

● Democracy Now ! Mrs. B's other war ●

— J. S.

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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SRI LANKAN CONFLICT

**The Northern war transforms the Southern scene
An Indian ocean island in the zone of ultimate danger**

— Mervyn de Silva

The Arts

Garcia Lorca in Sinhala — Jayadeva Uyangoda

Umberto Eco's "Rose", fiction and film — Radhika Coomaraswamy

● **Poems by H. L. D. Mahindapala, Tilak Gunawardhana**

● **U. Karunatilake on Press-button technology**

● **3rd World elites — laughing all the way to the Swiss banks**
— Shiraz Kassam

● **Joseph Nye on Zia's Bomb**

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As if the gods themselves were angry, the armed conflict raging in this pluralist society mocks so cruelly the symbols of our diverse faiths and other traditional allegiances. The government's unilateral ceasefire was to last ten days that included the Sinhala Tamil New Year, Good Friday and a Poya holiday.

But ambush and massacre, retaliatory attacks and reprisals, terrorist bombs and carnage tore into pieces the already fragile bonds of unity, the fragmented symbols of religious amity and traditional tolerance.

Once again, Vesak has been chosen as the new deadline for a decision on moving the Jaffna hospital and its several hundred patients. Backstage negotiations appear to have found a compromise formula — a firing free zone respected by the army in the Dutch Port, and by the LTTE rebels who have surrounded the hospital. Will it be honoured? The LTTE suspects that the government's decision is the initial step in an all-out ground offensive, with air support. The government believes that the LTTE wants to make propaganda, since there will be an international outcry if the hospital is a target, with a predictable uproar in Tamil Nadu. MGR has already protested to Mr. Gandhi about it. Will Vesak bring peace at

least to the sick, the wounded and the dying?

G. M. O. A.

Even in the dark clouds gathering over Jaffna town, there is just the flash of a silver lining.

The Tamil doctors, through the G.M.O.A., have made representations in Colombo to the Minister of Teaching Hospitals and the National Security Minister.

Right through this crisis, the G.M.O.A. is one public service professionals' body which has kept its head. It has not allowed communal passions to prevail over the unity of its multi-ethnic membership, and the common, collective interests of that membership. Of how many trade unions, professional and academic bodies, human rights, women's and youth organisations, and even church groups, can this be said?

Even in some of our top academic associations, high ranking officials Sinhalas and Tamils, now and in the past, are notoriously Janus faced — home-grown communalists and liberals or vice versa — especially when fund-raising abroad!

COLVIN ON TRENDS

The able historian more than the politician responding, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's first post-July 1983 observation was "The army has been thrust into politics". After May Day, he said that he saw the signs of an "emerging dictatorship". There was an armed campaign for a separate state in the north, and a denial of rights to the people and the working class in the South. In the end, only the organised working class would be able to fight back and reverse such a trend.

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Satellite photograph:
the Indian ocean region

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The crisis moves South U.N.P. under seige

Mervyn de Silva

Velupillai Prabhakaran, the LTTE commander-in-chief, is a self-confessed admirer of Clint Eastwood. According to his would-be biographers in the *HINDU* and *FRONTLINE*, he is also a keen student of Napoleon, ironically like the opposing C-in-C, President IR. Do either of them study Mao tse Tung? Wittingly or unwittingly, General Prabhakaran has faithfully followed a Maoist maxim in the battlefield — "hit the beast on the nose, while pulling its tail". There is little reason to doubt that the LTTE-EROS did both jobs — the attacks on army camps in the north (KKS, mainly) and the Habarana Road ambush and massacre, and then the bomb outrage in Colombo. Mao never conducted anything but a politico-military struggle. Hence the prescription — the head (military strictly), the tail, more political.

The immediate consequences of the Colombo terrorist operation was to transform the southern political scene, meaning Sinhala opinion. May Day and its aftermath completed the process of transformation. Sinhala opinion swung sharply and dramatically to confront a regime that so visibly could not protect innocent civilians in the metropolitan centre. The UNP's desperate effort to construct a Sinhala consensus collapsed. Instead Sinhala opinion, leaping over party lines, turned suddenly into a vast, if still loosely knit, coalition of anti-UNP forces — the SLFP, the 3 party alliance which had been broadly supportive of IR's peace

effort, the articulate sections of the Buddhist clergy, the youth, the long-dormant unions, the MEP, the JVP, the New Left, the Sena-payakist ELIP, and the militant student groups on the campuses.

The opening for that coalition came from President IR's statement that elections will not be scheduled until terrorism is wiped out, but another referendum may be held. The issue of the regime's legitimacy now became the top item on the opposition agenda. (SEE MRS. B. ON THE OFFENSIVE) Moderate Tamil opinion had always questioned that legitimacy ever since the withdrawal of the TULF. Mrs. B. has been challenging it for a long time but there was no cutting edge to her campaign until the Election Commissioner's report on the Referendum which she used to great advantage by writing to western leaders and other notabilities in the democratic world, including Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and at her recent press conference. Legitimacy is one question, authority is another. The LTTE and other groups by taking on the armed forces, challenged the ultimate authority of government and State. But the authority of the UNP remained firm in the South, through de-politicisation effects of the consumerist society and its new value-system, and by co-optation of previously oppositional forces, and most of all by coercion. The expulsion of Mrs. B., the smashing of the General Strike in 1980, the use of Emergency and PTA, the proscription of the JVP were all

strong signs of this process. And of course the Referendum and the effective closure of the traditional political system.

The meetings in Darley Road, the largest but least militant, at Union Place (LSSP CP SLMP and Vasu's NSSP) less crowded but more defiant, and the Narahenpiti meeting which led to the killing of two young men, signalled the first serious challenge in the South to the authority of the UNP. Whatever its unfortunate developments, largely through a madcap adventurism that has split teacher-student unity, the violent disturbances on the campuses represented the reawakening of a wellknown anti-UNP Third force.

Traditionally, the UNP has had to face, in the field of political activism, three forces: Sinhala Buddhist militancy, working class unionism, and student radicalism. All three were now ready to attack the UNP with redoubled vigour.

Not only were the Oppositional in-gathering's targets both legitimacy and authority but its arenas were both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. (Activism is also a growing sign in a long placid parliament).

While the UNP has been attacked in the rear (the south), the government's strategy of trying to deal with India's "north" (Delhi) to pressure the Tamil rebels in their rear (Tamil Nadu, the Indian South) has also collapsed, chiefly

(Continued on page 27)

South Asia and Security

M. de S.

The recent U. S. publication "SELECTED NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES 1987" carries on its cover 'the seal of the President of the United States'. The 104 page report concerns itself with "Regional Issues" "Global Issues" (aid, economics energy, terrorism, narcotics etc) and "Defence Issues" (arms, deterrence, space, strategic Modernisation, S. D. I. nuclear weapons etc).

The 46 page "Regional Issues" section, the largest, is devoted to single countries (USSR, Japan and China) to clusters of countries (Israel/Arab states/Lebanon) to regions (Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Africa, Central America, East Asia/Pacific Basin, Latin America/Caribbean, South Pacific) to a continent (Africa: Security and Development) and to a specific issue (Iran/Iraq war). While there is no special focus on the major oceans, as such, one item stands out by the peculiarity of its title. Its area of concern is a sub-region but it is introduced by way of an individual country. It reads AFGHANISTAN/SOUTH ASIA.

The document does not of course lay bare all the secrets of US strategy global and regional. But it does offer many insights into U. S. security concerns, and the priorities given by the White House and its policy planners. Since foreign policy and diplomacy follow and support these strategic interests, the document is quite useful, though one notes its typically American intellectual bias — the issue-oriented, problem-solving approach, which does not pay too much attention to fundamental nature of the issue.

The two-and-half page assessment of problems in the South Asian region begins with this question:

"What should the United States do to help end the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan, enhance Pakistani security against external aggression, and encourage peaceful relations among all South Asian nations?"

Internal insecurity

To take the first and, in one sense, the fundamental attribute of the Western concept of security (in that it is a corollary of the doctrine of state sovereignty in its pure and pristine form), namely, external directedness, one can immediately see that despite the rhetoric of many Third World leaders, the sense of insecurity from which these states and, more particularly, their regimes suffer, emanates to a substantial extent from within their boundaries rather than from outside. This does not mean the external threats are totally absent, for they are not. But the 'mix' of internal and external sources of threat to these state structures, and particularly to their regimes, is quite often heavily weighted in favour of internal sources. Moreover, external threats quite often augment the problems of insecurity that exists within state boundaries and, in many cases, would be quite ineffective if internal threats and domestic fissures did not exist within Third World societies.

— Prof. Mohammed Ayoob
International Affairs
Winter 1983/84.

8 objectives are stated, the first three exclusively concerned with Afghanistan. Point 4 is a bland catch-all interest in improving relations with "all South Asian countries". 5 to promote regional stability by supporting regional, dialogue on trade, commerce, drugs,

and anti-terrorism. The concluding sentence gives special importance to such dialogue between India and Pakistan but only in relation to the need "to reduce potential for nuclear proliferation". (In the light of the recent debates in the US Congress and among US specialists and opinion-makers on the US aid package to Pakistan and the disclosures of Pakistan's top nuclear scientist, this must raise eyebrows not only in America but in South Asia).

Curiously, Point 6 takes one right back to Afghanistan and the Soviet threat, but this time to stress the need to "assist Pakistan to remain free and secure".

Given this sequential identification of priorities, Point 7 comes not merely as a formal bow to India's regional status but as a rather grudging admission. "Strengthen relations with the potential world power in the region — India — building on positive dialogue begun with Rajiv Gandhi in June 1985" (The emphasis on the person is worth noting). Sri Lanka figures in the last sentence: "Maintain good relations with Nepal and Sri Lanka; encourage a peaceful settlement of the communal conflict in Sri Lanka".

The document recognises 10 accomplishments; five relating to Afghanistan. 6 and 7 are self-satisfied pats on the back for US aid (3.2 billion, initially and 4.1 billion last month) which has "enhanced" Pakistan's "security".

Evidently, neither America's searing experiences in Latin America (and less sharply in Africa) nor the bitter lessons learnt in Vietnam Iran and the Philippines have helped educate the US policy establishment in understanding "security" in the Third World — the security against external military threats and the "security" and "stability" of regimes with narrow popular bases, especially repressive military-bureaucratic

elites living and thriving on US military aid, and 'militarising' their societies in the hope of 'securing' themselves against the real and growing enemy, their own increasingly disaffected and alienated peoples.

The section on South Asia ends on this self-congratulatory note. "We have strongly encouraged the efforts of Pakistan and Bangladesh to develop enduring democratic institutions", the last of thirteen points (the third part of the two-and-half page summing up on the sub region) which are described, admittedly no doubt, as "Talking Points".

Towards explosion

On occasion, a regime and I make no distinction here between so-called 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' regimes will 'externalise' threats directed at it, order both to portray such threats as 'illegitimate' and to portray its repressive actions as 'legitimate'. By turning a political (and quite often a racial and economic) problem into a military one, and by presenting the military threat as coming from external sources, regimes in the Third World quite often try to choose an arena of confrontation with domestic discontents that is favourable to themselves, namely, the military arena. While this strategy might work well in the initial stages of such confrontations, it usually leads to much bigger conflagrations within a decade or two of the initial, usually unorganized, outbursts of political dissent.

— AYOGB

In sum then, South Asia would have remained a "low priority" area in the US strategic scheme but for Afghanistan (after the Soviet intervention) and, though unstated here, the collapse of the Shah of Iran, who was also armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated US weaponry to defend himself and the oil-rich Gulf but proved defenceless against his own people and the mullahs. In that post 1980 US design, Pakistan becomes the centrepiece,

South Asia's Schism

But none of these recent developments explain what the West German scholar and Indian Ocean specialist, Dieter Braun has called South Asia's "strategic schism" whose origins like in the sub continent's generic conflict — the partition and the war over Kashmir. The Indian elite's deep-seated distrust of the US as the neocolonialist successor of the British was reinforced, says the distinguished French historian Antony Richaumont, who has written extensively on the region, by Washington's "pro-India double standard" in condemning the North Koreans for crossing the 38th parallel while earlier ignoring the fact that "Pakistan tribesmen had blatantly invaded Kashmir". Besides, Foster Dulles' manichean Cold War vision found Indian nonalignment "immoral" and there was US military aid to Pakistan. (Foreign Affairs Winter 1982).

The more sympathetic Soviet view on both issues (Kashmir and nonalignment) drew India closer to Moscow while Pakistan moved into formal membership of US dominated military alliances, CENTO and SEATO. The process which culminated in the institutionalisation of Indo-Soviet friendship was facilitated by the Sino-Indian war and the Sino-Soviet schism and more decisively by the famous Kissingerian "tilt" to Pakistan in 1971 (Bangladesh) and the Sino-US rapprochement.

The persistent Indian charge of Pakistani involvement in the Sikh revolt in Punjab (a near-parallel to Sri Lankan protests over Tamil Nadu's direct support to Sri Lankan Tamil separatist rebels) the eye-ball confrontation in February between the two armies, the US 4 billion dollar aid package and the issue of AWACS, have exacerbated Indo-Pakistani tensions. This has been accompanied also by Sino-Indian tensions.

Soviet concern

The superpower dimension has been strengthened with the dramatic entry of the Soviet Union

into the debate on escalating regional conflicts. Notably on the Sri Lankan issue.

It is not often that the Soviet Union's two most influential papers — the *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, representing party and State — choose to comment on a crisis in a remote little island, in the same week, to be quickly followed by a statement issued by one of the USSR's two news agencies, A. P. N.

Security and self-preservation

Security, as stated above, has traditionally been defined as the protection and preservation of core values. However, in the case of most Third World states, the core values of the regime with self-preservation at the core of the core are often at extreme variance with the core values cherished by large segments of the population over which they rule. Once again, given these discrepancies in the definition of core values and, indeed, of security itself, it is no wonder that major threats to the security of these regimes emanate from within their own societies.

Given economic development, great, growing and glaring disparities in wealth and income, communal and ethnic tensions all these factors contribute to the lack of societal consensus on fundamental issues, and to the unrepresentative and repressive character of most Third World regimes and, therefore, to the internal threats to their security and to the security of the state structures over which they preside.

— AYOGB

Moreover, it is very rarely that such authoritative voices speak critically of policies and trends in that country while diplomatic preparations are afoot for the first official visit to Moscow of that country's Head of State and government.

When such unusual happenings do take place, especially in an island, preoccupied with its security (internal and external) and desperately worried about its future, one expects such comments to inspire informed discussion and analysis at least among opinion-leaders in that country. The Soviet commentaries went largely unnoticed, bringing to mind one of the more provocative strictures passed on the Sri Lanka intelligentsia by the author of the seminal study on Sri Lanka's post-independence politics, Prof. Howard Wriggins, later a Carter adviser and US Ambassador to Colombo. He noted the remarkable insensitivity of this elite to international and regional issues and foreign policy in particular.

PRAVDA identified the objective of the organisers and promoters of violence in Sri Lanka as a "chain reaction" which would hopefully "disorganise the political and economic life in Sri Lanka, create a threat to the security of neighbouring India and further aggravate the tense situation in the Indian Ocean".

The NOVOSTI statement, issued by the APN Colombo office, was more explicit. Ostensibly a spirited reply to a charge made by the WALL STREET JOURNAL that Moscow was aiding the Tamil separatists in order to get base facilities in Trinco, APN rejected the accusation as absurd. And then, for the first time in such a forthright manner, it revealed that the USSR had expressed serious concern over U.S. designs on Sri Lanka.

The V.O.A. would broadcast from its facility here to the Soviet Union's Asian republics. It would do more. It would use this facility to monitor naval traffic in the Indian Ocean and communicate with U.S. submarines on combat patrol in this area. In short, it would represent a threat to Soviet Security interests, domestic and military.

The main aim of U.S. policy, said APN, was to "detach Sri Lanka from the nonaligned movement" and to "weaken India" so that it would not be able

U.S., South Asia, Sri Lanka

Since the formation of independent states in South Asia forty years ago, ethnic, sub-regional, linguistic, and other separatist movements have threatened the national integrity of the new polities. These movements are dangerous in principle and dangerous in practice. For example, the formation of an independent state of Khalistan, as demanded by some Indian and foreign sikhs, would not only violate the principle of national integrity, but would also create a vulnerable and indefensible entity lacking international support and strategic depth. This is true as well of other separatist movements. Furthermore, the multi-ethnic nature of most south Asian states sustains suspicions that neighbouring countries are seeking to exploit unrest among competitive ethnic groups for the purpose of weakening regional rivals. India, for example, has charged Pakistan with helping Sikh militants. Pakistan has made similar allegations

about Indian assistance to the Sindhis. We oppose disruptive movements of this kind.

Most disturbingly; violence in Sri Lanka has escalated tragically in recent weeks. As militants calling for a Tamil homeland have initiated series of brutal bombings and other armed incidents — thus precipitating renewed military confrontation in both the north and the east. The Jayewardene government has responded forcefully. Some civilians have been caught in the crossfire, exacerbating the conflict.

This upsurge of violence has further hardened the polarization of political forces in Sri Lanka, strengthened the hands of those within the insurgent movement and government props who advocate a military solution, and may have reduced the leverage of India over tamil militants. We certainly support the efforts of India to bring the insurgents to the bargaining table so that long-delayed political negotiations can be resumed.

(State Dept's Michael Armacost at the Asia Society, New York.)

to play its now active role in in the international arena. The US defence establishment planned to convert Sri Lanka into a US military base, it added. So, in Moscow's view, the conflict is a threat to Sri Lankan nonalignment and security, Indian and Soviet security.

The name of the game (and the game-plan) is of course "destabilisation" a much-used term in Mrs. Gandhi's political vocabulary. Last month, Rajiv Gandhi found that events had forced him to return to his mother's idiom. Both the Prime Minister and the Congress Working Committee employed the term quite freely. Mr Gandhi went a step further when he addressed his military commanders. He referred to Sri Lanka too, mentioning "hostile interest" operating from this island, a clear reference to Pakistan and Israel which he had earlier described as "strange bedfellows".

For 25 years the focal points of India's security concerns were the disputed land borders in the North — the source of conflict with her major neighbours, Pakistan and China. The Bangladesh conflict and the entry of a US Task Force into the Bay Of Bengal riveted Indian attention to that area.

It was Mrs. Gandhi who made the "exposed southern flank" a top priority. A new Southern Command was established. Now India is speeding ahead with its plans to construct a huge naval base in the Andamans, close to Indonesia, and much further south than Sri Lanka.

On his recent visit to Pakistan, Prime Minister Premadasa, the most consistent and uncompromising critic of Delhi's Sri Lanka policy — he makes no distinction between Delhi and Madras, in

(Continued on page 21)

'Restore Democracy': Mrs B. takes the offensive

— J. S.

The U.N.P. needs terrorism" was Mrs. Bandaranaike's bold statement when she addressed her first press conference for the international media in many years at the SLFP headquarters. An obvious reply to President JR's own meeting with 8 representatives of the world press visiting Sri Lanka that week (See SUN report) and his speech earlier at Karadeniya, the SLFP leader made a direct connection between democracy (elections) and terrorism just as the UNP leader had done, but only to give it an entirely different interpretation. Taking up President JR's point that elections cannot be held "until terrorism is wiped out" and that a referendum may have to be held instead of a general election, Mrs. B. accused the UNP of 'creating' the conditions for 'terrorism' to grow, 'prolonging' the violence and the armed conflict and now 'needing' the "war" to justify the perpetuation of UNP rule, in its present totally unrepresentative form.

The argument was based firstly on a historical parallel, the Dec. 1982 referendum on which the UNP decided almost immediately after the Oct. 1982 Presidential polls. She gave the press the UNP's own reasons for the choice of a referendum. (a) a so-called Naxalite terrorist threat, assassination of political leaders, UNP and SLFP, by a 'Naxalite' group within the SLFP (b) the probability that these Naxalites would enter Parliament, if polls were held, in large numbers and subvert democracy (c) that the UNP would certainly lose its 5/6ths majority and probably even a 2/3rds majority, (d) that such a result would deprive the country of a strong, stable government which alone can continue the development programmes that the UNP had undertaken...

The identical reasons, she then stated, had now been

added to postpone elections for a second time. How was it possible to have a referendum and not have, in the identical conditions, a general election, she asked.

Also relevant, she said, was what this "strong and stable government" had achieved at the expense of the people and their right to elect their representatives to Parliament. Had the living standards of the masses improved? She invited the pressmen to ask workers, or self-employed persons or public servants or any middle class family how comfortable their daily life had become.

Had the "strong" government significantly reduced, succeeded in containing or effectively curbed terrorism and violence? In fact, violence has advanced from North to East, to North East, where innocent Sinhala farmers and their families were victims, and had erupted occasionally in the central highlands and finally reached Colombo and the very heart of the capital. What is more, the victims included children, women and men from all communities. That was the achievement of the "strong and stable" regime installed by "robbing" the whole electorate of its fundamental right in a manner no different from her own exclusion from Parliament a few years earlier.

Had the "strong" regime improved Sri Lanka's image abroad, the image of a country respected by the world community as a lively democracy, a social welfare state, a tolerant society and a genuinely non-aligned state? In many capitals throughout the world, Sri Lanka is being attacked and abused as a "barbaric" country, she said. Most important, we have incurred the open hostility of India. Now Sri Lanka is being described as a "security" problem to India because India sees "hostile foreign elements" operating from Sri Lanka

against Indian security interests. Mr. Gandhi, she said, have even thought this was important enough to mention it when he addressed a conference of Indian military commanders.

So, Sri Lanka was in grave peril. And that had been achieved by the so-called Referendum. The SLFP had from the outset, denounced the Referendum as a totally undemocratic and unjust act. Now, the Elections Commissioner appointed by this government, had reported on the conduct of the referendum and his inquiries showed that even the result itself could be doubted.

Mrs. B. agreed with President JR that this was the "greatest national crisis" Sri Lanka has had to face in its modern history. But who caused it? she asked. There were terrorists during the last years of her government but how many were there? Perhaps a hundred or two hundred.

The UNP had given promises to the TULF before the general elections. Those pledges were not kept or not implemented. When that happened the TULF was finished, the elected representatives of the Tamils, lost their influence over the Tamils of the north, especially the youth. The UNP finished the TULF. The Tamil youths, disappointed, feeling cheated by their leaders, and angry, began to join the terrorists. Violence spread. And then by the 6th Amendment, the TULF was forced to leave Parliament and the country, leaving the leadership of the Tamils of the north in the hands of the armed groups. What is the situation today? Answering her question, she said that the voice of the entire anti-UNP opposition was not heard in parliament. The voice of the Tamils was not heard in parliament.

In a national crisis, all democratic, patriotic forces should unite. She agreed with that. But how can the SLFP, a

(Continued on page 12)

President Jayewardene tells Govt. Group meeting:

J. V. P. PLANNING UPRISING

Government had information that the proscribed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) was planning an insurrection, similar to the abortive one in 1971, President J. R. Jayewardene told his Government Group yesterday.

He told MP's to consider this a serious development and advised them to mobilise all sections of the people against this attempt to destroy democracy a statement from the office of the Chief Government Whip said.

Government MP's were also given a detailed briefing on these activities of the JVP by the head of the Counter Subversive Division (CSD) SP Terrence Perera.

A group of MP's was briefed by him yesterday and similar briefings would continue today and tomorrow.

In his address to the Government Parliamentary Group, President Jayewardene revealed that the JVP plan, according to government information was to assassinate leaders of political parties, Government and opposition Parliamentarians, Government officials and others.

The official statement on yesterday's sessions said: "They will

join hands with the northern terrorists. The present build-up of the JVP should not be linked to other political parties. They should separate the campaigns of other opposition parties from that of the JVP whose aim is to cause destruction and create chaos."

"He said that the May day demonstration by the Mavubima Surakeeme Viyaparaya, was organised by the JVP supporters. They have got several bhikkus too to give support to their activities."

"President Jayewardene said that the JVP campaign hangs like a dark cloud over the country and everyone should co-operate with the authorities to counter this campaign."

The President said that the JVP plan in 1971 to kidnap Ms. Sirima Bandaranaike the then Prime Minister was foiled because of the information given by a UNPer. According to the evidence given by this person Mr. Dudley Senanayake and the (the President) were on the list of those to be assassinated. The President read out his statement where he has said that he was the Secretary of the UNP Youth League of

Gonahena in the Kelaniya electorate.

"Several MPs spoke giving their views on the problem caused by the JVP in their electorates. They urged that maximum screening be done, when recruiting personnel to the security forces as well as the private security services, who have been engaged by Government institutions to guard the institutions."

An authoritative source said that during the briefing by the CSD Government MP's were told to watch out for strangers in the area and to strengthen the security with the assistance of the police.

The briefing was organised in the wake of the recent activities that were detected in the central province. According to the source, the police believe that the JVPers have infiltrated the party organisations and the Government youth organisations.

The investigations on the recent activities have also revealed that the JVP had been collecting particulars of politicians, police officers, officials of the security forces and people who own firearms.

— Sun

SLFP Condemns May Day ban

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has condemned the decision of the government to ban meetings, traditional demonstrations etc on May Day 1987.

In a press statement issued yesterday the SLFP said "This decision is anti-working class, anti-democratic and savours of fascism for it is reminiscent of Hitler's suppression of the working class in Fascist Germany," the statement further said.

The statement adds the decision in addition has a meaningless and ridiculous dimension specially when the Government took

the unprecedented and arbitrary step to postpone May Day — a day internationally recognised and firmly fixed for over a century as a day solemnly revered by the working class people — to 22nd May, day which has no association whatsoever with the international working class movement.

While the Government deployed its Security Forces to use teargas, batons, whips, rubber-bullets, fire-arms etc on May Day assemblies resulting in the killing of two persons and injuring several others, paradoxically

it was powerless to prevent or suppress demonstrations, meetings, processions etc which were held in the Jaffna Peninsula in open defiance of the Government and within gunshot distance of the Government's Security Forces.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party warns the Government that in the interest of the future of democracy and democratic institutions, free and fair elections periodically held according to the Constitutions, and trade union rights of the workers, the

(Continued on page 12)

SLFP plans non violent campaign

Sirimavo's priority is to mend fences with India

Elmo Perera

Mending fences with India and negotiating with moderate Tamils duly elected to Parliament would be the SLFP's approach to solve the ethnic crisis in the country party leader Ms. Sirimavo Bandaranaike told a press conference yesterday at party headquarters.

The foreign policy followed by the present government contained many irritants from the point of view of Sri Lanka's relations with India. The presence of Mossad, the Voice of America and reliance on Pakistan for arms and for military training by the government has exacerbated these problems she charged.

The demand for Felam could be modified if moderate people are elected from the Tamil community who can voice their aspirations and even Prabhakaran could express his views if he is duly elected by the people she said ruling out any discussions with the LTTE otherwise.

She also told the gathering of local and foreign pressmen that Tamil Nadu's intention to ship aid direct to Jaffna was highly provocative one and she had conveyed this view to the Indian Government through its High Commissioner, J. N. Dixit

who had called on her, two days ago.

They could use an organisation such as the Red Cross to channel this aid if they really wanted to, she added.

Leader of the Opposition, Anura Bandaranaike who also took part in the conference said that India was not totally blameless on the conflict and he was not exonerating them but had to share part of the blame.

But he argued that Sri Lanka must revert to the principle of non-alignment from which she has veered greatly and thus build-up confidence.

Ms. Bandaranaike charged that the present government had been moving away from non-alignment ever since 1977 and its voting with Great Britain over the Falklands issue where even USA voted against was an indication of the new stance.

She also denounced a campaign of non-violence by her party aimed at forcing the government to hold general elections after July this year when the government completes ten years in office.

She dismissed the President's contention that an election could be held until terrorism is wiped out and asked if the government could hold by-elections to Pradeshiya Sabhas and the proposed provincial councils, why a general election was impossible.

Describing terrorism as a worldwide phenomenon she said despite similar problems elections were held in West Germany, France and the Philippines and even Margaret Thatcher is intending to hold one earlier than scheduled in Britain despite the situation in Ireland.

The recent statement by President J. R. Jayewardene at Karadeniya about not holding elections was the first official indication that he had no intention of doing so despite promises to the contrary earlier she said.

"Once Sri Lanka was genuinely non-aligned but now the country is accused throughout the world for its foreign policy" Ms. Bandaranaike claimed and added that Rajiv Gandhi has tried to resolve the ethnic crisis despite problems of his own in India.

— Sun

No lectures until conditions improve

The lecturers of the Colombo University's Arts Faculty have decided not to resume teaching or personal tutoring until they are convinced that conditions are conducive for resumption of those functions.

Acting Dean of the Arts Faculty, professor W. D. Lukshman in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Colombo says:

"The teachers of the Faculty of Arts strongly condemn and deplore the actions of a section

of the student body on 5 May 1987, which resulted in the abduction, confinement and harassment of several members of the academic staff. They resolve that:

- (a) the teachers will not resume their undergraduate teaching and personal tutoring functions until such time as they are convinced that conditions are conducive for resumption of those functions and
- (b) the members of the Faculty who hold the posts of student

counsellors and posts involving student associations will resign from those posts forthwith.

The teachers of the Arts Faculty further request the Vice-Chancellor to take necessary steps to prevent unauthorised persons entering the University premises and to take whatever punitive action that is deemed necessary to prevent the recurrence of incidents like those of 5 May, 1987."

— Island

Turmoil continues in the campus

Universities plagued by hostage taking

Leon Berenger

University students continued their hostage taking exercise for the second day yesterday by holding staff and lecturers at the Universities at Peradeniya and Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte captive.

At Peradeniya over a thousand students surrounded the Senate Building at 11.00 a.m. and placed nearly 250 staff members including the Registrar, Gamini Abhayakoon, as "hostagess". They were demanding the release of their colleagues held in custody by the police in Hanguranketa, Galagedera and Galaha.

Mr. Abhayakoon told 'SUN' on the telephone from his residence at Peradeniya last night "We were released at 6.30 p.m. after the students released by the police turned up. It took time for these students to return from the various police stations".

At the University of Sri Jayawardenapura, Kotte, students confined ten lecturers and four staff members to a basement area and demanded the release of six colleagues.

Twenty six students from the University of Peradeniya and six students from the University of Sri Jayawardenapura, Kotte were arrested by the police in their respective areas for collecting funds.

Yesterday's developments prompted the authorities to consider the closure of the universities and prompted the teachers at the science and law faculties of the University of Colombo to announce they would not resume teaching. This was until the students assure they would not repeat the events on Tuesday.

The hostage taking exercise by university students began on Tuesday at the University of

Colombo Campus. Students held five lecturers hostage and demanded the release of nine students held in custody. These students were produced at the Magistrate's Court and were released on bail after police said they had no objections.

At Sri Jayawardenapura, Kotte students insisted on the release of their six colleagues. Police last night released two boys and three girls but held back another girl for further interrogation. The students were last night insisting on her release.

As contingents of police stood by police and students leaders were locked in intense dialogue for the release of the only student now being held.

According to a spokesman for the "students action committee" responsible for yesterday's events at the Sri Jayawardenapura university the 14 hostages were. Professor Ratnayake, head of the science faculty, Professor Mudasinghe, student instructor, Professor Ariyapala Ekanayake, dean of the management faculty. Dr. Arthur Bamunuarachchi Charles Fernando, head of the public administration department. Ananda Gunawardene business administration department, Abeyaratne Bandara, student instructor, Dr. Charles Wickragama, Sarath Kumara, head of the economics department, librarian W. B. Dorakumbara, Mr. Nilame, private secretary of the Vice Chancellor, and three other employees.

Police believe the students had taken the hostages after the arrest of six students in the Kohuwala area, Superintendent of Police Nugugoda, H. L. Piyasena said.

They were allegedly visiting homes in the area and collecting funds.

No details of what the students intended doing were immediately

available at the time of going to press.

In Peradeniya about 1500 students had surrounded the Senate building, preventing nearly 250 people, who were inside, from leaving. Among those confined inside was the Assistant Registrar of the University, Kandy SP Stanley Ranasinghe said.

Those students were demanding the release of 26 students who were on a fund collecting campaign in Hanguranketha, Galagedera and Galaha. Twenty two of them had been taken into custody by the Hanguranketha Police.

Meanwhile in Colombo police took up positions around the University, as the students boycotted lectures for the third day.

The undergraduates held a meeting earlier in the morning within the university premises and fresh anti-government posters had been pasted on the university buildings.

The students are protesting over the May Day police shooting, which killed an undergraduate and are also demanding the release of nine undergraduates who were taken into custody on Sunday for allegedly putting-up anti-Government posters.

Police said that they are treating the situation very seriously, as they firmly believe that subversive elements, with ulterior motives, have infiltrated the student ranks, and are using them as a shield to protect their activities.

Meanwhile, certain students groups in the University, are reported to have voiced their disapproval of the hostage drama. According to officials of the University, the students responsible for the hostage taking are believed to be from two other universities.

— Sun

HUMAN RIGHTS

Unadulterated Terrorism

The bomb explosion in Colombo on 28 April in which over 100 civilians, mostly belonging to the Sinhalese community, were killed was a cowardly, brutal and inhuman act. Equally cowardly, brutal and inhuman are the indiscriminate air strikes by the government's air force in the north of the country in which scores of Tamil civilians have been killed.

The government of Sri Lanka, first having blamed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), later accused the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) of being responsible for the Colombo blast. Both these groups have denied responsibility.

Whoever carried out this senseless outrage in Colombo, there

The Standing Committee of Tamils (SCOT) is the largest organisation of expatriate Tamils living in the United Kingdom, and the Human Rights Council is that section of this organisation which deals with human rights issues. We are an independent organisation which remains unaligned to any Tamil militant or political group.

is no doubt that it was an act of unadulterated terrorism. The bomb was planted at a time and place to cause maximum injury and loss of life to civilians.

If the perpetrators of this gruesome tragedy thought they were even remotely helping the Tamil cause by their action, their efforts have only proved counter-productive. At a time when the

international community was becoming more and more aware of the violence and violations to which the Tamil community in Sri Lanka are subjected, this senseless action would have most likely to serve to alienate international opinion. It has also served to strengthen the forces of Sinhala chauvinism in south Sri Lanka. Additionally it has provided an excuse and an opportunity to intensify its military pursuits in the Tamil areas, especially in the northern Jaffna peninsula at a time when the attention of the international community is pre occupied with the Colombo explosions.

If the Colombo outrage is an act of unadulterated terrorism, the retaliatory and revenge seeking air strikes and naval bombardments carried out by the government following the Colombo blast are acts of unvarnished state terrorism.

We alert the international community to the grave situation that is developing in Sri Lanka. We appeal to the various governments to bring pressure upon the government of Sri Lanka to desist from the course it is adopting, and persuade it to seriously undertake a political solution to the ethnic conflict in that country.

A moment of crime

*I never felt human flesh could turn black
So reeking repulsive in a moment of crime.
All those gathering, but moving from there,
Stretched with their anxieties, with their meagre
earnings,
On their way home, with child, marketing,
With the sun's heat sagging, but not the smells
And the bazaar noise still to rise to a crescendo,
And then all cannibalised in a cold embrace
Of severed limbs, blood, and what nothing could gather
In a moment, over the years, most feared
Were others', and not theirs', perishing, to share.*

— Tilak A. Gunawardhana

P. Rajanayagam

General Secretary,
Human Rights Council, London.

Towards Reconciliation

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has been raised to horrifying proportions during the last two weeks. The killings at Kituluttuwa, Wan-Ela and in the Pettah bomb explosion have caused immense carnage and their perpetrators need to be condemned with the utmost harshness.

It is natural that the present situation should provoke an emotional response in the major community. Members of the Government as well as of many other political parties and groupings genuinely sharing this emotional response of making the most of it, are pushing the state towards further military actions against the Tamil militant groups some of which, in effect are ending up as actions against Tamil civilians. The aerial bombardment of sites in the Jaffna peninsula appears in this light as an attempt to balance death against death and may result in a continuing and reactive cycle of destruction.

However, it is necessary that emotion should not be permitted to cloud our perceptions of political realities. In this connection we would like to emphasise briefly a few points that appear to have been overlooked in the recent rhetoric;

- (1) The struggle of the Sri Lankan Tamil people for self-governance through regional autonomy — a struggle necessitated by a history of discrimination — does not become less moral or less valid because of the insensate acts of violence of any group involved in it or their perceived intransigence.
- (2) There is no military solution to this political problem. Tamil militancy can only be eliminated if the political

reasons for its birth and continuance are removed. Military action may only succeed in temporarily reducing the level of the struggle. To say that there will be no peace talks until terrorism is suppressed is in this context meaningless.

- (3) The dynamics of the Sri Lankan Tamil struggle, as it has evolved over the last few years makes Indian mediation and support absolutely essential.

However gloomy the prospects for peace may look now, it is still necessary to work towards a political resolution of the ethnic problem, a resolution that will answer the genuine needs of the Sri Lankan Tamil people for regional autonomy and lead to a reconciliation between the communities and a genuine peace. We are not concerned with either a contrived settlement or a military solution that will mean a continuation of antagonism and violence. Aggressive anti-Tamil or anti-Indian rhetoric and the build-up of a war psychosis are not in the interests of such a settlement, neither are military measures that could prejudice chances of negotiations.

Hopes for a negotiated political settlement have become a casualty not only of state terrorism but also of the unacceptable terrorist methods adopted by some Tamil militant groups. We consider that it is the duty of the Tamil militant groups to maintain the morality of their struggle above question. We urge all Tamil militant groups to desist from all actions that would hinder a negotiated political solution and to explore possibilities of a peaceful resolution through discussions.

Charles Abeysekera
President (MIRJE).

Restore . . .

(Continued from page 7)

democratic, patriotic party, accept the UNP invitation to cooperate with an undemocratic government? That would be to betray the trust placed in her by her supporters. Only a general election and a new parliament chosen by the people can decide what steps should be taken to resolve the crisis. An SLFP government would re-establish good relations with India because that is the first step necessary. No lasting solution can be found without Indian goodwill and support, she said.

But the UNP won't hold elections. That would mean political suicide, and end to the power of the UNP and the rewards of office. The UNP will not eradicate terrorism because then that would be political suicide. It needs terrorism to cling on to power.

Answering the charge that she did not arrest Prabhakaran, Mrs. B. said "We had not even heard of that name. But we arrested many others. Mrs. Gandhi, at my request, promptly extradited him. He was charged. Who released him? Who released the J.V.P? Not my government".

SLFP . . .

(Continued from page 8)

suppression of democratic rights of the people, specially freedom of speech, assembly and the right of the working class would only result in the subversion of democracy in this country and instead the emergence of violent and anarchic methods as an alternative to the democratic process.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party takes this opportunity to very strongly condemn the brutal shooting of two by-standers within the precincts of a Buddhist temple by the government Security Forces and extends sincere sympathies to the families, relatives and friends of the deceased. We firmly hold the Government responsible for the killings and all the blood that was shed on May day.

— Island

From the Sri Lankan press

Thuggery and Obligation

All parties and all forces here have always tried to offer peace and negotiations to the terrorists, but everything has been turned down.

Rajiv Gandhi and M.G.R. are only thinking in terms of solving this problem in a manner advantageous to their political survival, and not as an obligation to a small neighbour, nor with a spirit of humanity and good will. To call this attitude downright thuggery will not be wrong.

— *SRI LANKADIPA* (3/5)

* * *

The Government of Sri Lanka is an independent one which was elected by a popular mandate. But, for some time the terrorists have been trying to bring down this government and set up a dictatorial, fascist regime. Isn't Tamil Nadu trying to dole out money to a set of murderers?

It is not fair. The Tamil people will not benefit by it, every cent of this money will go towards killing more and more innocent people.

We ask the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran, is it the policy of their government to aid and abate the murder of thousands of people? Can't they see the damage that they have done after offering refuge to these people.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was interested in finding a solution to this problem. But, if he is trying to stop the attempts by the Sri Lankan government to solve its own problems as an independent nation, it is wrong. The attacks on the terrorists

camps conducted recently was to prepare the correct background to find a political solution.

— Editorial, *DINAMINA* (29/4)

Tamashas of what use?

It is regrettable that when innocent hundreds are massacred in cold blood there are meetings, tamashas and ceremonies "adorned" by big wigs.

At most of these meetings precious little is said other than praising each other. Why cannot a lead be given by stopping all this?

Even putting up pandals when thousands are suffering is alien to the good sense of our nation. These could wait for a later date.

— Editorial, *DIVAINA* (2/5)

* * *

The government and others need not become alarmed over Tamil Nadu government's decision to grant an amount of Indian Rs. 40 million for the 'affected' Tamils of the north and the east since these amounts are meant only for food, clothing and essential medicine for people affected due to the continuing state of civil strife. The economic life and day to day existence of the Tamils of the north and the east were gravely affected due to offensives, confrontation and economic blockades.

When people in the south get killed, the government describes it as cruel massacres and grants them every possible assistance and compensation while it is not the case when people get killed in the north and the east.

In the short period after the Pettah bomb blast 400 persons were killed in the north in aerial attacks. Government claims they are terrorists while Indian Radio has stated that they were all civilians.

The Tamil Nadu government has come forward, on solely humanitarian grounds, to give food, clothing and medicine to the destitute and 'uncared for' Tamil people who are going through the worst ordeal. Fears that the assistance from Tamil Nadu would impair peace talks, are baseless.

When violence is unleashed against the people they express alarm and wonder 'is a government capable of doing this to its own citizens'. Bombing and other brutalities should be averted the editorial emphasises.

— Editorial, *VIRAKESARI* (30/4)

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Toward the 'Indonesian Solution' for South Asia ?

Pranay Gupta
(J. H. I.)

FOREIGN
NEWS

NEW YORK

Sinhalese men, women and children are killed by militant Tamils in Sri Lanka. Hindus are killed by radical Sikhs in the troubled Indian state of Punjab. These atrocities, perpetrated by youths with a dark vision of the future, have severely shaken the philosophical self-image of the South Asian region as a nursery of non-violence and passive resistance.

Today's threat in both countries is to communal harmony, but further casualties may be economic progress, the nurturing of democracy and the ethic of moderation and tolerance.

This is a watershed period for the multicultural societies of two ancient lands which embarked on a post World War II adventure of development. Now the new is giving way to the old. Tribalism, ethnic chauvinism and caste consciousness have resurfaced. These are the very ills that India's founding fathers, Gandhi and Nehru, and Ceylon's D.S. Senanayake warned against and sought to overcome through modernization.

It is not the destitute and dispossessed who are rebelling but prosperous minorities who perceive themselves as being locked out of board rooms and the benefits of political power. The conventional democratic tools of negotiation and com-

promise have proved ineffective in dealing with the inflexible demands of separatists brandishing guns.

In the cases of the Punjabi Sikhs and the Sri Lankan Tamils, government leaders may have no choice but to escalate military involvement. This would be a severe setback to the already fragile notion in the Third World that men in multi can govern better than men in uniforms.

In the 40 years since Sri Lanka and India obtained independence from Britain, each has enjoyed political pluralism, a rarity in developing nations. This pluralism allows minorities like the Sikhs and Tamils to achieve positions in their economies and governments substantially in excess of their demographic share.

In each country there has been a remarkably free press, unlike much of the Third World where the media remain shackled by leaders unwilling to tolerate dissent and debate. Each has shown itself capable of progress against such odds as high population growth and debilitating climate.

India has become the world's eighth biggest industrial power as well as self-sufficient in food. Sri Lanka has achieved a 90 percent literacy rate, one of the highest in the Third World. Both have relatively few barriers to entrepreneurial advancement by ethnic minorities.

President J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India have each embraced the ethic of moderation and tolerance as an ideology and

an operating style for their policies toward ethnic minorities. But these policies have largely failed. The pursuit of moderation must elicit a similar response from the alienated or it becomes meaningless.

From Sikh militants clamoring for an independent state called Khalistan, and Sri Lanka radicals who want a nation they call Tamil Eelam, there has been virtually no accommodation. And as violence has grown, the moderate centers in these minority communities have rapidly shrunk.

Mr. Jayewardene and Mr. Gandhi are likely to find that if moderation and compromise do not produce quick results, they both will be increasingly unpopular with large segments of their majority communities. Already the Hindus of India and the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka are demanding assurances of stability and security, by stepped up force if necessary.

Both leaders face terrible choices. They can stay the course on moderation, risking the further loss of personal political ground in the hope that eventually they will get the support of moderates among the radicalized minorities. Or they can unleash the violence of the state to control the forces of separatism. Such a response might well lead to the so-called Indonesian solution — widespread bloodletting in the expectation that today's violence will prevent a repetition tomorrow of yesterday's brutalities.

The writer, a columnist for Newsweek International, contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Don't Be Party to a Pakistani Bomb

Joseph S. Nye Jr.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Pakistan is pressing ahead with plans to build a nuclear bomb. This week the Senate is dealing with the Reagan administration's request for a six-year, \$4.02 billion economic and military aid package for Pakistan. It must be mindful that Pakistan has consistently not leveled with America about its so-called peaceful nuclear program.

In 1981, Alexander Haig, then secretary of state, told Congress that U.S. aid would influence the shape and direction of Pakistan's nuclear program. Yet Pakistan has enriched its uranium to weapons-grade levels, Pakistanis have been caught in Houston illegally trying to export devices used in triggering nuclear explosions and President Zia ul-Haq has proclaimed that Pakistan can build the bomb whenever it wishes.

Pakistan's determination has deep roots. When India exploded a nuclear device in 1974, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then prime minister, vowed that Pakistan would eat grass if necessary to keep pace. If India and its Hindus had the bomb Pakistan would make sure that an Islamic nation had the bomb, too.

In light of Pakistan's intransigence, some American congressmen believe that the United States should passively accept the inevitable. Others say that Pakistan serves U. S. foreign policy goals in the region, acting as host to thousands of Afghan refugees and providing a supply line for guerrillas resisting Soviet domination of Afghanistan. We cannot, they argue, jeopardize those aims by cutting off aid.

The writer, professor of government at Harvard University, was chairman from 1977 to 1979 of the National Security Council's committee on non-proliferation. He contributed this comment to the New York Times.

Pakistan has called the bluff on the nuclear issue. Other countries are watching. If America keeps providing unencumbered aid and Pakistan continues work on the bomb, a precedent will have been set that potential proliferators will scrutinize.

Washington will increasingly face such dilemmas as how to deal with India, Israel and South Africa, which hover around the threshold of a first nuclear test. India has not developed a bomb despite its 1974 explosion of a crude device. Israel has developed bombs but not exploded them. South Africa may be following Israel's example.

Fortunately, the dilemma in Pakistan case is not as sharp as it first appears. Cutting off all aid would cost the United States what leverage it has in trying to persuade Pakistan not to take the next nuclear steps. But merely renewing the aid without new restrictions would reduce U. S. leverage and set a terrible precedent.

Pakistan has a vital interest in U. S. aid and U.S. concern about its security problems. America is more important to its security than is a vulnerable nuclear arsenal. Renewal of aid would indeed demonstrate continuing concern for Pakistan's security, but the Senate should relate parts

of the aid package to several American goals.

The United States wants Pakistan to avoid a nuclear test that would force India to reverse its policy of not building an arsenal. Thus, legislation passed in 1980 that mandates cutting off assistance to any country that explodes a nuclear device should be left intact.

Yet because Pakistan can still build an arsenal without an explosion, by using computer models and the experience of other countries, Congress should require that advanced military system and high levels of economic and military aid not be provided unless the president could reliably certify that Pakistan was not building a nuclear arsenal or enriching large amounts of weapons-grade material.

If Pakistan or India were willing to take steps to allow neutral inspection of nuclear facilities, or to develop the concept of South Asia as a non nuclear-weapons zone, the United States should then be prepared to increase levels of assistance.

None of these proposed measures is perfect. But if Congress merely renews the aid package, with no new nuclear conditions, it will sell short a critical national security interest.

Pak. gets bomb knowhow from German firm

BONN, May 2.

Bluprinters of modern nuclear enrichment plant have been illegally and secretly given to Pakistan by the Cologne-based German firm, Leybold-Heraeus, the West German weekly *Stern*, has alleged.

In a detailed account of how West German firms have been helping Pakistan expand its "bomb business," "The weekly said

in its current issue that "General Zia will have more than one or two atom-bombs a year. He wants a whole arsenal of nuclear weapons. For this purpose, he needs, besides the existing nuclear pilot plant (Kahuta) a second bomb-factory", the magazine says.

The firm, according to *Stern*, had been helping Pakistan's bomb-

(Continued on page 18)

ARMS SPENDING IN THE U.S.

The Economics of military spending

The federal government will spend about \$300 billion this year on the military and another \$300 billion during the coming year. At the same time it will cut subsidized housing, health care, jobs programs and other federal programs that benefit workers. Why is so much spent on the military at the expense of social services?

Since the time of Hitler, military funds have been used to bolster the economy. Tax dollars, mainly from the workers, are advanced to business for military hardware production. The government pays business to gather capital and thereby create jobs. In the United States, military spending now makes up a huge percentage of all productive and research facilities as well as capital development.

This spending has become more necessary because the international economy has become weaker over the last decade. The government bolsters demand by spending more. To do this, it spends more than it receives in taxes which means it has huge annual deficits.

Living Standards Decline

The government also helps industry cut industrial production costs by causing a general reduction in workers' living standards. One way it does this is by reducing government programs that help the poor. Another is by increasing the part of the taxes we pay. The government also fosters an atmosphere of unbridled business competition that help companies defeat unions and force pay and work rule concessions from workers.

To bolster demand, the government purchases products from private businesses. These purchases range from farm produce, to food-stamp programs, to military spending. But one difference between military spending and

Billions of dollars of this country's social wealth is spent on the military. The decisions about where this money will go are determined by the few with political power. Their aim is to meet the needs of business and to make the maximum profit.

other forms of spending is that military items become rapidly obsolete.

There are political limits on how much food, oil, steel and other raw materials the government can buy. When the government buys food, for example, it cannot then sell it or distribute it to the population. If it did farm prices would fall. But the government's purpose in buying food in the first place is to maintain high farm prices. Food is then stored, destroyed, or distributed through measures like the food stamp program.

Obsolete

Military purchases do not have these drawbacks. The equipment produced has no use in the feeding, clothing, and housing of the population. It does not keep the prices of necessities high. And it soon becomes obsolete.

Let's take the U.S. "Star Wars" high-tech weapons system. Soon the Soviet Union develops a new weapons system with similar technology. If they can build it they can defend against it. This will make "Star Wars" obsolete. This planned super-obsolescence means the military can never have "enough."

To keep the process going, Americans must be led to believe the Soviet Union is a real threat. The media and politicians keep pointing to the military threats

to the United States. The growing media blitz also include "threats" by underdeveloped countries like Nicaragua, or an extremely poor and sparsely populated one like Grenada.

Such a media campaign, to be credible, could not be based entirely on lies. It rests on the belief that "Americanism" is capitalism and that capitalism is threatened around the world. But the underdeveloped countries are not the real threats confronting the United States and major capitalist countries, such as England, France and Germany.

Economic Stagnation

The threat is a world-wide economic stagnation that began roughly 10 years ago. Instead of sharing a growing pie, different groups in the economy are sharing a shrinking pie. To keep their share growing, capitalists attack the workers all over the globe (including here in the United States). But they cannot lower workers' living standards across the globe without someone fighting back. Thus, we have seen the growth of armed resistance aimed particularly at the United States government.

Capital must fight this resistance to protect its mark, its investment, and to enforce poverty on the workers. It must develop effective military forces to maintain its interests. The United States, as the leading military power, has assumed a large part

of this role for the other industrialized countries. Nevertheless, the English invasion of the Malvinas-Falklands Islands proves it is not *only* the U. S. Military that defends capitalism.

Every aspect of the military spending problem points to further attacks on the workers. This results in driving down our conditions of life even further. And there are no military solutions. War will be aimed at workers in other countries, and the fighting will be done by U. S. workers — not the arms merchants, military contractors, or financiers. War today *will not* provide jobs, food, housing and health care for workers. It will make the economy worse and increase political repression.

Look at the possibilities. There could be another Grenada. There the U. S. invasion force was about equal to the entire population. Grenada did not help our economy. It legitimized more U. S. military oppression abroad. The other possibility is a nuclear war. That probably would end life as we know it. The real risk is that a local, non-nuclear conflict can escalate to a nuclear war.

Political Power

We have to ask how and why we got into this mess and what we can do about it. The decisions about where these hundreds of billions of dollars are spent are made by those with political power. They are made to meet the needs of business to make the maximum profit.

The hundreds of billions of dollars spent on the military is part of the social wealth belonging to all of us. If we want that money spent differently, we must have the political power to do so. The capitalists are not going to hand that power to us; we must take it. We need to build a socialist system that uses the economy and the military to defend the workers against some other real threats: hunger, hopelessness, and destitution. We need a socialist system that would benefit workers, the majority of the world's population, and bring about the end war altogether.

— People's Tribune

A government deep in debt

A requirement for high military spending and economic stimulation is a government deep in debt. The U.S. government now owes more than \$200 trillion—every year this debt gets bigger by \$200 billion!

The debt raises interest rates. This means the capitalists must pay more to invest in new machinery and equipment. To remain competitive, they have to buy new equipment such as computers and robots. Low investments makes some firms less competitive, reducing employment, and helping cause the economy to stagnate even more.

Also some 70 percent of all research capability in the United States now works for the military. Since this spending does not produce anything of use to anybody but the military, this also causes stagnation. It does not feed people, it does not house people, and it is not the best way of developing new technology. In that sense it is a burden on the

economy. But it is the only way the capitalist economy can go; each step bringing itself deeper into the debt mire.

Sooner or later, the development of weapons leads to their use. Today there is a multi-billion arms trade, led by the United States, and involving profiteers from Israel, England, the Middle East, and other countries. These arms are used to assist Contras in Nicaragua, pro-Western rebels in Angola, or drug dealers in New York City. To the international arms merchants, it doesn't matter.

All this is a result of and adds to an increasingly unstable world economy. A worldwide increase in the resistance of workers is also evident. War has become a real possibility as the capitalists move to maintain their control — but so has peace, as workers direct their activity against the capitalist system to obtain the necessities of life, and peace itself.

— People's Tribune

Pak. gets . . .

(Continued from page 16)

project for the last 10 years, mostly via Switzerland. Parts for the second uranium enrichment plant in Pakistan were produced in Switzerland, according to the blueprints supplied by Leybold-Heraeus, which deals in high tech and electronics.

The magazine published a sketch of the blueprints and claimed that Pakistan was planning to acquire its second factory on the models of Urenco, the Dutch-British-West German consortium, which ran a huge uranium enrichment plant in Holland and inaugurated a second plant in

the West German town of Gronau in Westphalia in July 1986.

Urenco served as the main institution for training for Dr. Abdul Qader Khan, "Father" of "Islamic atom bomb". From here, Dr. Khan later smuggled blueprints of the Urenco plant to Pakistan in 1975. But Urenco it is said, has developed four new generations of the plant since Dr. Khan illegally acquired the old ones.

The Cologne custom-criminal-police and public prosecutors have launched serious investigations against the firm, said to be the main organiser of the Pakistani "atom-deal" in western Europe.—PTI

— Hindu

Plantations and Underdevelopment

S. Sathananthan

(a) Plantation production and the capitalist mode of production

Proponents of dualism have believed that plantations constitute an 'island' of capitalism in a 'sea of traditional agriculture'. This proposition is considered by S. B. D. de Silva in his essay 'Plantations and Underdevelopment', and he argued that in plantation production

- (1) the resident labour system curtailed mobility of labour and, therefore, severely limited the operation of a labour market;
- (2) agro-botanical technical changes which maximise per acre yields were introduced in preference to innovations which increase labour productivity; and
- (3) 'there was hardly a substitution of capital for labour'.

As a result, plantation production was characterised by 'a basically pre-capitalist pattern of labour relations' and the 'continuance of customary production'. An assumption underlying his analysis is that developing the forces of production is the 'direct aim and determining motive' of the CMP. But capital engaged in plantation agriculture has generally maintained low labour productivity or avoided labour-displacing technological innovations. Therefore, de Silva concluded that plantation production did not fall within the CMP.

But, in Sri Lanka, the nature of labour relations varied widely on plantations from virtually bonded labour which has been resident on large tea plantations to seasonal wage labour hired by small coconut estates.

Moreover, whilst a commodity economy tends to create wage labour an existence of wage labour does not automatically give rise

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

to a relatively free labour market. Instead, a free labour market is a product of an organised defense carried out by the workers to protect their class interests. Because, each individual capitalist seeks to minimise the mobility and bargaining of labour, it is necessary by limiting freedom of movement (eg. the 'chit system') and/or by undermining trade unions; and capitalists as a class utilise the State to achieve their goal: the 'company towns' of late 19th and early 20th century United States are a few early examples. Under conditions of monopoly, the use of unfree labour and the consequent limited operation of labour market could and does occur within the CMP.

Again, a lack of substitution of capital for labour and of conditions which impel the development of forces of production could and does indicate that capitalist production has been underdeveloped; but they do not necessarily mean that a CMP is absent. One manifestation of this underdevelopment of capitalism is a distorted class structure, containing an agrarian bourgeoisie which is weak relative to the agrarian proletariat on account of limitations placed on its scope for accumulation by virtual monopoly control of supplies of inputs and monopoly control over markets exercised by foreign capital.

Indeed, the data used by de Silva to demonstrate the hegemony of merchant capital over production capital indicates that a CMP has come into being and in fact show that (1) money has turned

into capital; (2) capital is engaged in capitalist production; and (3) capitalist production is underdeveloped.

Moreover, underdevelopment of capitalist production cannot be interpreted to mean that a CMP is absent; particularly because capitalist production is a higher stage of CMP and its underdevelopment can occur only within a CMP.

(b) Merchant capital, underdevelopment and underdevelopment

The negative effect of monopoly control exercised by domestic capital had been observed by Adam Smith, who argued that trading monopolies induce a non-optimum allocation of resources and retard capital accumulation by commodity producers. If domestic merchant capital had retained its dominance, it is possible to argue that capitalist production would have been relatively undeveloped.

In contrast, underdevelopment of capitalism in colonies and neo colonies is a result of the hegemony of foreign capital rather than of the dominance of merchant capital *per se*. For the hegemony of foreign manufacturing capital would also have distorted the process of class differentiation and produced underdevelopment: the consequences of penetration of United States capital into Latin American economies is a case in point.

The type of foreign capital that is dominant is, of course, relevant to an understanding of the nature and degree of underdevelopment of capitalist production. However, the dominance of merchant capital which indicates the prevalence of a commodity economy does not necessarily imply the persistence of pre-capitalist relations. Instead, it could

indicate that the stage of formal subsumption of labour power has been reached, and that the real subsumption of labour power is in progress. But because the hegemonic force is foreign capital, the real subsumption of labour power takes a distorted form. An instance of this distortion, i.e., the emergence of barn owners, is brought out by the study on the impact of a TNC on peasant agriculture (see Section E below).

Finally, a note on methodology: de Silva appears to have adopted an approach based on identifying 'limiting factors' and then explained differences observed between development and underdevelopment with reference to the operation of one or more limiting factors. Such an approach does not reveal the dynamics of underdevelopment.

Instead, what needs to be examined is a distortion in class differentiation under the hegemony of foreign capital as an aspect of underdevelopment of capitalism; which has to be carried out with reference to the class nature of the colonial State and its role in class formation vis-à-vis the weak agrarian bourgeoisie within a CMP. This task has yet to be performed in Sri Lanka.

POLICY OF PEASANT RESETTLEMENT

(a) Background to State policy

In his second essay, on 'Some Aspects of the Evolution and Implementation of the Policy of Peasant Resettlement', Shanmugaratnam re-stated his thesis: that 'the colonial economy had mainly a pauperizing and not a proletarianizing effect on the peasantry' and he introduced the subject as follows: 'a policy of peasant resettlement presupposes not only the existence of landless and near landless peasants but the non-existence of non-agricultural avenues of employment'.

He elaborated further that the introduction of Universal Franchise in 1931 'marks a turning point in the attitude of political power holders towards the pea-

santry'. As a result, colonization schemes are said to have been designed

- (1) to 'placate an impoverished peasantry... in the context of electoral politics', and
- (2) to increase food production in the post-depression period of the 1930s (p. 66-67)

In the 1930s, colonization schemes did serve the purposes of increasing employment levels and maximising gross output of paddy. But as discussed above, the strategy of peasant resettlement had been conceived by the colonial State in 1867 and were formulated by Brayne in early 1920s in an entirely different context, in order to ensure security of the colonial State.

In 1920, Government Agent C.V. Brayne observed that, among paddy cultivators in the Eastern Province, the 'small proprietors' were being dispossessed by the 'capitalists' and noted that the former were being transformed into 'cultivators or coolies'. In 1927, Governor Clifford voiced concern over proletarianization in the Wet Zone: he expressed anxiety over the fact the Ceylonese agricultural labourers on rubber estates had increased to 14% of total labour employed on these estates. Indicating that an increase in indigenous labourers could threaten political stability of the colonial States, he argued that employment of Ceylonese labourers should be discouraged and that they should be settled on land if the 'prosperity' of the colonial economy was to be 'adequately maintained'.

Thus, policy deliberations were not influenced by consideration of electoral politics, which became relevant only after 1931; nor were they dominated by a need to rapidly raise output levels in food production, because imports of rice from the Indian sub-continent were available and the shortage of foreign exchange did not assume serious proportions until the Depression of 1929. Even the question of non-availability of non-agricultural employment did not loom large.

Instead, Policy deliberations reveal an anxiety over the expansion of indigenous wage labour in agriculture. Both Brayne and Clifford were not primarily concerned with 'landlessness'; instead, they were keen that indigenous wage labourers were already employed, and those who may seek employment in the future, should preferably be resettled.

(b) Pauperization and agrarian populism

Just as proletarianization was described by the Narodniks in the Russian Debates as being the result of the farmer having 'little attachment' to land, in Sri Lanka it was attributed to 'the improvidence of the farmer'. To arrest this process, or to 'guarantee against the "ulcer of the proletariat"', the *Narodniks* had proposed the 'inalienability of allotments'; and in Sri Lanka, the colonial State fell back on a form of 'protected tenure', namely, a conditional lease in perpetuity, under the 1935 Land Development Ordinance (LDO).

The principal objective was to re-establish the union between the direct producer and means of production and, more importantly, to preserve this union. When Russian Populists had advanced a similar strategy, Lenin argued in 1894 that class differentiation cannot be suppressed in a commodity economy and that any 'prohibition' imposed on the disposal of land would 'lead... to land being leased secretly', which argument has been borne out in Sri Lanka with respect to colonization schemes. Proletarianization, through the illegal alienation of land, in colonization schemes has given rise to *de facto* capitalist farmers and wage labourers, showing that settlement programmes have at best delayed the effect of proletarianization for some sections of the peasantry.

Moreover, the 'green revolution' of the past two decades has accelerated proletarianization in agriculture as a whole. Estimates reveal that as a result, the

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Barkis Unwilling?

U. Karunatilake

Professor Ramanna, Head of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission and the Indian Nuclear Power programme complimented Lankan journalists during a visit here some time ago, saying that the Lankan press was very sharp and had raised a very relevant question regarding nuclear power plants, the problem of waste disposal.

He confessed that there was no clear solution to this problem. India was compacting its waste by smelting it like glass and then burying it in deep abandoned mines several hundred feet in the earth but he stressed that these dumps would have to be watched closely for the next eight hundred years until the radioactivity died down. Hence it was a problem not only for this generation but several generations to come.

The usually calm and soft spoken Professor did not appear at all happy about saddling India with a concentrated and dangerous source of toxic radiation for the next eight centuries especially as he said his period of reference was up to the end of this century during which he had undertaken to deliver 10,000 megawatts of nuclear power. This was actually 50% short of the demand placed on him by India's voracious power industry.

India of course had no options. Time was running out. She had to gear heavy industry in line with population growth and defence requirements. A tremendous amount of power was required for agricultural and industrial growth, job creation, and social infrastructure for an exploding population. India needed modern defence capability to counter growing military activity on her borders and in the Indian Ocean, all her diplomatic initiatives on the IOPZ having being virtually vetoed.

Professor Ramanna said however that Ceylon's scale of power requirement was different and

that we had several alternatives to the nuclear option. However he stressed that it was absolutely necessary that we intensify training of our Physicists, Engineers and Chemists in nuclear disciplines from now on because the use of nuclear techniques was not limited to power generation. He explained that the very rigid controls exercised in the operation of radiation equipment and the handling of radioactive materials had to be built into the behavioural reflexes of a new generation of scientists, laboratory workers, plant engineers, technicians and all servicing personnel connected with the nuclear industry. Their thinking and their responses had to be conditioned by a new set of priorities the most important of which was human safety and preservation of an intact environment. Automation could only meet such priorities half way. A new species of scientist and industrial worker had to be created.

At this stage Professor Ramanna made a very generous offer. He said that India was prepared to train about twenty Ceylonese Engineers and Scientists a year in the various aspects of nuclear engineering and research. He said he could arrange straight away to have selected personnel sent to nuclear power stations and research establishments in India for training. This was nearly two years ago. To date there is no indication that Sri Lanka has taken up his offer though now and then news leaks out of on-going negotiations with multinationals offering nuclear technology and how attractive each offer has been on projects ranging from pilot reactors to design, construction and instrumentation of nuclear research centres.

To some people there is no glamour in going to neighbouring India for expertise. The bright lights and flesh pots of the West are more attractive though multinational technology will come in scaled modules with dollar tags on each module and doubtful

guarantees. They may not even care to meet existing regulations about safety and environmental pollution because many such regulations are additional to the minimum IAEA requirements, and are legally enforced only in their countries and not in ours. In fact systems rendered obsolete by such laws may find their way here.

The know how and training offered by India is more valuable to us because it is not just button technology. It will be fundamental and applied knowledge that will lead to a proliferation of nuclear techniques and skills in all fields and not merely to competence in operating turnkey projects sold to us by others without even decommissioning know how. Even without going nuclear, our power bureaucracy, don't seem to be able to decommission the Parisian Gas Turbines they are saddled with. Perhaps in this country commissioning provides more attractive incentives than decommissioning.

South Asia...

(Continued from page 6)

the way many of his top colleagues do - called Pakistan a "firm friend" and a "close ally," whose friendship, like Sri Lanka's, had passed "the sternest test".

What Pakistan is to the U.S., India is to the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev made that clear when he visited India to mark the 25th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. On May 9th, Mr. Gorbachev accused "external forces" of trying to destabilise Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's government.

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

To Malathi and Radhika, with love

Welcome Back, Home

I wrote to you quite early in my sorrow —
I think 'twas in '83, soon after our parting —
Hoping that in the days after tomorrow
I could reach you by sharing
My words, my only means, my gift
To you when you needed it most,
To prevent you drift
Away from me to a haunted past or an alien coast
Now and forever more.
What else could I do except to write?
Of course, I could have let out an impotent roar,
Or out of sheer spite
Cut, chopped, shot, blasted, wounded,
Set fire to selected homes,
Joined the mobs and hounded
The young and the old like gargoyled gnomes
Quite bitter and born to fast
Longer than all of us cast
In our winding, tossing, Island raft.

* * *

Where was I? Yes, in 1983! I wrote to remind
That in our old, common ties
I could share and hold in my mind
The grief that writhed in your voiceless cries;
To tell you that I am still yours;
That your fate is mine;
That symbols, tribes and fears
Raised so high to define
Causes only torture the living.
Our causes that run in our blood
Drag us deep into floods of bleeding
From veins of faith, so good, warm red, and then dead
Isn't it true that despite all evil
There is no moral, reason or cause to kill?
Killing to clean stains, twists and imperils
Our peoples' immortal civil will.

So much I gathered from your thoughts, so fine.

It was late in coming, It's now yes '86.

But I read and re-read and memorised your lines.
Should we now let memories play funny tricks?
Or bury them with the politics of the dead?
Death lends its grim mask to all assassins:
Your killers look the same as mine and I dread
The blank, eyeless stare rising from our past sins.
Their causes are excuses, my friend,
To forget, as you say, the gentle ways,
Our shared past where we could depend
On our common human base.
My brother calls his wife — your cousin — in his arms
That no state or politics can give
Her his respect or his love turned into psalms

Of praise for all her kind. You've seen the vindictive
Bullet, shot, erase all trace of our human base.
I've seen no state embrace with such grace and warmth.
You might remember, or didn't I tell you the case
Of my father cutting short his usual, long bath
And rushing to give blood to your sister
When the state was paralysed in '83?
My uncle, though ill, gave shelter
And clothing and rice with ghee.
I despaired then... but not now,
Not after having read your long-awaited letter.
I cannot thank you enough and tell you how
Much I value it. It makes me feel better.
It gives me hope that soon... yes very soon,
You will be with me. Peace cannot be far away
If you, you who turned away from me in my cocoon,
Keep writing to me in that vein to allay
The worst of all my fears.
Oh what a feast there will be
In my heart and house as the day nears
Your arrival. Then you shall praise our THANGACHEE.

She... she cooks the best *poriel* and *payasam*,
Your cousin's *khool* is a delicious amalgam.
You may find her crab curry a bit hot
But that's what my brother likes a lot.
And if you watch them from the corner of your eye,
Or stay long enough you will realise
That their lives belie all politics.
They do not shout slogans or bask in antics
To disenchant you or cry. And so
You will grow to love their love grow more.
Their love is a blossom, believe you me.
Of a graft from the Bo and Palmyrah trees.
It leaps from our tender earth and try
To reach out promised sky,
This you will see,
And this you may agree
Is the dream that came true to dispel political lies
Before our own incredible eyes.

* * *

P. S.:

The other day, whilst chit-chatting
With THANGACHEE, I asked...
I was hesitant but I asked:
"Can we ever forgive and forget?"
She said, in between smiles....
You know, her, slow-moving smiles:
"I heard somebody say, Akka,
That forgiving is not forgetting,
Forgiving is remembering to forget."

— H. L. D. Mahindapala
Victoria, Australia

Lorca's Bernada in Sinhala

Jayadeva Uyangoda

Ranjini Obeyesekere's Sinhala production of Federico Garcia Lorca's "The House of Bernada Alba" opened at the Lionel Wendt theatre on March 17. Perhaps to convey the essence of Lorca's original, the producer has named the Sinhala version of it "Bernadage Sipiri Geya" (Bernada's Prison House). The substitution of "House" for "Prison" seems quite apt, since Lorca's play deals with a matriarchal and feudal household which is a microcosm of the repressive and authoritarian socio-cultural order in agrarian Spain in the early 20th century.

The present play is based on a Sinhala translation done by Ranjini Obeyesekere in 1971. That year, the Sinhala Drama Society of Peradeniya University sponsored the production of the play, and it opened on April 4. But the play could not proceed to the next night. The youth insurrection of April 1971 broke out the following day and the enactment of "Bernadage Sipiri Geya" had to be put off indefinitely. In retrospect, it seems that the suspension of the theatrical *Sipirige* was profoundly symbolic of the immediate political events to come. Quite literally, prison doors began to open to welcome thousands of young men and women as new inmates!

To go back to the metaphor of the prison house, Lorca's play examines the complexity and conflict arising out of matriarchal domination and the desire and impossibility to escape from that domination. There is a very specific social order against which Lorca places his characters, namely the agrarian countryside of early twentieth century Spain, particularly Andalusia. In Southern Europe in Italy, Portugal

and Spain — the agrarian society had remained peculiarly feudal even until the mid-twentieth century. While landlordism remained basically untroubled by changes that were taking place in the cities, the agrarian culture, along with a semi-medieval social order, had absorbed the repressive elements of the medieval Catholic culture. Bernada, the widowed matriarch, is an embodiment of that authoritarian socio-cultural formation. The one-dimensionality of her character — the will to dominate, harshness of her orthodox class and personal values, insensitivity to emotional and biological needs of her daughters and the determination to halt anybody's flight to freedom — indicates more than a structure of personal character traits of one individual. It symbolizes the power and rigidity of an entire socio-cultural formation. The flight from this world of authority and domination may well remain a fantasy; any attempt to escape is an act of self-destruction.

Even the exercise of fantasy in the world of Bernada and her household is not a privilege. It is a highly political act, since it involves the question of power and manipulation operating at different levels. It is this theme, I think, that Lorca deals with in his play, despite the deceptively simple narrative strategy of the text.

Lorca's play seems to examine the conflict between the will to dominate and the will to resist in different dimensions. On the one hand, Bernada's rule over her five daughters finds its negative articulation in the young women's defiance, though reluctant, to accept that matriarchal regime. However, everybody in the household does not react against authority in the same degree and intensity. The will

to resist is unevenly distributed among the five young women. In this prison of matriarchal order, the symbolic 'other' that represents freedom is love with a man. It initially comes as fantasy — an escape into the other world, the world of romance. Martirio, the eldest daughter who is nearing 40 and Adela, the 20 year old, draw themselves into a conflict over Pepe, a young peasant. To win Pepe's love, thus, becomes an act of profound importance for both sisters. For Martirio, it would be the fulfilment of social and gender necessity — the marriage. But for Adela, the most sensuous of the five sisters, it would mean personal, emotional and sexual liberation. At the end, Adela fails to achieve her this — worldly liberation. Made to believe by her adversary in romance, Martirio, the Pepe was shot dead by the mother, she commits suicide. The death of the 'sinner of the flesh' then finds its ecstatic utterance in Bernada's voice: "My youngest daughter died a virgin".

Ranjini Obeyesekere's Sinhala 'translation', as she prefers to call it, of Lorca's play has come at a time when Sinhala adaptations of two other important European plays are on stage. While Vijitha Gananatna, known for his Sinhala versions of Brecht's plays, has directed the Sinhala production of Dario Fo's "The Accidental Death of an Anarchist" under the Sinhala name SAKKI (Evidence) Sugathapala de Silva, a veteran playwright, has launched a grand theatrical project. He has adapted to Sinhala Peter Weiss' German play. The trial and execution of Jean Paul Marat as Directed by Marquis de Sade and played by the inmates of Charington Asylum. Taken together, these three plays constitute an excellent theatrical opportunity for the Sinhala audience to

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discover the depth of European continental theatre.

Let me take Ranjini's *'Sipiri Geya'* to raise a few questions involving the genre of translation. When one compares *Sipiri Geya* with *Sakki* and *Marat Sade*, one realizes the inherent limitations of translation as opposed to adaptation. The question here relates to both the theatrical form as well as the argumentative essence of the play. Watching *Sipiri Geya* and comparing the Sinhalese text with the English translation of Lorca's Spanish text — the Sinhala translation is based on the English one — I felt that there was something important missing in it; that is, the power and the poetic beauty which Lorca creates in his play.

How has this happened in *Sipiri Geya*? In order to find an answer, one may turn the question around and direct it to *Sakki* and *Marat Sade*. How is it that the latter two plays have retained the power and beauty of the original texts and even created a new autonomous sense of aesthetic beauty and force? Although the formulation of the question in this fashion is not unproblematical, it would enable us to go beyond the limitations of mere comparison. The most effective aspect of Sugathapala de Silva's play is that it has a profoundly autonomous identity despite the FACT that it is a Sinhala version of an European play. This identity comes from a group of factors. First of all, Sugathapala de Silva's theatrical strategy, whether it resembles the original or not, has the power to project the entire play as one with a dynamic of its own within the ambience of the political and social experience of the Sri Lankan theatre-goer. This *Marat Sade* has achieved even though it deals with the postrevolutionary French experience in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In order to experience the poetic beauty, the intellectual depth and the political subtlety of the debate between *Marat* and *Sade*, one would not feel the need to turn to the original German text or its

English translation. Using a professional and well-orchestrated cast, Sugathapala has been able to create, and not merely to translate or reproduce, a dramatic effect which no other contemporary Sri Lankan play can conceivably claim to rival. A large part of this effect is also created by a highly evocative theatrical idiom, in terms of both dialogue and performance.

The achievement of *Sakki*, on the other hand, lies in the rather delicate way in which the central argument of the original play is translated into the Sri Lankan experience. Centered on the death of an arrested anarchist in the hands of the police, Dario Fo's original play conducts its argument using a narrative strategy which is somewhat unfamiliar to the experience in societies like ours. The central characters of the debate in the play are a chaplinesque anarchist and a police officer who represent the two extreme opposite ends of the social and political spectrum. While the anarchist stands for disorganization and total rejection of the existing order, the police officer represents law-and-order and the status quo. The debate between law-and-order and its total rejection in terms of urban Italian political culture, if directly translated into Sinhala, would not have made much sense. Therefore, Vijitha Gunaratne, in his Sinhala production, has transformed the argument as one taking place between a revolutionary and the police, a medium closer to the Sri Lankan experience. This, indeed, involves the question of choice which makes the relationship between the original play and its adaptation in a different experiential reality somewhat tense. This tension, I think, is an unavoidable one, precisely because of the central problem of translation/adaptation-genre.

Now, Ranjini Obesekera's 'translation' seems to have avoided the challenge arising out of this tensions between the original and the translations. It does not appear to have served her pro-

duction well. For, Ranjini's Sinhala text is too literal a translation of the English one to convey the power and intensity of the conflict among those living in Bernada's household. In some key dramatic moments of the play, which are crucial to the conduct of the central argument presented by Lorca, the Sinhala versions, both in the text and on stage, defuses its own intent. The episode at the end of Act II is a case in point. Here, the exchange between Bernada, Adela and Martirio over the story of an unmarried peasant woman killing her new-born child not only reveals the different dimensions of the three characters, it also builds up the conflict in the household, particularly the arguments for domination and escape, in a poignantly intense manner. The peasant girl who killed her child, and is now about to be killed by the villagers she is one unseen character in Lorca's play is a symbol very important to the argument. In this small episode, the debate takes place at more than one level. The moral argument of Bernada and Martirio is for punishing the peasant girl who has committed the sin of the flesh. For Adela, whose love for Pepe, the young peasant, defies the Christian-matriarchal morality, the event has a prophetic significance. Thus, the entire argument developed in Act II boils down to two very short statements: "Kill her! Kill her!" by Bernada and "No! No!" by Adela. The literal faithfulness of the *Sipiri Geya* to the words of the original has, unfortunately, failed to translate the essence of this episode on stage.

A key problem involving translation of plays is how to capture and reproduce certain complex areas of the theatrical strategy of the original. The assumption that Lorca's play is a simple one is somewhat misconstrued. Although the entire play takes place in Bernada's house, there is a complex grid through which the audience is expected to view this feudal and matriarchal

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Capital flight: How Third World elites bleed their own countries white

Shiraz Kassam

The toppling of Ferdinand Marcos and Baby Doc Duvalier has focused attention on the wealth these oligarchs stashed abroad—sapping local economies, draining central bank reserves and forcing nations close to or over the brink of debt moratoriums.

The recent plunge in the price of oil and renewed crises for the oil-exporting debtors has once again focused attention on the subject nobody wants to talk about.

A Mexico city newspaper recently published a list of 375 names of Mexican nationals, each of whom has at least US\$1 million in deposits with foreign banks. The exposure of these 'Sacadolares'—people who take out dollars—caused an uproar as it coincided with Mexico pleading for US\$15 billion of new foreign loans this year to avert insolvency.

The African state of Zaire is the prime example of how the cascade of capital outflow can become the key element in debt peonage. For almost 10 years the country has stumbled from one debt crisis to the next. The government has seldom been able to service its foreign debt, which stood at around US\$4.2 billion at the end of 1982. And yet, according to the German publication, *Die Zeit*, the fabulous wealth of Zaire's longtime strongman Mobutu Sese Seko and his clan amounts to between US\$4 and \$6 billion, invested in Swiss accounts and foreign real estate.

Zaire may be the most blatant example of the hemorrhage of

The transfer of capital by rich Third World individuals in to foreign banks and real estate is the great unspoken issue of Third World debt. Recent studies indicate a cash flow of astounding proportions. The rich countries benefit from increased investments. The poor countries are bled white and cannot pay their debts.

capital that poured out of many nations in the boom years of sovereign lending—but it certainly is not the most significant. Exposure of privately-owned foreign assets on a grand scale has often been linked to corrupt and authoritarian regimes. But corruption and the flow of hot money pales before the mass of flight capital motivated simply by 'diversification' of portfolios into dollars, *long de regu* for the well-heeled Latin Americans.

More than half the money borrowed by Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina during the last decade has effectively flowed right back out the door, often the same year or even month it flowed in. Compiling information from several sources, David Felix, Professor of Economics at Washington University, concluded that wealthy Latin Americans have salted away at least US\$180 billion outside their continent. That amounts to just under half the region's current foreign debt.

The ratios of Argentina and Venezuela are even higher. During 1979-84, according to World Bank estimates, Argentina's capital flight was 60% of gross capital inflow. Venezuelans, buoyed by high oil revenues, managed to expatriate some US\$27 billion, or more than 117% of their US\$22.9 billion in new foreign borrowing.

None of the LDC (Less Developed Countries) debtors of other

regions come close to the high Latin American ratios of foreign assets to debt. Nevertheless, the dilemma of debt coupled with flight capital is not just limited to that region or a couple of African kleptocracies.

A study conducted in late 1985 by the prestigious Institute für Wirtschaftsforschung Hamburg (IWWA), revealed that substantial outflows of capital were also recorded in other heavily-indebted countries. Basing its calculations on several sources, the study concludes, 'They confirm that the major debtors Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Nigeria, Indonesia and Egypt are among the countries with the highest flight of capital.'

Clearly, the Third World's capital exodus and its staggering foreign debt are locked in some kind of symbiotic embrace—with the two feeding each other like some financial perpetual motion machine. What then is the nature of this embrace?

'In economic terms' argues Morgan Guaranty economist, Arturo Porzecanski, 'the governments have been saddled with the bulk of the foreign hard-currency debts, while the private sector holds most of the hard-currency assets.' With the added twist of capital flight, the tension between the two sectors is further aggravated, generating an enormous redistribution of wealth from public to private hands.

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The political impact of this wealth transfer was observed by a worried Federal Reserve official. He was concerned that the growing middle class in many developing countries could become disenchanted with 'the role of capitalism... especially as the income distribution becomes very distorted' — with the wealthy protecting their assets off-shore, while the majority bears the brunt of austerity measures at home.

The fuel that perpetuates this 'financial motion machine' is provided by the global banking system which, wittingly or unwittingly, continues to finance a cash outflow, undermining repayments on the debt mountain left behind.

It is estimated that at least half of Citibank's International Private Banking (IPB) assets of over US\$26 billion probably belong to Latin Americans. This

compares with Citibank's total loan exposure to the 'Big Four' — Brazil, Mexico Argentina and Venezuela — of about US\$10.3 billion. Hence, even allowing for loans to the rest of Latin America, Citibank, one of the most aggressive 'private bankers', probably comes close to owing more money to Latin Americans than it is owed.

So while Latin America continues to have high rations of foreign assets to debts, wages and budgets are slashed. UNICEF estimates that up to 150 million Latin Americans now live in 'absolute poverty' — and capital flight goes on. Nor is there any discussion of re-capturing these assets to reduce foreign debts.

A possible solution is 'coercive mobilization' — strategy to mobilize privately-owned foreign assets for debt servicing. The term 'War Economy' is currently in vogue as a metaphor among

Latin American politicians trying to rally support for the wage and budget cuts. They need to remember that both Britain and France resorted to coercive mobilization during both world wars. Their nationals were compelled to register all foreign securities with the treasury, which liquidated them as needed, paying the owners in local currency bonds.

On the other side of the fence, the governments and banks in industrialized nations must weigh their their own role in attracting and harbouring a vast outpouring of capital from LDC debtors. Should tension bred by austerity bubble over, the major banks that inadvertently helped finance the capital exodus could find themselves bargaining with a new set of governments far less willing to pick up a tab run up by discredited elites.

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The crisis...

(Continued from page 3)

on account of Mr. Gandhi's political and personal "crises". MGR, pushed by his own radical opposition, the DMK, has become more assertively autonomous of Delhi, to strengthen the rear base of the Tamil resistance. Delhi had to acquiesce in MGR's 3 million dollar 'humanitarian aid' offer, thus giving quasi-diplomatic sanction to an interventionist move. (Karnanidhi wanted diplomatic ties with Sri Lanka cut)

President JR has been quick to make defensive counter-moves. (a) He has impressed on the UNP MP's that they should not associate other opposition (democratic) parties and its supporters with the JVP against which he has ordered a tough crack down. (b) the all-parties conference will be reconvened to discuss the Provincial Councils Proposal of June 1986. The agitated Tamil leaders of the government group including some ministers, will doubtless welcome this. (c) a distinction is still being made between Delhi and Rajiv on the one hand, and Tamilnadu, on the other.

But these moves may only sharpen differences within the UNP leadership and rank-and-file, already quite pronounced. With near-total national consensus, and the fullest, external support, Mrs. B crushed the JVP insurrection. The UNP lacks both. One option is military rule in the north, a 'national security state' in the South with a Zia-Fundia type 'facade parliamentarism'. Even with Pakistani, Israeli or any other 'security' back-up, it won't work for the crisis has gone too far. Both situations will get worse and this double, inter-active aggravation will lead to an implosive collapse. Perhaps a new parliament, truly representative of Sinhala and Tamil opinion, which

converts itself into a constituent assembly, may be one way out.

Meanwhile External Affairs Minister Tiwari has cancelled his visit to the U.S. Sri Lanka was one of several reasons officially given.

When will the "allens" factor and perhaps most insidiously damaging to the regime — the economic — emerge forcefully? Ethnic tensions and 'the war' have tended to suppress resentments caused by worsening economic conditions? What impact will the IMF's 'Structural Adjustment Facility' (a euphemism for budget cuts and devaluation) have by the end of this year? Mr. Ronnie de Mel can hardly go this time to Paris and say "We are about to reach a political settlement with India's mediatory help". Mr. de Mel's signature tune for Paris in the spring is probably no haunting melody and more!

Only a miracle can help us avoid the impending implosion.

Plantations...

(Continued from page 26)

proportion of rural households which have no access to land, except as wage labourers, has increased to about one third of total rural households. Among the balance, a majority of them control units of land which are not economically viable which means that wage labour (or, in some cases, petty trade) is the primary source of family income.

This large and growing mass of propertyless (and near-propertyless) workers appears to have been ignored by Shanmugaratnam. Perhaps, because of the poverty shared by a vast majority of the rural population who belong to different classes and the existence of a semi-proletariat.

However, irrespective of the existence of intermediate forms, it is imperative that a clear conceptual and empirical distinction should be maintained between those who control means of production and those who survive by selling their labour power. The price of a failure to make this distinction is regression into a populist notion of pauperization which contains the seed of populist programmes for the resurrection of the peasantry.

Lorca's...

(Continued from page 24)

household. One aspect of that complexity in Lorca's play is the presence of characters that are absent on stage. Pepe, the young peasant for whose love Adela and Martirio are competing, and the peasant woman who killed her child out of wedlock, are two such 'absent' characters. Their absence has a symbolic social and cultural meaning. On one hand, they represent the cultural opposite of what Bernada and her house stand for and symbolize.

Their absence on stage, however, is transformed into their presence by connecting them to the moral and cultural argument between Bernada, Martirio and Adela. This poses an interesting challenge to the producer of Lorca's play: How to create absented characters on stage? It is also the collective responsibility of the cast to create and respond to those unseen characters. Watching *Sigiri Geya* one cannot but feel that their absence is a void in the flow of the entire Sinhala play.

Acknowledgement

My conversations with Mr. Charles Abeysekera have helped me to formulate some of the ideas expressed in this essay.

The Name of the Rose

A Discussion of the Novel & the Film

Radhika Coomaraswamy

First, let me reconstruct the storyline of *The Name of the Rose* in skeletal form. The tale is recounted by Adso; a young novice attached to a Medieval, British scholar-Monk called Monk William of Baskerville who has been influenced by the theories of science and Sir Francis Bacon. Adso constructs the novel in the form of a fourteenth century manuscript.

The plot of the novel and the film are identical. Written in the style of a Sherlock Holmes detective story, the plot attempts to unravel the mystery murders taking place in a medieval monastery. Like the English detective novel, the reader and the detective are provided with dead bodies, clues and signs which they have to decipher in the relentless search for truth and the murderer. In the end, we discover that the murders at the monastery are related to a lost book, Aristotle's second volume of *Poetics* that which deals with the theme of comedy.

The book had been banned by the Inquisition as heretical but re-emerges in the library of the monastery. All the monks who dare discover the work and read it are poisoned. The bodies are then dragged out by the murderer and placed in various locations so that the symbols are interpreted by the believers of the Bible as an indication of the coming of the Antichrist. The murderer turns out to be Jorge an orthodox monk, a fanatic who wants to defend the faith, as he interprets it against the heresies of Aristotle. When he is discovered he prefers to burn the library

of over 18,000 manuscripts rather than allow this single volume of heresy to escape.

The Novel — British Detective Genre:

Having outlined this basic storyline, which is in fact the same in both the novel and the film, let me proceed to try and draw out themes from the book itself before we compare these themes to those which are forcefully brought out by the film. The first aspect of the book or novel is that it is constructed in the form of the British detective story, one of the most popular genre in Western Europe and North America. Ironically, Ashis Nandy, the Indian critic has pointed out that though aspects of British colonial culture, like cricket, caught on in India, the British detective novel did not. Indian writers, writing in the vernacular have never copied its form. Somehow, the style and the mode are apparently alien and unpopular in South Asia. That observation apart, it is certain that the Italian Eco constructs the novel using this British archetypal form. Just in case anyone misses the point he also calls his hero, Monk William of Baskerville. The hallmark of the British detective novel is that the detective, as well as the audience, is provided with clues. Using the power of analytical reasoning he is then expected to reorder the clues, discover the murderer and thereafter explain in retrospect all the facts and events which accompanied the murder. The clever bringing together at the end is the highpoint

of this novelistic mode — as in for eg- Agatha Christie's novels where all the suspects are seated in a room, and after a lengthy civilised discussion of the facts, Hercule Poirot, using his extraordinary powers of deduction, reveals the murderer. The audience is usually satisfied with the explanation and those who had not guessed the murderer often feel foolish at their lack of intelligence.

In fact Sherlock Holmes, Miss Marple and Hercule Poirot have long been regarded as the models of what constitute an intelligent mind — at least in the British context. In reality, cynics could argue that these heroes and heroines are small town people with what has been called a *petit-bourgeois* eye for detail.

They are by no means visionaries or social critics like Eco. And yet, he uses this genre for a very particular purpose. The British detective novel glorifies, the rational deductive mind. In the fourteenth century such a mindset was not that of a Ms. Marple but of radical free thinkers who dissented from the ruling religious orthodox of the Inquisition. Francis Roger Bacon and the rise of the schools of scientific thought successfully challenged the importance of religious faith and religious texts as conveyors of an all pervasive truth.

Monk William, the hero of *The Name of the Rose*, cast in the role of a medieval Sherlock Holmes represents this fundamental challenge to religious orthodoxy.

(To be continued)



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