

MAJIKKA GUARDIAN

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SILINDU SYNDROME

COOMARASWAMY SYNTHESIS

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INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES
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PUBLICATIONS

Four books - essential reading for every Sri Lankan who wants to know why our national institutions from Parliament and Bureaucracy to Universities and the economy are in a state of dysfunction if not crisis.

- ***Sri Lanka: Problems of Governance*** by K M de Silva (editor), G H Peiris and Radhika Coomaraswamy, 1993. (Rs 850/=)

The authors try to answer the question "Why has post-independence Sri Lanka not lived up to the promise of its early years of independence?" The political system and political economy of the country, civil liberties, language and religion, defence and external affairs are among the wide range of themes that are dealt with in this publication.

- ***The University System of Sri Lanka: Vision and Reality*** edited by K M de Silva & G H Peiris, 1995. (Rs 600/=)

Written at the time when Peradeniya University celebrated its 50th anniversary, the monograph appraises the achievements and failures of the University System in general, and Peradeniya University in particular, and its contribution to Sri Lanka's development. Contributing authors: Professors Asoka Ekanayake, K N O Dharmadasa, S A Kulasooriya, S N Arseculeratne, B L Panditharatne, Drs. Wijaya Jayatilake, Neelan Tiruchelvam, Messrs. D L O Mendis and W M A Wijeratna Banda.

- ***Development and Change in Contemporary Sri Lanka: Geographical Perspectives*** by G H Peiris, 1996. (Rs 850/=)

This is the most comprehensive analysis of post-independence socio-economic development available today. The author presents a rich variety of quantitative and qualitative data, much of it not readily accessible to the average reader, to support the discussions on a large number of major themes ranging from, Physical Resources Base, Environmental Hazards, Development of Peasant Settlements in the Dry Zone, Plantation Crop Production and Social Welfare Services to Macro-Economic Change: Problems and Prospects.

- ***Regional Powers and Small State Security: India and Sri Lanka 1977-90*** by K M de Silva, 1996. (Rs 850/=)

This is a comprehensive and incisive case study of international relations in a cold-war/post-cold war context. It provides an authoritative study of India's relations with Sri Lanka since the 1970s, and especially of the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka in the 1980s. This book is largely based on a study of unpublished documents relating to the Indian intervention. The author has also interviewed most of the principal figures involved in policy-making at the highest levels at that time in India and Sri Lanka, including Rajiv Gandhi, J R Jayewardene and J N Dixit.

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36D, Mahajana Mawatha,
Oruwala,
Athurugiriya.

09th August 1997.

The Editor
Lanka Guardian
246, Union Place,
Colombo 02.

Dear Sir,

I read the final instalment of H..D. Mahindapala's contemptuous critique of the debacle of the Trotskyite movement in Sri Lanka in the issue of 01st July. There he refers to some mythical attempts to meet Trotsky in exile, and ends with the categorical statement in bold type "But Trotsky himself never acknowledged the existence of the Lankan group which was to carry his banner high".

May I put the record straight. In Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939 to 1940 New York: Merit Publishers, 1969.p.14, there is the text of the letter he wrote to Dr. N.M. Perera's wife: "A letter to Selina Perera, November 24, 1939". It contains Trotsky's personal advice to his followers in India and Ceylon to concentrate on patient organisational and agitational work during the period of the war, after the L.S.S.P. was proscribed.

Yours truly,

H.A.I. Goonetilleke

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THE IDEAS MAGAZINE

THE COORAY CRISIS: THE CURTAIN FALLS

Mervyn de Silva

"In the matter before us, the Secretary in my view abdicated his authority and signed the detention order mechanically his decision was not reasonable in the sense that it was not supported with good reasons, and therefore it was not a decision that a reasonable person might have reached. His decision was not only wrong but in my view unreasonably wrong" declared Justice A.R.B. Amerasinghe in delivering the judgement in the Sirisena Cooray fundamental rights case. The detention of the former U.N.P. Minister of Housing and General Secretary of the party on suspicion of involvement in a conspiracy with Soththi Upali, allegedly a notorious criminal, to kill or physically harm the island's elected Executive President, Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga dominated the news, international coverage included.

The report added:

"While the first report alleged that the well-known underworld figure Sothi Upali (at present in remand) was a close associate of Mr. Cooray and that the latter had discussed with members of Soththi Upali's group about assassinating the President, the second report named equally well-known figures, Malwatte Somé and Sudu Mahattaya as collaborates with no reference to Soththi Upali" (S.T. 24/8)

CIVILISED PRACTICE

Did Mr. Cooray as the UNP's Minister of Housing and Construction allotted any land? Mr. Cooray had no recollection of doing so. The Court drew attention to the fact that "even IF (our emphasis) land had been so allotted it could never have been evidence of a conspiracy to assassinate the President because she had not even been elected to office at that time".

Finally, Mr. Cooray had not been given the reasons for the arrest. Citing the International Covenant of Civil and

Political Rights and India law, the Supreme Court observed that "this was one of the most fundamental principles that every civilised country follows".

The reader will appreciate that it is not everyday that the highest court in the land reminds the government of "civilised" practices.

In the same context, the Court cited the European Covenant for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and decisions from the European Court.

A commentator in the independent SUNDAY TIMES observed that the Supreme Court decision could be "justly hailed as a coming of age of fundamental rights jurisprudence in Sri Lanka".

NEW CONSTITUTION

President Chandrika Kumaratunge's Peoples Alliance (P.A.) plans enact a new constitution. The deadline is June 1998.

Of course it will need a two-third majority in Parliament i.e. 150 votes in the 225 member Assembly. Can the PA mobilise the support of ALL its allies and friends? Unlikely since these are not like-minded groups. On the contrary, each represents "special interests". The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) of Minister M.H.M. Ashraff is the authentic representative of the Muslims of the Eastern Province. The S.L.M.C.'s real fight in the province is with the Tamil constituency, and the Tamil voters of the north-east are represented by many Tamil parties and groups, the TULF, the EPDP etc. Both are fairly well disposed to the PA on broad policy issues but quite firm on Tamil interests i.e. devolution, and Tamil representation in the "region" ... under Prof. G.L. Pieris' new concept of a "union of regions" in place of provinces, a smart conceptual sleight-of-hand that he hopes will impress the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims.

"The new constitution, (President Kumaratunga is certain), would ensure total peace in the country where both the majority and minority communities would be able to live in peace and harmony". President Kumaratunga addressed a gathering which included Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, representatives of the Maha Sangha, and the national media. The formal occasion was a commissioning of a raw rice milling plant at Pannagama.

The new constitution will be presented to Parliament by June 1998. But can it get the 2/3rds majority without the UNP? Not likely. Thus the carrot and stick. But the Opposition Leader does not seem to be impressed, not even when "Batalanda" is pulled out of a hat or from under a black cloth in the manner of a clumsy magician at a tiny tot's birthday party.

ARMY VIEW

What do the Armed Forces think of Prof. Pieris' magic formula - "union of regions" instead of provinces? And more recently, President Chandrika's "peace Caravan" which has now hit the Anuradhapura Road?

The (8-9-10 party?) grand alliance cannot sustain its unity on the more sensitive national issues. Minister Fowzie fights Minister Ashraff. And yet it has launched an unconventional are against two formidable forces: the UNP and the privately-owned press.

If the Army, or a fair number of officers and soldiers, suspect that victories won on their blood, toil and tears, will be bartered in the name of a "union of regions", it is our present disunion that will become the toughest challenge to the political leadership and Sinhala elite in the first decade of the 21st century.

TALKING ! TALKING ! TALKING ! TALKING ! TALKING !

THE ROLE OF VELUPILLAI PRABHAKARAN

Rohan Jayawardana

It is now a reasonably accepted fact that there could not be a resolution of Sri Lanka's northern military conflict without the participation of the LTTE at negotiations. For a very long time the concept was anathema to civilian persons with notions about the ability of the Sinhalese to resolve the issue one way or another without sitting at the same table with Tamil militants, while there were also elements of the armed forces who were equally certain of victory on the battle field. But fourteen long years after the inauspicious and bloody year of 1983 when anti-Tamil riots ran out of control during the régime of J.R. Jayawardene, the country is still awaiting the magic moment when peace will break out.

Therefore, whether everyone likes it or not it appears that the LTTE has to be an indispensable element of the resolution. Whatever the nature of political proposals made available to the underprivileged Tamil community, the **only guarantee of peaceful enforcement** could come through LTTE participation.

Assuming that posturing and theorising. Sinhalese elements are able to reach consensus even forty years too late (since

the first proposals of Bandaranaike and Chelvanayakam), how indeed could any Colombo - based government approach a body of militants who appear to be totally intransigent?

On reflection over the track record it seems to be almost futile to engage in discussions in the absence of Vellupillai Prabhakaran.

Past experience indicates that negotiating for peace may only be a device of the LTTE of buying time to re-coup losses and energies under the supervision of the ever invisible Prabhakaran.

Velupillai Prabhakaran gives every indication of being a supreme psychologist in addition to being a supremely clever militant. Whenever the Sri Lankan security forces have made gains over a period of time with related upbeat sentiments in the south of the country, the euphoria has been dampened or rapidly evaporated with calculated acts of sabotage and assassination or with devastating hit-and-run tactics. The fallout has been severe for a series of governments in Colombo.

It would therefore do no harm

at all to consider the psychology of Prabhakaran himself. Prabhakaran was born and raised in the northern peninsula in a region where philosophies of discrimination on the basis of caste and gender were accepted facts of life. These practises which are un-acceptable in literate modern societies are rooted in ancient and antiquated traditions.

In all areas controlled by the LTTE, the influence of Prabhakaran has seen an end of these stifling customs. It could therefore be assumed that the militant leader was possessed of insight into the suffering of the underprivileged persons and had a personal notion of justice and equality. It is also no small wonder that he now has a seemingly endless line-up of female suicide bombers to pick from on a scale un-matched anywhere else in the world.

The methodology adopted by Prabhakaran within and without his Tamil community toward the achievement of his goals indicate a particularly high degree of ruthlessness and uncaring of the consequence of spilling blood. Therefore he would always be capable of amorality in his tactics while in pursuit of a stated moral

Contd on page 5

THE REVOLUTIONARY NEED OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Senarathne Ponnampereuma

Our system of education has often been subjected to criticism for its state of deterioration, its marginalisation of the backward students and its inability to adapt itself to the rapidly changing world. It is no secret that the gathering of information by the National Education Commission was guided by the findings of the Presidential Commission on Youth of 1991. Information was collected from all parts of the country. National news papers particularly *Divaina* reported these facts with special emphasis. The report of the National Education Commission of 1992 was based on these findings. Such an exploration has never taken place before in regard to our system of education. During this period a change of government took place; however the report was upheld by the new government.

In 1994 the new government urged the national education commission to draw a national plan on the education system of the country and three reports were prepared in relation to this:

- i. General education (August 1995)
- ii. University education (September 1956)
- iii. Technical and vocational education (under preparation)

A presidential task force was appointed to explore the possibility of successfully implementing these reports. This included the minister of education and deputy ministers, chairman of the university grants commission, chairman of the national education commission, chairman of the commission of tertiary and secondary education and some specialists in the field of education.

Accordingly, a policy and a programme

of action has been introduced to reform and restructure the educational system. However, the findings of the report in regard to general education have created problems as these reform proposals are accused of being evil. Authorities did not work hard to build a positive image of the proposals using the electronic media. Therefore the eruption of protests is understandable and even inevitable. Apart from this, the negative perception of the state media by the public has greatly contributed to this factor.

Before the Premadasa Udugama reforms of 1972, classification on the basis of Arts, Commerce, Science were made in the eighth grade. The reforms of 1977 created further confusion. A large section of the students failed the G.C.E. Ordinary level mathematics examination. This deprived students who were weak in maths but good in other subjects of the right to a higher education. Students who follow arts subjects do not need mathematics or science much. This in any way does not imply that these subjects are of no use. According to the new proposals the new subjects of the examination will be basically classified as Mathematics I II, Science I II and the candidates will have the choice of selecting either I or the II part of each subject. Instead of marginalising the backward students, this system will provide them with a helping hand.

Even universities too show a trend of an increasing percentage of failures in the first and final year examinations. The G.C.E. Advance level examination has a direct impact on this situation. It is this section of the reform proposals that has attracted much of the criticism. One of the main allegations that has been levelled against the

proposal is that the proposed aptitude test leads to the pruning of the education system. The nature of this examination has been subjected to severe criticisms. According to a statement made by the minister of education in parliament on 25th July 1997, the objective of the aptitude test is to measure the ability of the students to pursue university education. This will be a three hour examination containing multiple choice and short answer questions. Model test papers will be made available in due course and the examination will be held simultaneously with the G.C.E. Advance level examinations. It is said that this question paper will test the ability of the students on general proficiency, logical ability and comprehension.

Aren't these areas worth being measured? Will the knowledge on specific subjects alone be sufficient? What should our choice be? These are questions which requires through study.

The difference between facilities in rural and urban areas may have a bearing on the results the proposed the aptitude test. The limited access to audio and visual facilities such as televisions, shortcomings in the existing library facilities, lack of necessary resources are a few aspects which have to be taken in to consideration before implementing the aptitude examination.

If the examination could be conducted as part of each of the subjects instead of a direct test paper, this might ease the pressure on the students and minimise the adverse impact, of the above mentioned factors.

Contd from page 3

It cannot be accepted that the restriction of the number of subjects to be followed at the G.C.E. Advance level examination to three is disadvantageous to the students. According to the UCAS guild of the British Council, university entrance could be gained to any university situated in the United Kingdom by following three subjects at the advance level examination and this is equally valid in the United States too. The allegation that the three subject system is an impediment to receiving foreign scholarships is therefore baseless and has no truth in it. According to Prof. Lalitha Mendis the restriction of subjects will not affect the selection of students to the medical faculty; therefore its impact on other areas of studies is likely to be very minimal.

Enabling students to follow any subject at the A/Level and the amalgamation of technical subjects under the proposed reforms is a commendable fact. However the implementation of the proposals in areas such as the organisation and development of schools, teaching guidelines and other necessary printed materials, proper assessment of studies, teacher training, educational advisory services and vocational guidance seems unclear.

However, whether these proposals can be implemented by an increasingly unorganised ministry and a bureaucratic system is uncertain. When one considers of the long standing inability of the government to provide the teachers with proper teaching guidelines, this possibility seems even more remote.

The proposals have unfortunately failed to introduce a direct structural transformation. Though new subjects have been included instead of old subjects, still it seems to be insufficient when the changing global trends are taken into account. What is required today is a revolutionary transformation in our education system capable catering to the needs of the new world.

purpose, such as the achievement of justice and equality. In the current instance he started off on behalf of his community as a heroic figure cut out on these lines.

It appears that the charisma of the hero has now worn thin or disappeared altogether from the minds of most Tamils except with extreme elements of their community.

At this point it must become clear that extreme elements of any sort have never been valid historical factors in the intelligent resolution of affairs world-wide but are themselves usually the reasons for conflicts in human affairs. It is impossible that such individuals who are blinded by factors of identity as race, religion and craving for public esteem, could ever perceive the human or the humane reasons against conflict among earthly creatures gifted with mind-related powers of calm, logic and genuine sensitivity. In the first instance they need to become self-aware about their own strong sentiments and also of such matters as universal concepts, whatever the pain of adjustment or loss of personal ego.

There is no doubt that the former standard bearer Prabhakaran, now bereft of respectability, stands alone at one extreme. How then, does one approach him even while ignoring the theorising of the extreme?

Just in case there is any illusion about this, it must be absolutely clear from past experience that any conversation with the LTTE ought to include Velupillai Prabhakaran **or in fact be conducted with him alone** (because he alone appears to be the mind and the spirit of the LTTE) if there is to be any

prospect of a permanent accord. If he finds a solution acceptable how then could peace fail to arrive when the other lay claim to all good sense?

Although Prabhakaran's aura has diminished in many quarters he remains an individual of distinction in the eyes of his following and has his own notion of personal worth. He would also have a concept of his personal role in the future if a negotiated settlement was ever reached.

It may therefore be best to consider seriously the option of an authorised governmental emissary meeting Velupillai Prabhakaran on a one-to-one basis. The governmental representative would also have to be an individual of distinction and achievement in order that the criterion of mutual respect be a permanent factor toward the meeting becoming a reality. However it seems to be vital that this emissary comes from outside the tainted sphere of national politics as a reasonable measure of further qualification and fairmindedness. This would not exclude Professor G.L.Pieris who is in the first instance an eminence in laws and thereby was qualified to offer his services to the country.

Once the attitude and the mind of Prabhakaran has been established at personal encounters on mutually acceptable territory, there could be a realistic look at the actual overall requirements for bringing about a peaceful resolution of the northern conflict. The unknown "X factor" of the mind of Prabhakaran could otherwise be the undoing in part or whole of the inventive work of legal draftsmen and sundry committees in a substantial segment of the country.

Ray of hope on Sethusamudram project

T. Ramakrishnan

CHENNAI, Aug. 7

"Never in the annals of the history of any country has a project with great potential and benefits waited for decades and still has not seen the light of the day".

This was the comment made by the late K. T. Kosalram, veteran Congress leader, on the Sethusamudram Canal Project in his memorandum to the Central Government in 1981. The position is the same even now, with the project defying implementation for over 135 years.

Interestingly, all major political parties in the State had, at one time or the other, demanded early execution of the project which envisages linking the Gulf of Mannar with the Palk Bay. On several occasions, the Assembly had discussed the issue and adopted resolutions. But, nothing progressed beyond that.

The scheme is again in focus now following a statement by the Union Surface Transport Minister, Mr T.G. Venkataraman, that his Ministry would take up the scheme for consideration as soon as it received an environment impact assessment (EIA) report. For this, the Tuticorin Port Trust had been made the nodal agency.

The Minister did not stop with this. He went a step ahead, saying that he would initiate measures to

implement the project in the current year itself.

Not all may share his optimism, but the message is that yet another attempt is being made by both the Central and State Governments to execute the scheme.

The Tuticorin Port Trust has approached the National Environmental Engineering Research Institute (NEERI) for EIA and the latter is expected to complete its study in four months. The Union Finance Ministry has already sounded the World Bank and Asian Development Bank on the project.

CM'S LETTER TO PM

On its part, the State Government submitted in July last year a report prepared by the Pallavan Consultancy Services on the economic viability of the scheme. This was followed up with a letter in October from the Chief Minister to the Prime Minister, stating that a token amount could be allotted initially for the project.

The Sethusamudram canal, if implemented, will drastically reduce the navigation time between two major Indian ports - Chennai and Tuticorin. In the process, it will also drastically alter the international trade route as circum-navigation of Sri Lanka will be done away with. For instance, against the existing distance of 769 nautical miles

between Tuticorin and Chennai, the presence of the canal will reduce it to 335 nautical miles.

Originally mooted in 1860 by Commander Taylor, the proposal was then to excavate a canal across the Adam's Bridge, a narrow ridge of sand and rocks, to link the Gulf of Mannar with the Palk Bay. Between 1860 and 1922, as many as nine proposals suggesting different alignments were considered by the British Government. However, due to lack of support from the then rulers, the project was shelved.

After Independence, the Central Government constituted three committees between 1950 and 1980 and all of them recommended the scheme. In 1956 the Ramasamy Mudaliar Committee concluded that the canal project and Tuticorin harbour scheme were two components of one project and should be taken up during the Second Five Year Plan. Strangely, in 1963 the Centre sanctioned the Tuticorin harbour scheme, but left out the Sethusamudram project.

Conscious of the escalating cost of the project, Mr. C. V. Venkateswaran, former Development Advisor (Ports), in an investigation in the mid-Sixties, indicated that this could be achieved by an improved alignment. As per his calculation, the canal would require only about Rs. 37.5 crores. He also suggested that a naval base

be developed in Mandapam to safeguard the security interests of the country. Yet again, this exercise turned out to be academic.

In the early Eighties, another committee headed by Mr H.R. Lakshminarayan was formed to re-examine the economic viability. It fixed the cost at Rs. 282 crores. In 1996, the State Government put the investment required at Rs. 700 crores.

As per the latest scheme of things, the canal can be built in five years. It will have two legs, one near - Point Calimere and another across the Danushkodi Peninsula. The length and width of the first leg of the canal will

be 40 nautical miles and 300 metres, while those of the other, 14.5 nautical miles and 244 metres. Ships up to 35 feet draft can sail through the canal in 10 hours.

ECONOMICALLY VIABLE

The project is economically viable, as it is estimated that a profit of Rs. 47 crores can be earned in the first year of operation.

As against the earlier proposals of having the second leg between Pamban and Mandapam, the present location of the Danushkodi Peninsula has been chosen, as this will involve less cost and there are no coral islands near the peninsula, says Mr. K. Ramalingam, former PWD Chief Engineer, who is associated with the project for the last 30 years.

In fact, such islands are near Pamban and Rameswaram but the proposed canal will be 15 nautical miles away from the former and five nautical miles from the latter. So the eco-system in the region will not be disturbed, he adds.

Waiting 41 Hearth

Through the year

Each Monday morning, wasn't quite the same

But it would be always dark outside

And I would be still warm with your warmth

As you put the light on and woke me

Telling me softly, it was time.

Each morning was different with the nights climax

Different with the months too

December to February holding us

Cosy with the chill that entwined us

Close with the rain in June

Lashing the valley in the fierce monsoon

With so many voices, nicer

To listen to in bed, but there wasn't time

I had to crank the old Ford under the dripping eaves

And you had to light the fire

To get things warm

Before I took the road over the dawning hills

Seeing the clouds glow crimson spite the storm

Like the hearth you lit.

U. Karunatilake

FIVE OPTION FOR LANKA

S. W. R. de A. Samarasinghe

In the past several months Sri Lanka experienced several events (excluding the northern civil war) that were a further blow to the country's fragile democracy, and two events that served to strengthen it. The latter was the accord between president Chandrika Kumaratunge and opposition leader Ranil Wickramasinghe on the ethnic question. The other was the rejection of the Broadcasting Authority Bill by the Supreme Court, which, in doing so, yet again asserted the independence of the judiciary, and its determination to protect our political liberties.

As against these two events that were pro-democratic, there were several that served to undermine the key institutions, conventions and laws that underpin democracy in this country. Among the anti-democratic events, probably the most serious one was the extensive pre-election violence in the last local-government elections, and the massive rigging of the poll itself in many parts of the country. This was a major setback following three consecutive reasonably free and fair elections in 1991 (local government), 1992 (provincial councils), 1994 August (parliamentary), and 1994 November (presidential). It is useful to note here that the last two went against the incumbent party, and Chandrika Kumaratunge secured her first ever elected political office in the provincial council elections of 1992.

The second was a set of events that concerned our principal law enforcement agencies. Every one of them served to undermine the rule of law, an essential aspect of democratic government. One was the series of events in the Attorney General's department that involved a deputy solicitor general who acted in breach of the basic "conflict of interest" rule, and the naïve defense of his action by the Attorney General.

Even more serious were two events that involved the police and its ability or willingness to enforce the law without bias, a prerequisite in a democratic society. The first of these events was the tragi-comic incident in Hanguanketa where a Pradeshiya Sabha member of the ruling PA and his supporters had allegedly terrorized the area and set fire to the office of the very Pradeshiya Sabha over which he wants to preside. What was disturbing here was the inaction of the police when these acts of thuggery took place.

The second event was the police investigation of the murder of Papua New Guinean rugby coach Pera. The fundamental issue here is not who murdered whom. It is whether the police conducted its inquiry in an impartial manner to serve the cause of justice. Rightly or wrongly a large section of the public seems to have come to the conclusion that in this country we cannot expect the law to be applied to everybody equally.

Undoubtedly these simply are the latest events in a long-term anti-democratic trend that began in the early 1970s. Now we have come to the point where almost everybody condemns this "decline in standards, civility, and democratic values". But the question is; Why? To find an answer I believe that we should understand how we look at Sri Lankan society, and what we individually and collectively consider to be most desirable.

There essentially are five "models" that we use in this country to understand and organize our society and polity. One, proffered by the "liberals" on the 'left', consider that the basic solution lies in a commitment to a multi-ethnic, multi-party polity. They attribute much of our current problems to the absence of pluralism. They support devolution, and believe in the power of constitutionalism to protect and nurture democracy. Broadly speaking this is the group that became unhappy with the UNP after the 1982 referendum, and strongly turned against it after Premadasa took over. They were strong supporters of Chandrika Kumaratunge at the beginning, but now are more muted.

[The "liberals" on the right explain our problems primarily in terms of too much government and too little free market. That, they say, is a recipe for economic stagnation that in turn creates political instability such as the two JVP insurrections. The solution, they urge, is rapid economic growth, more jobs, higher

incomes and improved living standards. Such a result, they point out, will stall the anti-democratic forces of, say, a JVP or, for that matter the LTTE. This is essentially the group that did not abandon the UNP even in its allegedly darkest hour of illiberalism under Premadasa.

For Marxists, socialists, and social democrats of different shades the explanation lies in too much market and too little government and equity. There are different variants of this line of thinking. Few believe in wholesale nationalization or anything approaching the old socialist model. But they agree that a strong commitment to social equity with a pro-active government forms the basis of a democratic polity. Thus they support proposals such as "Workers' Charters" that would enable workers to take command of their own destiny through control of the workplace and productive resources. They are not enthusiasts of privatization, but would back social safety net programs such as Janasaviya and Samurdhi designed to promote equity.

The fourth model is the "civil society" model that views the future of development and democracy of Sri Lanka in terms of the community and community organizations. They view communities organized into units, big and small (but mostly small) for self-sustained development as the solution to our problems. The Sarvodaya Movement best represents this strand of thought. In recent years many NGOs with a similar outlook have come up, partly with assistance from foreign donor agencies who also increasingly believe in such an approach.

The fifth model comes from nationalists, both Sinhala and Tamil. They see it as a question of inadequate or incomplete sense of nationalism that has led to the present impasse. The solution they want is to abandon competitive multi-party politics in favour of a

nationalist framework. It is worth noting that, in this regard, the LTTE and the "anti-party politics" Sinhalese in the south share a similar philosophy - both groups want partyless government - although they draw their nationalist inspirations from two different ethnic bases.

I do not say that the above five models are in tightly separate compartments. There is considerable overlap. For example, civil society has a place in the left liberal model. Both the liberals on the right as well as the "socialists" would feel comfortable with pluralist constitutional democracy. Nevertheless, each has a distinct emphasis, and those who believe in one model would normally accord less importance to the central concern of the others. That helps explain why as a community we generally are not sufficiently outraged when we hear an event that clearly undermines some vital aspect of our national life. For example, the four anti-democratic events/acts that I listed at the beginning of this essay have greatly troubled the left liberal opinion but not so much the nationalists. The fact that at least three million children in this country daily go to bed without an adequate meal for the day is probably of greater concern to those who hold "socialist" views and to those who believe in a community-based development model.

None of the above models is adequate to understand our present national crisis, be it in democracy and governance, the economy or the broader society. However, all five explanations carry partial truths of the reality. The challenge is to achieve a reasonable balance between these five different view points. Chandrika Kumaratunge showed some promise at the beginning that she may be able to do so. But she began to falter soon after assuming office. Her recent actions such as the Broadcasting Authority Bill, not to mention poll malpractice of the PA in the local

government elections conducted under her watch have further distanced her from that goal.

AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEVELOPMENT: A REVIEW OF EVIDENCE

It is reported that in a fairly recent address to a gathering of youth president Chandrika Kumaratunge is said to have claimed that an authoritarian regime is more conducive than a democratic regime to development, and that Sri Lanka needs the former to develop. She is said to have cited the examples of Korea and other East Asian "Miracle" economies in support of her contention.

Her statement has given rise to considerable controversy. Parliamentarian Vasudeva Nanayakkara responded to the president by pointing out that she got a mandate from the people not to foster authoritarianism of which the UNP was found guilty by the people in the last parliamentary and presidential election, but to foster democracy. For his trouble he alleges that he has received death threats. This, to say the least, is most unfortunate. The subject merits serious discussion and civilized debate because not only the president but many others also sincerely believe that what Sri Lanka needs is a little dose of authoritarian discipline. Moreover, when the country is on the verge of adopting a new constitution, it is very appropriate for the president to have raised the issue for public discussion.

This essay briefly reviews the evidence from scholarly literature on the relationship that may exist between development and authoritarian rule on the one hand, and development and democracy on the other. While it is not an open and shut case, the weight of evidence does not support the thesis that authoritarian rule is essential for development.

First, among developing countries, while some authoritarian regimes such as Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore have produced rapid economic growth, many more have produced economic stagnation. In East Asia the Philippines under Marcos is one such example. In the last six years (1980-86) of the Marcos regime (1965-86) the annual average growth rate of GDP was -1.0%.

In Sub-Saharan Africa almost every authoritarian regime - and most are or until recently were such regimes - has been an economic disaster. As a region the per capita income of its people had declined at an annual rate of -12% over 1985-94. One of the very few Sub-Saharan African countries that has had a democratic regime is Botswana. That is also the country that has one of the most impressive economic development records in the continent, and for that matter, in the entire developing world.

In Latin America also most authoritarian regimes have been very bad for economic growth. In short there is plenty of evidence to show that autonomous rulers and their supporters not constrained by democracy have been predators on society. Zaire's Mobutu is one of the most notorious examples.

In contrast, in the Philippines and Thailand as well as in many African and Latin American countries there has been an economic revival in the last ten years after the restoration of democracy in those countries. It is not contended here that there is a simple linear relationship between economic growth and regime type with authoritarian regimes being detrimental to growth and democratic regimes helpful to growth. The point made is that there is no convincing evidence of a strong and unambiguous association between authoritarianism and economic success.

Second, there is a fair degree of

evidence from economic research that democracies are somewhat better than authoritarian regimes at improving equity and basic needs of the people. The best example is Sri Lanka itself. This country's economic growth is not as spectacular as that of Korea. But the fact is that in this country ordinary people can get their children educated, can go to a government hospital to get health care, and, if one is very poor, get some assistance from the government to supplement the family budget. All this has been made possible because our rulers have to be responsive to the needs of the masses, thanks to the power of the ballot. As Amartya Sen, the Harvard economist has remarked, "eternal vigilance is the price not only of liberty but also of conquering deprivation and hunger."

Third, the period from about 1974 has been described as the "Third Wave" of democratization. During this period a large number of authoritarian regimes ranging from the former Soviet Union to Ghana and Argentina gave up authoritarian rule in favour of democratic regimes. In most of these countries economic crises - and not economic success - under authoritarian governments contributed to the collapse of the regime.

If the facts are what we have laid out above, why is that some people believe that authoritarianism would help economic growth? There are several reasons. First, they are impressed by the achievements of the Koreas and Singapores. But attributing the economic success of East Asian countries to authoritarian regimes is too simple an explanation of a very complex process. There were a variety of factors ranging from land reform (Korea and Taiwan) to massive investment in education, sensible macroeconomic policies, and substantial foreign assistance that explain rapid growth in these countries. It is true that high growth rates were achieved under authoritarian regimes, but no one is certain whether it was actually a

help or hindrance to growth. Given the degree of corruption that seems to have prevailed in countries like Korea, some argue that they would have done even better if they had more accountable, transparent and democratic regimes.

Second, "authoritarianism is essential for growth" school believes that wages and consumption of workers must be held back to increase savings and to offer cheap labour to foreign investors. This sounds plausible in theory. However, in practice two counter arguments can be made. First, savings can be increased and people encouraged to invest by promoting individual and societal security via democracy. In other words protecting political and civil rights, maintaining the rule of law, securing property rights and avoiding arbitrary threats from the state to private property, and ensuring a free flow of information can also create a democratic political environment very conducive to rapid economic growth.

Second, there is no evidence to suggest that foreign capital is particularly attracted to countries with authoritarian regimes. If global direct foreign investment flows are analyzed it is seen that the trend is for capital to flow largely to stable democratic countries that are governed cleanly and well. Thus president Kumaratunge is certain to be successful in attracting foreign capital to the country by running a clean, accountable and transparent democracy with appropriate economic policies.

In conclusion, it is useful to remind ourselves that, as the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) repeatedly stresses in its Annual Human Development Reports, political freedom is an essential component of human development, and not an "optional extra".

DANCES WITH WOOLFS

Guy Amithanayagam

(A gifted student of Prof. Lyn Ludowyke's English Dept., the writer was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service and held top diplomatic posts. More recently he has concentrated on academic work and creative writing)

Leonard Woolf's The Village In The Jungle is one of the most underrated novels published in this century. In this respect it can be compared to L.H. Myers' The Root and the Flower, except for the difference that the Myers novel enjoyed the attention of major British critics at least for a time. It can also be compared to the neglect of T.F.Pow's Mr. Weston Good Wine a novel as unlike Woolf's work as it is possible to imagine. But Pow's novel at least earned a coterie cult and occupied a niche in the history of English literature, though I would imagine hardly anyone reads him nowadays.

The fate of the Woolf novel can be attributed to many causes. Woolf himself did not for the major portion of his life devote his energies to creative writing in the technical sense, except for his major and remarkable autobiographical sequence, Sowing, Growing, Beginning Again, Downhill all the Way, and The Journey not the Arrival Matters published in the sixties and worthy to be ranked with the best in this genre. However, these volumes are not cast in the fictional mode. He was a busy editor of influential political journals, an active member of several committees, author of books on Government, Politics, History, Imperialism and Peace and a Publisher, with little outside help, of

a forward-looking and heroic press. (He was the first English publisher of T.S.Eliot's The Waste Land). He was also an active socialist.

His own literary reputation was overshadowed by the rising fame of his wife Virginia Woolf who soon became the centre of a group and acquired the status of a genius. Perhaps also the setting and the subject-matter of The Village in the Jungle appeared somewhat remote to the average British reader - an isolated village in a jungle of Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka, a faraway outpost of Empire characterised by a way of life almost infinitely distant from the complex urban and rural society of contemporary England.

But the society of the novel itself has its own complexities, and my purpose here is to untangle the strands of its theme in order to show that the work is indeed a masterpiece. Its closeness to the Ceylon scene and its empathy with important features of its way of life are such that Ceylon critics consider it the best fictional work in English on a Ceylon subject: some go even so far as to say that it is the best novel about Ceylon in any language, not excepting the two indigenous languages, Sinhala and Tamil.

Unlike George Orwell's Burmese Days which does not really get under the epidermis of Burmese culture, Woolf's novel is written

almost entirely from the inside, as it were; it is in this sense one of the most successful works of fiction written by an European about Asia. To my mind it is, at least in some aspects, even more successful than the more celebrated A Passage to India, where though Indians and Englishmen come together as individuals or as groups, one is never sure how much of the material and the treatment is truly of India or how much it is a grafting onto India of Forster's own sense of the European norm with its aspiration towards order and harmony, how much of his attitudes is modified by his human pessimism, his melancholy awareness of the void which environs all human ties and relationships, and his perception of the aura which encircles all attempts by human beings to relate to each other.

Unlike the other novels I consider in this book, Woolf's The Village in the Jungle is the only work, apart of course from Myers' The Root and the Flower, set as it is in a time long before the colonial encounter, which has local characters at its centre, where all the main figures are natives of the country which provides the setting. Even though it is under colonial rule, the Ceylon Woolf observes is seen in its internal workings, in its autonomy as it were, thus providing him with a directly focused vision.

The Village in the Jungle is so well organised as a work of art that one way of dealing with it would be to conduct a 'running commentary' on the book following the sequence of the pages in which it is written. This method, however, does not do sufficient justice to its spatial organisation of theme and symbol; the best that one can do therefore is to combine a consideration of its movement in time with its spatial interrelationships, despite the inevitable disjointedness of such an approach.

The first chapter of this novel is an excellent example of Woolf's prose style at its best. Though the intention seems to be a matter-of-fact, realistic depiction of the jungle environment, the language is so poetically charged, the rhythm so evocative that one cannot miss the symbolic dimension. The novel's first paragraph is as follows:

"The village was called Beddegama, which means the village in the jungle. It lay in the low country or plains, midway between the sea and the great mountains which seem, far away to the north, to rise like a long wall straight up from the sea of trees. It was in, and of, the jungle; the air and smell of the jungle lay heavy upon it - the smell of hot air, of dust, and of dry and powdered leaves and sticks. Its beginning and its end was in the jungle, which stretched away from it on all sides unbroken, north and south and east and west, to the blue line of the hills and to the sea. The jungle surrounded it, overhung it, continually pressed in upon it. It stood at the door of the houses, always ready to press in upon the compounds and open spaces, to break through the mud huts, and to choke up the tracks and paths. It was only by yearly clearing with axe and katty that it could be kept out. It was a living wall about the village, a wall which, if the axe were spared, would creep in and another and blot out the village itself".

The jungle frames the book an

equally moving evocation at the end of the novel but it is not merely a frame, it is an active, moving reality. Man can only stake his territory by assiduously striving to keep it at bay: he has to halt its inexorable infiltration by yearly clearing with axe and katty. At the outset, even before introducing the main characters, the author establishes the tone of the insider by recounting the incident of a man who knew the jungle intimately, "he knew the tracks better than the doe who leads the herd". He would boast that he did not fear the jungle but eventually he did become its victim: his bones were found scattered on the ground "gnawed by the wild pig and the jackal, and crushed and broken by the trampling of elephants". Nature in the form of the jungle is innately evil and hostile to man. Here is no Wordsworthian sense of Nature as a source of tranquil restoration:

"All jungles are evil, but no jungle is more evil than that which lay about the village of Beddegama. If you climb one of the bare rocks that jut up out of it, you will see the jungle stretched out below you for mile upon mile on all sides. It looks like a great sea, over which the pitiless hot wind perpetually sends waves unbroken, except where the bare rocks, rising above it, show like dark smudges against the grey-green of the leaves. For ten months of the year the sun beats down and scorches it; and the hot wind in a whirl of dust tears over it, tossing the branches and scattering the leaves. The trees are stunted and twisted by the drought, by the thin and sandy soil, by the dry wind. They are scabrous, thorny trees, with grey leaves whitened by the clouds of dust which the wind perpetually sweeps over them: their trunks are grey with hanging, stringy lichen. And there are enormous cactuses, evil-looking and obscene, with their great fleshy green slabs, which put out immense needle like spines. More evil-looking still are the great leafless trees, which look like a tangle of gigantic spiders' legs - smooth, bright green, jointed together - from which, when

they are broken, oozes out a milky, viscous fluid".

The jungle is almost the main character in the story: it is established as a presence, the most important one, in page after page of descriptive enactment. The fear, hunger and thirst in the jungle is paralleled in the people who live in it:

"The spirit of the jungle is in the village, and in the people who live in it. They are simple, sullen, silent men. In their faces you can see plainly the fear and hardship of their lives. They are very near to the animals which live in the jungle around them. They look at you with the melancholy and patient stupidity of the buffalo in their eyes, or the cunning of the jackal. And there is in them the blind anger of the jungle, the ferocity of the leopard, and the sudden fury of the bear".

But it is important to realise that, even though many of the characters are depicted as having animal attributes, the novel is not a "beast-fable" nor are the pervasive analogies of the human and the animal world intended to support a Swiftian vision. Nor is the portrayal of a cruel Nature merely a backdrop for a Man versus Nature statement. The closeness to the jungle is also a closeness to the hale, the vigorous and the instinctual as opposed to the so-called civilised and sophisticated: Silindu's two daughters have skins smooth and blooming, "like the coat of a fawn when the sun shines on it".

Though it would not be customary to provide a synopsis of the plot or resort to lengthy quotations from the text in a critical piece of this nature, I have to do both in order to make my comments intelligible, as the novel is very little known. The Village in the Jungle is the story of a man, Silindu, and his family. Silindu whose outer and inner life is profoundly shaped by the jungle lives on its edges, and ekes out his existence by hunting game and by "slash and burn" cultivation of

A WHOLENESS IS ALL THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

Guy Amirthanayagam

Very few of us particularly in today's world, lumbered as it is with discreteness and irrelevance, are blessed with the synoptic genius, let alone that unremitting attention to the things of the mind and the spirit, which characterised the life of Ananda Coomaraswamy. Being clearly not one of this few, I have always felt when reading him like the beggar at the feast, greedy but unable to savour, let alone digest, the many delights at this rich table of traditional knowledge and wisdom. The feast is God's plenty, as Dryden said of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales.

Even though Coomaraswamy has not yet received as much recognition as his work so clearly merits, he has from time to time been praised in extravagant terms. In India, among the cognoscenti, he is a monumental figure, a star in the constellation of culture heroes. One does not have the right to expect from politicians, prime ministers or head of state powers of sound judgement about intellectual matters. However, it is gratifying to find that Indira Gandhi - or at least her ghost writer - once ranked him with Tagore in the Indian Pantheon, and that the first prime minister of independent Sri Lanka - or at least his ghost writer - once said of him that to Coomaraswamy as to no other man Sri Lanka owed the stimulus for the revival in modern times of its cultural and spiritual heritage. Radhakrishnan, philosopher and president of India said of him, "Among those who are responsible not only for the Indian Renaissance but for a new Renaissance in the world, Coomaraswamy holds a pre-eminent position". He counted among his admirers in the West T.S. Eliot, Eric Gill, and Aldous Huxley who praised him for that extraordinary combination of vast

learning and penetrating insight which gave him his unique importance as a mediator between East and west. Genetically and in cast of mind he was a blend of East and West: he considered it his role to discover and expound the tradition which was common, at its deepest layers, to both Eastern and Western art, metaphysics and religion.

One of the reasons why he has not been as influential in the academic world as he should be is the fact that his learning and centrality of approach obliterates and straddles over currently established boundaries between academic disciplines, such as aesthetics, art criticism, history of art, metaphysics, philosophy, theology, and so on. Coomaraswamy was not concerned with being an academician or even making or contribution to one or more of several fields of knowledge. Increasingly over the years he was trying to relate all his interests to the central question of what is man that God should be mindful of him, and what is God that man should desire to know him. This blurring of boundaries is naturally resisted by those for whom the prevalence of distinct areas of study is a requirement for the display of specialised excellence, if not for mere survival among the coterie of academe. I may here mention the case of a graduate student in an American university whose thesis proposal for a doctorate on Coomaraswamy as a philosopher was rejected on the ground that Coomaraswamy was neither in the mainstream of philosophy nor an original philosopher, as though it were more important to be different, unique and even eccentric rather than to build on foundations, so long as they were sound, and to extend the frontiers of knowledge

as long as the knowledge remained valid. This incident would not have surprised Coomaraswamy, as he went out of his way to disclaim originality while displaying it in its real sense of "going back to the beginning" for the rediscovery and application to modern times of the traditional knowledge. The charge that Coomaraswamy is not in the mainstream would perhaps have amused Coomaraswamy as in all his endeavours he was concerned only with the "mainstream", in the way he understood it.

Another reason for the scant attention paid to Coomaraswamy in academic circles is that he is so much better than the scholars at their own games - his deep knowledge of many languages, Eastern and Western, classical and modern, and his inveterate habit of burdening his lines and encrusting his footnotes with the most thorough and recondite references, in order to prove his argument beyond all possible doubt, is likely to dismay all but the dedicated seeker of knowledge.

In his earlier writings it may seem, on a superficial reading, that he was an Asian post-colonial nationalist protesting against the slavish imitation (in India and Ceylon) of the Western way of life. He thought it wholly impossible for an Asian woman to look anything but vulgar in European dress, or anything but a lady in her own. He complained of the way Asian homes were filled with ugly and useless furniture and ornaments utterly unsuited to local needs, and pitiful even as specimens of the worst that European traders could produce. But he was wise enough to realise that what was happening in Asia was only a part of what was happening all over the world.

He protested against "the continual destruction of national character and individuality and art by the pressure of what is called in bitter unconscious irony, the civilising factor". What he was really objecting to, however, was the imitation in the East of the debased elements of Western culture. what he was protesting against was the vulgarity and commercialism of the industrialised world.

His objection to the industrialised world was not based on a naïve primitivism like that of some modern conservative political parties: it derives from one of the first principles of his philosophy which is that there is no distinction between the fine and the applied arts, "that beauty and utility are indivisible in the object, and that nothing useless can properly be called beautiful". For Coomaraswamy, as for Aquinas, art was the principle of manufacture; he therefore deplored the production of art solely for profit under conditions determined by the money-values of the marketplace. What Coomaraswamy wanted for the Asians was simply that they should absorb what was best in the Western tradition while retaining what was best in their own inheritance. He pleaded that Asians should meet the wave of culture on equal terms and that they should be masters of the art of life, instead of the slaves of civilisation.

Coomaraswamy, therefore, was not a believer in a simple polarity between Eastern spirituality and Western materialism: he predicted, in fact writing as early as 1918, that in the future it was the East which would become materialistic and the West more spiritual. Since this is a neglected aspect of Coomaraswamy's vision of the future, almost totally ignored in the East as it does not accord well with the narrow chauvinisms that now rage over so many of the countries in the Eastern half of the world, an extended quotation would not be out of place:

"And we may expect that Europe, having sunk into industrial competition first, will be the first to emerge ... In the meantime the decay of Asia proceeds, partly of internal necessity, because at the present moment the social change from co-operation to competition is spoken of as progress, and because it seems to promise the ultimate recovery of political power ... the rapid degradation of Asia is thus an evil portent for the future of humanity and for the future of that western social

idealism of which the beginning are already recognisable. If, either in ignorance or in contempt of Asia, constructive European thought omits to seek the co-operation of Eastern philosophers, there will come a time when Europe will not be able to fight Industrialism, because this enemy will be entrenched in Asia ... for is Asia be not with Europe, she will be against her, and there may arise a terrible conflict, economic or even armed, between an idealistic Europe and a materialistic Asia.

It is not difficult in 1997 to imagine such a future.

Coomaraswamy's main intuition was the Hindu sense of the unity of all life-material and spiritual, political, social and cultural. In numerous places throughout his works he eloquently expounded his view that the recognition of this unity was the highest good and the uttermost freedom. For him, Hinduism was not a place-bound, time-bound, or culture-bound religion; it was religiousness itself. He saw all the world religions as *philosophia perennis*, not as Leibnitz first used the phrase but in the sense that all spirituality had a common ground in an immanent and transcendent God. For him, tradition chooses the human being wherever he happens to be born, but since it is the innate potentiality and privilege of human life to discover the Godhead within, the tradition into which one happens to be born is not important in the ultimate sense, though it could hamper and stunt the fulfilment of one's full potential. Coomaraswamy could, therefore, derive as much sustenance from the Gospel, especially according to John, as from the Vedanta, as much support from Meister Eckhart whom, with the possible exception of Dante, he considered the greatest of all Europeans. He was a spiritual snob in the best signification one can give the word "snob". He would settle for no less than St. John of the Cross or the Sufi mystic poet Jalal-uddin Rumi. "The astrolabe of the mysteries of God is love".

Coomaraswamy's aesthetics - he himself preferred to call his theory of art or expression a Rhetoric - was based not just on a religious view of the Universe, or the poetic sense that the world was charged with the beauty and grandeur of God, but on a strict metaphysical system which for him was the foundation of a normal or traditional civilisation, a foundation he found common to the Indian, the classical and the mediaeval Western traditions as

well as to the so-called folk culture, or the "primitive mentality" of ancient and still surviving cultures. This system derived from a primordial wisdom which of its very nature could not be supplanted by modern science or knowledge. The work of art therefore was a support of contemplation. But what saved Coomaraswamy from a mere archaism was his insistence that he was returning to first principles; and the fact that these principles had been enunciated earlier by Plato and in the *Bhagavad Gita* or had been universally accepted in past ages did not necessarily destroy their validity in the present. He was also able to meet the charge of elitism by responding on two fronts; first, art for him has layers of significance which need not lie open to all capacities to the same extent so long as the core of symbolic meaning is shared by all; second, the artist for him is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist. Coomaraswamy was thus able to give a democratic dimension to art while retaining the need for discrimination - he could say that no man had a right to any social status unless he was an artist. He believe in the anonymity and impersonality of art as opposed to the sentimentality, and the obsession with personality which disfigured the art of his time. But Coomaraswamy was no narrow traditionalist who dreamed of a possible return to the Middle Ages: he once said that "the vitality of a tradition persists only so long as it is fed by intensity of imagination".

Though one may disagree with Coomaraswamy's formulations of some theoretical concepts in aesthetics - and I shall make some comments later on in this connection - and seriously wonder how useful his preoccupation with such question is to the critic *qua* critics, one cannot gainsay the fact that he was conspicuously endowed with the faculty of discrimination and judgement and blessed with *taste*, an inborn aptitude for which there is no acquired or learned substitute. The rare possession of this faculty, though it is often accompanied by egregious lapses in particular judgements, such lapses seemingly almost a necessary concomitant, is what distinguished Samuel Johnson, Mathew Arnold, F.R. Leavis, or Wyndham Lewis from the hordes of critics in the history of literary criticism, many of whom are perhaps more correct in detail but rarely reveal that innate and inward sense of what makes for life, and what for

death, in the products of art and literature.

AESTHETIC SHOCK

One of Coomaraswamy's touchstones for the greatness of a work of art was Samvega or aesthetic shock, the capacity of a work of art to shake one's being to its roots. He says in one of his essays that he was completely dissolved and broken up when he listened to the Gregorian chant and comments that this could not have been a mere aesthetic emotion but "the shock of conviction that only an intellectual art can deliver, the body-blow that is delivered by any perfect and therefore convincing statement of truth". Comparing Blake's line from The Tiger, "Did He who made the lamb make Thee? With Joyce Kilmer's line "only God can make a tree", Coomaraswamy says: "In the question 'Did He who made the lamb make Thee?' there is an incomparably harder blow than there is in "only God can make a tree", which could as well have been said of a flea or a cutworm.

Of course there are limitations in his work, as there are bound to be in the work of any writer of such an ambitious scope. His Brahmin sociology was unhistorical and oversimplified; the same could be said of his admiration for medieval Christendom, the historical realities of which he seems to have ignored. But Coomaraswamy's greatness does not lie in his having been a mere historian or a mere sociologist. He did not defend the caste system as an ideal ordering of society: his argument was that differences based on caste were no worse than differences based on wealth. If he seemed to prefer the caste system of India it was only because he found that in such a society man was not separated from man as much as in modern industrial culture. "A Western professor and a navy do not understand each other half as well as a Brahmin and a Sudra". He approved of cultures in terms of the quality of the intellectual ideals which were dominant at the centres of power. He judged cultures in terms of these ideals. Much as he admired the ancient arts of Sri Lanka and what remained of the traditional way of life, he left the country after a few years as he could not breathe freely in its then uncongenial cultural climate, dominated as it was by the rootless and culturally confused elites who were the leaders of opinion at that time. When in England, he sympathised with the school of William Morris and lamented the divorce of work

from culture.

"We have gone so far as to divorce work from culture, and to think of culture as something to be acquired in hours of leisure; but there can be only a hothouse and unreal culture where work itself is not its means; if culture does not show itself in all we make we are not cultured".

In the United States he lived for thirty years and seems to have found the best environment, such as it was, for his life's vocation. But the religious man and critic of society that he was, he could not help but deplore the way commerce was settling on every tree. His incidental remarks on education are of interest to teachers, not just in the West but the world over. He once remarked that it would take at least ten years to outgrow even a Harvard education. Today with our emphasis on equality in education (whatever that may mean) we must beware that such an emphasis does not distort the relationship between teacher and pupil and leave us with a state of affairs where the student feels the only difference between him and the teacher is that the teacher has somehow "made it". The teacher to be effective must after all be given some recognition at least because he has more time to read, and perhaps think more deeply than the student about the subject he has chosen to teach!

While my view of Coomaraswamy's oeuvre is highly laudatory, and I have a keen sense of its current relevance, it would be well to comment on some of his critical concepts as they constitute the most vulnerable portion of his intellectual equipment. Coomaraswamy's theories, whether it is his adoption of the concept of imitation from Plato or the theory of Katharsis from Aristotle, are vulnerably exposed to modern criticism, though there are notable modifications and refinements in his interpretations, as for example when he defines katharsis as a "standing aside" of the spiritual from the natural self due to a purifying or purification from the passions. I do not want to consider these particular concepts in any detail, but it is worth saying at the outset that his view of the fundamental identity of all the arts, whether music, poetry, architecture, sculpture or pottery, can only be accepted without major disputes and qualifications at a very high and therefore forbidding level of generality. An aesthetic which feels it has

umbrella has necessarily to be too abstract to be of use in the actual appreciation of particular works of art executed in such different material as pigment, clay, vibrant air or wood. Further his antipathy to naturalism, his depreciation of the artist's engagement with the sensuous surfaces of things does lead to a loss of concreteness and a shrinkage of artistic scope. The ways in which William Carlos Williams' remark, "There are no ideas except in things", or Mallarme's aphorism, "Poetry is not written with ideas; it is written with words", may be seen as at least particularly true, would tend to escape the net of Coomaraswamy's theorising.

His notion of form likewise tends to leave out of account the dense recalcitrance of nature. The emphasis on the archetypal image, the immaterial form, the intelligible pattern, which is imposed on the appropriate material substance, while giving the proper importance to the intellectual operation in art tends to offend against its organic wholeness: Coomaraswamy in this respect is pre-Coleridgean, and perhaps I can best define my meaning by quoting this passage from Coleridge:

"The form is mechanic, when on any given material we impress a pre-determined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material, ... the organic form on the other hand, it innate, it shapes, as it develops, itself form within, and the fullness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form."

Coomaraswamy's frequent statements on the relation between idea and artefact require to be completed by a sense of the active interplay between idea and form suggested by the following from Paul Valery:

"But poetry insists upon or suggests a quite different "universe": a universe of reciprocal relations, analogous to the universe of sounds in which musical thought has its birth and movement. In this poetic universe resonance gets the better of causality, and the "form" far from vanishing into its effect, is ordered back by it. The idea reclaims its voice".

A theory of form should have an integral relation to beauty and ugliness alike: a painting by Cezanne, Wuthering Heights or Little Dorrit should all have a place in

the order to the good and the beautiful. I am not saying that Coomaraswamy would dispute this but he does seem to stick too closely to Platonic, Aristotelian and Indian formulations. Coomaraswamy seems to go along with the view that since the eternal and intelligible models are supersensual and invisible, they must be known in contemplation; contemplation is certainly necessary for the production of a work of art but one cannot discount observation which is surely a prerequisite in this world where knowledge is perdurably related to sensory perception.

Coomaraswamy's theory of intention, which should be a *locus classicus* on this subject, admirably exposes some of the errors in statement made by Messrs. Monroe C. Beardsley and W.K. Wimsatt, but one is not altogether comfortable with Coomaraswamy's version nor the stage at which he leaves the problem. When he says, for example, that the artist must know what he wants to do before he sets about his task, he seems to simplify the quotation from St. Thomas Aquinas on which he sets much store: "The artist works through the word conceived in his mind, and through the love of his will regarding some object". It would be quite in order to say that an artist knows fully what he wants to do only when he has completed his task. The essential point about "the word conceived in the mind", the interior or mental word is that it is mental, and not realised in words. A disparity may be felt by the artist between intention and product without his being able to correct it. The end (TEL OS) may draw the artist to create before it is intelligible, and in some cases (as in mystical poetry) without its ever becoming intelligible at all. Coomaraswamy does not sufficiently realise that the work of art defines itself in the process of creation, the poem in the process of writing. He does often stress the poetic language is not merely indicative but also expressive but he does not investigate the seminal difference between the poetic and other uses of language. While in referential prose the medium is relatively neutral for the communication of thought, in poetry the medium is alive, there is interaction and reciprocity between thought and the word. It often happens that the word gets hold of the inchoate, or incipient thought sometimes altering it beyond all recognition. This has an important bearing on the critical procedure of judging a work of art according to its intention. It is

worthwhile delaying somewhat with this subject as what is involved is not merely a critical method but the nature of artistic creativity.

In criticising a poem one has a right to object if one notes an internal discrepancy between what the poet wants to do and what he is really doing; but since the discovery of what he wants to do has also to be made from the poem itself (we have no other evidence the judgement is not as between intention/result, concept/product, forma/figure, or art in the artist/artefact, but as between art in the artist as revealed in the work of art/work of art). One does not judge according to intention unless by "intention" one means the actual living purpose of the writer as it is revealed in the poem itself. The questions the critic asks are, "Is what is being done, done well?" and "Is what is being done worth doing?" Further, the author's own statement about his intention is not always helpful; in the act of writing the prefigured intention may change in ways that are not always "conscious". The behaviour or words is not always logical, the poet does not "possess" his ideas in the same ways as the logician may be said to have them in his mind. Even the "creative" philosopher often finds that his perceptions have altered in the process of formulation, and this happened because an idea is never complete before it is fully formulated.

The question comes back to the paradox of "realisation". It is true that what is realised when I write a poem is not just the words on the page but the poem as mental word, as concept, as intention (and this is where Coomaraswamy's stand is important), whereas what matters in criticism is the "poem". The experience behind the poem is irrelevant to criticism, and is relevant only insofar as it can be determined from the poem itself, which is only another way of saying that what matters is only the poem. Criticism is essentially a matter of judging implicit intention realised in words, the mental "word" (verbum in intellectu conceptum) realised in the words on the page. If there is confusion or imbalance of feeling, if there is a lack of harmony between what the poet wants to say and how he says it, if the words move in two or more different, unplanned directions, one may say that there is failure of realisation, but one cannot invariably infer a parallel confusion in the poet's mind, except in a manner of speaking; it may, as everyone knows, be

due merely to the poet's handling of his tools, or rather his inability to handle them, to his ignorance of the "laws of motion" of words. One's judgement of the work of art as she does not as a matter of course involve a reflection on the nature of the internal experience of the poet insofar as it may be guessed at, or reconstructed; it is a judgement on his internal experience as embodied in the words on the page. Of course, a total criticism of a poem requires a reconstruction of the experience of the poem which is not necessarily the experience of the poet as understood by him, nor is it limited to the experiences of any number of readers reading the poem. But everyone in the business of criticism assumes that there is an ideal reader of every poem to whom he wants to approximate.

Coomaraswamy also makes a distinction between the "good of the work to be done" (aesthetic) and the "moral" evaluation of the experience itself. This is a disputable distinction: when one judges a work of art, one judges both the kind of life revealed in it and the artist's ability to communicate that life. But these activities in the critical process are not different but one: it is not as if one judges the aesthetic quality of the work of art, in relation to its intention or otherwise, and subsequently consider it as amoral reality. Such a division between "aesthetics" and "morals" is foreign to the nature of the critical act. The total judgement is a judgement of the artefact: if it is considered violent or sentimental, nostalgic or self-indulgent, the criticism is moral and aesthetic at the same time. But, of course, when one attempts to establish a hierarchy within the world of art, one necessarily invokes moral criteria which are derived from one's own experience, but the introduction of such criteria is convincing only when the critic displays taste or finesse in aesthetic matters, which is itself an indispensable spiritual and moral quality.

Despite Coomaraswamy's superior powers of ratiocination and his real sensitiveness to the work of art as such, he does not free himself from the notion of style as thought "clothed in a material vehicle": It is worthwhile probing further the nature of poetic language in order to see why such an approach can be limiting. Modern critics and writers on semantics have given a wide "social" context to language - the meaning of an utterance is rightly seen to inhere in a total context of situation, or even several

contexts of situation - the conceptual context, the context for the speaker, the hearer, the semantic range of the word, historical and current, and so on. But what has not yet been sufficiently acknowledged is the special context posed by the creative process: the relation between the word - that odd amalgam of meaning and breath and the silence in which it is born. Creativity engages layers of mind which may not be fully brought into the clear light of consciousness: there are intimate linkages, which cannot be diagrammatically traced, between the silent world of one's experience and the social world of language. Of course, for purpose of scientific writing, for the reporting of facts, for business or practical purposes, this discontinuity between the word and the wordless silence from which the words proceed may not appear very important but, in the deeper and more intimate types of communication, this opposition is of crucial relevance.

The problem of the poet, for example, is to communicate his private silent experience by means of the social and conventional instrument of language. If I write a poem, I cannot make words mean what I want them to mean. I have to make use of words that exist in use, words which have their meanings apart from me. I must choose the words which will best mirror the experience that belongs to my inner world. I have to make the reader read the words as I want him to read them. I have to see that the words evoke in him the same inner world of being, the same silence. Words then are not merely signs of ideas, nor even tools of interaction between human beings; in the context of poetic language a word becomes a gateway or a barrier towards the communication of silence. The word may well be a barrier: if he who reads my poem is unaccustomed to the same silence he will not understand me; or if he is sensitive to words but still misinterprets me, I have failed as a poet; I do not understand the way words work.

Let us consider the comparable situation of two lovers; when they speak to each other, it is important they understand each other - they may, following the advice of Pascal, En amour un silence vaut mieux qu'un langage, prefer the language of silence; but if through weakness of spirit or the immaturity of their love they decide to use words, they should attempt through words to proceed to each other's silence.

The problem of language is thus seen as the problem of otherness: another person living in another world of silence attempts to join me in my own. To understand the word, one must understand the wordless; to comprehend language, one must reach what is not language. Both the lover and the poet have to scatter the silence.

A complete theory of verbal meaning, even if one neglects poetry and the exchanges of lovers, has to pay heed to the separation and the congress between the interior word and the sound uttered by the voice.

Of course, the inadequacies in Coomaraswamy's theory of form, of intention in art, of poetic meaning, can be found even more conspicuously in Plato or Aristotle or some Indian philosophers; and it may seem niggardly on my part to have spent so much time on them when there is so much to be learnt from the wealth and distinctiveness of his contribution to art, philosophy and religion, so much to be admired in his freshly creative reinterpretations of the philosophia perennis and his courageous stand against the mainstream of modern thought. For pre-eminently it has been Coomaraswamy who has been the spokesman of the traditional philosophy in the twentieth century. But it is just as well to subject him to criticism if we are to prevent his becoming a dead cult, a fossil like many of the ancients before him; this is surely one of the ways of keeping his abundant insights in current circulation. Coomaraswamy himself would have agreed with some of the formulations in this essay; one of his major disadvantages was that he was isolated and neglected in the intellectual discourse and conversation of his time. In his essay The Nature of Buddhist Art he uses a form of words to describe his theory of inspiration which, if separated from its context of divine revelation, would fit very well with the theory of form I have tried to adumbrate in earlier paragraphs.

"All that can be thought of as prior to formulation is without form and not in any likeness; the meaning and its vehicle can only be thought of as having been co-created. And this implies that whatever validity attaches to the meaning attaches also to the symbols in which it is expressed; if the latter are in anyway less inevitable than the former, the intended meaning will not have been conveyed, but betrayed.

This is as good a statement taken by itself as any one can find of the organic theory of form, whether for sacred or profane art.

I would like to take leave of Coomaraswamy by saluting him for an aspect of his genius which often obscured by his phenomenal erudition and the density of this thought: I refer to his prose style. The possession of a good style is one of the clearest signs of largeness of mind. In one of his early essays "The Status of Indian Women" he speaks of the love of man and woman as a "momentary experience of timeless freedom" and refers arranged marriages on the ground that "where there is no expectation, there can be no disappointment". This wry comment does not in any way damage his belief that in an arranged marriage there is a greater likelihood that love may find a congenial setting in cultural and spiritual continuity and consonance. His polemical style is often enlivened by sophistication and wit: his philosophical exposition gains its cogency and lucidity by an impressive concordance of thought and word. However intricate the reasoning, his meaning is always clear to the reader who is willing to make the effort. His late treatise Hinduism and Buddhism is a masterpiece of succinct, trenchant, expository philosophical prose worthy of comparison with the best work of the great philosophers: it is also in my view the best short account of these two great world religions that has so far been written. Even if in the years to come his scholarship is superseded and his particular judgements seem more and more controversial, Coomaraswamy's style as a distinguished instrument of a personally charged, mental ratiocination will remain an example of unaging intellect.

Besides, Ananda Coomaraswamy is an example, par excellence, of the East-West encounter at its most fundamental level: even if the intellectual ambition seem to awesome, too partial, even somewhat unhistorical at this stage in the history of the world, it draws our attention to the most significant congruity in the tradition of human, universal wholeness, and therefore merits our respect.

CONFLICT REGULATION OR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: Third-Party Intervention in the Northern Ireland Conflict; Prospects for Peace

Dr. Sean Byrne

4. PREVIOUS THIRD-PARTY POLICY IN NORTHERN IRELAND?

What should the composition of a third party be and why? Since 1969, British policy has undergone many changes in direction corresponding to changing British conceptions of the conflict (O'Leary, 1987; O'Leary & McGarry, 1993). One factor has remained consistent, however: The continued reluctance of Britain to get involved fully or wholeheartedly in the Northern Ireland Problem. The British government has tried consistently to extricate itself and, failing this, to decrease its involvement and costs (Bew & Patterson, 1985, 1987). In other words, the external mediator has engaged in "power politics as usual" (Princen, 1991, 57), compelling agreements between both parties embroiled in the conflict. The British government can be seen as the cause of the ethnic conflict and, yet, also as the restraining factor that prevents an extreme escalation of the level of violence.

On the other hand, British policy since 1972 has done much to foster division and sectarian conflict, because it has been "one long series of bungles, mistakes and miscalculations" (Bew & Patterson, 1985, 147). British policy could correctly be described as being basically *crisis management*, that is, ad-hoc measures were introduced as the situation arose but without regard to their long-term effects (Bew & Patterson, 1985). The problem with British policy in Northern Ireland is that it has been an attempt to apply British solutions to an Northern Irish problem

(Cox, 1987; O'Leary & McGarry, 1993). Hence it would appear that the third party, once "locked into" the antagonism, not only finds it difficult to decide unilaterally to pull out but is soon in a position in which the ethnic leaders are unable to bar the third party from intervening in the dispute (Wright, 1987).

Since the conception of the "troubles" in Northern Ireland, British policy has done nothing to eradicate sectarianism and, perhaps, has made it even more severe nor has policy assisted in changing the economic and structural inequalities between Catholics and Protestants (Bew & Patterson, 1985, 1988). The legal and judicial process has not yet been reformed, the security forces have not become acceptable to the Nationalist community, and the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement - "direct rule with a green tinge" - has failed to decrease support for Sinn Fein and the Provisional IRA (Bew & Patterson, 1988, 78). Britain has provided cosmetic concessions but no real substantial reforms.

Therefore, third parties can come into play as either potential creators of some sort of "tranquillity"—preventing widespread communal violence by providing the glue to prevent complete social division—or catalysts for the spiral into ultimate chaos. Of course, there are other, more "local" reasons why a situation of mutual hostility may be kept below the surface and not allowed to deteriorate beyond a certain point. Mutual deterrence exists in Northern Ireland as both communities are unable to completely subordinate the

other without inflicting on itself unacceptable costs (Boal & Douglas, 1982; Wright, 1987).

British policy since 1969 has been aptly summarised by Bew & Patterson (1985), who contended that its effect has been "to manipulate and domesticate rather than transform or eradicate" (p.177). Also, the failure of the combined efforts of the British and Irish governments in the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement to achieve peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland can only increase the cynicism that clouds recent efforts to forge a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Therefore, one can but question the sincerity of those involved in the policy-making process because actions are taken in light of self-interests and the pressures of international opinion rather than of genuine concern over the existing situation (McGarry, 1983; O'Leary, 1989). The British government has continually appeared as a weak intermediary unable to impose its will and too vulnerable to pressure to seem neutral" (Guelke, 1988, 107).

Therefore, the multiple arbitrators or regulators - in this instance, the British and Irish governments - have not ameliorated but have, rather, exacerbated sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland. Both governments do not fully understand the nature of the conflict or realise that a solution cannot be injected or transplanted from outside no matter how well meaning the intervenor. Hence the values of both governments have not been effective in helping the communities resolve their disputed equitably and without violence. The move toward reconciliation must

come from all parties within the Province. As the Loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association (UDA) (1987) asserted in Common Sense:

The [Anglo-Irish] Accord will not bring peace, stability nor reconciliation to Northern Ireland because it is a contract between two governments and not an agreement between those in the cockpit of the conflict - Ulster Protestants and Ulster Catholics (p.i).

5. THE THIRD PARTY

Kriesberg (1991) defined a quasi-mediator as "a social entity not so designated, who may even be a member of one of the adversaries", and who may facilitate toward de-escalating a regional or international conflict (p.19). For this complex inter-communal dispute, the inclusion of Northern Ireland's representatives at the federal level (quasi-mediators), and the exclusion of, and participation by, both governments may change the context of engagement and propel this problem solving initiative forward. It is logical, therefore, for a mediation team to comprise seven members" the three Northern Ireland Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) - Jim Nicholson (OUP), John Hume Social and democratic and Labour Party, Rev. Dr. Ian K. Paisley (DUP) - and four other members from the European parliament. Having four MEPs - two each from Belgium and the Netherlands - from outside of the Province will reinforce the legitimacy and neutrality of the mediation team and prevent any opposition from the DUP or SF. These "neutral" MEPs are familiar with the communal division and power-sharing mechanisms that led to successful political accommodation in their own respective divided societies and may be able to influence the nature of both parties' interaction (Bermant, Kelman, & Warwick, 1978) by inducing positive motivation, improving communication, diagnosing the conflict and facilitating the interaction (Fisher & Keashly, 1991). The Belgian and Dutch mediators would be sensitive to the needs of both parties and be able to "perform a limited facilitating function" (Princen, 1991, 60).

This mediation team will have the

knowledge and ability therefore, to assist both parties in identifying the issues of importance to change the direction, mode and base of the dispute, and would be honest, objective and fair as to be acceptable to both parties (Kriesberg, 1982). O'Leary (1989) has written: "European arbitrates of interests in Northern Ireland are less likely to be regarded as enemies of either segment" (p.586).

Therefore, escalating conflict costs may ensure that pressures to reach a problem solving solution may be stronger. It would be the purpose of the European mediation team to facilitate this process.

6. IN WHAT ENVIRONMENT SHOULD THE MEDIATION PROCESS BE SET?

This phase of the design process can be accomplished in three stages. First, the representatives of each political party should meet with the mediation team outside of Northern Ireland every six months. This would allow for a more constructive negotiation and improve the prospects for success. Second, the interaction between these representatives and their grassroots based constituents at District Council level (local Government) will allow for a strategically important input from the latter. The focus will be on an interests-based approach because it will "help parties identify which issues are of greater concerns to one than to the other" (Ury, Brett & Goldberg, 1988, 13). Finally, Loyalists and Republican paramilitary organisations should meet initially as separate conglomerates and perhaps on an informal basis in the future. Their contribution will be vital because they possess the power to "pull-the-plug" on any type of negotiated settlement in which they are not included (see Figures I).

7. CRITERIA NECESSARY FOR INTERVENTION: INTERESTS

what interests will be satisfied if a process is to be put in place that will allow a framework to develop a solution? First, Northern Ireland's Protestants and Catholics have to be reassured that a problem solving initiative will focus on their interests, decrease intercommunity strife, violence, and polarisation, and allow the team of MEPs to act as a

facilitator and not as an arbitrator in this process. It is important that the parties concerned have confidence in the mediation team, knowing that they will not be manipulated by external governmental intervention. Also, Mr. Jim Nicholson, MEP will work closely with OUP party leader, Mr. James Molyneux and other party colleagues to put forward ideas and proposals.

Second, both the British and Irish governments have to be made aware (in view of their past history) that any involvement by either party will increase tensions and polarisation, leading to a breakdown in negotiation. Finally, the MEPs can learn much about conflict management through their involvement as third party mediators in facilitating both parties in Northern Ireland. The MEPs can use this knowledge in applying conflict-management approaches to other ethno-territorial conflicts (for example, Breton, Basque, and Corsican) within the European Union (EU).

8. WHO WILL SIT AT THE TABLE?

Who are the parties that will sit at the table? Who will decide on the eligibility of the participants? The progressive UDA document Common Sense (1987) stated that Northern Irish Catholics are disillusioned with the future prospects of a united Ireland and, "Ulster Protestants recognise the need for a reasonable and acceptable alternative to the [Anglo-Irish] Agreement. They recognise that it is not enough to simply say no" (p.ii).

Therefore, a not-insubstantial number of Northern Ireland's Unionists and Nationalists realise that any process for reconciliation must come from within Northern Ireland. It is imperative, therefore, that all social, political, and paramilitary forces in Northern Ireland have input into the agenda and all procedural matters. No segment of either population should be ineligible for participation because any likely outcome will effect the status and future of all Northern Irish persons. As Bradley (1988) astutely observed, the first step is "determining the parties who have power to make something happen and the parties with the power to block it, and [make] sure that all these parties are involved from the start" (p.52).

The history of Northern Ireland has demonstrated that any one party has the ability to take down a policy initiative to which they are not a party or that undermines their strategic interests. The key, therefore, in this approach is to include all disputing parties that could contribute to, or block, this process.

9. PARTY REPRESENTATION

It may be that the principal Unionist and Nationalist constitutional parties may now wish to sit at the table with SF or any other paramilitary group that renounces violence and terrorism. SF has argued that any movement toward the ending of sectarian conflict must come from grassroots Protestant and Catholic workers (Rolston, 1987). SF has sought and received support from the Left in the British Labour party to initiate a complete British withdrawal from Northern Ireland (Bew & Patterson, 1985; Rolston, 1987). Similarly, the Loyalist UDA (1987) has acknowledged in Common Sense that the pragmatic road to change must involve both traditions coming together to "co-determine the nature of their society" how it would be shaped, and how it would be governed" (p.4).

It is important, therefore, not to alienate the Republican and Loyalist paramilitary groups by denying the cogency and legitimacy of their political world view and their potentially important contributions and input into the actual process. Similarly, a case could be made for allowing the British and Irish government to have observer roles during the stages of negotiation. However, the Joint Declaration has clearly shown that any constitutional initiative that has involved either party over the last twenty-two years has failed dismally, escalating, rather than de-escalating, events. For the process to have any chance of success, therefore, it would be wise to exclude both governments from the actual process.

As a result of the Treaty on European Union (EU), national authorities are obliged to obey directives, common rules, and policies of the EU due to the direct effect, direct applicability and supremacy of Union Law (Bulmer, 1994; Laffan, 1992). Technically, the British government retains sovereignty over

Northern Ireland within an over-arching European federal framework. In reality, Northern Ireland becomes a local canton or region with the EU holding the tenants of power. This constitutional position should appeal to Protestants and Catholics alike - Nationalists can still appeal to their Irishness and Unionists to their Britishness - freeing both communities to sit at the table.

10. THE PROCESS

will the parties be persuaded to the table, to buy into the forum, and to accept one another's participation? Bew & Patterson (1988) argued that, "any constitutional shell which might reduce the division in Ulster ought to be considered seriously" (p.80). Before the process could begin, the British and Irish governments, with the support of the EU, would have to implement the following eight policy proposals as an incentive package to persuade all parties to sit at the table. The UDA's Common Sense document of 1987 proposed three important elements to raise the siege mentality of Northern Ireland's Protestant community regarding the psychological map of the 'border' and build a secure, stable. And progressive democracy between both communities living within Northern Ireland"

1) A devolved power-sharing executive designed to avoid the institutionalisation of sectarian divisions by allocating seats to a local Parliament in proportion to the number of votes cast for each party in the canton-region (p.1).

2) A Bill of Rights, a supreme Court charged with the upholding of a new Constitution and the rights of the individual. Also, the institution of referenda would contribute to peaceful change despite strong subcultural segmentation in the political system (p.2).

3) The new Constitution would centre political cleavages around class and socio-economic issues, removing "the Constitutional uncertainty" of Northern Ireland's position within the UK (p.5).

The following structural and psychocultural dimensions should also be included by both governments if a lasting and just peace settlement between both communities in Northern

Ireland is to be achieved:

4) Special security policies, Diplock courts, the Ulster Defence Regiment, the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Inter-Governmental Conference are to be suspended. Articles 2 and 3 of the Republic's Constitution amended, and the 'border poll' reintroduced as a demonstration of good will and incentive for Unionists to forge a deal with the Nationalists minority (Bew & Patterson, 1987; Cox, 1987; O'Leary, 1989).

5) Power-sharing is to be introduced in local government (District Council), with the Northern Ireland Office ultimately deciding policy if consensus is not achieved on any particular issue at the grassroots level (Gottlieb, 1993; McGarry, 1988; O'Leary 1987, 1989).

6) New grant incentives are to be introduced by the Northern Ireland Minister of Education to Finance more integrated schools. It is important that parents and children from both communities still continue to have the choice of being educated together for change (Byrne, 1995).

7) Capital will be used from the EU social and regional funds to promote economic growth at the local and regional level to eradicate the material disadvantage of working-class Catholics and Protestants. The Brookfield Business Coop in Belfast, the North West Centre for Development in Derry, and the Teemore Farmers Co-operative, Teemore, County Fermanagh are examples of such local ventures to promote co-operation between both communities.

8) The installation of satellite dishes, bilateral linkups and exchanges between universities, schools, cities, and cultural institutions in other regions within the EU should be encouraged to allow schoolchildren to break into the global world and out of their own culture, preventing encapsulation and isolation by being exposed to new perspectives and ideas (Byrne & Carter, 1994).

The promotion of Northern Ireland, the region, within a European federal context, or what Gottlieb (1993) calls the "Irish national home", could reconcile differences over the national question thus deescalating the tensions between the two communities over the

saliency of national identity. An internal solution within the parameters of a greater European context would serve the interests of all parties concerned by promoting regionalism over nationalism within a supranational setting.

10. THE STRUCTURE

How the mediating team will deal with both parties is crucial to the whole process. It is imperative to involve all social and political actors in the diagnosis and design of the problem solving interest-based negotiation process, "not only to tap their valuable ideas and knowledge but also to organise support for change and to defuse opposition" (Ury, Brett & Goldberg, 1988, 133). The failure of the 1985 Hillsborough Accord and the 1991 Brooke Initiative and the fragility of the current Joint Declaration to instil co-operation between both communities

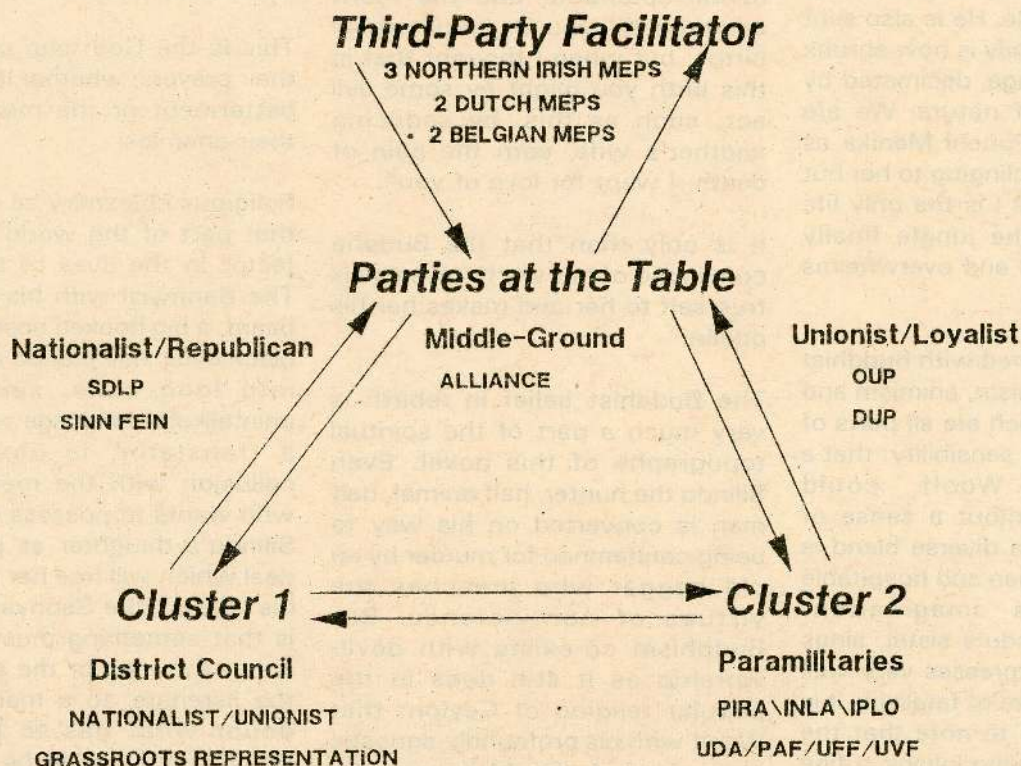
and to promote a devolved power-sharing executive provide the necessary motivation for both disputing parties to try new procedures. By involving all the parties in the design process, the third party will advance its credibility, enhancing the probability of having an approved outcome (Reed, 1989).

To open a *pipeline* between the formal structure of the mediating team and all the relevant participating parties, an informal or parallels structure will be set up to channel information up and down through the hierarchy because change taking place at the grassroots level needs to be communicated to the centre (Bassett, 1989; Bradley, 1988; Laue, 1989). Such "accordion planning" will allow "all of the parties [that will be] affected by the decision to work together throughout each of the phases, [to] constantly return to their own organisational bases to be assured of

At the grassroots level, the District Council in each local area will assist in organising the ideas and opinions of constituents, transmitting them via the political parties and the paramilitary organisation to the third-party mediation team. Similarly, the Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups can communicate their thoughts and ideas directly to both the District Council cluster and the political parties seated at the table. This will allow for creativity in deciding the agenda, schedule, and timeframe for negotiations to be implemented. As Bercovitch (1984) noted: "the more informal and directive procedures are content-oriented and related to defining positions, changing the issue structure, and influencing motivation" (p.109).

**TO BE CONTINUED
NEXT: STRATEGY**

Figure 1



Arrows represent policy flow

Note: Abbreviations are as follows:
INLA: Irish National Liberation Army
IPLO: Irish People's Liberation Organization
PAF: Protestant Action Force
UFF: Ulster Freedom Fighters
UVF: Ulster Volunteer Force

Contd from page 12

seasonal crops, a form of planting known as "chena". His family is one of a small settlement in a tiny village in one of the remotest parts of Sri Lanka. The toll taken by the climate is heavy but heavier still is the cruelty of other beings in the village. Silindu has two daughters, Punchi Menika and Hinnihamu. His enemies include the village chief or Headman, who cannot forgive the family because his nephew, the honest and simple-minded Babun, has married the elder daughter; a medicine-man, a practitioner of demonology and witchcraft, ugly and wicked, who wants to marry the younger one an unscrupulous money-lender who wants to have the married daughter as his mistress. Babun is framed as the perpetrator of an arranged burglary, is tried and sent to prison where he dies, a broken relic of his former self. Silindu, like an animal goaded beyond endurance, kills the headman as the only way he has of getting his revenge. He is also sent to prison. The family is now shrunk and so is the village, decimated by the harshness of nature. We are finally left with Punchi Menika as the sole resident clinging to her hut and the jungle, as I is the only life she knows till the jungle finally swallows her hut and overwhelms her.

The novel is suffered with Buddhist pessimism, Hinduism, animism and devil worship which are all parts of the local religious sensibility: that a sceptic like Woolf could acknowledge without a sense of superiority such a diverse blend is a tribute to the open and hospitable nature of his imagination. Karlinahamy, Silindu's sister, sings a chant which expresses very well the Buddhist sense of fatalism. It is not inappropriate to note that the following is a moving lullaby, a fine poem in its own right:

"Sleep, child, sleep against my side,
Aiy! Aiy! The weary way you've cried;
Hush, child, hush, pressed close against my side".

"Aiy! Aiy! Will the trees never end?
Our women's feet are weary; O Great One, send

Night on us, that our wanderings may end".

"Hush, child, hush, thy father leads the way,
Thy mother's feet are weary, but the day
Will end somewhere for the followers in the way".

"Aiy! Aiy! The way is rough and steep,
Aiy! the thorns are sharp, the rivers deep,
But the night comes at last, So sleep, child,
sleep".

Buddhist love figures in the narration by the same Karlinahamy of a Jataka story to her fellow pilgrims, sitting around the evening fire. The Buddha disguised as a tailor marries maiden called Amara. He tries her patience and loyalty repeatedly until at last he is satisfied that she is worthy of him. Finally she is brought by force to him and he is unrecognisable because he is dressed in state in his kingly robes. She wins his heart by addressing him thus:

"Lord, I smiled with joy to see your divine splendour and the merit acquired by you in innumerable births; but when I thought that in this birth you might by some evil act, such as this, by seducing another's wife, earn the pain of death, I wept for love of you".

It is only then that the Buddha convinced of her worth reveals his true self to her and makes her his queen.

The Buddhist belief in rebirth is very much a part of the spiritual topography of this novel. Even Silindu the hunter, half animal, half man is converted on his way to being condemned for murder by an old beggar who preaches the virtues of non-violence. But Buddhism co-exists with devil-worship as it still does in the popular religion of Ceylon: that Woolf with his profoundly agnostic turn of mind should accept the notion that a devilish charm could cause Silindu a deadly illness is a tribute not merely to his suspension of disbelief but to the artist's capacity to identify with the inner springs of an alien culture. He also sees with a perceptiveness rare in one who is not a trained

anthropologist how Buddhism is an overlay on a more down-to-earth Hindu and animistic belief and practice. The pilgrimage to the Hindu God (obviously a reference to the Hindu temple at Kataragama is one of the most momentous acts of the Sinhalese worshipper who feels much closer to this God, much nearer to his own life than the remote, world-renouncing Buddha of their dagobas and viharas:

"The god, therefore, is of the jungle; a great devil, beneficent when approached in the right manner and season, whose power lies for miles upon the desolate jungle surrounding his temple and hill. A power to swear by, for he will punish for the oath sworn falsely by his hill; a power who will listen to the vow of the sick or of the barren women; a power who can aid us against the devils which perpetually beset us".

This is the God who can answer their prayers, whether it is for their betterment or the misfortune of their enemies.

Religious chicanery so endemic in that part of the world is a major factor in the lives of the people. The Sannyasi with his long black beard, a big hooked nose, twinkling black eyes, hair plaited and matted into long coils, speaking an unintelligible language which needs a translator, is obviously in collusion with the medicine-man who wants to possess Hinnihamy, Silindu's daughter as part of the deal which will free her father from his illness. The Sannyasi's verdict is that something must be given, either the man or the girl, and all the listeners, to a man, have no doubt what has to be done - Hinnihamy's has to be sacrificed. Hinnihamy herself is the only one who experiences the ecstasy of the religious rite without the distractions of prayer and supplication:

"But Hinnihami felt the power of the god in her and over them all:

she felt how near he was to them, mysteriously hidden beneath the great cloth which lay upon the elephant's back. She felt again the awe which great trees in darkness and the shadows of the jungle at nightfall aroused in her, the mystery of darkness and power, which no one can see. And again and again as the procession halted, and the cry of the multitude rolled back to them, her breath was caught by sobs, and again she lifted her hands to the god and called upon his name. She formulated no prayer to him, she spoke no words of supplication: only in excitement and exaltation of entreaty she cried out the name of the God".

There are two major occasions when an agent of British colonialism, the Magistrate, has to deal with native "crime". Well-meaning but because of ignorance of local life, totally incapable of dealing with it. British justice cannot be fair; but the problem is not merely colonial because the natives themselves are evil-doers who prey on each other. With a foreign ruler there is the chance of redress or at least the semblance of judicial procedure. The hope however is dwarfed by the vista of nature just as the courthouse seems small and insignificant suspended over the vast and soundless world of water and trees:

"The court-house stood on a bare hill which rose above the town, a small headland which ran out into the sea to form one side of the little bay. The judge, as he sat upon the bench, looked out through the great open doors opposite to him, down upon the blue waters of the bay, the red roofs of the houses, and then the interminable jungle, the grey jungle stretching out to the horizon and the faint line of the hills. And throughout the case this vast view, framed like a picture in the heavy wooden doorway, was continually before the eyes of the accused. Their eyes wandered from the bare room to the boats and the

canoes, bobbing up and down in the bay, to the group of little figures on the shore hauling in the great nets under the blazing sun, to the dust storms sweeping over the jungle, miles away where they lived. The air of the court as hot, heavy oppressive; the voices of those who spoke seemed both to themselves and to the others unreal in the stillness. The murmur of the little waves in the bay, the confused shouts of the fisherman on the shore, the sound of the wind in the trees floated up to them as if from another world".

In the second instance when Silindu has confessed to murder, it is the British judge who understands Silindu's predicament better than the local chief headman:

"This man, now: I expect he's a quiet sort of man. All he wanted was to be left alone, poor devil. You don't shoot, I believe, Ratemahatmaya, so you don't know the jungle properly. But it's really the same with the other jungle animals, even your leopard, you know. They just want to be left alone, to sleep quietly at night. They won't touch you if you leave them alone. But if you worry'em enough; follow'em up and pen'em up in a corner or a cave, and shoot 450 bullets at them out of an express rifle; well, if a bullet doesn't find the lungs or heart or brain, they get angry as you call it, and go out to kill. I don't blame them either. Isn't that true?"

"I believe it is, sir."

"And it is the same with these jungle people. They want to be left alone, to reap their miserable chenas and eat their miserable Kurakkan (a grain), to live quietly, as he said, in their miserable huts. I don't think that you know, any more than I do, Ratemahatmaya, what goes on up there in the jungle. He was a quiet man in the village, I believe that. He only wanted to be left alone. It must take a lot of cornering and torturing and

shooting to rouse a man like that. I expect, as he said, they went on at him for years. This is not letting one another alone, it's at the bottom of nine-tenths of the crime and trouble; and in nine-tenths of that nine-tenths there's one of your headman concerned - whom you are supposed to look after."

There are two major attempts to destroy Silindu and his family - the first by the medicine man who succeeded in getting Hinnihami but is more than defeated by her; and the second by the money-lender who wants Silindu's married daughter as his mistress. She rejects him, even though it may mean utter destitution for her husband and herself because the money-lender has a stranglehold on the entire village. Punchi Menika refuses him with the fatalism which is an essential part of her culture:

"What is there to say, aiya? I cannot do it. If this thing must come to us, what can we do? Always evil is coming into this house - from the jungle, my father says. At first there was no food. Then the devil entered into my father. Then more evil, upon my sister and her child, and upon my child. The children died; they killed Punchi Appu; they killed my sister. And now evil again!"

Silindu himself is a man of the jungle: he knows it well but he fears it. He has the right humility before the unknown but the relationship is coloured by love:

But though he feared it, he loved it in a strange, unconscious way, in the same unconscious way in which the wild buffalo loves the wallow, and the leopard his liar among the rocks. Silent, inert, and sullen he worked in the chena or squatted about his compound, but when he started for the jungle he became a different man. With slightly bent knees and toes turned out, he glided through the impenetrable scrub with a slinking stride, which seemed to show at once both the fear and

joy in his heart.

He calls his daughter "little toad", "little crow" he gives Hinnihami a baby fawn who she suckles at her breast along with her own child. Though this may seem an extreme example of the human-animal nexus, it does not sound obnoxious except to over-"civilised" taste. Hinnihamu's child dies, as do most children in the village in the month of August.

Everyone shares this sense of determinism because unmerited adversity is part of the scheme of things. The killing of the fawn and the accompanying death of Hinnihami reminds one of witch-hunts and the extremist forms of cruelty perpetrated by the human animal. Silindu has been hunted by the rascally Headman, the devilish medicine-man, and the mercenary money-lender; he is overcome but not before he destroys his enemies.

The village shrinks due to its own inequities as well as nature's cruelty: the book concludes with a moving enactment of the jungle encroaching on the village and blotting it out, along with its role surviving inhabitant, who would rather perish amid the fear, hunger and thirst of the jungle which she had known all her life:

"The village was forgotten, it disappeared into the jungle from which it had sprung, and with it she was cut off, forgotten. It was as if she was the last person left in the world, a world of unending trees above which the wind roared always and the sun blazed. She became one of the beasts of the jungle, struggling perpetually for life against hunger and thirst; the ruined hut, through which the sun beat and the rains washed; was only the lair to which she returned at night for shelter. Her memories of the evil which had happened to her, even of Babun and her life with him, became dim and faded. And as they faded, her childhood and Silindu and his tales returned to her. She had returned to the jungle; it

had taken her back; she lived as she had done, understanding it, loving it, fearing it. As he had said, one has to live many years before one understands what the beasts say in the jungle. She understood them now, she was one of them. And they understood her, and were not afraid of her. They became accustomed to the little tattered hut, and to the women who lived in it. The herd of wild pigs would go grunting and rooting up to the very door, and the old sows would look up unafraid and untroubled at the woman sitting within. Even the does became accustomed to her soft step as she came and went through the jungle, muttering greetings to them; they would look up for a moment, and their great eyes would follow her for a moment as she glided by, and then the heads would go down again to graze without alarm She was dying, and the jungle knew it; it is always waiting; can scarcely wait for death. When the end was close upon her a great black shadow glided into the doorway. Two little eyes twinkled at her steadily, two immense white tusks curled up gleaming against the darkness. She sat up, fear came upon her, the fear of the jungle, blind agonising fear.

"Appochchi, Appochchi!" she screamed. "HE has come, the devil from bush. He has come for me as you said. Aiyo! Save me, save me. Appochchi!"

As she fell back, the great boar grunted softly, and glided like a shadow towards her into the hut.

The jungle was Punchi Menika's home as well as her habitat. She was linked to it because of an indissoluble kinship, based both on fear and love.

Fear of the jungle is the beginning of wisdom. The jungle provided sustenance for Silindu and his family and when the time was ripe, it as the agent of their retrieval. As the novelist states it early on in the book,

"Silindu slept with his eyes open like some animals, and very often he would moan, whine, and twitch in his sleep like a dog; he slept as lightly as a deer, and would start up from the heaviest sleep in an instant fully awake. When not in the jungle he squatted all day in the shadow of his hut, staring before him, and no one would tell whether he was asleep or awake. Often you would have to shout at him and touch him before he would attend to what you had to say. But the strangest thing about him was this, that although he knew the jungle better than any man in the whole district, and although he was always wandering through it, his fear of it was great. He never attempted to explain or deny this fear. When other hunters laughed at him about it, all he would say was, 'I am not afraid of any animal in the jungle, not even of the bear or the solitary elephant (whom all of you really fear) but I am afraid of the jungle'. But though he feared it he loved it in a strange unconscious way, in the same unconscious way in which the wild buffalo loves the wallow, and the leopard his lair among the rocks. Silent, inert, and sullen he worked in the chena or squatted about his compound, but when he started for the jungle he became a different man. With slightly bent knees and toes turned out, he glided through the impenetrable scrub with a long, slinking stride, which seemed to show at once both the fear and the joy in his heart".

Leonard Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle* embodies a tragic vision, alike in its defeatism and its profound pessimism, as well as its epic portrayal of a peasant family's struggle against the cruelty of man and the malignancy of nature.



**Will privatization mean
the end of the union
I represent?
How will the interests
of my members be
protected?**

- Trade Unionist

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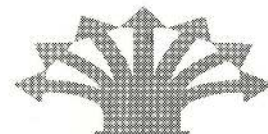
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