed to engage in covert activities on behalf of the U. S.," had its own aircraft, pilots and even its own airfield, operatives, ships, secure communication devices, and secret Swiss Bank Account. It was, says the report, the "secret arm of the NSC staff" carrying out covert activities any where in the world with "private and non-appropriate funds" (i. e. money not sanctioned by Congress) and without accountability or the restrictions imposed by U. S. law on the C. I. A.". While Some of those involved in these shady transactions have been accused of criminal activities, Mr. Reagan himself has been charged by distinguished Americans of violating the US constitution, not to mention international law — one such flagrant instance was the mining of Nicaragua's ports, a matter that the Nicaraguan government took up in the World Court.

The Congressional inquiry found the conclusion inescapable. The Reagan administration's "departure from democratic processes has led to contradictions which undermined the credibility of the U. S."

In the light of such a withering indictment on is government's clandestine campaign to de-stabilise the Nicaraguan government through subversion and terrorism, and the consequent loss of all credibility on this issue, Mr. Gorbachev, the good Marxist-Leninist, would hardly have encountered any difficulty in handling this particular "contradiction".

KISSINGERIAN LINKAGE

Third World students of superpower relations cannot however let the matter rest there. The specific reference to tyranny" in Nicaragua and Soviet help was matched in the same pre-summit Heritage Foundation speech by a general observation about "Soviet Involvement" in Third World conflicts.

In arguing two Sundays ago that the INF Treaty represented the end-phase of both U. S. global hegemony and Reaganism, this column drew attention to a neglected factor — sometimes in fact, an aspect totally ignored — in the discussion of superpower arms agreements. The discussion confined by experts to abstruse technicalities, is usually conducted by non-specialists, particularly in the Third World, in terms of the positive contribution that mutually agreed these arms control measures make to reducing the risks of nuclear confrontation, and therefore to the lessening of international tensions. Such an

improved global climate, it is universally agreed, is not only of direct benefit to the principal East-West, US-USSR, NATO-WARSAW Pact contenders, but of considerable indirect benefit to the poor world. That much is true, and for much advance in detente, the Third World should be thankful. Tensions generated by superpower conflict aggravate the problems of the Third World, which needs to devote all the time, energy and resources available to grapple with the centuries-old burdens that are the Third World's bitter legacy. The I. N. F. Treaty is a landmark achievement. The Third

World has no reason to accept the twisted logic of Beijing that it will only consolidate superpower hegemonism, and therefore deepen the plight of a helpless Third World.

On the contrary, what the Third World should resist is the idea, assiduously circulated for our special consumption, that we are the exceptionally lucky beneficiaries, of a transaction in which the poor nations have no stake and in fact are blissfully uninvolved. That is palpably false.

Soviet non-involvement in Third World "crises" and "conflicts" was the undeclared *quid pro quo*

World leaders hail accord

LONDON, (Reuter/AFP)

Leaders of the Western alliance and the East Bloc hailed the treaty signed on Tuesday by President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that will scrap all intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) embraced the pact to eliminate all superpower nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles (480 to 5,500 km), the first to bar an entire category of weapons.

"The alliance warmly welcomes the INF treaty" a NATO spokesman in Brussels told reporters. "This is a true milestone for the arms control process."

Countering arguments by treaty opponents that the loss of U. S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles could weaken NATO's nuclear deterrent, the spokesman added: "The agreement is also fully consistent with the alliance's security policy."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said the treaty was "very good news and I would like to be the first to congratulate President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev".

"It is a marvellous Christmas present, just an extra piece of good will and a lovely way to end the year," she told reporters outside her London residence.

French President Francois Mitterrand welcomed the pact but said the super-powers must now curb the arms race in space.

"If we do not disarm... it will ruin us," he said.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl warmly welcomed the agreement and said the disarmament process had to continue.

"We all know this result from Washington is only the first step to a world with fewer weapons. There are still too many weapons, especially for us in Europe and here in West Germany," he said in a television address.

Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a telegram congratulating Reagan and Gorbachev.

East German leader Erich Honecker hailed the pact and declared. "We have never disguised that the stationing of additional nuclear weapons in east and west brought us no joy."

In Prague, several hundred young Czechoslovaks braved biting cold and a heavy police presence to call for the withdrawal of all nuclear arms from both eastern and western Europe. They gathered to mark the death seven years ago on Tuesday of beatle John Lennon, whom they see as a symbol

of peace and anti-establishment protest.

In Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak said the momentum generated by the treaty should be used to help resolve regional problems, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict.

United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar said in New York. "It is most gratifying that patience, dedication and good will have prevailed over the difficulties and obstacles that were encountered in achieving the historic agreement."

The people of Comise held a street party, lit fireworks and handed out peace prizes to Moscow and Washington on Tuesday to celebrate the U. S. Soviet accord ridding their town of cruise nuclear missiles.

Crowds jammed into the main square to watch a live television broadcast of the treaty signing ceremony in Washington as fireworks spelled out 'Goodbye Cruise' in the sky.

La Pergola, who represented the Rome government at the celebrations, earlier presented U. S. and Soviet diplomats with Comiso peace prizes for President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

of a U. S. offer to grant the USSR near — or rough parity at the strategic level; and by "conflicts" and "crises", what the U. S. meant was nothing less than liberation movements and/or revolutionary or radical regimes which threatened the economic or foreign policy interests of the U. S. and the western alliance. This is the essence of the Kissingerian linkage — an acceptance of the Soviet Union's right to a parity of status on condition that it did **not** attempt to alter the global status quo to the detriment of western interests by promoting "revolution". The recognition of superpower equality or approximate equivalence was contingent upon Moscow's agreement not to disturb the global status quo, a post-war international system effectively controlled by the U. S. through those institutions and agencies — economic, mainly-created and managed from the 1950's by the US-led western alliance.

CONTAINING CRISIS

Thus, in US eyes, the main threat to that world order did not arise from nuclear arms — once the US monopoly was broken and an essential equivalence or 'balance of terror'

reached, the threat was academic — but was located in a volatile Third World where social-political forces were a perennial source of dangerous disturbance. If only the Soviet Union did not commit itself or its influence on the side of such disruptive forces, these "crises" could be contained or managed. And so, the "containment" of Third World "crises" has replaced in the 70's and 80's the "containment" of communism strategy of the 50's and 60's. The changing 'strategies' and 'theories' reflected (a) the steady shift in the US-USSR military balance from the initial US position of monopoly (the atomic weapon) and (b) the equally steady shift of the general global balance of power (military-economic-political) also at the expense of the once unassailable post-war US dominance.

Thus, "containment", self-assertive but modest, was a substitute for the arrogant "roll back theory, rolling back the Iron curtain, the counter-attack on the Soviet Union's East European periphery, with Berlin, Hungary etc as 'the flash-points'.

The Third World was soon to become an equally important theatre for US strategists. Here,

the challenge was political, ideological, and economic. The young immature inheritors of the British and other empires could live with the post-war transition to independence, but "nonalignment" in the global contest was "immoral", unless one was "genuinely nonaligned"... like Singapore. The hostility to nonalignment increased when national, popular movements in the Third World acquired a new ideological orientation — radical, socialist, revolutionary Marxist. How? Soviet-inspired and Soviet-manipulated.

Finally, this "contagion of communism" (this and other phrases are taken from the standard Reaganite vocabulary) spread to Latin America, the U.S. backyard, the hunting ground of American adventurers in the 19th century and of US conglomerates in the 20th. There was Cuba, the first successful challenge to US hegemony. Then Nicaragua, and lastly Grenada, a country with a population no more than Galle! It was invaded by the mightiest military power. Why?

Charles Z. Wick's representatives in nonaligned capitals summoned journalists and showed them satellite pictures of an airfield being

Editorial Comment

INF TREATY

Many reasons are attributed to the signing of the INF agreement. One reason is President Reagan himself. 'The Cow-Boy who shoots from the hip once having built up US security to the predominant position it held and challenged the Soviet Union in an entirely new field, the Strategic Defence Initiative, could not be doubted by any other rightist American of having sacrificed the security interests of his country. Some such accusations were indeed made last week, but it is doubted whether it carried much political clout. Hawkish presidents have proved to possess the ability to come to terms with Communist countries much more than the doves. President Nixon coming

to terms with the country which was once known as Red China is the other example. The negotiating from a position of strength had undoubtedly helped him in his objectives. Critics also point out that President Reagan beset with the Iran-Contra affair wanted an INF agreement badly to shore up his image. The collapse of the Wall Street market also were indications that he had to cut defence expenditure and his budget deficit, it is argued.

Mr. Gorbachev himself has been responsible very much for the two sides coming together. He seized upon the Zero Option — the elimination of all intermediate nuclear weapons — proposed by Mr. Reagan

himself and presented it as a Soviet proposal. His daring moves and approach in international relations have been a refreshing change from the Soviet gerontocracy.

The World will hope for more arms reduction and the gradual elimination of the nuclear arsenals of world powers. But this super power rapprochement we hope, will also bring about the settlement of regional conflicts — some of which have been going on for much longer than World War II — Afghanistan and Cambodia where the two powers hold the key. If the current regional conflicts are not settled we may find American-Soviet relations beginning to slide down again. — ISLAND

Never Again Yesterday

It was one small step but, at the same time, a giant leap into history. A solemn and historic commitment to move from the era of the cold war to the era of common sense and realism.

When Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev signed the treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) on Tuesday, December 8, we all saw in the two leaders something deeper than just an image-building exercise although both of them do need a boost on the domestic front.

Most observers agree that at the auspicious ceremony at the

White House, Reagan and Gorbachev showed a fresh sincerity, a new sense of realism and deep commitment to haul the world away from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

Within hours of a fireside tete-a-tete, arch rivals became first-name friends. It's 'Ron and Mikhail' now in US-Soviet summit talks.

The treaty they signed is historic in that it is the first pledging elimination of an entire class in intermediate and short-range nuclear missiles and warheads, with fairly tight verification procedures. About 2,800 nuclear weapons and 3,800

warheads in Asia and Europe will be destroyed under the INF treaty.

"The world is watching us". Reagan said as he warmly welcomed Gorbachev to the White House, while a star shone on the Christmas tree in the lawn. "We must shoulder the responsibility of bringing peace to all men of goodwill", the 76-year-old US leader added, in what must be the finest hour of his seven-year presidency.

Gorbachev, apparently stirred by the solemnity of the occasion, crowned the spirit of his mission when he prayed "May God help us". — SUN

constructed by the Soviets (later found to be a reputed British firm) with Cuban help. It would be used for a sneak nuclear attack by Moscow on US cities! Not all Third World journalists bought this hogwash. Grenada anyway invaded, just as Cuba was invaded in 1962. Whatever for? The answer was — explains the current obsession with little Nicaragua, which would otherwise seem pathological or plain crazy.

WHY NICARAGUA

The Sandinistas who overthrew the Somoza regime (the Somoza dynasty was as much a creature of the US as Batista in Cuba) took their name from Sandino; no Marxist, the soldier-liberator was as much as Latin American patriot as Simon Bolivar who fought "yanqui imperialism" long before the October revolution. Fidel Castro is as Marxist, a revolutionary and a revolutionary thinker but in the eyes of the Latin American people, he is in the great tradition of Bolivar, Sandino, Jose Marti. Their passionate, often adventurously romantic, defiance of 'yanqui imperalismo' (domination and exploitation) is rooted in their knowledge of a common place universally known fact most eloquently summed up in the title of Eduardo Galeano's standard work on it. "The open veins of Latin America" i.e. the relentless extraction of the continent's wealth and its drain into the blood-banks of US transnationals. It has little to do with Marx or Moscow. The stark

statistics are available to any reader of a good international newspaper.

So, last week, for instance the Latin Americans formed a "debtors' cartel", the first of its kind. They met "outside the confines of the US-dominated O. A. S." Earlier they rejected Reagan's Central American policies and adopted their own plan. They have now defied the US and decided to invite Cuba to the organisation. But most hurtful of all to US interests is their decision to re-schedule their massive debt to US bank on their own terms. It is the courageous demonstration of their independence, from the U.S. Their was no Soviet prompting.

The illustrious Mexican writer-diplomat Carlos Fuentes said the other day "The US has become the greatest debtor...but its debt is not connected to any increase in productivity...inevitably the huge US debt threatens bankruptcy for Latin America...the US is adrift; it has neither a policy nor a firm view of world politics, world economics for Latin America...their can be "no political solution as long as Reagan is US President".

Yet, there is a clear link between US policy in Latin America, economics and politics, which makes Mr. Reagan's allusion to Nicaraguan tyranny an insult to one's intelligence. In a clandestine operation as utterly exposed as 'Cinragate, the popularly elected Allende regime was ousted

in a coup engineered by I.T.T. and Washington in 1972. 15 years later, General Pinochet, Washington's candidate to relieve the Chilean people from the socialist Allende's "tyranny" is now under attack. Dr. Ariel Dorfman, a Chilean professor at Duke University, U.S. offers us this cameo:

"Young people are again disappearing, journalists are being jailed, prominent citizens are being outlawed, housewives tortured in their homes, dissidents shot in cold blood". But Chile is only one example of tyrants installed and backed to the hilt by Washington.

THIRD WORLD IDEALS

"Soviet-sponsored" and "Soviet-manipulated" are not just part of a naive and coarse thesis but an affront to the dignity of Third World peoples since it implicitly denies their independent will, and a commitment to their own aspirations, robbing them of the nobility of their self-sacrificing struggles. **Those struggles cannot be controlled by the superpowers and not become part of a superpower deal. They will continue, with or without superpower permission or approval.** However, vaguely expressed, the ideals which inspire those struggles strive to combine the visionary hopes of the founding fathers of both superpower nations — the economic transformation of the October revolution, and the human liberty enshrined in the US constitution.

(Continued on page 18)

High Stakes Gamble

India's role in Sri Lanka has strategic advantages

Dilip Bobb

"I told my commanders that it was a very difficult mission, a very sad mission and also that we would do our utmost to be fair, humane and use minimum force even at the risk of accepting more casualties than we normally would. They were told that they were going in against their own people."

— General K. Sundarji, INDIA TODAY, February 1986.

The first time Krishnaswami Sundarji issued those orders, it was as head of the Indian Army's Western Command. The mission: Operation Bluestar, the June 1984 army action to flush out terrorists from Amritsar's Golden Temple. On October 10, 1987, he found himself repeating exactly the same orders to his commanders, this time as chief of army staff. The mission: Operation Pawan, the Indian Army action to disarm the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka.

Both operations bear traumatic similarities — a battle with unfamiliar constraints; the emotional involvement of the civilian population; a congested, urban battleground; a highly-motivated and heavily-armed foe of the same ethnic identity. But there the similarity abruptly ends. Bluestar was a domestic operation. Pawan has, for the first time, placed Indian troops on foreign soil to tackle the domestic problem of another country, and at considerable cost.

But in the eyes of South Block, Operation Pawan will be worth every paisa — and the life of every Indian soldier lost in Sri Lanka. The immediate objective may be to ensure the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord but there is also a broader diplomatic advantage inherent in the presence of the Indian Army on the island that is designed to finally —

and firmly — establish India's pre-eminence as the regional superpower.

That may be a bit premature — the accord has a long way to go before full implementation — but the current air of elation and confidence in South Block has not been in evidence since the aftermath of the 1971 operations in what is now Bangladesh. The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka is seen as the cutting edge of the boldest Indian diplomatic initiative undertaken in recent years. Senior diplomats and army strategists refer to it as a "turning point in its regional and international ambitions.

In army headquarters be-medalled generals bandy phrases like "We're living in exciting times." Others claim "We are in the process of changing the region's history. It is tragic that we are fighting Tamils but we must use it to advantage."

In that sense, Operation Pawan (wind) is aptly named. The change in South Block, which houses the offices of the prime minister, the External Affairs Ministry and the Defence Ministry, is remarkable — and palpable. At no other time has the Indian military and political leadership marched so closely in step and to the same drummer. What diplomats refer to as "a projection of India's power", army generals translate as "the higher direction of war". The loss of

lives in Sri Lanka, the financial cost and the fact that the enemy is of Tamil origin is seen as small sacrifice compared to the gains for India's long-term strategic interests. According to army sources the loss of 266 Indian Army lives (the official toll till last week) is the minimum price they expect to pay for establishing New Delhi's "sphere of influence".

Already, as Indian strategists point out, the effects are in evidence in one stroke of Rajiv's Parker pen, New Delhi has ensured that the only foreign military presence in Sri Lanka will be Indian. Statements by Sri Lankan ministers like Gamini Dissanayake that the accord does not bar Colombo from having Israeli "experts", are seen as catering to a local constituency and not any climb-down on the accord.

More important, in South Block's view, is that Pakistan's military relationship with Sri Lanka has been permanently severed. Prior to the accord, Sri Lankan security forces were being trained by the Pakistan Army in Sri Lanka as well as in Pakistan. The Indian Army brass has also never forgotten that in the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, Islamabad was allowed to use Colombo as a refuelling base for its aircraft. "That situation will never be allowed to happen again" says a senior army officer. "Pakistan's military involvement in Sri Lanka came to an end on July 29, 1987, and we intend to make certain it stays that way". Officials also point to the fact that the strategic harbour of Trincomalee is now effectively in Indian control and no longer capable of becoming another Diego Garcia. "If the Americans had been given Trinco as an R R (rest and recreation)

base, we would have had no choice but to treble our naval force", says an Indian admiral.

South Block also points to the potential problem of having 1,20,000 refugees from Sri Lanka sitting on Indian soil indefinitely a figure that confidential military projections say could easily have doubled had India not intervened. "What we are talking about is the prospect of another Bangladesh in Tamil Nadu. We just could not afford that to happen," says a foreign ministry source.

* * *

These are of course, the obvious, immediate benefits for India. But in the high-security corner of South Block that houses the army top brass offices, the growing pile of secret position papers, prime ministerial briefs, tactical reports and long-term strategy papers all indicate the broader diplomatic profits from India's Sri Lankan thrust — and a newly-aggressive policy which recognises the growing role of the army as a key element in that policy. Says a serving general; "The Indian army is not the same as it was in 1962. It now fits into India's power projection."

One such secret report points out that the primary military advantage is that "you are fighting your battles outside your country" (unlike Bluestar), and this has a limited (Tamil Nadu only) domestic fall out. Army officials insist that Operation Pawan was part of carefully-crafted, long-term strategic planning which included the possibility of high casualties in the initial stages of the operation. "Admittedly, we expected the LTTE to be less intransigent and more in our control. In that sense we miscalculated. But the prospect of the Indian Army having to take on the LTTE militarily was an option in our projection," says a general. Adds Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh: "No government can go into an agreement of this nature without having tied up the obvious loose ends. We examined every possible option. There were no low-cost options available. If anybody can suggest

a better alternative, we will gladly examine it."

In fact, the secret army papers compare Operation Pawan with the British involvement in the Falklands and forcefully insist that Sri Lanka can "under no circumstances" become another Vietnam or Afghanistan. In military terms the Indian Army now believes that the LTTE is no longer a major threat and it is only a matter of time before the organisation, or at least a major part of it, surrenders. South Block also claims that in the event of an unconditional surrender by the LTTE, they will still be ensured accommodation in the subsequent political setup for the north and east.

Army projections do not, however, discount the prospect of the IPKF being in Sri Lanka indefinitely. In a secret briefing paper sent to Rajiv Gandhi, Sundarji has termed a pull-out by the IPKF as "unacceptable". Says one of his key aides: "We would like to change our nomenclature from IPKF to the Accord Implementation Force. That is our main brief — to ensure that the accord is fully implemented. Pulling out before that will be political and military suicide." In the briefing papers on Operation Pawan, the army has detailed its short-term and long-term intentions which as one states, "is to leave one unified Sri Lanka in which the Tamils are given their rightful status and Sri Lanka is not adversary".

The short-term plan is, as the paper says, "to bend the LTTE without breaking it". The LTTE still has plenty of arms though they appear to be running short of ammunition. Intelligence sources revealed to INDIA TODAY that they are well funded by expatriate Tamils — the LTTE has recently bought a ship called the *Ilyana* in Europe with the intention of loading in with arms and ammunition, sailing it to smaller boats to try and slip through the naval blockade of the Palk Straits.

Army intelligence puts the current strength of the LTTE in Sri

Lanka at 4,000 men, armed mainly with SLRs (Self-Loading Rifles), AK-47s, G-3 rifles and carbines, heavy machine-guns and RPG rocket launchers. They no longer have the ability to manufacture mines, mortars and grenades as they were doing earlier, except in very small numbers. The IPKF strength is currently 29,633 men. Palaly is the headquarters of the 54th Infantry Division which is responsible for Jaffna city, under the control of the 41st Infantry Brigade while the 91st Infantry Division has been entrusted with protecting the lives of the civilian population. The 18th Infantry Division has been deployed at Navakulli and the 115th Infantry Brigade at Point Pedro. Under the 36th Infantry Division, headquartered at Trincomalee, is the 47th Infantry Brigade at Killinochchi, 72nd Infantry Brigade at Vavuniya, 340th (Independent) Infantry Brigade at Trincomalee and Muthur and 76th Infantry Brigade at Batticaloa. The IPKF also has one armoured regiment from 63rd Cavalry with T-72 tanks and air support from Akbar, the Indian name for Mi-24 helicopter gunships.

The troops involved have been deliberately chosen to represent as wide a cross-section of the Indian Army as possible and includes: the Brigade of Guards; Parachute Regiment; Para Commandos; Punjab Regiment; Grenadiers; Madras Regiment; Maratha Light Infantry; Rajputana Rifles; Rajput Regiment; Sikh Regiment; Sikh Light Infantry; Garhwal Rifles; Mahar Regiment and Gorkha Rifles.

* * *

According to army intelligence assessments of the situation in Sri Lanka, the fly in the LTTE ointment is not so much Pirabhakaran as his number two, Mahattaya, the man who surfaced last fortnight to orchestrate the handing over of the 18 Indian Army prisoners held by the LTTE. "Mahattaya is now more of a hawk than Pirabhakaran who is perhaps still susceptible to influence from someone like (Tamil Nadu Chief Minister) M. G. Ramachandran.

Mahattaya, and perhaps the more blood-thirsty of his followers, will still carry on the battle," says an army source, adding, "that means we may be there for some time in a situation comparable to Punjab today. We think India and the Indian Army is big enough to handle two Punjabs. That is the basis of our motivation."

And of South Block's indirect game plan—to spread the message of the Rajiv Doctrine on the region. South Block points out that the military offensive has been matched by diplomatic one. Rajiv's visit to the White House, they assert, was essentially to explain India's role in Sri Lanka, and its broader regional contours. The US Administration reportedly accepted that viewpoint and according to top sources, actually welcomed it. Washington may value its strategic alliance with Islamabad but it is also in their interests to have stability in the region. Only India can ensure that" says the official

That confidence is bolstered by the unspoken acceptance that the other superpower, the Soviet Union will back New Delhi to the hilt. Soviet Premier N. T. Ryzhkov in fact, took a public stance last fortnight in "fully supporting" India's role in Sri Lanka. Obviously, it admirably suits Moscow to have India assert herself as the cock of the regional walk. The Indo-Sri Lankan agreement has also been supported at the recent Commonwealth summit, and by the European Economic Community (EEC).

That New Delhi has begun to assert her regional authority diplomatically is increasingly in evidence. During the recent border talks between India and China, New Delhi made it abundantly clear that Beijing's claims to Arunachal Pradesh would have to be discarded before any progress was possible. Indian officials say that the army now has the Chinese Army pinned down in Wandung on the border and will continue to apply military pressure to convince Beijing that New Delhi cannot be trifled with. That message may have gone home. The

Chinese side was more accommodating than at any of the earlier border talks. Rajiv has been invited to Beijing by the Chinese leadership and a package border agreement could be on the anvil sooner than most people expect.

India has also let it be known to Nepal that it will no longer tolerate Kathmandu playing sides and has warned Nepal of the consequences of its recent intention to buy anti-aircraft guns from China. Bangladesh leader Ershad's capitulation on the Chakma refugee issue is another indicator. The Indian director-general of military operations recently informed his Pakistani counter part that the presence of 30,000 Indian troops in Sri Lanka should not tempt Islamabad into any aggressive moves as India was quite capable of handling any military threat from across the border. Says a senior diplomat; "We want to maintain good relations with all our neighbours and respect their unity and territorial integrity. But our size and the legacy of geography has given us a responsibility and a role that we cannot shirk."

In Sri Lanka itself, the Indian Government has launched a new diplomatic offensive to win over, or at least convince of India's good intentions, the most aggressive critics of the accord. High Commissioner J. N. Dixit has, in the past fortnight, met with Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa, the most rabid India-baiter in the Sri Lankan Cabinet. The meeting between the two—the first in almost 18 months—is seen in New Delhi as a major breakthrough. Dixit also met with anti-accord opposition leader and former prime minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike with much more visible success. Bandaranaike's statements after the meeting show a greater appreciation for India's role in the island than at any previous time.

In the eastern part of the island, the IPKF, under a plan called Operation Cachet, is quickly consolidating its hold in the knowledge that the LTTE's writ does not run here as in the north. IPKF sources also say that they have a plan to prevent colonisa-

tion by the Sinhalese in the eastern province—one of the main fears of the Tamils. "We are looking at the long-term implications of our involvement. Whichever way the dice falls, we have a contingency plan for it. Every move by the IPKF is approved in New Delhi. Only if there is a 50 per cent chance of success is the green signal given," says one of the officials in charge of monitoring the Sri Lankan situation.

That is perhaps the most credible sign of South Block's intentions to see the accord through to the end—and ensure that India does not suffer in the process. In South Block, a core group of senior officers form the External Affairs Ministry and the army has been set of to monitor the situation virtually minute-by-minute. "This is a serious issue and we cannot afford to be casual about it. There is pressure on us, there is tremendous pressure on the Sri Lankan Government. But we have the expertise to handle it so that our interests, those of the Sri Lankan Government and of the Tamils in Sri Lanka are met. That is the bottom line," insists Natwar Singh.

Clearly, New Delhi has its sights set on a major diplomatic triumph and is pulling out all the stops to ensure that it is successful. But much will depend on the Sri Lankan Government and Jayewardene himself—and the unwritten agreements that have been hammered out since the accord was signed last July. The LTTE may be on the run and in disarray, but it will take a lot of convincing before the majority Sinhalese cease viewing the Indian Army as an occupation force. For Indian diplomacy, Sri Lanka represents perhaps the biggest challenge since 1971. Success will ensure that its regional status is commensurate with its size and geographical legacy. Failure will circumscribe India's diplomatic and military role for decades to come.

Considering the daunting odds, India's regional game plan workable? Obviously, like the green signal given in New Delhi for

IPKF operations, the strategy, at the present moment, seems to have a 50 per cent success ratio. But New Delhi's new aggressiveness is also obviously correlated to the timing and the new rapport that Sundarji has established with the political high command. Not since the days of Sam Manekshaw have the armed forces wielded the kind of clout they now do in south Block. The main reason for that is Sundarji himself.

Sundarji wears his flamboyance as a badge of honour, and his powers of persuasion and oratory are legend. The office of the chief of army staff would be unrecognisable to its previous occupants. It bristles with high-tech gadgetery including laser projectors and disks that superimpose images on maps and charts to help plan military strategy and offer alternatives in different operational situations. On major exercises like Brasstacks, similar equipment stored in a special air-conditioned trailer is taken along. His aides in adjoining offices operate on computers and word processors.

The overall effect is spellbinding and Sundarji's command of the language and his strategic thinking have obviously impressed the political leadership and given the military a major say in foreign policy. His critics, and there are many even within the army, see his ambition as a flaw and have branded him a "death and glory boy", determined to secure his place in military history.

However, the army brass views him with something akin to awe and there is no denying that the man has tremendous charisma. Neither is he the maverick. General Patton-like character, his critics paint him to be. Before taking over as chief, Sundarji locked himself away in Goa to compile his personal strategic bible for the Indian Army. His briefs to the prime minister and the Cabinet are military masterpieces, brilliantly written. But there is also no denying that he could be prone to over-confidence. In looking at the regional woods, New Delhi may have missed the trees.

New Delhi's desire to flex muscle is all very well, but to accomplish that effectively also requires widespread public support India's efforts in Sri Lanka can hardly be said to have that — only because New Delhi's explanations have not been convincing enough. And the reason for that is a crucial one — credibility, or the lack of it. If now Delhi is prepared to face the collective suspicion of the neighbours, handle domestic problems and public opinion, it cannot do so effectively without that vital ingredient. More important perhaps is the need for the image of a strong Indian leadership in the international context. Mrs Gandhi was respected by international leaders for precisely that and there was consequently less resistance to her regional policies. Without a strong leadership, domestic stability and public support, New Delhi will be seriously hampered in its regional efforts. The stakes in Sri Lanka may be high but so is the risk of failure. As one general soberly admits: "If we fail, it will not be Rajiv's Waterloo but India's Waterloo."

— India Today

The Superpower...

(Continued from page 11)

When Gorbachev was refused a chance to speak to Congress, *NYK Times* columnist Anthony Lewis reminded the eminent legislators that among those who had been given the privilege were Somoza, the Shah, Marcos, Synman Rhee, Wilkiam Tolbert and other notorious despots, plunderers and weirods. Lewis drew Congressional attention to the Jeffersonian tradition. It is not only Jefferson that the US political establishment has forgotten. The coarsening of the Soviet-manipulation thesis is matched by the crudities in understanding of the dynamics of socio-political change in the poor world. That vulgarity is crystallised in the Reaganite view on "state-sponsored" terrorism. (The US last week abstained and Israel voted against a UN resolution on Terrorism). US pundits on 'terrorism' ignore Mark Twain:

"There were two "Reigns of Terror". If we would but remember and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passions, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon a thousand persons, the other upon a hundred million; but our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heartbreak?... A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror — that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."

M. de S.

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Socio-economic tensions and Auxiliary Military Forces

Dr. Mervyn De Silva (Former Advisor, Ministry of Plan Implementation.)

While the country seems to be only a razor's edge away from a nearly anarchic situation there is a belated awakening to our social realities as shown by the breast-beating publicly performed as if they were spontaneously generated a minute ago. Fashionable clichés such as poverty alleviation etc are now bandied about in the absence of a proper in-depth understanding and realisation of the magnitudes and complexities of the issues and problem. If the customary cosmetic treatment is to be dispensed for these realities and social eruptions supplemented by a return of violence, even the cinders of what remains of democracy, law and order must disappear.

The situation demands an intensive and searching look at the origins and causes and bold decision taken however damaging and hurting to individual egos.

The roots of today's insurgency are massive poverty and unemployment and anger and loss of confidence in the establishment because of the ostentatious living of a few in the wake of a widening income gap; intellectual dishonesty, insincerity and utter hypocrisy of the older generation committed to an ethic of double talk and double standards and duplicity in justice; the devotion to the ethos of the end justifying the means; the massive corruption enjoying patronage; the damping of public expression with repression of any for dissent; But above all the deliberate acts of subversion against the state by consistently attacking the three main pillars on which an orderly state and society rests. Anyone who embarked on a mission to subvert these three pillars is a subversive of the highest order and deserves the moral condemnation of the entire country.

In this situation there is no point in talking about law and order and peace because, if both are to be re-established, the first condition is to root out the cause of the current discord

and unrest among our people. In order to do that the power of the people must be returned to them, and returned soon.

Not a few of the causes arise out of excessive economic inequalities and out of hesitation to undertake the necessary corrections. Some are due to a psychopathological desire for power and to an insensitivity and contempt for the feelings of people, and at a deeper level, despite public preaching, to a spiritual bankruptcy. What is required urgently is an appreciation of the issues of poverty, inequalities, structural political changes, but first the need to open-up and let the democratic devices to take over a General election.

Using military auxiliary groups to contain the present situation rather than comprehending the factors discussed and promoting armed "Vigilantes" cast the deeper socio-economic and political problems in simplistic terms. It is well known that the growth of the vigilantes technique, a new type of carefully planned and well orchestrated warfare — low intensity conflict — imported from the US and authoritarian states is to "Win the hearts and minds of the masses". It is equally well known that while they sow fear and intimidation they also abuse the dignity and human rights of people, which more often than not leads to the move becoming counter productive particularly when the grievances of the insurgent and people begin to converge.

There is food for thought in the comment of a human rights worker in the Philippines. He said "President Cory Aquino made a more serious blunder in blessing the vigilante movement. She may have thought these people were unarmed groups who are a part of her "peoples power" to protect themselves from violence, but they have not developed that way. Most of those units have a core of former gang members, local thugs and criminals who

cooperate with the government in the counter insurgency operation for reasons of money and power".

Rajiv. . .

(Continued from page 7)

negative effect of the new moves on bilateral relations and that India was not prepared to live in a waiver regime. The last point was meant for those who sought to soften the anti-India thrust of the amendments by working out favourable scenarios — that the President could be depended upon to invoke the powers, given to him by these very amendments, to waive the pre-conditions in U.S. national interests.

Firm views

New Delhi, thus, conveyed its firm views soon after the Senate Committee endorsed on December 3 the recommendations of its sub-committee, made two days earlier. In between, the Indian Ambassador in Washington, Mr. P. K. Kaul, met the Under Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Mr. Michael Armacost, to warn against the adverse effects of the new moves on Indo-American relations. And reportedly failing to get an assurance, he contacted White House staffers. The outcome of these sounding is not known.

India, no doubt, is justified in expressing shock and anger but the fact remains that its embassy in Washington was neatly outmanoeuvred by pro-Pakistan lobbies. The genesis of the issues that have now come to the fore can be traced to the developments in August when the U.S. Administration's proposal for the \$4.02 billion economic and military aid to Pakistan was sent to Congress.

Cumbersome processes

The cumbersome, complicated legislative processes were still dragging on and it should not have been difficult to anticipate sudden moves by lobbies hostile to India.

Even now, there is no finality action on the U.S. Administration's proposed aid package for Pakistan — contrary to the impression conveyed by confusing agency reports from Washington. December 16 is the deadline.

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Susantha G. vs the rest

Nearly two months have now elapsed since my article on "Ethnic Studies Industries". I presume that all responses have now been given and hence this, my comments in reply.

My article was based on two lectures given respectively in Sinhala and English at the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies (BCIS). An edited version of the lecture appeared in the 'Island' and the 'Divania', with titles for the articles given by the Editors. The article was also submitted to the largest circulating independent Tamil newspaper but was not published. Apart from these newspapers the Lanka Guardian has reproduced the article.

There have been several written and oral responses, to the article. A number of persons telephoned me, sent messages and have written personal letters including a very touching one by a retired University Don. There have also been many articles and letters to the Editor in several newspapers, directly in response to the article or indirectly resonating to some of the issues raised there.

In Sri Lanka the problems of academic output are not related only to conceptual dependency but also to inadequate funding and the lack of resources for academics. This has been pointed out by many Sri Lankan academics and university personnel including the present writer. The relative living standards of university academics have declined and the day-to-day struggle for existence drives many promising young academics to open up a 'kade' to give private tuition. Resources limit access to field research, to current knowledge in the form of books and journals as well as to the face to face contacts between academics both local and foreign working on the same research areas, which sociologists of knowledge have pointed out are essential for academic output. My own impression is that in Univer-

sity social science research we have the lowest resource situation in the whole of South Asia.

A joint seminar by the SLAAS and NARESA on the funding of social science research held, last year was a vivid window on these facts.

In the seminar senior university academics, delivered pathetic tales of woe of a lack of resources, an eye opener, for donor agencies who because of preemptive contacts, had thought that NGOs were the main research resource in the country.

As some of the respondents had discussed foreign funding I should make my views on funding clear, views I had often expressed of several fora. Firstly I believe, that there is room for both Sri Lanka as well as foreign funding. Yet specially in social science research dealing with "sensitive" matters the bulk of the funding should be from local sources. (India is very sceptical about foreign funding in these areas.) No stricture should be attached to locally raised funding — except for financial accountability and in fact in social sciences critical research should be given pride of place. Such funds should be channelled through a broad based body. This need not necessarily be NARESA alone (though speaking from my own experience in the social science committee of NARESA I must make it clear that the paltry sums of money disbursed there, have been purely on the technical criteria of merit). Alternatively, funding could be channelled through a committee consisting of representatives of such bodies as the SLAAS, the NARESA, Economist Association, Political Science Association, Sociological Association as well as the Deans of Social Sciences.

I also believe that disbursement of funds should be done with the least amount of bureaucracy, where various UN and similar agencies contract research mechanisms should exist to channel these to

the most deserving. In the very narrow area of the inter relationship of science, technology and the socio economic system, I have been offered well remunerated international research consultancies by the UN.

I like to imagine that I was selected purely because I have worked extensively in this narrow field. However I do know that such invitations also occur partly on personal contact, and consequently I have always advocated that these contacts be made as wide open as possible.

Banned

A country like India whilst recognising the need for independence in research has also been very conscious of foreign funded research on sensitive problems that affect national security. This concern covers the entire Indian political spectrum from the right Janata through various Congress factions to the CP (I) and CP (M). These concerns have expressed themselves in the questioning of the role of the NGOs as well as of the church in sensitive areas. These concerns have arisen from several revelations on the misuse of foreign funded research. This has also led to the questioning of the misuse of humanistic religions such as Christianity for separatist activities work in India consequently certain types of foreign missionary activity are debarred from sensitive border regions in India.

As some of the "ethnic studies" groups, if not the majority, claim identify with a "Left" or "liberal" positions. I was surprised that hardly any of them had referred to my comments on these facts specially the Indian views. Only one (a Tamil speaking gentleman) requested my summary on the Indian position on the Indian ethnic situation. To give a flavour of the Indian left argument I give below paragraphs (space doesn't permit me to give more) from a relevant publication of the largest Indian left party the CP (M).

"There is a sophisticated and comprehensive strategy worked out to harness the forces of voluntary agencies action groups to penetrate Indian society. The

imperialist ruling circles have provided through their academic outfits the political and ideological basis for the outlook of a substantial number of these proliferating groups in India. By providing liberal funds to these groups, imperialism has created avenues to penetrate directly vital sections of the Indian society and disrupt the potential of the left movement. . . It is this same amorphous ideology which is leading Christian action groups in Sri Lanka and some of their counter-parts in India to support the Eelam demand of the Tamil separatists”.

That was a left position. As a response to right wing pressures the Indian Government has already brought severe restrictions on such funding from this year.

My own position is that NGOs specially if they are not too large, could do some useful work in development and could be supported. However, on research on sensitive areas I believe careful vetting by an independent (not a government) body would be desirable. The problem would be to walk the tight rope of genuine research interest and national security.

I should also make plain my position that ethnic identities are culturally acquired identities which change through time. Many subcultures constitute our society, which is a multi ethnic, multi religious plural entity. Shorn of the jargon the majority of ordinary Sri Lankans would agree to this description.

Two Parts

My article was in two parts — one a general analysis on the structure of social science resources, including personnel and funds and how this skewed against the mass of the trained intelligentsia. The second point was how members of whom I call the Ethnic Studies Industry (not Business, because I do not think their actions are dictated purely by pecuniary considerations) have selectively studied the issue. I noted that particular bases had entered from their hitherto lack

of organic linkages with the Sri Lankan intelligentsia. I also mentioned that there was a high level of interlocking directorates whereby the role of recorder, analyst and advocate was often mixed.

This point has been made in different ways by several segments of the media. In fact my quotation on different concerned people speaking to each other on the phone, to arrange for a seminar to which no one comes, was not mine, but culled from an independent Sunday newspaper not of the Island Groups.

None of the replies have faced the central questions that I raised. They have all pointed out their humanitarian objectives (which I had acknowledged in my article). Ignoring the crux of the arguments, the replies have generally concentrated on essentially trivial points. Below I will take up the responses one by one.

Centre for Society and Religion

I stated in my article the humanitarian motives of these groups. The Centre for Society and Religion in Father Balasuriya's gentle reply has reiterated this. About ten years ago I was associated with the activities of the Centre and I can vouch personally for its humanitarian orientation.

Yet, in spite of its attempt to co-ordinate broad elements, my observation is that this has not succeeded. Earlier I had occasion in India to speak to those in touch with Tamil militant groups in India and I do know that they consider the Centre's activities as largely irrelevant. More recently during the brief peace after the Accord I spent several days in the Eastern Province and had discussions, among others, with members of the LTTE. Let me assure Father Balasuriya that their views on your group's activity in spite of your good intentions are not very different from those of the other Northern militant groups.

In fact they had severe reservations about the other organisation you refer to, namely the Citizens Committee as a largely

self appointed body with no roots. An expression of this feeling was that members of the Citizens Committee were subsequently driven away by the LTTE.

As for Southern sentiments, the most vivid is your recent encounter with the students of the Colombo Campus a few weeks ago at a largely attended meeting to state that there was a lack of rapport between you and them would be an understatement.

My lecture referred to “exports” of a small group which influenced opinion at the international level. I know that Fr. Balasuriya and the other groups have issued statements for local consumption. Your Centre and others are a part of the pilgrim's progress of foreign journalists and foreign academic groups on the ethnic question, I know from direct personal experience that hardly any Buddhist monks are interviewed as analysts on the ethnic problems: if they are, it is largely as part of the problem not as part of the solution.

For example a couple of years ago I arranged for Prof. Urmila Phadnis, a leading Indian expert on Sri Lankan affairs and Dr. Ved Vaidik, an Indian commentator, a discussion with some leading Buddhist monks. The monks (they were well informed, almost all graduates, some PhDs) described this as the first occasion they were asked for their analytical views, and not interviewed as subjects.

Non-communal minded Buddhist monks who had participated in your well intentioned United Religious Organisation have on several occasions described to me its sense of remoteness and artificiality.

Let me quote also a theological scholar N. Abeysingha, who has written a sympathetic book on organisations like yours. In his view (the also specifically mentions your organisation) these groups “have failed to raise an echo in Sri Lankan society as a whole” (I do not necessarily agree with the subsequent analysis he gives for the reasons for this isolation).

(Continued on page 28)

Foreign Policy as 1st Line of Defence

Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike moving a token cut of Rs. 10/- on the votes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said; it was the first occasion that the House was discussing the Foreign Ministry vote after the July 29 India/Sri Lanka Agreement.

In the first instance, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, objected as a matter of principle, to the manner in which this agreement was signed. It was a pact conceived in secrecy and delivered, in undignified haste. A matter of the utmost national importance — matters involving nothing less than Sri Lanka's unity, sovereignty and independence, and on such questions of vital national concern, the people of this country were not consulted and not even informed. Nor was this Parliament informed or consulted or given an opportunity to discuss the proposed pact. If that was not possible for some reason the elected representatives of the people of this country could have been given an opportunity to express their views, since it was certainly not a matter exclusively concerning the government or the UNP. In fact, even the UNP was not kept informed — even the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister was not taken into confidence.

Responsible governments sensitive to popular opinion strive for, seek out, national consensus — even when if they do not succeed or hope to succeed. Certainly, most governments endeavour to do so on foreign policy, on decisions that affect (and can have lasting consequences) on a country's independence and sovereignty or can have lasting consequences in these areas of vital national interest. For Example — Mrs Bandaranaike consulted Mr. Dudley Senanayake on the Indo/Sri Lanka pact-citizenship.

This agreement, broadly speaking, concern two areas — (1) the domes-



Mr. Anura Bandaranaike

tic or domestic — political, and (2) foreign policy.

Indian obligations

'The simultaneous signing of these several documents (not merely the Accord) and any examination of the contents of these documents must make it absolutely clear to anybody with a modicum of intelligence that we have here a domestic problem which is also an external problem, a foreign policy problem.

I mention only Prabhakaran, because the others, especially our old friends from the TULF, who were also doing great damage to Sri Lanka from Madras, were not 'tigers' but only tame pussy cats... now frightened to even step into their own electorates — go back to their 'Eelam'... it was the TULF which raised 'the Eelam' cry.

'India undertakes the following — I am summarising the main points

(a) to take all necessary steps to ensure that its territory will not be used for activities that

are prejudicial to the interests of Sri Lanka's unity sovereignty and territorial integrity.

(b) to Sri Lanka government's request for military assistance. (d) to ensure the cooperation of the two navies to prevent the activities of Tamil separatists.

(e) to provide training and supplies for Sri Lankan Security Forces.

'Most of us, on both sides of the House, will welcome these assurances; Not to allow its territory to be used by individuals or organisations whose activities are prejudicial to Sri Lankan interests, is indeed a most welcome commitment — especially to a small country like Sri Lanka, and particularly when it is pledged by a huge and powerful neighbour.

'At the same time many of us, on both sides of the House, will laugh, or sneer or mock such pledges in the light of the recent past. We all know, the whole world knows, that Prabhakaran the leader of the 'Tigers', conducted his murderous terrorist activities from Madras, not just living there, but enjoying the

personal patronage of the Tamilnadu chief minister, M. G. R. I mention only Prabhakaran, because the others, especially our old friends from the TULF, who were also doing great damage to Sri

Lanka from Madras, were not 'tigers' but only tame pussy cats... now frightened to even step into their own electorates — go back to their 'Eelam... it was the TULF which raised 'the Eelam' cry.

The "Tigers", the other groups, and the TULF were provided sanctuary, they were paid allowances allowed do open offices, to do propaganda work, issue statements against Sri Lanka and so forth. But it was 'tigers', most of all, who were extended the privilege and patronage that could be given only by the Chief Minister. The LTTE had camps, training camps, they received or purchased arms abroad; they even ran a shipping company in Singapore, we are told. The truth is that they operated from Indian soil.

Now, we all knew that, and we protested about it. The P. M. was the loudest and he protested openly, everywhere from Harare to New York — everywhere he went. We appreciated his anger, his righteous indignation. He was quoting the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi — he was reminding the Indian leader, especially Mr. Gandhi, about the noble ideals of those illustrious sons of India.

We were amused and entertained by this performance, although what the prime minister was saying was factually true and his criticism and moral censure therefore well-founded. We found it entertaining, Sir, because here in Sri Lanka, everyday we hear, our own leaders, preaching 'Ahimsa' to the people, quoting the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi, on "non-violence", preaching sermons on the virtues of Democracy, non-violence, and every other night on TV or radio, recommending to the poor masses the virtues of the simple life, of morality, of honesty and so on. Ahimsa on the one side, "green tigers" on the other; democracy on platforms but referendum, rigging elections, taking cabinet secretaries to Jaffna to rig D. D. C. election, vanishing with ballot boxes... preaching one thing, practising another... so with your

sermons to the masses on the virtues of simple living... while you, or your catchers are having a carnival. What do we learn from this?

You talk democracy, preach democracy, boast about your democracy but your real interest is power, to hang on to power... in short your main concern, and motivation is self-interest.

And that holds true even more strongly in the field of foreign policy. Every body knows the maxim of the 19th century English official "Her Majesty's government has no permanent friends and no permanent enemies... it has only permanent interest." Others speak of 'national interest' and 'enlightened self-interest'.

If you look at what your President signed — and I often wonder why our Prime Minister attacks one signatory, Mr. Gandhi (who is answerable to his people, while not attacking the cosignatory, our President who is accountable to all Sri Lankans, including our Prime Minister) — yes, if you look at the document, you will find the following sentence:

"Trincomalee or any other port in Sri Lanka will not be made available to military use by any other country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests?"

While noting the phrase "prejudicial to India's interest" may I draw your attention to the following sentence which is para 2 of Mr. Gandhi's letter.

"In this spirit you had (you, here means President Jayewardene, during the course of our discussions, agreed to meet some of India's concerns as follows."

Trinco is explicitly named as an 'Indian interest'. An Indian concern. Now you may well ask what business is it of India to make such a demand, to impose conditions on what we do with Trinco which is part of our territory, and therefore our sove-

reign right to do whatever we wish to do with it? You may ask that. And you are right in asking that question.

In turn, I should like to pose a general question for your consideration, before I proceed to specific matters. What happens if our exercise of our sovereign right to use our territory as we like clashes with the interests of our neighbour, especially a big powerful neighbour? What if we exercise this sovereign right and allow a country hostile to our big neighbour to use our territory? What consequences will flow?

But to turn to certain specific matters, may I remind this House that this is by no means the first time that Sri Lanka has signed agreements with India... and on important, fundamental issues. We signed two pacts on the citizenship issue — Sirime-Shastri Pact and another Sirima-Indira Pact. You cannot say that it was not important — citizenship is a fundamental question, and his concerned over a million persons. But India agreed — agreed to take back the larger number. It could have refused. What could we have done? Dumped our good friend, Mr. Thondaman and his CWC members in the Palk Straits?

Again, we signed a pact on a territorial issue — you can't say that's not important, the maritime boundary. Why did Mrs. Gandhi, like Mr. Shastri, sign it, without having these annexures.

The answer is simple Sir. We did not follow a policy of deliberate hostility to India. We were not stupid enough to do that, we, the SLFP, did not put our country in a position where we had to turn to India and say 'please help us solve our Tamil problem... please help us to control the "Tigers" and thus, expose ourselves to a situation where India would say "yes, we will but... you must sign this... "And by signing it, we sacrificed, and surrendered our sovereignty. If our sovereignty is not totally lost, at least it has been abridged, it has been circumscribed, it is a limited sovereignty in certain.

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'VIRAGAYA'

Tilak A. Gunawardhana

This is not about the technicalities or the cinematic aspects of the film about which enough has been written, and the impression given is that at last we have made a first class Sinhala film (thanks to Tissa Abeysekera), whatever the merits of the book are.

The Sinhala novel, particularly Wickramasinghe's 'Gamperaliya' came under critical scrutiny with Sarathchandra's foray in the early fifties, and the subsequent studies appearing in a couple of English literary journals of the period. After that initial enthusiasm, I cannot recall reading anything in English till Ranjini Obeysekera's thesis was published sometime ago, which was about the main currents of literary criticism in Sinhala, and only obliquely concerned about what I am writing.

'Viragaya' the book has not been looked at seriously with anything like the attention that film is now attracting, and I feel that this work of Wickramasinghe's would have been completely forgotten (except in University lectures) if Abeysekera had not made it come alive on the screen. True, there was some controversy over it in the Sinhala press, and Wickramasinghe at the time took the critics to task in some critical essays published subsequently. To my knowledge, nothing appeared in the English press to correspond to what was going on in the Sinhala one.

It is not inopportune to look at the work again, now that an acceptable film version has also appeared, the two media complementing each other. There is a danger here of carrying over Tissa Abeysekera's vision to the book, or looking at the book through Abeysekera's eyes. Those who have read the book are very few (among those who mainly read English) and copies of the novel were not available readily for a long period (also shows how popular it was), and even today it is not one of the titles displayed in bookshops which sell Sinhala fiction. Hence the English reading public would be banking mainly on the film version.

With 'Yuganthaya', Wickramasinghe had reached the end of the road that started with Gamperaliya, bringing to a culmination explorations in the transformation a couple of Sinhala fami-

lies, through social changes that were taking place during the relevant periods. The social changes were part of everyone's experience, and Wickramasinghe's novels had more than the craft of a novelist to recommend themselves. They were translated to Russian, and Wickramasinghe acquired a readership well beyond the narrow confines of a couple of thousand Sinhala readers. The families that were described were not in anyway, 'average' families (if there is a unit called an average family) but the 'winds of change' were apparent through changes that took place in the stories. Those changes, though generally social, had a strong and a particular family, and an individual component, and the characters did not look too much like puppets that were created to fit into a completely worked out 'weltanschauung' even though it cannot be denied that Wickramasinghe had a strongly articulated one. The fortunes of the 'Gamperaliya' family were depicted with conviction, but that cannot be said of the last one 'Yuganthaya'.

We are now, however concerned with 'Viragaya', that represented a complete break from the Gamperaliya-Yuganthaya series, and which marked a turning point in both Wickramasinghe's attitude to life and the novelist's craft. If the three novels of the earlier breed exhibited in terms of individual characters the triumph of a process of social change (going from semi feudal to urban commercial and capitalist), 'Viragaya' is a complete withdrawal into social stagnation and personal salvation. I am not sure of Wickramasinghe's own motives in creating 'Arvinda'. Is it to show a man without passion (Viragaya), and to demonstrate how he fails to cope with even ordinary rural life, which is much simpler and less demanding than urban life? Arvinda never seems to have the strength of character that comes from strongly held convictions, and that means religious or spiritual values as well. Is he devoid of passion or convictions? Wickramasinghe as the title of the book suggests wanted Arvinda to personify 'passionlessness'. What is however apparent is a lack of any kind of conviction. He cannot make up his mind to marry the girl who loves him, and even wants to elope with him. It is painful to see how he allows the two girls

in his feeble romantic life, to drift into the arms of men who he would not have admired. He seems to be guided by religious or other scruples that prevent him from acting, or from acting that inflict pain on others. He did exhibit passion sometimes, especially when he slapped Bathie on his discovering that she had written some verses which he concluded were obscene. His passions are lukewarm, but he is not devoid of passion.

What is more central to our discussion is Wickramasinghe's drift from having been a writer who observed major social changes and how they influenced the development of few characters, to be a writer who probes a stagnant social milieu and a character to all practical purposes is thoughtlessly carving out for himself a world that is not only convictionless but also one that holds no meaning to life lived by others about him. He is not even an other worldly recluse, for that would have required in him strongly held beliefs, or philosophical outlook. He is too feeble minded for that.

Wickramasinghe's own development at this stage may be seen in his publication of 'Theri-gee' a Sinhala version of verses purported to have been composed by nuns reaching various stages of the 'ego-less' state (arahatship).

One reason for publication of this collection of verses would have been to indicate to those who were breaking into Sinhala free verse that what they were doing was not something completely 'European' or 'Western' or new. The other would have been his interest in religious or spiritual development. For towards the end of his life he proceeded the same way and wrote 'Bavatharanaya', which was denounced by orthodox Buddhists as being a distortion of the life of Buddha. What is apparent here in all three works ie 'Viragaya', 'Theri Gee', and 'Bavatharanaya' is a movement towards renunciation of worldly life. In the earlier series there was a tacit affirmation of worldly life, and Wickramasinghe saw a development that would have liberated man in a social sense. Had he abandoned all hopes of seeing man socially liberated towards the time of writing 'Viragaya', and held up to admiration one who was not so much passionless as 'desireless', and one who approximated to the Buddhist ideal of 'Arahat'? (Contd. on page 28)

Imran: the cricketer with all-round appeal

Ahmad Rashid

LAHORE

Pakistan's Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo has tried to persuade this man to join his ruling Pakistan Muslim League. His ministers believe that they could trounce the popular Benazir Bhutto at the next elections if they could have him on their team.

A conservative bureaucrat in Islamabad never allows his daughter to put any poster pin-ups of male pop stars or sports heroes in her bedroom — with one exception. A peasant in rural Punjab has adorned his tractor with pictures of the man. At dinner parties in London or Lahore beautiful women of all ages try to get introduced to just one guest.

This man — considered the Robert Redford of the cricketing world — is Pakistani team captain and cricket allrounder Imran Khan.

There arguably has never been such a widely popular cricketer in the history of the game. The Western media, from British tabloids to *Vogue* magazine, have latched onto him as though cricketers never existed before. He is in the gossip column, on fashion pages, in colour ads and, of course in the sports pages. Now, at the age of 34 and at the height of career he has announced his retirement from test match cricket once the cricket World Cup, currently being played in India and Pakistan, is over.

The details of Imran Khan's life are already well known; his Pathan ancestry, public school education, his famous father and cricketing cousins, his family pedigree are repeated ad nauseam in the media. It is his mass popularity in diverse Pakistan that remains an enigma.

An extremely handsome man his glamorous lifestyle has never angered the mullahs in Pakistan. His lack of commitment to any real issue has never turned off

intellectuals or the Left. The villager or industrial worker has never been put off by his obvious high-class family background. In fact, the essence of his popularity is that he is a hero for all people in all seasons and he has played his popularity card extremely carefully.

He has quite a reputation with women, counting Princess Diana, model Jerry Hall and a Rothschild heiress among of his admirers. His affairs with busty Indian movie stars and British aristocrats are already the stuff of legend. Yet, whenever he is interviewed he insists that he wants an arranged marriage back home, which his parents will settle. Nobody in Pakistan believes him but it is exactly what the people want to hear and it prevents the fundamentalist religious lobby from criticising him.

* * *

Attempts by gushing interviewers to draw him out on politics or current issues are a non-starter. This is frustrating for those who are curious, especially in Pakistan where everybody has strong political views and many Pakistan cricketers have gone into politics. However, Imran Khan seems to have no opinions on anything outside cricket and his political neutrality prevents him being labelled so he antagonises nobody.

Despite his Western education, and obvious sophistication, he is still an essential *desi*, or native son, intensely loyal to his home city of Lahore. *Desi* can only be defined as combining all the traditional traits of the Subcontinent. This common touch retains the loyalty of the larger public. Those suffused with Pakistani nationalism rarely feel let down by Imran Khan. For the man in the street he remains an enigma but an approachable human being.

Those who know him well would not credit these factors

to a highly intelligent, carefully planned media campaign by Imran Khan. In fact, he is regarded as just a little dim and even his friends find it difficult to talk to him about anything but cricket. His finely tuned appeal to everyone is related to his cricket skills. He is a natural all-rounder, a polished batsman and one of the finest fast bowlers in the world. International cricket has enabled him to absorb the best of the East and the West and released all his potential physical abilities. This same all-roundness has become part of his personality.

As captain of the Pakistan team he has faced immense problems. Compared to the Pakistani team a generation ago, when test cricketers were sons of the military and feudal elite, and camaraderie was much easier, the team is now decidedly middle class. The teams diversity reflects that of the country, with potential mullahs, poorly educated urbanities, rural gentry, and players who cannot speak English. Imran Khan's pedigree is closer to the earlier generation, but he has never handled the players with arrogance and they are intensely loyal to him.

Cricket in Pakistan is a notoriously political game, with open fights between the selectors and managers filling the pages of the local press every day. Every functionary in a key cricket position has a protege whom he wants included in the team. Cricket has also not been helped by the frequent periods of martial law imposed on Pakistan and the preponderance of ex-army generals who have held top positions in the country's cricket hierarchy. It has been to Imran Khan's credit that he has managed to survive as captain for so long.

What he inspires in the team and his adoring public is loyalty. Unlike other superstars, even his numerous ex-girlfriends have remained loyal and not one has

(Continued on page 28)

Ethnicity and Economic Growth

Sonali Deraniyagala

The development of private sector industry prior to 77 and its impact on Sinhala and Tamil industrialists:

An attempt to foster industrialisation through private sector import-substitution began in the late 1950s. Given the imposition of tariffs barriers, there was a capital domestic market favourable to the local industrialists. This private sector industry developed largely in the area of manufactured light consumer goods, where the low capital requirements, the quick rates of return and low risk suited the weak industrialist class. By 1974 the manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco and textiles accounted for around 77% of total private sector industrial activity.

The industrialist class that developed in this period was not homogeneous in nature. At the top there were the large entrepreneurs, who were involved in the import trade in the previous period and to a very limited extent in industry. During this period, these larger industrialists developed in collaboration with foreign capital. Secondly, there developed middle level industrialists who were local manufacturers without foreign collaboration. Most of these industrialists were engaged in wholesale and retail trade in the period prior to trade controls and the capital they had accumulated was now invested in industry. Some of these industrialists had also accumulated capital from areas that were now nationalized — eg: transport. Compared to the large industrialists this group was weak in terms of the capital it possessed and also faced greater uncertainties when entering a new area of production in which it had little expertise. It is for this group that the protection from foreign competition (imports) given by the state was important.

It has been argued that this middle level industrialist class was created and consolidated during this period mainly through state patronage and that this class was mainly Sinhala Buddhist

(Gunasinghe, 1984). The reason for this is seen in terms of the Sinhala Buddhist ideology of the state and its control over the economy. Import substitution industrialisation involved systems of licensing for setting up industries and quotas for importing raw materials. This was especially important as 45% of raw material inputs even in 1974 were imported. As a result it was those groups with most access to state power, and whose political support was important to the state, that benefited. Systematic data on industrialisation on an ethnic basis is lacking. However, the 1969 Directory of Industries, which lists all registered industries supports the above argument. Further if we consider data on a regional basis, the 1978 survey of manufacturing reveals that industrial units in the Tamil areas together account for merely 3% of the total industrial units that developed in the period. This must however be qualified, as there was a marked concentration of industry in the Colombo area (which accounted for 65.70% of all units) — however there were other predominantly Sinhala areas like Kalutara, Kandy, Matara, Gampaha etc., which showed small averages around 5-6% each. This data however, is not limited to private industry, and therefore must be further qualified.

(To be Continued)

Viragaya . . .

(Continued from page 26)

The technique of writing the novel also places Arvinda at a distance. The time and place also contribute to the removal of the character from the demands of those worlds he depicted in his earlier novels. The world of Arvinda is more, and searching for roots, or being fascinated by a world that has disappeared, Wickramasingha perhaps wanted escape from the distracting demands of the world he was living in. I do not brand this work as an escapist one, for that

is a false categorisation. But it is certainly a complete reversal of the line of development that everyone watched with hope, when the Gamperaliya-Yuganathaya series appeared.

Susantha G . . .

(Continued from page 22)

However these are detailed matters that we should jointly explore in the public discussion that you have now called for. I also accept your invitation to go to any village and see how ordinary villagers react to your well intentioned work.

I understand that after an enquiry from you, the BCIS had already offered you forum, has not yet been accepted. My close association with the SLAAS may I therefore suggest that we have our encounter in the two other fora of your choice, co. sponsor by say the Federations of respectively University Teachers and University Students as well as the Organisation of Professional Associations. Any residual matters can also be cleared there.

(To be concluded)

Imran . . .

(Continued from page 27)

sold her story to the gutter press for a vast sum of money. There is little doubt that his most loyal fans are females, from the school-girls who crowd the stadium, to langorous beauties and even old maids.

In such a conservative society this is an anomaly, and certainly the first time that such open female adoration of a male star has been tolerated by conservative fathers and husbands. It has been tolerated because, though Imran Khan is certainly not averse, to female admiration, he has never, publicly at least, abused the trust that conservative Pakistani men place in him.

In a troubled and divided Pakistan, cricket and in particular Imran Khan have become an important unifying factor and this message is not lost on the regime, which continues to try and woo him into politics. But his only ambition at present is to win the World Cup for Pakistan, which would be a fitting end to a remarkable career.



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