

EXCLUSIVE

From Annexure 'C' to Dec. 19 proposals
— *an Indian policy paper*

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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The Palk Straits Caper



The Politics of 'Operation Liberation'

— *Mervyn de Silva*

Leonard Woolf and Swiss model

— *Jehan Perera, Frederic Spotts*

The Commonwealth as mediator

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Researching the ethnic issue — the PRIO reply

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AID and the 3rd world's immune deficiency

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Crime and punishment — H. L. De Silva

T.N.C.'s — exploiting the peasant — S. Sathananthan

● Palk Straits ● No Missiles in Asia



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UNEASY QUIET

May Day saw a re-awakening of the long dormant Sri Lankan left while increasingly restive campuses erupted with a violence that shook the government and introduced tensions into the UNP and its rattled hierarchy "Operation Liberation One" in the Jaffna peninsula (see News background) has brought an uneasy quiet to these trouble centres, while anti-UNP Sinhala opinion has been momentarily diverted and seemingly satisfied.

But a huge red poster on the LSSP head office warning the government against a 'drift to dictatorship' and the spirited May 21st rally in Colombo of the three-party alliance (LSSP-CP-SLMP) suggest that anti-UNP mood of the Left will influence Opposition politics in the coming months. And so with the campuses where the present stand-off may prove short-lived. The truce is not likely to last since the Vice Chancellors of all the campuses have laid down three stiff conditions. The UGC's terms are (a) a guarantee on "no-violence" (b) uninterrupted attendance and (c) a ban on outside "trouble-makers."

Student opinion has been appeased by the appointment of Prof. H. V. J. Fernando to inquire into the disturbances on the Colombo campus on May 5, following the death of two youths, including an undergraduate, at the May Day meeting held at the Narahenpita temple on May 1.

SOVIET MOVE

Despite the recent barrage by the Soviet media (L. G. May 1) on U. S. policies and plans in Sri Lanka and the region, the Soviet Union has signed a large 75 million dollar aid package with the Mahaveli Minister. Up to now as much as 85% of the 40 billion dollar multi-purpose Mahaveli project has come from the World Bank and western donors. The Soviet project will be located in the troubled Trincomalee district, covered by System

A of the Mahaveli scheme, and will develop forty thousand acres of a total project area of 100,000 acres. The new project will help settle 15,000 families drawn from all three communities. Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim families have all been affected by the ethnic strife in the eastern province, and the sensitive Trinco district. Ten Soviet experts will visit Sri Lanka in June to assist in drawing up the plans. Implementation will take 3 to 4 years. Soviet participation in the Mahaveli project is seen as a diplomatic victory for the Jayewardena government and a personal success for Mahaveli minister, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake. The agreement coincided with an announcement by the Foreign Ministry that president Jayewardene's first official visit to Moscow has been postponed in view of the present situation.

SLFP OFFICE RAIDED

The ISLAND's Kurunegala corr. reported (May 29) that the police had raided the Sri Lanka Freedom party office. Administrative Secretary has been detained. The report added that several documents found in the office had been seized.

In the absence of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the party leader, the Executive Committee will meet over the weekend to discuss the matter. A protest to the President is expected.

TRENDS + LETTERS

Australia can help ?

The escalation of violence and deepening ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka poses a threat to the stability of the Indian Ocean Region and should therefore be of great concern to the international community. Besides other considerations, Australia by virtue of being in this broad region has a special interest in the resolution of this conflict.

Having remained distant from the conflict and because of its extensive ties with Sri Lanka, Australia is ideally placed to play an active role in bringing about an end to the current conflict. The urgent need is to ensure that the deadlocked talks between Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups are resumed. In the present circumstances, it is clear that only concerted international action could help to reactivate this process of negotiation.

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Editor: Mervyn de Silva
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A useful strategy that might be pursued in this regard, is to reconvene the negotiations begun in 1986 in Thimpu (India), this time under the auspices of an International Conference, convened in a neutral country. The implementation of this plan may well come within the purview of the Commonwealth as an interested party to the dispute as both India and Sri Lanka are valued and long standing members of the Commonwealth.

For these reasons, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Sri S. Ramphal should be requested by Australia to canvass Commonwealth opinion on this proposal as matter of urgency. Australia should take the initiative and encourage the Commonwealth to play the 'honest broker' role in these negotiations. Australia for its part should be willing to host such an International conference.

The eventual success of such an initiative will depend on the following conditions.

- (1) The establishment of a broad based "national" government reflecting the viewpoints of all communities and political groups with whom the Tamil community may negotiate a stable and lasting political agreement
- (2) The immediate cessation of all hostilities
- (3) The restoration of political rights to the moderates of the Tamil community, who were affected by the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution (1983)
- (4) Because of historical links and strong regional interests the active support of India as an interested party is important

A critical issue for all plural societies is to balance the rival and competing claims of majority and minority communities without risking the rights of competing groups nor endangering the moral and political order

of society. The case of Sri Lanka illustrates the difficulties of maintaining rights, justice, values and solidarity within the democratic framework of a plural society.

In this regard, it is now clear that plural societies can survive politically only by means of a devolution of powers. However, the forms and structures of such "devolutions" will inevitably vary from society to society and be determined by particular historical, social and political circumstances. The tragedy of the Sri Lankan case exemplifies not the need for devolution about which there is now broad based consensus, but the difficulty of obtaining agreement on the finer details of the structures and forms of this devolution for its effective maintenance.

Prof Tambiah—an outstanding Sri Lankan social scientist—who holds the prestigious Chair of Anthropology at Harvard University, in a scholarly, sensitive and sometimes impassioned portrayal of the present condition in Sri Lanka (see his 'Sri Lanka: Ethnic Fratricide and Dismantling Democracy') highlights the dilemmas inherent in establishing the truths of democratic pluralism.

To underline the real challenge of pluralism he quotes Raymond Aaron, the eminent French scholar, who poignantly observes that "pluralism justifies itself by the falsehood of the beliefs that oppose it"—such as dominance, conflict and oppression of minorities.

Sri Lanka, which has been an exemplar of the newly independent democratic countries, with a level of political social development far surpassing many other similar 'third world countries' surely warrants the goodwill and support of democratic countries to overcome this political malaise. It is my fervent hope and plea that Australia as a regional neighbour and fraternal member of the Commonwealth can in-

tervene to facilitate the processes of peace in Sri Lanka.

Prof. Laksiri Jayasuriya

University of Western Australia
Nedlands, WA

(This a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Bill Hayden, the Australian Foreign Minister)

Outspoken Magazine

I am a Special Correspondent in AFP's New Delhi office and last week had the occasion to go through the May 1 issue of Lanka Guardian which my colleague Barry Parker had brought with him.

Please accept my best wishes bringing out an outspoken magazine like Guardian despite the circumstances prevalent in Sri Lanka.

M R Narayan Swamy

H 2/A Saket, New Delhi.

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UNP: Offensive in the north — and defensive in the south

Mervyn de Silva

The objective of 'Operation Liberation' was primarily political — political aims to be achieved, wholly or partly by military means. Sri Lanka students of the current crisis as well as informed foreign observers now understand much better the dual nature of this political-military conflict, commonly and loosely described as 'terrorism' or an 'ethnic issue'. Experience is the best tutor, especially to a people whose modern history makes them ill-equipped to comprehend fully the complexity of the ordeal and the challenge. As events unfold and the complex situation unravels, experience then begins to confirm theory; not surprisingly for in matters such as this, the theory itself is a distillation of the experience of others.

First, the government's thinking on its own express objectives. Although a single sentence or even a seemingly casual aside by President JR can be the most revealing, the most articulate and authoritative spokesman on the politico-military situation is the National Security Minister. Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali told this writer that "the background events" should be kept in mind to understand the government's "objectives". He mentioned the following:

(1) LTTE/EROS intransigence and their outright rejection of even the Dec. 19 proposals which India had publicly welcomed as an acceptable starting point for a final round of negotiations.

(2) The LTTE/EROS appeal to the Tamil community not to give any credibility to these proposals/negotiations.

(3) MGR's gift of 3.2 million US dollars, a violation of diplomatic norms and an unequivocal gesture of support for and encouragement to the armed struggle or he called 'fascist-separatist terrorism'.

Military Option

An "Operation Liberation" began on Tuesday Mr. Jayewardene threw down the gauntlet to the guerrillas battling for an independent Tamil homeland in the north and east of the island.

"We have decided to fight them and that will go on until they win or we win," the 80 year old President said.

Diplomats here believe Mr. Jayewardene is gambling everything on the military option in order to negotiate with the rebels with Indian mediation.

"I think this is the push everyone has been waiting for" a Western diplomat said. "The politicians are staking their all on it this time."

— Andrew Tarnowski, Reuter

"We will prove to them that they cannot possibly achieve their aims by violence and, by doing so, hope that they will see the wisdom of a political settlement" added Mr. Athulathmudali.

It would have been unreasonable to expect the National Security Minister to go further into details.

There can be little doubt that the government considered the lively possibility of MGR's "humanitarian aid" being converted to something a bit more lethal. And if the government's intelligence advisers had informed it of the LTTE's need for an immediate replenishment of reduced or rapidly dwindling supplies, then this would certainly explain the timing of the operation, the need on the government's part to strike now rather than later.

It would have been also unfair to expect the National Security Minister to disclose the main, perhaps the overwhelming, political consideration that compelled the government's decision to implement contingency plans mapped out by the armed forces, weeks, even months earlier. That primary objective was the government's compelling need to respond to the train of events starting from the "Good Friday" massacre on the Habara-Trinco road and the terrorist bomb outrage in the heart of the city, more dramatic in its psychological-political impact than the brutal Anuradhapura massacre. In short, the deadly impact of the "northern war" on public opinion and politics in the South.

From the beginning it has been perfectly clear to some of us that the South of Colombo could not for long enjoy the comfort of a distant war which did not affect political trends or social life in the south. The 'Ulster parallel' the luxury of the early 80's, would not hold. The deadly double-blow of the 'Good Friday' ambush-cum-massacre and the explosion in the Pettah destroyed this thesis completely.

While the unprecedented three-day 20-hour curfew in Colombo and suburbs dramatised this fact, it also signalled a new development. Of course, the curfew was a security measure, a necessary step. But it suggested more.

The UNP had reason to fear spontaneous combustion. Would pent-up anti-UNP feelings explode?

Comes May Day. It demonstrated that an over-anxious UNP did not exaggerate the danger of an explosion, when it imposed that unparalleled 3 day curfew. The possibilities were real and present. It could have taken the form of anti-Tamil violence or anti-UNP or both or the later partly disguised as the first! Thus, the ban on May Day meetings and processions; not just a panicky move by a totally besieged regime but a defensive security measure of a highly troubled government gripped by a growing uncertainty left with the only option of 'better safe than sorry'.

May Day also marked a more important event of greater long-term consequence. First the reaction of anti-UNP forces, and second, what followed the police action, at Union Place and the Narahenpita temple premises. While the impact of the 'war' in the North on politics in the South should never be forgotten, these events did not result from the trigger-effect of the massacre or the bomb blast. From now on, we must study them as autonomous developments in the South.

In different ways, the SLFP, the major force of the anti-UNP opposition, the three-party left alliance, and the militant Sinhala-Buddhist groups and groupings, defied the ban. (Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, incidentally, identified himself with the LSSP-CP-SLMP alliance at Union Place). The police action at Union

Place caused serious injury to the LSSP leader, and the only surviving father-figure of Sri

Beyond Repair?

Already, many people believe the conflict has deepened past the point of reconciliation. This view is supported by a speech on Wednesday by Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene, who said of the militants: "We have decided to fight them. That will go on until either they or we win." Commenting on the offensive, a diplomat said: "You can't turn a victory of Jaffna into a political settlement."

During the past month, the government has been under intense pressure by the Sinhalese to initiate an all-out attack against Tamil militants, and a successful military foray would go a long way toward restoring sagging government credibility.

In April, suspected Tamil militants massacred more than 300 civilians in two separate terrorist attacks that shocked the country: a bomb blast in the heart of Colombo and the mass shooting of civilian Sinhalese travelling in a convoy of buses and trucks in the east.

"After that, the focus of outrage has been against Jayewardene for not doing anything," said a western diplomat. "The motivation for the assault (on Jaffna) is political." Commenting on the offensive, a Sinhalese fundamentalist said: "It's good but the government should have done this years back."

— MATT MILLER
(A. S. W. J)

Lankan Left movement, while causing hurt to many others, including the C.P. chief, Mr. Pieter Keuneman. The SLMP duo, Vijaya and Chandrika, also had some rough moments. The intervention of armed police at Narahenpita of course led to two deaths, one a student, and the other a M.E.P. activist who had come to the meeting with party leader, Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena.

The single, combined effect of these events has been the intensification of anti-UNP hostility although the organised anti-UNP forces continue to work separately on account of serious policy differences between them, chiefly on the National question, and on the political-military responses which the regime should make. The fact that they work separately and often in contradictory ways is a source of comfort to the UNP. But not much. The objective consequence of their agitation, overlapping sometimes but never co-ordinated is accumulated pressure on the government. To put it the other way, the Opposition remains disunited but the Opposition forces multiply and expand to isolate the UNP. Anti-UNP sentiment rises in intensity while anti-UNP forces grow, albeit for different reasons.

Already in April, the SLFP MP's though just a handful, tore into the government so furiously that the new confrontationalist spirit of the major Opposition party led to their physical removal from Parliament, one by one, with a young SLFP backbencher actually shouting out to suggest the possibility that the bomb blast was the work of a sinister foreign hand! (See SLFP SHOWS SPUNK LG May 1). This particular burst of bravado has understandably angered the National Security Minister so much that he has scornfully dismissed the wild accusation from many platforms.

Yet, Mr. Dodangoda's remark was a sign of the new mood in

the SLFP. That was clear when Mrs. Bandaranaike addressed a conference of foreign journalists. (See Mrs. B takes the offensive May 15). Her statements there placed more firmly than ever before the question of democracy on the national agenda. As twice prime minister of Sri Lanka and,

Three-pronged Attack

But officials will not commit themselves to a timetable possibly unsure of the abilities of an army which has ballooned from 15,000 to 26,000 men in four years. Everything will proceed step by step, they say.

They insist that the primary aim is to secure Vadamarachchi, the strategic North-Eastern corner of the Jaffna peninsula, while troops north of Jaffna city link up a string of military camps in which they have been bottled up for two years.

Officials say two other pushes — one southwards towards the city and one north from the Elephant Pass cause way linking the peninsula to the rest of the island, are feints to confuse the rebels.

Diplomats believe the pushes may develop into part of a three-pronged attack on the city.

— Andrew Tarnowski, Reuter

with President JR, the best internationally known Sri Lankan politician, the challenge was all the more credible, and therefore all the more disconnecting to a regime now approaching its tenth anniversary—an anniversary which Mrs. B. hopes to celebrate with

a passive resistance campaign in support of elections.

As the UNP began to look hopelessly ineffective in its war effort and continue to alienate Sinhala-Buddhist opinion, the cry came out for SLFP cooperation to resolve the national crisis. Rumours about 'grand coalitions' and 'interim governments' spread in the inner councils of a petrified Colombo Establishment, especially the business community watching the 'rewards' of the 'Open Economy' and perhaps the 'Open Economy' itself threatened. Mrs. B. however put paid to this final hope of rescue. She may be neither theoretician nor strategist but she can smell blood in the water, specially the blood of her main and permanent enemy with whom she has many scores to settle. Elections and the restoration of democracy first. Other things later. The press conference conveyed that simple message, loud and clear. Patriotic Alliance, a coalition of democratic parties, a class alliance—call it what you will, it was rejected out of hand.

On May Day, the UNP also lost the traditional Left. Right up to the December 19 proposals and even after, the 3 party alliance has pursued a policy of constructive criticism vis-a-vis the UNP while being helpfully cooperative on the government's peace initiatives. When the LSSP-CP-SLMP met for the first time (May 21) after May Day police action at Union Place, the speeches and the posters had a single message too—Stop the Drift to Dictatorship. The issue, in short, of Democracy.

The All-party Conference in 1985 had signalled the isolation of the SLFP. The events from mid-April to mid-May marked the isolation of the UNP, which had followed a two-track 'military option-political settlement' strategy for nearly four years, reacting to varying pressures, mainly the external, India and the Aid Group. But the "War and/or Peace" strategy was tenable as long as all the pressures, the internal (the situation on the ground,

politics in the south) and the external could be contained. Now the multiple containment strategy collapsed.

The National Question and the Tamil resistance, impacting continuously on Sinhala public opinion had seen new alignments, policy shifts by parties and sectional groups, and all these developments steadily transforming politics in the south. By April-May, the 'war' thrust itself into the main organised force in the country, the UNP government. It created frictions and fissures inside the UNP hierarchy. Again, the issues were 'war and/or peace' and the allied questions of Indian mediation and foreign policy, but it was another problem that the internal conflicts surfaced most sharply and openly—the JVP. Not surprisingly. Once more, it reflected the isolation of the UNP. Why take on the anti-SLFP, anti-Left alliance JVP too, a party proscribed anyway? That was clearly the question which the UNP faced. Again, it was Prime Minister Premadasa, who had been the most consistent on the other issues (law and order, terrorism, India and foreign policy) who voiced a contrary opinion and distanced himself at once from the official 'crackdown' on the JVP. He was soon joined by Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel.

Tamils and India

"The feeling of Sri Lankan Tamils is one of betrayal", said Neelan Tiruchelvan, former Member of Parliament and a spokesman for the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front party. "What is the good of Indian help if it can't prevent a final assault on Jaffna".

— Reuter

If the SLFP option has been foreclosed, if the 3 party alliance is now anti-UNP also on the democracy issue, if the TULF and moderate Tamil opinion has been utterly disillusioned, can the UNP, preparing for local polls, antagonise the JVP too, with its

(Continued on page 9)

STOP PRESS

As this edition of the L. G. goes to print, several days behind the schedule to accommodate fast-moving and important events, the Palk Straits which have so profoundly influenced our history, is the scene of a new Indo-Sri Lankan confrontation. Is the Indian convoy of fishing boats set on a collision-course? Prime Minister Premadasa told an emergency session of Parliament that President JR, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, had ordered the Armed Forces to 'defend our territorial waters'.

Whether there is an open exchange or not, this event will certainly prove a water-shed in Indo-Sri Lankan relations. Relations between India and Sri Lanka, traditionally her only neighbour of long-tested friendship, may never be same again, at least in this century.

The Emergency Cabinet meeting and the emergency session of Parliament of June 2, dramatised the crisis, as the Indian convoy moved out of Rameshwaran, accompanied by a large group of international media representatives, bound for the island's northern coast. The flurry of diplomatic notes stressed the urgency of the Sri Lankan effort to find a compromise that could help avoid the flashpoint. But Delhi refused to give Colombo time to discuss "modalities" of the Indian aid offer. Even as national and world media attention riveted on what the *Daily News* called "Aid Intervention", the country received a stunning reminder of the violent internal conflict which had led inexorably to the inter-state confrontation — a brutal massacre in Ampara, with 29 Buddhist monks the victims.

P. M., Anura

The Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa and the Opposition Leader Mr. Anura Bandaranaike were the only speakers in Tuesday's session. Interestingly, the Opposition Leader has told the ISLAND (June 3) that an idea of a joint Government-Opposition resolution was discussed on Monday morning but rejected by the government the same night. The Opposition representatives who met President JR included the two non-SLFP M.P.'s, Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene, the MEP leader and Mr. D. E. W. Gunasekara of the C.P.

The Government was represented by Prime Minister Premadasa and three Ministers, Messrs Athulathmudali, Dissanayake and Hameed.

U. N., U. S., Pakistan

The Sri Lankan Permanent Representative to the U.N. called on Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar but reports said that he merely briefed the UN chief on the situation and did not lodge any formal protest, an indication that Sri Lanka was not keen on escalating or internationalising Sri Lanka-India tensions and contentious issues. A State Dept. spokesman Charles Rodman said that the US had impressed on both governments the need to settle the matter through diplomatic means. In his speech Prime Minister Premadasa revealed that Pakistan President Zia Ul Huq had offered relief assistance to Sri Lankan families affected by terrorist violence. The aid would be channeled through the Sri Lankan authorities — an offer which Mr. Premadasa held out as a fair example of the proper diplomatic procedures applicable to state-to-state assistance.

Meanwhile, foreign correspondents who assembled at Rameshwaran to join the "flotilla" were surprised to see 'a collection of battered fishing vessels'. The Indian Red Cross boss involved in an argument with officials about the 'modalities' that the Red Cross should adopt!

HOW'S THE WAR GOING?

A professional is a professional. If one reads General Cyril Ranatunge's statements, especially in the extensive and highly detailed reporting of Iqbal Athas of the SUN, the most reliable newspaper on the news, then you can guess what's really going on. Especially, if you read between the lines!

For instance, this Sunday (WEEKEND May 31) Athas starts a sentence with these words "despite heavy casualties...". Similarly there are even more guarded remarks which suggest (a) that there has been stiff resistance in some places while in others the 'boys' have vanished, as any good book on guerrilla warfare teaches and (b) that the operational area is quite limited and the area of effective control more so.

General Ranatunge has two considerations uppermost in his mind (a) army casualties — a fact that affect army morale and Sinhala opinion (b) Tamil civilian casualties which can inflame Tamilnadu, and begin a train of events which may force Gandhi to do something he does not like.

He speaks of 'progress' but is careful to say "slow". He talks of 'gains' 'advances' etc but never 'victories' or victory'.

What is the kind of morale-boosting victory that would help the UNP to regain the losses it has suffered in the Sinhala constituency? The Lion Flag flying over Jaffna. Not just for the TV cameras but permanently.

Would that really constitute a victory? In other words, the symbol of enduring realities.

Or would it prove illusory? How short-lived would it be?

Whatever the answers, the most predictable consequence would be a transformation in the nature of the Tamil resistance, the character of the guerrilla war. The soldier in army-occupied Jaffna tomorrow would be the Sinhala — Tamil policeman yesterday, meaning from 1975 to 1982.

The new generation Tamil youth — much younger to the Tiger Leaders — would have been born in violence and nursed on violence, like hundreds in Belfast or thousands in the Palestinian refugee camps. The LTTE will become like the PLO after the Israelis threw them out of Lebanon. What has happened? Arafat is back. The PLO is back. And the Israeli cabinet is having a crisis on 'peace negotiations' !!

M.

Scare stories about the JVP only scare away foreign aid — Ronnie

The scare stories of JVP activities published during the last two months by the country's mass media would definitely affect prospects of Sri Lanka getting more aid from donor countries, Minister of Finance and Planning Ronnie de Mel said, yesterday.

Minister de Mel who was addressing a press conference at the Ministry said the scare stories about the JVP and other incidents relating to subversion could only harm Sri Lanka's prospects of getting aid.

If not for the foreign aid we are receiving, every single individual in the country would be starving. The main obstacle at the aid group meeting would be the present situation in the North and East. The international community have their reservations about Sri Lanka maintaining economic targets. Fortu-

nately during the last four years, economic policy and management had been satisfactory.

The credible development programme of the government had put paid to the Eelamist lobby. Negotiations with the World Bank and IMF are now on for a Rs. 25 billion balance of payments loan scheduled to materialise in December, this year.

Minister de Mel also said that donor countries are worried about loans given for development in peripheral areas of conflict.

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

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

Many Integrated Rural Development programmes scheduled for Vavuniya, Mannar, Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi had to be stopped because of the problems there.

If there is an increase in the defence votes next year too, then cuts would have to be imposed on the votes of other ministries.

Answering a question Mr. de Mel said that so far no donor country has lost faith in Sri Lanka. But we have to show the world that we have peace in the island.

— Island

"Operation liberation" to restore law and order underway

Curfew in Jaffna, troops move in

A 48-hour curfew was declared in the Jaffna peninsula from 6 a.m. yesterday as the armed forces on a government directive began an operation which was officially described as one intended "to restore law and order and extend their control to specific areas of the Jaffna peninsula."

By dawn yesterday, "operation" was well on track with seaborne commandos beached at Vadamaradchi, the Prabakaran heartland covering the areas of Point Pedro, Thondamannaru and Velvettiturai.

Almost simultaneously, ariborne contingents from the rapid deployment force were also moved into position and troops on two flanks, one coming under the command of Brigadier Denzil Kobbekaduwa and the other under the command of Col. Vijaya Wimalaratne were moving in.

Up to noon yesterday, communication intercepts firmly established that at least 15 terrorists have been killed. However reports from the ground said that the figure would be higher than 20.

The security forces lost five men killed in Tuesday's operation. Twelve were wounded though not seriously.

Reports reaching the operation headquarters indicated that some of the troops afforded air cover with the propeller driven Siai Marchetti fighters, the Chinese built Y-12s and helicopters had met stiff resistance in some areas.

But the landings in the terrorist heartland were accomplished without a shot being fired. Some deceptive manoeuvres carried out by the forces foxed the terrorists who apparently expected troops to break out from the Jaffna Fort garrison and the Elephant Pass camps.

"The feints worked very nicely" one senior officer on the scene said.

With the troops well in place in the desired areas, SLBC announced that a curfew was in force over the peninsula during its 6 a.m. broadcast. At the same time aircraft rained leaflets with the compelling message: Attention all citizens, attention all citizens, attention all citizens — a curfew has been declared with immediate effect in your area. However, you are allowed two hours to move into the following areas."

Thereafter a list of schools, churches, kovils, an orphanage and the Neerveli glass factory were listed places to which civilians were requested to move.

"Observe these instructions. It is for your safety and security," the leaflets said.

All soldiers lost up to noon yesterday were killed by landmines and other Booby traps and none had fallen up to then in face to face fighting which the terrorists who despite brave professions, seemed keen on avoiding.

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali flew to the front and conferred at Palaly with General Cyril Ranatunge, General Officer Commanding Joint Operations, the Army Commander, General Nalin Seneviratne and senior officers.

Later, the minister, accompanied by the SLN Chief-of-Staff, commodore Garry Jayasuriya, helicoptered to the Karainagar naval base.

The minister also inspected aircraft at Palaly, talked to the troops and visited the wounded in hospital.

He was due to meet President Jayewardene last night to report to him about the progress of the operation.

In a statement issued yesterday the government said that it had taken into account orders given by Prabakaran and his lieutenants to kill innocent civilians of all communities, especially Sinhala villagers.

"We have also taken into account the overt financial support given to the LTTE and EROS by the state administration of Tamil Nadu in India. We are aware that this money is to be used to purchase more weapons and ammunition to kill civilians in Sri Lanka.

"We are also aware that Prabakaran has thwarted all efforts, including that of India and other Tamil groups, to bring him to the negotiating table" the statement said.

It said that it was in these circumstances that the government had instructed the armed forces to restore law order and extend their control to specific areas of the Jaffna peninsula.

"This task, the Sri Lanka armed forces have now begun" the statement said.

Great stress had been laid on the need to protect civilian lives. Orders to troops and the planning of the exercise had laid great importance on ensuring that civilian casualties were either minimised or eliminated altogether.

The government called for civilian co-operation to destroy LTTE and EROS bases and requested civilians to remain in areas under the control of the security forces.

It was made clear that military measures now progressing were compelled by LTTE and EROS intransigence. But the government stressed that this would "not deflect us from our pursuit of the ultimate goal

(Continued on page 9)

India condemns anti-terrorist thrust in Jaffna

NEW DELHI

India condemned Sri Lanka's military offensive against Tamil rebels and warned Colombo of the long-term dangers of carrying out the operation. Indian External Affairs Minister, Narain Dutt Tiwari said today.

The government of India strongly condemns the massive assault by the Sri Lankan security forces against the entire civilian population of Jaffna", Tiwari said in a statement.

Tiwari said the offensive also signified "the increasing influence of external influences inimical to security, stability and peace in our region".

Meanwhile, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. G. Ramachandran, urged Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to prevail upon Colombo to suspend the offensive, the Press Trust of India reported.

The Chief Minister had sent a telex to Mr. Gandhi expressing fears that thousands of civilians would be killed "at the hands of the Sri Lankan army... notorious for its indiscipline and cruelty," PTI said.

The telex from Madras said the government attack on Jaffna was "inhuman, uncivilized and constitutes a serious violation of fundamental human rights".

Meanwhile the leading moderate Tamil political party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), also appealed to New Delhi to stop the "mad massacre" of Tamils.

TULF said the offensive which it called "unmatched in the annals of repression and state terror" was bound to cause heavy civilian casualties.

India also expressed grave concern and sorrow over civilian casualties likely to result from the action in the rebel stronghold in the Jaffna peninsula, where the island's Tamil minority is concentrated.

Tamil rebels based in the south Indian city of Madras have said more than 100 Tamil civilians have died since the military offensive began yesterday. This has been denied by the Colombo government.

The Sri Lanka High Commission here issued a statement today saying that its troops were only "securing terrorist held areas in the peninsula as part of a continuing strategy. There is no special military offensive in the north of Sri Lanka," it said.

But Tiwari said the Sri Lankan government action would cause another wave of refugees pouring into India, which already shelters nearly 130,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees.

Diplomatic sources said Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi conferred with senior government officials today on the situation in Sri Lanka.

— Daily News

UNP: Offensive . . .

(Continued from page 5)

strong youth-student base, and with militant Sinhala-Buddhist opinion intensely hostile? It had no choice but to get on to the 'other track', in the hope of recovering some of the lost Sinhala ground.

President JR's brusque riposte to Mr. Gandhi's "call-off-the military-offensive" appeal and his Bank of Ceylon speech "Fight to the Finish... either they (the LTTE) must win or we must win" sounded the UNP's dramatic tactical turn around. However its troubles even in the south are not over. The month begins with the CWC's "Prayer Campaign", a three-day protest over citizenship and other issues on the plantations including the arrest of youths. It is not the South really but the Central highlands that now presents yet another challenge to the UNP.

Curfew in Jaffna . . .

(Continued from page 8)

of a political resolution of the problem".

It was clear that the curfew was being observed in most parts of the peninsula. People kept indoors during the daylight hours but one senior officer said, "I'm sure we'll have some fireworks tonight". Mortar firing was reported from the Palaly area on Monday night.

One field report said that some terrorists fled leaving their boots behind as the troops reached their bunker.

The forces are following an "oil slick" kind of strategy — reaching target areas, remaining there and gradually spreading.

In Parliament

Aid must be through proper channels — P.M.

Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa told Parliament that the Pakistan government had expressed willingness to give assistance through the government of Sri Lanka to those people affected by terrorist activities in this country.

Speaking during the emergency session of Parliament the Prime Minister said that Pakistani President, General Mohammed Zia Ul-Haq had in a message to President J. R. Jayewardere stated that his government was prepared to send assistance to Sri Lanka through normal channels to be distributed to affected people in whatever areas the Sri Lankan government may think such aid would help.

"That is the diplomatic way of doing it. Such assistance will be accepted only on diplomatic grounds. There are conventions behind such acts. We have told India that if she was giving aid it should be done according to our conditions. Jaffna does not need aid. Sri Lanka is a sovereign and independent nation. We cannot allow boats to just come in and unload aid in any part of the country they like. There are normal diplomatic channels for that", the Prime Minister told the House.

He asked what the position would be if terrorists fired and attacked the Indian boats transporting the aid and accused the Sri Lankan Navy and the government of shooting them

They would charge that the government attacked boats that were coming for a "humanitarian purpose". Various groups in the country will say that the Indian Army had crossed over to Sri Lanka. Will not the people be provoked by all this? It will aggravate matters and create more problems. I like to draw the attention of the Indian government to the inherent dangers that

lie in their decision to send aid outside normal channels. What would be the outcome and reaction once the boats came here".

Established norms

"If it is thought that there is a necessity to give aid to Sri Lanka why cannot it be handed over to government. It can be worked out on a government to government basis. There is a diplomatic standing behind aid and assistance given from one country to another. Aid cannot be delivered to one area in a country. It should go via the government. There are established norms and conventions to be followed in this regard. Even we cannot send aid to one particular region in India without informing that government. Everybody knows what diplomatic conflicts there would arise if Sri Lanka attempted to send aid to Punjab. Such a move will not be made by any country pursuing diplomacy.

The Prime Minister said that nobody could be allowed to trespass the territorial waters of Sri Lanka. The President has ordered security forces to protect

not only the country's land limits but also her territorial boundaries. Terrorists sneak into Jaffna and leave the peninsula to locations across the Palk Straits at the risk of their lives. Terrorists appear in various disguises. They wear Army and Police uniforms and impersonate even people like doctors. Violence should end first. Otherwise everything will be based on violence. The President has to fulfil his responsibilities. He had been elected by the people. I wish to say on behalf of the President that he will carry out his duties to the letter and fulfil all responsibilities".

Panchaseela

"Sri Lanka is a member of the United Nations Organisation, the Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth and SAARC. We follow "panchaseela" precepts. We are members of these important organisations and we will not violate these precepts. I hope Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will understand and respond to our hope that he would respect the principles of SAARC, Non-Aligned Movement etc. — *Island*

SLFP condemns Indian intervention

— Anura

Opposition Leader, Anura Bandaranaike, yesterday deplored Indian interference in Sri Lankan affairs.

Mr. Bandaranaike who made a statement in Parliament at the emergency session said.

"We unequivocally oppose and condemn intervention and interference whatever the form whichever the source".

Mr. Bandaranaike's statement is as follows:

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party which has held office on three occasions remains fully and firmly committed to the defence of

our country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and strongly opposes all forms of interference in our internal affairs. We unequivocally oppose and condemn intervention and interference whatever the form whichever the source.

Sri Lanka and her people have reached a dangerous impasse and our independence is about to be violated for the first time since 1948. Every citizen whatever political party he may belong to must stand united to save and preserve our motherland in her gravest hour.

(Continued on page 28)

No missiles in Asia

— Gorbachev

FOREIGN
NEWS

The Soviet Union would agree to remove all its medium range missiles from Europe and Asia if the US withdrew its nuclear weapons from Japan, South Korea and the Philippines, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev said **Reuter reports from Moscow.**

Speaking at a dinner for visiting Vietnamese leader Nguyen Van Linh, Mr. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union had often expressed its readiness for a deal under which both superpowers would eliminate all their medium-range missiles.

"There would be no obstacles to such a solution, if the US removed its nuclear means in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines and also withdrew its aircraft-carrying fleet beyond agreed limits," he said.

He was responding to a demand from Nato defence ministers last week that Moscow remove all its SS-20 missiles from Europe and Asia as part of a superpower deal on medium-range missiles.

The superpowers had reached tentative agreement at their summit in Reykjavik last October on a deal under which they would eliminate their medium-range forces in Europe but keep 100 warheads each elsewhere.

Mr. Gorbachev said: "The US Administration seeks to leave in Asia the nuclear weapons deployed there against the Soviet Union, and this obliges us to search for a reply and to maintain a balance of forces there."

The US would also have to agree not to site medium-range missiles on its own territory as part of an agreement removing SS-20 weapons from Asia.

The Soviet Union, said Mr. Gorbachev, was concerned that work was continuing in some

Asian countries to develop nuclear weapons even as intensive negotiations were under way between other countries to abolish them.

"We propose that movement be started even now along routes leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons in Asia. An important step in that direction would be, for example, the creation of nuclear-free zones," he said. An international conference on security issues in the Indian ocean would also serve nuclear disarmament. Tass, which reported his speech, indicated that Nato's call for a worldwide ban on medium-range missiles

was not acceptable to the Soviet Union because it departed from principles set out in Reykjavik.

They would allow Moscow to keep 100 SS-20 warheads in the Central Asian part of its territory, and permit Washington to transfer 100 Pershing 2 and Cruise warheads to the continental US.

Mr. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union was not actively pursuing nuclear disarmament in Europe so that the nuclear threat might simply be transferred to another part of the world.

OBITUARY: GUNNAR MYRDAL

Radical economist was reluctant Nobel winner

Sara Webb

Professor Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, died on Sunday evening at the age of 88 after a long illness.

Born in 1898, he was one of Sweden's best-known economists. He shared the Nobel prize for economics with the Austrian Professor Friedrich von Hayek in 1974 for pioneering work in monetary and economic theory.

Colleagues said that Mr. Myrdal regarded the prize as something of an insult, perhaps for being against his socialist instincts, and he is reported to have said later: "If I'd been fully awake when they rang me up in the States at that time in the morning, I'd have said 'no thanks'."

He became famous for his study of the living conditions

of black Americans, publishing his findings in the book "An American Dilemma" in 1944. It was considered a pioneering analysis and earned him a number of honorary doctorates.

With "Asian Drama", published in 1968, he sought to do the same for the third world examining political and economic developments in Asia.

He thought the state should be prepared to run up budget deficits to counteract depression and unemployment. His book, "Monetary Equilibrium," which was published in 1939, developed the economic ideas of Mr. Knut Wicksell and advanced many of Mr. John Maynard Keynes' ideas.

(Continued on page 17)

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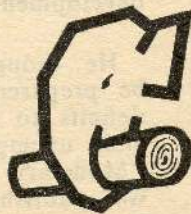
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MINISTRY OF LANDS & LAND DEVELOPMENT

The Sri Lankan conflict — an Indian perception

INTRODUCTION

As hundreds of innocent civilians — both Sinhala and Tamil — perish in the escalating violence in Sri Lanka, the question of a negotiated political settlement becomes ever more difficult. Any such complex issue is inevitably rendered more complicated by the malevolent involvement of external powers. This involvement does unfortunately have long-term implications for India's security. While the prolonged conflict increasingly embitters both the major communities in Sri Lanka, India has steadfastly followed a policy since 1983, of attempting to work for reconciliation between the Sinhala and the Tamil minority, by endeavouring to evolve a political solution which would meet the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people within the framework of the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

There has been periodic criticism of India's good offices and diplomatic efforts which have aimed at bringing together the representatives of the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil minority to work out a viable and durable constitutional set up which would meet the Tamil aspirations and enable the Tamil minority to live in Sri Lanka in safety and with dignity. This booklet presents a factual account of the efforts made by India, through its good offices, to assist in the restoration of peace, harmony and mutual trust in Sri Lanka. While the Annexure "C" proposal, worked out in 1983, did provide a framework for further negotiations between the Sri Lankan Government and the representatives of the Tamil minority, what has emerged after

three years of persistent diplomatic efforts in the proposals finalised on December 19, 1986, clearly establishes that on major issues pertaining to the unit of devolution, provincial boundaries, merger of Northern & Eastern Provinces, institutional linkages, devolution of power, powers of the Centre to legislate on subjects under the Provincial List, law and order and land settlement, considerable progress has been made in evolving a constitutional framework which would meet the aspirations of the Tamil people.

This booklet outlines the grievances of the Tamil minority in the aftermath of Independence in Sri Lanka, and the consistent efforts made by India to find a political solution to the ethnic issue which would redress these grievances. It is the hope of goodwill that all parties to the ethnic issue will show a sense of statesmanship, accommodation and restraint to facilitate an early and mutually acceptable political solution. An early political solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic issue will not only restore peace to that strife-torn Island, but also enable India and Sri Lanka to more effectively deal with the issues of foreign involvement in South Asia and the question of making the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace.

CONSTITUTIONAL LEGAL PROVISIONS AND TAMIL GRIEVANCES

Citizenship

The first Constitution of independent Sri Lanka prohibited the enactment of any law which would impose disparities or restrictions or confer advantages or

privileges on the members of any community or religion. However the Citizenship Act of 1948 deprived the Indian Tamils of Sri Lankan citizenship. As the Indian Tamils were not citizens of India, they became stateless. Their status was the subject of long drawn-out negotiations between India and Sri Lanka and finally under the 1964 and 1974 Agreements it was agreed that 375,000 of the stateless would get Sri Lanka citizenship and 600,000 would be repatriated to India. The implementation has been slow, and those Indian Tamils who have obtained Sri Lanka citizenship are almost all still plantation workers. The leader of the CWC, the estate workers' main trade union organization, Mr. Thondaman, is now a member of the Sri Lanka Government (The Indian Tamils have disassociated themselves from the demand for Eelam, though they have joined the Sri Lanka Tamils in demands for linguistic and other rights. However they have suffered grievously in the recurrent communal riots since they live in the Sinhala dominated areas.)

Language, Employment, Autonomy etc.

Following its landslide victory on the "Sinhala Only" platform of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Government immediately passed an Official Language Act which declared Sinhala as "the one official language of Ceylon". Violent agitations by Sinhala extremists prevented the Government from adding to this Act, provisions for the use of Tamil.

The Federal Party of the Sri Lanka Tamils threatened to launch a satyagraha and to defuse

the situation the Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranayake met Mr. Chelvanayakam (leader of the Federal Party) and worked out an understanding embodying a statesmanlike compromise. The Bandaranayake — Chelvanayakam Pact of 1957 recognized Tamil as the language of a national minority, and as the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces, as also for setting up of regional councils and boards in agriculture and education. Had it been implemented it would have ameliorated many Tamil grievances. It had however to be abrogated in the face of violent agitation by militant Sinhalese Buddhists cynically manipulated by the opposition United National Party. In 1959 the Prime Minister was murdered by a Sinhalese militant.

In 1965, a similar Pact was made by Prime Minister Senanayake of the United National Party with Mr. Chelvanayakam under which Tamil was to be the language of administration in the north and east and District Development Council were to be set up. This Pact also faced great opposition and was later unilaterally abrogated by the Sri Lanka Government.

1972 Constitution

In 1972 a Republican Constitution was passed, which reaffirmed Sinhala as the single official language of Legislation, courts and administration; with some provision for use of Tamil. Buddhism was accorded a prominent place and earlier minority safeguards were omitted.

Formation of TULF

The new Constitution increased the alienation of the Tamils who boycotted the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly and set up the Tamil United Front bringing together the main political organizations of the Tamils. The TULF made 6 demands relating to equal recognition of language, religion etc. and a decentralized structure of Government. When the Sri Lanka Government still failed to respond to these demands, in 1976, the

Tamil United Liberation Front was formed, with creation of a "Tamil Eelam" in the north and the east as one of its goals.

Side by side with the hardening of the position of the Tamil political parties came the cries of extremism among Tamil youth who were frustrated by unemployment and alienated by the inability of the political leadership to obtain meaningful concessions. The extremists rejected the non-violent path and took recourse to violence, which further inflamed communal tensions and helped spark the increasingly vicious communal riots.

The 1977 elections and after

In the 1977 elections the TULF, campaigning on the "Eelam" platform, won almost all the seats in the northern province and some in the eastern province, and became the official opposition party. As the victorious UNP under J. R. Jayewardene had declared in its manifesto that it would take steps to remedy Tamil grievances in 4 areas, an acceptable settlement seemed a possibility. The 4 areas identified were: (i) education; (ii) colonization; (iii) use of Tamil; and (iv) employment.

The Tamil grievances

These relate to

- (1) **Lack of equal opportunity in education:** as a result of reservations, "standardization" of marks etc. which favour the Sinhalese
- (1) **Employment:** Largely as a result of recruitment policies, linguistic requirements etc. the percentage of Tamils in the Government sector, professions and armed forces has come down radically since the 1950's. While some gradual reduction was inevitable at present the Tamils are underrepresented in the police, army, and clerical services.
- (3) **Use of Tamil Language:** The Constitution recognizes only Sinhala as the official language but gives recognition to Tamil as a national lan-

guage and as language for administration in Tamil areas. The Tamils state that this provision has not been implemented adequately.

- (1) **The policy of colonization:** The Tamils have expressed great concern at the Government's policy of colonization especially in the northern and eastern provinces. They have pointed out that from 1953 to 1971 the Sinhalese population of Trincomalee increased from 15,000 to 55,000 while that of the Tamils increased from 37,000 to about 73,000. Similarly in Batticaloa the population of the Sinhalese increased from 31,000 to about 95,000 while that of the Tamils increased from 1,30,000 to 2,46,000 — clearly a more rapid increase in the Sinhalese population. This has resulted from a deliberate policy of colonization by Sinhalese following the establishment of new irrigation facilities and grant of Government owned land for settlement. The Tamils view this as an attempt to turn them into a minority in their traditional homelands.

The 1973 Constitution

This retained Sinhala as the official language but recognized Tamil as a national language along with Sinhala as the language of administration in predominantly Tamil areas. Assurances were given against colonization of Tamil populated areas and on employment. Later the District Development Council Scheme was introduced. According to the Tamil leaders these schemes and assurances were never satisfactorily implemented and Tamil demands remained largely unfulfilled.

Largely as a result of these demands not being met, terrorism increased and a number of underground groups sprang up — the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Eelam Revolutionary

Organization of Students (EROS), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO). All are committed to establishment of a separate State, and they have reduced the room for manoeuvre of the TULF political leadership.

Rather than take decisive political steps to deal with the situation, the Sri Lanka Government responded with Draconian laws and vested the security forces with extraordinary powers. Because of indiscriminate utilization of these powers serious violations of human rights have resulted and these are added to the Tamils' sense of grievance.

Undisciplined troops have killed large numbers of innocent Tamil civilians in retaliation against extremist attacks and torture of detenus was reported to be routine.

The 1983 Riots

The ethnic riots in 1983 marked a watershed in the history of the ethnic problem. According to the Sri Lanka Government the 1983 riots resulted in 316 deaths and rendered 100,000 persons homeless. Property destruction was estimated at SL Rs. 2 billion. There is widespread belief that the violence was planned, had the backing of political leaders including some members of the Cabinet, and that the security forces abetted the violence when they did not directly participate in it. The 1983 violence also had an anti-Indian tinge and members of the Indian Mission in Colombo were targets of attack. The riots also began the influx of Sri Lanka Tamil refugees into India.

Following the riots, the Sri Lanka Government sought to assuage Sinhala opinion by amending the Constitution to require all MPS to take an oath against separatism. This led to the TULF MPs losing their seats and resulted in making the cleavage between the Sinhalese and Sri Lanka Tamil leadership complete.

It is seen from the foregoing that the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka emerged out of the alienation of the Tamil minority

caused by the failure to maintain a pluralist and secular polity in which all communities could feel they had an equal stake. The cynical manipulation of explosive issues of language, race, religion etc. for short term electoral gains and the constant failure to address the genuine grievances of the Tamil Community over the last 3 decades have brought about the current crisis which now threatens the unity of the country.

BACKGROUND TO INDIA'S INVOLVEMENT

India was actively engaged in dialogue with Sri Lanka right from the independence of the two countries in regard to the difficult issue of the citizenship and other rights of the Tamils of recent Indian origin. It also watched with concern the growing alienation of the Sri Lankan Tamil community beginning with the controversial 'Sinhala Only' doctrine in 1956, the erosion of the Tamil position in the Eastern Province through State Sponsored Colonization schemes and the inability or unwillingness of successive governments since 1956 to check this alienation through effective political and administrative measures. However India's direct involvement in assisting Sri Lanka to work out a political solution to the ethnic crisis began in the wake of the large scale violence in July, August, 1983.

The violence in Sri Lanka aroused great concern in India, especially in Tamil Nadu where emotions ran particularly high because of the close linguistic, cultural and family ties with Tamils in Sri Lanka. The first wave of refugees, whose number grew to 130,000, also started at that time. India, therefore, took a diplomatic initiative to defuse the situation and the then Foreign Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao visited Sri Lanka. Following the Foreign Minister's visit, President Jayewardene sent his brother Dr. H. W. Jayewardene to India in August as his special emissary for discussions with the Indian Government. During

his meetings with former Prime Minister, Dr. Jayewardene stated that the Sri Lankan Government was willing to consider proposals which would give the Tamil minority their due share in the affairs of the country within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Our Prime Minister offered India's good offices to facilitate a political solution, which was accepted by the Sri Lankan President. Thereafter, Mrs. Gandhi appointed Shri G. Parthasarathy as her Special Envoy to Sri Lanka for mediatory efforts between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS

As a result of Sri Parthasarathi's discussions with both sides a set of proposals were formulated and the Sri Lanka Government agreed to convene an All Party Conference to consider these proposals (which came to be known as Annexure C). The proposals in Annexure C were centered on the creation of Regional Councils (separately) in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka.

These Regional Councils were to be granted substantial devolution of powers including the subjects of law and order, land policy, education etc. and had power of taxation, raising finances etc.

Though President Jayewardene had agreed that the proposals in Annexure C would form the basis of negotiations, the All Party Conference when it met in 1984 did not focus on the Annexure C proposals but considered only limited Schemes of devolution of power; Committees were set to study individual aspects of this limited devolution and meetings were repeatedly adjourned. Discussions dragged on throughout 1984 while the cycle of violence by militants and indiscriminate counter-violence by the security forces against Tamil civilians took a grievous toll of innocent lives and vitiated the atmosphere. In December 1984, the Jayewardene Govern-

ment presented proposals in the form of the draft 10th Amendment to the Constitution and the draft District and Provincial Councils Development Bill. These proposals did not contain any meaningful devolution of power. They merely extended the scheme of decentralization at District level to the Provincial level for limited coordination. The TULF rejected these proposals and thereafter the All Party Conference was wound up.

In late 1984 and early 1985, the Sri Lanka Government escalated its military operations against the Tamils, indicating that it would tackle "terrorism" before trying to reach a political solution. This only resulted in increased violence and tension in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

In 1985, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi took the initiative to renew India's good offices as part of a policy of improving bilateral relations with neighbouring countries.

The Indian initiative came in the wake of spiralling violence involving indiscriminate killings of innocent Tamil civilians by the Sri Lanka Security forces and retaliatory attacks by Tamil militants on Sinhala civilians in Anuradhapura. The Sri Lanka Government responded to the Indian initiative. President Jayewardene visited Delhi in early June 1985 and it was agreed that India would:

- (a) Help bring about a ceasefire between the Tamil militant groups and the Sri Lanka Government; and
- (b) Help arrange direct negotiations between the Sri Lankan Tamil groups and the Government of Sri Lanka.

Immediately following the Sri Lanka President's visit, a team of Sri Lankan officials and legal constitutional experts visited India and held discussions with our Attorney-General on the Sri Lankan Constitution. It was agreed that there was scope for devolution of power within the

framework of the Sri Lankan Constitution.

Thimpu

Two rounds of direct negotiations were held in Thimpu in July 1985 and again in August 1985. These talks were adjourned in mid-August without agreement, and there was still a very wide gap between the positions of the two sides. The Sri Lankan side was prepared to concede the formation of separate Provincial Councils albeit with limited powers. The Tamil militants demanded their recognition as a nationality with right to self-determination and the right to an identified homeland—viz. the merger of Northern and Eastern Provinces. The moderate TULF also insisted on the need for merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and grant of substantial powers to this Tamil linguistic province. (For the Tamils the difficulty in accepting a separate Eastern Provincial Council lay in their fear that being today only 40% of that Province they may not be able to form or control the Provincial Government when it does emerge; they would thus not be able to stop the erosion of their demographic position in the area, or retain control over lands being colonized and the law and order machinery.

Delhi Discussions

Government of India, however, decided to continue the dialogue through a process of indirect negotiations, with Indian officials talking to both sides separately in an attempt to narrow differences to the point where direct negotiations could be resumed. At the end of these indirect negotiations on 30.8.1985 the Sri Lankan side presented a working paper (Draft Framework of Accord and Understanding) which, it was agreed by the Government of India, could serve as the basis for further negotiations.

The Draft Framework of Accord and Understanding was, as indicated above, intended only as the basis for further negotia-

tions. It envisaged the creation of Provincial Council (Separate Provincial Councils for the Northern and Eastern Provinces) by amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution, with devolution of limited powers to the Councils over subjects including law and order, land, education, culture, industry etc. The then Foreign Secretary discussed these proposals with the various militant groups in October and November 1985, but the latter rejected them even as a basis for further negotiations.

TULF Proposal: December 1985

Consequent to the rejection by the Tamils of Sri Lanka proposals, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated in Parliament on November 20, 1985 that the "ball was in the Tamils' court". At India's suggestion, the Tamil United Liberation Front leaders prepared an alternate set of proposals (in December 1985). The TULF proposed a federal structure in which the Northern and Eastern provinces would be combined in a single Tamil linguistic State. Though this proposals meant the acceptance of a structure within the framework of the Unity of Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Government in January 1986, rejected the TULF proposal in harsh language and reiterated its inability to accept any proposals which altered the unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution. Thereafter, India's good offices were suspended for a few months. At this stage the Sri Lanka Government sent further communications indicating their willingness for further negotiations on the subjects of law and order and land settlement. They also agreed for the first time to consider the question of redrawing the boundaries of the Eastern Province. This, phase was, however, marked by brutal almost genocidal attacks by security forces on the Tamil civilians and India's good offices were, therefore, kept suspended.

In the middle of April 1986, President Jayewardene indicated Sri Lanka's interest in reviving India's good offices, and on the

Government of India receiving indication of Sri Lankan willingness to move forward, a delegation led by Shri P. Chidambaram, Minister of State, visited Sri Lanka for further negotiations.

New Sri Lanka Proposals: May June 1986

Consequent to the discussions with the Chidambaram delegation and later clarifications and communications the Sri Lankan Government put forward detailed formulations for a solution. Following an evaluation of these proposals, the Government of India's Official Spokesman stated: "We feel that the stage has now been reached where the package of proposals in regard to the devolution of power can be conveyed to the Sri Lankan Tamils for their careful consideration". The package of proposals was accordingly handed over to the TULF and the other Tamil militant groups at the end of June 1986. The proposals which were discussed consisted of:

- (a) A Preamble explaining the principles on which the Sri Lankan Government was proceeding viz., devolution of power to provincial Councils within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and the maintenance of the unitary character of its Constitution. It implied retention of existing provinces as the unit of devolution but in order to meet the Tamil demand for "linkage", proposed institutional arrangements for some coordination between two Provinces on matters of mutual interest;
- (b) A note on the actual establishment of Provincial Councils and the devolution of powers to them as well as some details of the functioning of Provincial Councils;

- (c) Specific proposals in regard to the devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils in relation to Law and Order and Land Settlement. The Sri Lankan proposals accepted the need for bifurcation of the Police Force into a National Division and Separate Provincial Divisions. They also clearly stated for the first time that Land would be a devolved subject.

TULF Talks

These proposals marked a step forward. On their basis the TULF re-opened direct discussions with the Sri Lankan leadership. Two rounds of negotiations were held in July and August 1986. During these discussions some common ground emerged on many of the subjects under discussion, except for the crucial subject of the unit of devolution. Based on these discussions, the Sri Lankan Government prepared draft legislative proposals and these were then discussed by the TULF with Indian constitutional legal experts in September-October 1986. The TULF revised the proposals to bring them in line with the understandings reached earlier as also the basic Tamil demands in relation to a single Tamil Linguistic Unit.

The Sri Lankan proposals, as modified by the TULF, were the subjects of discussions between the Tamil Nadu Government and the Sri Lankan Tamil militant groups at the end of October and early November 1986. The militant groups presented a detailed critique of the proposals, suggesting that the powers in respect of law and order, land settlement etc. were still inadequate; the fundamental difficulty of the Tamil militants was that the proposals did not specify an identified Tamil homeland i.e. merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. These observations were conveyed by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran to Prime Minister

Rajiv Gandhi in early November 1986.

Bangalore

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held discussions with President Jayewardene in Bangalore during the latter's visit for the SAARC summit in mid-November and during these discussions, president Jayewardene provided some assurances in regard to constitutional safeguards and on the question of merger. He suggested that the Eastern Province could be trifurcated into 3 Provinces, one each for the Tamils, the Muslims and the Sinhalese presently residing there.

In subsequent discussions in New Delhi and Colombo, it became clear that the idea of the trifurcation of the Eastern Province was impractical as well as unacceptable as a solution to the merger question. The idea, therefore, was given up.

(To be continued)

Radical. . .

(Continued from page 11)

A radical economist, he was convinced of the benefits of the planned economy when it came to solving the differing problems of society.

He became a social democratic member of parliament in 1936, and was appointed Trade Minister for the Swedish government from 1945-47. He left to become secretary general of the UN Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva.

In 1957, he was appointed Professor at the Institute for International Economic Studies of Stockholm University. Colleagues described him as a paradoxical character, both a central planner and an anarchist at the same time.

He became increasingly pessimistic in his old age and in an 80th birthday interview apparently said: "Everything is horrible". His name was invariably linked with that of his wife Alva, a Nobel peace laureate, who worked with him on several projects concerning population.



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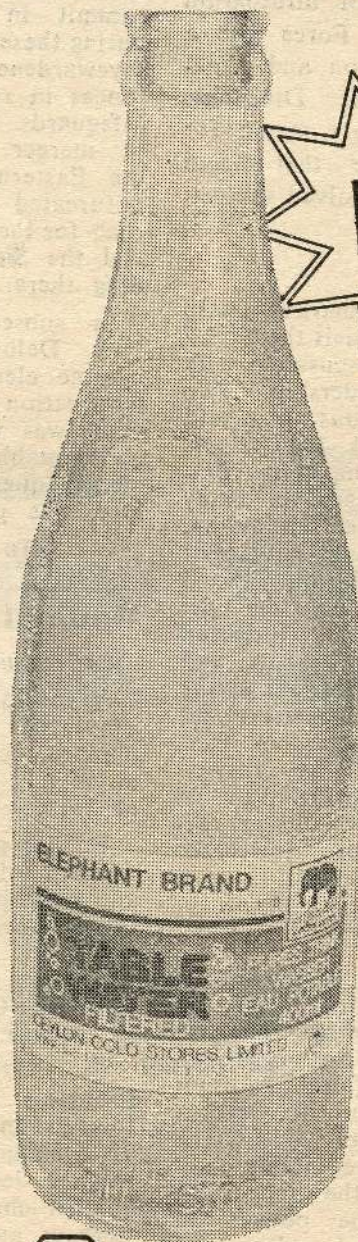


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ETHNIC ISSUE AND RESEARCH

Sverre Lodgaard (Director PRIO)

On April 4, the *Daily News* published a despatch over a byline which said "From Reggie Fernando in Stockholm". The news report had the headline **"Embassy slates Janavegaya Leader's Pro-Eelam stance"**. Since there was an adverse reference in the *Daily News* correspondent's despatch to this journal, the *LANKA GUARDIAN* carried a comment on its May 1st issue. We now publish a reply by the Director of PRIO, the Norwegian Peace Research Institute sent to the Sri Lankan Ambassador in Sweden, Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya. The *Daily News* report spoke of a "Sri Lankan Embassy letter" which "severely criticised" PRIO's bibliography on the Sri Lankan ethnic problem. We now find that the Embassy letter cited extensively by "Reggie Fernando in Stockholm" was in fact signed not by the Ambassador but by one "Reggie Fernando, Press Attache". Is this the same person? Will the real Reggie Fernando, please stand up?

Copies of the PRIO Director's reply has been sent to President J. R. Jayewardene, Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed, the SLFP Leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Dr. H. W. Jayewardene QC, Chairman Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, the Editor, *Daily News* among others.

His Excellency L. Kurukulasuriya,
Ambassador of the Democratic
Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,
Box 14053, S-104 40 STOCKHOLM 14,
Sweden

Your Excellency,

Herewith I would like to reply to your letter dated 24 March 1987.

We have noted that your letter has also been published in the "Ceylon Daily News" of 4 April 1987, before we had an opportunity to react. We would appreciate it if you could see to it that this letter will receive the same publicity as your comments.

Firstly, as Director of the International Peace Research Institute, Olso I would like to point out that the publication "The negotiations process in Sri Lanka, 1983—1986: a select bibliography" referred to has only the status of a Working Paper. This, according to the policy of our Institute, is a publication series for preliminary papers and drafts intended for scholarly criticism and comments, rather than final research works.

Also, it should be noted that this Working Paper forms part of a larger research project undertaken at PRIO's Sri Lanka Human Rights Database Project, the outcome of which will be a more extensive bibliography on various aspects of the situation of human rights and the ethnic conflict. This we hope to publish in the course of the summer of 1987. This present Working Paper is, as the title suggests, concerned with only one aspect of a larger complex of developments with regard to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: namely **the negotiations process in Sri Lanka**. In the introduction on page two, dated 15 September 1986, the objectives of this publication are indicated as follows:

"In the present bibliography we have tried to include the most important monographs, documents, and commentaries on the various policy proposals made by the involved parties to resolve the tragic ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The selection of records only begins after the tragic events of July 1983. The bibliography encompasses several important initiatives by the Government of Sri Lanka to resolve the conflict, beginning with the All Party Conference (January 10 to December 30, 1984), Thimpu I (July 8 to July 13 1985), Thimpu II (August 12 to August 17, 1985) and the current Political Parties Conference. The Political Parties Conference represents, in our view, a significant step forward and provides a basis for serious discussions on the devolution of power,

which must be the basis for a permanent settlement."

Permit us also to reproduce our statement with regard to the final bibliography:

"The Sri Lanka Project, which is based on the HURIDOCs standard formats, will publish an extensive bibliography on Human Rights in Sri Lanka, with about 4000 records. In the meantime we hope to publish other selections on important themes and to keep our records updated."

The documents published by the Government of Sri Lanka (as well as others) dealing with atrocities committed by Tamil militant groups on innocent civilians will of course be included in the final bibliography under the heading "Collective violence".

As I am sure you will understand, a scholarly bibliography will necessarily reflect a variety of viewpoints. It is the policy of the Sri Lanka Human Rights Database Project to include in its database public documents from all sources. There is a great variety of published material on the subject with which we are concerned.

This variety is indeed even more apparent from the author index in the publication than from the source index which you have provided.

Also, as a basic scholarly principle, each item has to be considered on its own merits, within the framework in which it has been published. A first selection of items to be included is made by us, on the principle that we intend to include documents which constitute an addition to the ongoing discussion. Further analysis is left open for all users of the bibliography. Such an analysis should not only be quantitative, but also qualitative. In other words: it cannot be expected from the Government of Sri Lanka to publish a public document on the negotiations process every week or fortnight. The editor of a journal like Lanka Guardian finds it easier to comment on recent developments on a more regular basis.

This does not exclude the possibility that in the final publication we will be more critical with regard to the selection of documents. Also, permit me to remind you that the work in question is as yet only a Working Paper.

With regard to your statement that the Working Paper includes "just 6 entries of documents published by the Government of Sri Lanka!" I ought to point out that the Working Paper includes more official documents whose content

reflects government viewpoints. They are referred to in your source index as documents emanating from:

All Party Conference	(12 documents)
Colombo (press release)	(3 documents)
Department of Information	(3 documents)
Government Press	(1 document)
Government of Sri Lanka	(5 documents)
Ministry of State	(1 document)
Ministry of Justice	(1 document)
Presidential Secretariat	(2 documents)
Sri Lanka News Letter (London High Comm.)	(2 documents)

Also, we would venture the opinion that the entries included from "Forum", "Lanka Guardian" and "Saturday Review" in general are more broad than an "echo of the Tamil Eelam Propaganda".

From your source index you may also note that non-governmental organizations of the Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities have been included in the bibliography, as well as for example documents of the Citizens Committee for National Harmony, which seeks to support the peace process in Sri Lanka.

We would also like to mention that all documents on the negotiations process which we received from your Embassy are included in the publication. Likewise, documents more recently received from your Embassy relating to the negotiations process will be included in the final publication. If you are aware of any specific omissions we would be most grateful to receive (a reference to) the documents concerned.

Within its limited possibilities as a small, independent research institute, it is the aim of PRIO to do whatever we can to strengthen the peace process in Sri Lanka, within the framework of the territorial integrity and unity of your country.

And lastly, I would like to take this opportunity to defend the scholarly integrity of the Sri Lanka Project; the publication of the final bibliography will be a testimony to this work. With regard to Dr. Kumar Rupesinghe himself, may I assure you that as a patriot of his country he has stood firmly for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. However, his scholarly criticisms and concern for the conflict in his country should not be misconstrued as serving the political ends of any political force, "Eelam" or other, in Sri Lanka.

May I express the wish that this letter has helped to clarify any ambiguities. We appreciate your interest in the work of our Institute.

Yours Sincerely,
Sverre Lodgaard
director PRIO

AID(S)

Ranil Senanayake

The scientists of the world have worked hard to identify that modern scourge of humanity AIDS. AIDS is the acronym for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. This means that the action of the disease is to destroy the natural defences that our bodies have developed to deal with common illnesses. So, as this disease takes root, our body becomes less and less able to defend itself against diseases that were once common, simple ailments. A cold that was of little consequence to a healthy body now becomes a fatal affliction. To a healthy body, the common cold virus is a part of past experience, both genetic and phenotypic. When the organism attacks the body, it is dealt with swiftly because we have acquired an immunity to its attack as a result of that past experience. The AIDS virus changes all that. It destroys the ability of the body to depend on its acquired immunity to other disease organisms and makes the body vulnerable to attack from all these. In a sense the AIDS virus makes the body incapable of using its past experience for its defence, untill the enemies who were once well recognized and controlled now become the agents of destruction.

Recent studies on AIDS has revealed another interesting characteristic. AIDS shows a tendency to be concentrated in cities. The question has been asked is AIDS linked to the growth of cities? Researchers in Washington suggest that large scale migration to the cities could be associated with the emergence of this fatal disease.

Be it by chance, coincidence or divine design the same acronym used to describe the disease AIDS has also been used to describe an activity of the modern financial institutions AID, or more precisely foreign AID. The amazing thing is that on a national

scale AID does to an independent nation exactly what AIDS dose to an individual.

AID when given to so-called developing countries has two major objectives. One is to sell the goods and services of the donor country, the other is to promote what has been called 'development'; the moving away from the traditional culture of the country to a consumerist, growth oriented society. The governments of the recipient being often used to enforce this action. For example, in Sri Lanka the Ministry of Plan Implementation has openly stated that traditional values are an identified obstacle to development.

What does development represent and what does traditional values represent in this context? To any culture, its traditions represent the dynamic expression of its past experience and its strategy to ensure sustainability. Sustainability being the final goal of all organized things in our biological world. We are all aware that, as an individual, species or culture the strongest motivating force is the desire to survive. This desire is reflected in our cultural norms and social goals. The successful experiments of our activity being recorded as tradition, the unsuccessful rejected.

This does not mean that all traditional knowledge or values has currency in the modern context. Today, many traditions such as caste and language are seen to have diminishing importance. However, much of our traditions contain useful knowledge that reflects experience with that environment. These traditions enable us to live in environments which could, if not understood be hostile.

For instance: When two populations of corn eating people, one from Mexico and one from Africa, were compared; it was found that while both had the same diet, the African population was suffering from protein def-

iciency while the Mexican population did not. Further inquiry revealed the use of lime as an additive to the water used to boil the Mexicans' corn. A traditional practice, everyone in Mexico 'knew' that you put some lime into the water that you boiled your corn in. The effect of this 'tradition' was to render the protein in the corn into a form usable by humans. The protein in corn cannot be used by the human system if injected without such treatment. As corn originated in the Americas, the people of the region had experimented with the plant the successful experiments being passed into tradition. The use of lime being an example. When corn was taken to Africa it was done by practical, efficient or scientific people who had no use of traditions. So only the seeds were taken. The result now serves as a historic example of the value of tradition.

When AID is given to the so-called third world, a stated goal is the transformation of its culture and people to a modern, consumerist mode. This new culture has evolved in an environment of heavy energy and resource use. Thus the first demand on the old culture is to abandon any values or behaviour that tends to reduce consumption. Often these are the traditions that confer stability, enabling that culture to exist in its evolved environment. The traditions being the acquired information of that culture. The removal of this information being analogous to the removal of acquired immunity in the individual.

In both cases the effect is similar, AIDS causes individual death and AID causes demise. Many other analogies such as the manner in which the change is affected or the heavy dependence on external support systems towards the end of both processes, suggest that further inquiry into the action of AID may yield some revealing insights.



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"Swiss Model" for Sri Lanka

Frederic Spotts and Jehan Perera

What is desperately needed in Sri Lanka is a new approach. By remarkable historic curiosity today's problem had been foreseen and a solution proposed fifty years ago by someone generally known more for his literary than his political background — Leonard Woolf. Before marrying Virginia Stephen in 1912, Woolf had spent seven years as a British colonial administrator in Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was then known. Recently discovered in the archive of Rhodes House in Oxford is a proposal which Woolf put forward in 1938 in his capacity as a Labor party advisor on imperial questions. Woolf's solution was as simple as it was novel to British tradition — "a federal solution on the Swiss model."

Woolf's line of reasoning is no less valid now than it was then. **"The Sinhalese," he argued "have used and will use their majority against the interests of the Tamils."** But, Woolf noted, "The Swiss federal canton system proved extraordinarily successful under circumstances very similar to those in Ceylon, i.e., the co-existence in a single democratic state of communities of very different size, sharply distinguished from one another by race, language and religion." Therefore Woolf concluded that by creating a cantonal system — with the Tamils having their own two cantons in the north and east where they are concentrated — it would be possible to devolve power in a way that would protect the interests of both Sinhalese and Tamils.

To this day Woolf enjoys in Sri Lanka a unique reputation for his rectitude as a colonial administrator and for his life-long affection for the country. Far from being an imperialist practicing a "divide and rule" policy, he advocated in 1918 — long before anyone else in Britain — that Ceylon should be given immediate independence. Moreover, Woolf was particularly well disposed to the Sinhalese among whom he spent some of his happiest years. His advocacy of a decentralized system was both prophetic and impartial.

The Sri Lankan government's latest proposals — of December 1986 — offer some devolution of power to the existing nine provinces but they maintain the unitary system. Most Tamils have no trust in the government's offer and will be satisfied with nothing less than an autonomous "Tamil homeland." The idea of a federal system, which has never been considered by the government, is a way out of the impasse. Willingness to explore it would be an acid test of the sincerity of desire of leaders on both sides to get out of the trenches and go back to the negotiating table. In fact, this fresh approach is probably the only remaining basis for a peaceful settlement.

Private and Confidential

No. 202 A

November, 1938

LABOUR PARTY

INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL QUESTIONS

Memorandum on the Demands for Reform of the Ceylon Constitution

By L. S. Woolf

The Ceylon Constitution, which resulted from the report of the Donoughmore Commission, has now been in operation for about seven years and demands are being put forward by the Sinhalese for revision in order that the people may be given an increased measure of responsible government.

The Constitution on the whole has been a success as a stage on the way to responsible government. It has educated the people in self government and Parliamentary procedure and the

difficulties have been less than usual or than might have been expected during such an in-between stage. This has been largely due to the form of the Constitution and in particular to the Committee system.

The Advisory Committee is of opinion that the time has come for a further measure of self-government and of an appreciable measure of responsible government and that the Party should adopt this as its policy.

The Governor in his dispatch of June, 1938, published last December, makes certain proposals for amendment. They are as follows:

(1) Reshaping and adding to the electoral areas in order to afford necessary chances to the minority candidates. The appointment of a committee to advise on such changes. The Advisory Committee is of opinion that this proposal should be supported.

(2) The nominated Burgher representatives should be increased from one to two. The Advisory Committee is not in favour of an increase in the nominated members of the State Council.

(3) Two additional nominable seats to be retained in reserve. The Advisory Committee is not in favour of this proposal.

(4) The introduction of the Cabinet system and the abolition of the Committee system. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Party should support the proposal for the introduction of the Cabinet system, but should oppose the abolition of the Committee.

They should be made advisory instead of executory. A Prime Minister should be appointed by the Governor and the Prime Minister should appoint his Cabinet. The Committees should be elected by the Council, as they are now, and each Committee should be presided over by a Minister, but the Committee should be merely advisory to the Minister. It is advisable to retain the Committee system as it ensures that every member of the Council is closely associated with the actual work of legislation and administration.

(5) The abolition of the Officers of State. The Advisory Committee is of opinion that this proposal be supported.

(6) The Public Services Commission to be increased by not more than three non-officials, nominated by the Governor. The Advisory Committee is of opinion that this Public Services Commission should be composed of independent persons and that all higher appointments should be made, not by Ministers or Committees, but by the Governor on the advice of the Public Services Commission.

The Advisory Committee is of opinion that provision should be made for the protection of minorities. This applies in particular to the Tamils who oppose revision of the Constitution and the grant of further measures of self-government on the ground that the Sinhalese have used and will use their majority against the interests of the Tamils. Protection should be given by the Governor's right to reserve assent and by the proposal to redelineate constituencies and redistribute seats. But another method might also be considered, namely, the possibility of ensuring a large measure of devolution or even of introducing a federal system on the Swiss model. The indigenous Tamil minorities are concentrated in the extreme north and east of the island. The Kandyan Sinhalese, who are in many ways very different from the Low Country Sinhalese, form a homogeneous Sinhalese block in the centre of the island. At least four cantons on the Swiss model could be created: i.e., the Low Country Sinhalese Provinces, the Kandyan Sinhalese Provinces, the Tamil Northern Province, and the Tamils Eastern Province; and it might even be possible to create a fifth canton out of the area where the immigrant Indian Tamils form the majority of the population on tea estates. The objection that Ceylon and its subdivisions are too small for such a system does not hold water. The area of Ceylon is about 10,000 sq. miles greater than that of Switzerland; the population of Ceylon is roughly 5,300,000 and that of Switzerland 4,000,000. If the Swiss federal system were adapted to Ceylon the smallest canton would be the Eastern Province with over 200,000 population; in Switzerland the smallest canton has a population of about 14,000 and the largest 700,000. The Swiss federal canton system has proved extraordinarily successful under circumstances very similar to those in Ceylon, i.e., the co-existence in a single democratic state of communities of very different size, sharply distinguished from one another by race, language and religion. Thus the German speaking Swiss with a population of 2,750,000 occupy the numerical position of the Sinhalese, the French speaking Swiss with 824,000, that of the Tamils and the Italian speaking Swiss with 284,000 that of Moormen. The democratic canton and federal system in Switzerland has safeguarded the legitimate interests of the minorities.

The penetration of TNC's

S. Sathananthan

A populist concern for preserving the 'independence' of small producers was expressed in passing by Shanmugaratnam (p.75) and it was raised by Piyasiri Wickremasekera, in his essay on 'The Mahaweli Development Programme, Agrarian Change and the Peasantry'. Wickremasekera argued that given the accelerated process of class differentiation in Mahaweli settlements, 'if the original objective of establishment of independent peasant producers is to be promoted, active State intervention may be necessary to counter the emerging trends' (p.116).

It is well known that Russian Populists had lamented the decline in 'independence' of the peasants, which 'independence', Lenin argued, never existed in reality. In Sri Lanka, usury and debt bondage have been the reality and the penetration of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) means merely that the identity of the exploiter and methods of exploitation have changed. Wickremasekera's prescription of greater State intervention to create 'independent' peasants revealed a belief in populist notions of a 'third path' of Development.

Neither Shanmugaratnam nor Wickremasekera explicitly indicated their position regarding the impact of TNCs on the underdevelopment of capitalist production in peasant agriculture. In his well researched essay on 'Technological Change in paddy Agriculture and International Linkages', Sunil Bastian traced the links that are building up between TNCs and paddy cultivation but he, too, did not elaborate on his view of the impact of TNCs on the underdevelopment of capitalist production. Therefore, we are left to surmise the following:

(1) The TNCs are bringing peasant producers increasingly under control of foreign capital by supplying machinery and inputs and providing extension services and by

This is the fifth part of a review essay on "Peasant Agriculture" a publication of the Social Scientists' Association, edited by Charles Abeysekera.

- purchasing the products at predetermined prices;
- (2) particularly due to the monopoly position enjoyed by TNCs, they have been able to extract a lion's share of the economic surplus and thereby limit the capacity of the direct producer to accumulate;
- (3) this appears to have led to the conclusion that the operation of TNCs has frustrated the development of capitalism and is contributing to the conservation/preservation of peasant production.

Whether or not Shanmugaratnam, Wickremasekera and Bastian would agree with this reasoning and conclusion is uncertain. But Charles Abeysekera, in his essay on 'A Transnational in Peasant Agriculture; The Case of the Ceylon Tobacco Company', was more forthcoming. He observed that the TNC has virtually replaced the State as the only source of credit, inputs and extension services and, more importantly, has set itself up as the sole purchaser of peasants' products; this leads him to predict that 'what is developing... may be close to a "total institution" in which the peasant is completely encapsulated' (p.180-181).

However, there is nothing new about a 'total institution', which, in peasant production, has already been personified by the village *mudalali*. But the penetration of the TNC brought into sharp relief the monopoly conditions which prevail and which hinder the development of capitalist production in peasant agriculture.

(b) Underdevelopment of capitalist production

It was noted by Abeysekera that the TNC has created an intermediate stratum of entrepreneurs,

the barn-owners, in tobacco cultivation. Since the income earned by these middlemen is invariably not re-invested in agriculture, Abeysekera did not hold out prospects for the development of agrarian capitalism through this stratum of entrepreneurs 'Barn-owners as well as the small-holding peasants are... ideologically part of the peasants' moral world' (p.190).

However, he subscribed to the conservation/preservation thesis (p.191) not because ideological obstacles to change are rooted in the 'peasants' moral world; but, instead, because 'the development of an agrarian capitalism, based on small family farmers able to support a capitalist form of production resorting to wage labour is limited by the very fact of its integration into the world market on which it depends' (p.102).

But on the next page, Abeysekera seem to be stating the opposite: 'in reality... the small producer is tied, in fact, to capital. His relation with capital are capitalist relations of production' (p.193). He argued, quoting Banaji, that the price paid to contract farmers actually constitutes a concealed wage' (p.193).

Abeysekera's arguments on pages 191-93 capture some of the contradictions faced by many radical social scientists in Sri Lanka: the agricultural sector contains relations of accumulation characteristic of the CMP; at the same time, this sector neither has produced a dynamic agrarian bourgeoisie nor is characterised by well developed capitalist production.

Attempts have been made to explain this contradiction with reference to pauperization, the dominance of merchant capital and integration into the capitalist world market.

In contrast, it is argued here that the apparent paradox of 'capitalism without capitalists' can be analysed only within the context of imperialism.

(This is not the same as either assessing the activities of foreign merchant capital or examining the impact of integration into the capitalist world market because such studies focus largely on

(Continued on page 26)

"Somewhere a Child is Crying" by Donovan Moldrich

Donovan Moldrich's book "Somewhere a Child is Crying" is of the same genre as his earlier book "Hangman Spare that Noose". Tightly packed with information that has been well-researched, concerning its various manifestations both in Sri Lanka and other parts of the world, Moldrich writes about the subject of corporal punishment with a liveliness and verve that is so characteristic of him and which I have never ceased to admire. It is true that he is a confirmed abolitionist and quite naturally is also opposed to the infliction of physical pain and suffering as a form of punishment. Yet he sets about presenting his case in a manner which sustains the readers attention through a judicious mixture of hard evidence and perceptive comment and succeeds in enlivening the whole with his mordant wit. He deals not merely with the question of the extra legal discipline of children through corporal punishment but with the larger issue of the justification of this form of punishment in the case of criminals generally.

His book draws attention at a disturbing contradiction in our legal structure. On the one hand we have a constitutional guarantee which states that no person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and on the other hand the same Constitution declares that all existing written law and unwritten law shall be valid and operative notwithstanding any inconsistency with any fundamental right. At the same time the Courts are inhibited from enquiring into the constitutional validity of legislation whether it be before or after the Constitution. So the constitutional guarantee is of marginal value when it comes to its practical observance for there are many offences for which corporal punishment is recognised

by law as a permissible form of punishment and is in fact prescribed by Judges.

Apart from the interest which the book must have for lawyers and judges for whom this book should be required reading, I think it raises many questions for social scientists, criminologists, penologists, prison administrators, theologians and citizens concerned with the problem of punishment and human rights.

As in the case of capital punishment it is often difficult for the ordinary citizen to think of the rationale for corporal punishment of criminals in a manner totally unfettered by emotional considerations. The community-view as to the fitness or adequacy of the punishment for the crime strongly affects the attitudes of both legislators and judges. If the sense of wrong suffered by what is perceived to be the conscience of the community is not suitably assuaged there persists a sense of outrage at what has occurred and in the result it is the administration of justice which suffers in the process. Judges who still believe in its efficacy probably prescribe such punishment for that reason and not necessarily by reason of any sadistic urges in their subconscious. Personally, I do not favour the practice of securing a de facto suspension of corporal punishment through administrative fiat, as appears now to be the case, because if it is resorted to as a matter of course in every case, it will bring the law itself into disrepute and defeat the ultimate objects of justice.

Nevertheless the whole question of punishment, its function and purpose and its ultimate effectiveness in combating the

problem of crime are matters which deserve to be studied in depth by scholars in our country. We are being gradually enveloped by a widespread tide of violence of massive proportions that will engulf the whole of our way of life, if not contained in time. Moldrich's book highlights one important aspect. As I see it this must be studied in relation to the total perspective and is one of the urgent necessities of our time.

— H. L. De Silva

The penetration...

(Continued from page 25)

relations of exchange). It is further argued that

- (1) the dominant mode of production in peasant agriculture is the capitalist mode;
- (2) bourgeois methods of accumulation, sometimes disguised in feudal forms, are the norm in peasant agriculture; and
- (3) a distorted but nevertheless capitalist class differentiation has been proceeding, the emergence of barn owners being a case in point.

What needs to be examined is the path taken by class differentiation in a commodity economy, under conditions of monopoly and within the context of imperialism, to produce a distasteful class structure characteristic of capitalist underdevelopment, of 'capitalism without capitalists'; that is, to produce a CMP characterised by small-scale capitalist producers, simple commodity producers and agriculture/rural workers.

The Name of the Rose

A Discussion of the Novel & the Film

Radhika Coomaraswamy

Semiotics:

Another reason, perhaps, why Eco chose the British detective novel as his genre is that it allows him to put into popular language and discourse the basic tenets of his philosophical school. Umberto Eco is infact the Professor of Semiotics at the University of Bologna and the secretary of the International Association of Semiotics Studies, a pedant and a scholar in traditional terms. Semiotics is the study of social signs or symbols as a means of understanding power relations in society. To date it has been a rather esoteric venture into social theory. Umberto Eco in the *Name of the Rose* translates the great concerns of the semiotic movement into a language and discourse which is accessible to the non-specialised popular reader.

In the *Name of the Rose* there are two different sets of signs designed for two different types of receivers. Those whose fundamental beliefs are with religious orthodoxy are provided with one set of signs. Others who are believers in modern science are provided with another. The final conclusion about the murders flows from the belief system to which one is partial. The corpses of the victims are found in positions of violent, unnatural death; death that is associated with the devil, death which denies the victim everlasting peace. One body is found crushed and broken, having fallen off a chiff, another is discovered with feet sticking out of a large jug containing pig's blood and still another is drowned in a tub of water, Jorge, the fanatical monk, who is later discovered to be the murderer, scolds monk William and says on discovering the bodies, "you

would perhaps like to say to me, No! the antichrist has not yet come here! What are the signs of his coming? We have them here day after day". He argues that one must look beyond the deaths taking place. The very nature of the deaths are such that they have to be interpreted not as ends in themselves but as instruments of God's vengeance—vengeance for "human pride" which he feels abounds in the Monastery. "But who is the very symbol of this pride... he is the foul beast the Antichrist?" In the end Bernard Gui, a Cardinal and representative of the Inquisition is called in by the Abbot of the Abbey, over Monk William, to discover and punish the murderers. He too, like Jorge sees deaths as symbols of the fact that the antichrist is wandering freely in the corridors of the monastery. So he seeks, and under torture, finds so called "heretics" those who in the past have joined breakaway Christian movements, identifies them as spirits taken over by the devil and leads them out to be burnt at the stake.

For Monk William of Baskerville, as well as for all of us who are used to the British detective novels, these religious assertions are not only untrue but only form the backdrop to the novel. We search for the truth in another set of clues for eg—Blue marks on the fingers of the victim which indicate poison, deep tracks in the snow which point to the fact of a man carrying a heavy, dead body, Code messages left by the victims which have to be deciphered etc., Monk William spends his time analysing and

reanalysing these clues. They lead him to the conclusion that Jorge the murderer had poisoned the pages of Aristotle's *Comedy* with a dreaded poison which works through finger-tips. Those who read Aristotle's work and turn the pages are poisoned and die within minutes. Then Jorge disposes of their body in a manner fitting to those who dare risk encounter with the devil.

In one sense, the victims are not pre chosen. They are infact those who are consumed by a curiosity for the heretical volume of Aristotle. It is this *curiosity* or what Jorge calls pride which is as much the cause of their death as the poison on the pages of the volume. So which system of signs is the real teller of truth? For those of us born in the modern era, there is not even an iota of doubt that Monk William is correct and that Jorge is culpable of murder for placing the poison on the pages. But, then our belief systems have been moulded by science and analytical reasoning. We also accept modern legal notions of criminal culpability which do not leave room for the workings of a divine hand. Jorge and the members of the Inquisition seem like fanatics, madmen and murderers. But what is it that makes our world view or mindset the correct one? Can both interpretations be true? After all if the monks were not curious they would not have died? Is Christ really speaking? Will all of us heat-hens, scientists, and Monk Williams of the world find out in shock that Jorge was correct on Judgement Day? Can one ever be sure? Or is everything illusion including modern science.

Eco writes "A dream is a scripture and many scriptures are nothing but dreams". Perhaps all systems of signs are only partial truths born out of our own subjective experiences.

Structuralism:

Eco, is not only interested in the controversy of sign reading but also in other great philosophical debates which are current in contemporary society. Michel Foucault, the most erudite scholar of the modern school of structuralism has said that "the essence of society is often revealed in religious and social debate discourse of a period. But, the clue to understanding this essence is not to analyse what is said but to study that which is actually not said. Therefore he dedicated a lifetime of scholarship to the study of the taboo areas of society madness, crime and sexuality. Eco also ventures in this novel to raise some of the concerns of this approach to understanding social life. As explained earlier, the plot of the novel revolves around Aristotle's *Poetics* — the specific volume on *Comedy*. Aristotle is one of the few philosophers who had actually written on the subject of comedy, humour and laughter. Most social theorists do not consider it important enough to warrant analysis. Aristotle's book was banned by the Inquisition because the Priests of the Inquisition were convinced that Christ did not laugh and that laughter is a human evil. Therefore to read Aristotle on Comedy was seen as a heretical act. But what in actuality is the Christian approach to laughter? What is the approach of other religions, of modern political doctrines? Monk William, true

to his British namesake believes the humour is a necessary defence against fanaticism and single minded dogmatism. But the fanatical monk — murder Jorge replies with equal conviction. "Laughter," he says, "frees the villain from fear of the devil because in the feast of fools the Devil also appears poor and foolish and therefore controllable. This book Aristotle's Comedy could teach that freeing oneself of the fear of the devil is wisdom..." Jorge's words cannot be lost on us even in the modern world. In looking at what is not discussed in detailed in social and moral discourse we do, indeed get special insight into the inner workings of society. Social philosophy and religious doctrine do not discuss laughter because these are precisely those forces in society which are concerned with the creation of mythology and its counterpart "demonology" — those who accept one doctrine or philosophy are accepted as correct and saved, those who respond to a different drummer are seen as manifestations of an evil demon. Perhaps we could statistically measure the amount of laughter in a given society and find a correlation, between, laughter, tolerance and democracy. Perhaps the lack of "a culture of laughter", leads to fanaticism, hatred and demonology. We may never know, but I think the phenomenon is truly worth investigation, especially now in Sri Lanka. With so much fanaticism on all sides, do we dare laugh at our own weaknesses or the humour of others outside our own circles? Perhaps with the loss of a shared laughter we also lost our shared humanity.

(To be continued)

SLFP...

(Continued from page 10)

Fully conscious of the present situation arising immediately from the Indian Government's announcement yesterday, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party will desist at this moment from calling for a debate.

Such a debate may worsen a volatile and dangerously unpredictable situation. We however, reserve the right to do so at a appropriate time and date. Meanwhile we call upon both the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments to make every possible diplomatic effort to defuse this tense grave and confrontational situation, in the interests of the goodwill and friendship that has existed for so long between the people of Sri Lanka and India.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party holds the view that this situation which endangers Sri Lanka sovereignty is the tragic outcome of the steady deterioration of relations between Sri Lanka and India during the past ten years. It also signifies a total failure of foreign policy and the insensitivity of those who have shaped it for the past ten years. Though, it is not my purpose to apportion blame our party is aware that the situation has worsened by open patronage of the terrorists by India and the inability of the Sri Lanka Government to control this unbridled violence and terror. This unfortunate situation has been created partly by the irresponsible and needlessly provocative behaviour and utterances of leading personalities of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. However, it is imperative that every effort should be made to immediately restore the mutual respect and traditional friendship that has existed between our two nations for so long.

We call upon the Governments of Sri Lanka and India to bear this long term mutual interest in mind at this critical juncture in our relationship and to desist from following a course of action that will forever jeopardise the independence and sovereignty of our nation.

— Island



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