

● THE RESEARCH DEBATE: Jayadeva, Andare vs. S. G. ●

LANKA

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SPIES, SPYCATCHERS, JUDGES, JOURNALISTS

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- * M.I. 5, the Law and Law Lords — *R. W. Johnson*

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- Gavaskar on Duleep Mendis



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TRENDS

NEW MILITIA

The ISLAND report has not been contradicted. A special band of youths hand-picked by the UNP (High command, and provincial branches, it was suggested,) would be given weapons training at a camp in Ampara. Whether the instructors were to be Army officers or the STF or Police was not disclosed. What is significant is that this 'unit' will combat 'subversives' who have been killing and attacking UNP stalwarts and supporters.

The news followed two other interesting reports. The first said that there was a top-level hush-hush conference in Galle 'to map out a counter-strategy' to meet the 'growing subversive threat in the South'. The report made a front page lead story. No details were disclosed.

The second report came from Kalam, a troubled area. There, U.N.P. meeting was addressed by 'three former JVPers'. It is clear that the UNP has taken the 'JVP' challenge seriously enough to meet it both by tough counter-measures as well as platform propaganda.

These responses come in the wake of two attacks on newspaper vans. A van transporting the newspapers of the state-owned Lake House was stopped near Panadura by an unidentified group of youths, its driver and cleaner beaten up, and the paper made into a bonfire. A few days later, a distribution van of the ISLAND group, which is decidedly anti Accord, suffered a similar fate. Coincidence, one presumes.

BOMB BLAST

Early on Sunday morning a bomb shattered the window panes of the Indian High Commission office in Kandy, causing extensive damage to the office furniture. The sole security officer was unhurt.

In a statement to Itanavahini, the Indian diplomat in charge, observed that nothing untoward of that kind had happened in the generally quiet town of Kandy for forty years. The attack, he suggested, should be placed in the context of the emotionally charged pro-and-anti 'Accord' debate. Though there were hints in some of the papers on Monday that it was the work of 'Southern subversives', the police — unofficially at least — put the finger on LTTE-EROS. The government's security agencies have long identified EROS as a specialist in sophisticated bomb manufacture. Evidently, EROS goes in for high-tech. Yet a day later, an EROS spokesman from the Eastern province,

said that the organisation although aligned to the LTTE, supports the India Sri Lanka Accord.

THE HAVES, HAVE NOT

An incident at a refugee camp was the subject of a editorial in the mass-circulating Sinhala Daily The 'DIVAYA'. The following is an excerpt translated by the LPM (Lanka Press Monitor.)

It was reported the other day that an attempt was made by the wife of a powerful politico to take a ten-year old girl away from a refugee camp and that it was foiled.

The editorial says that at a time like this when the whole country is facing a problem the 'haves' treat these poor refugees in a barbaric manner, and try to exploit the situation to their advantage.

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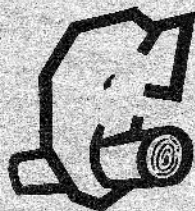
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INDIA'S LAND-MINE AND 'HUMAN SHIELD' WAR

— What next ?

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS
BACKGROUND

TAMILNADU POLL

A.F.P., the French news agency, reported from Madras yesterday that an opinion poll published over the week-end indicated that 67 percent of India's Tamils believed in the Peace Accord, and Prime Minister Gandhi's commitment to justice for Sri Lanka's Tamils. They felt that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had "gone out of his way" to protect the Tamils here, and blamed the LTTE for the heavy loss of life.

Jaffna is a free city now" Lieutenant general Depinder Singh chief of India's southern command announced proudly on Sunday the fifteenth day of India's massive military offensive against an estimated two thousand five hundred (2,500) LTTE rebels defending their traditional stronghold, the birthplace of the Tamil separatist movement the five-pronged drive which began on October tenth (10) had finally led, after a fierce resistance that took the 20,000 Indian peace-keeping force by surprise, to the encirclement of Jaffna the city is in our hands, and the political process must now begin, the general added.

Some questions nonetheless were left unanswered and a few new problems emerged. Several hundred 'tigers' remain holed up in the old quarter of the city. It is known that these rebels have taken the so-called 'black tiger oath', that is to fight to the death. The 'tigers' who carry cyanide capsules, have reportedly proved they mean business. Their fan-

tacism may be the envy of white muslim militiamen or the IRA how will the Indian troops overrun these last defenders when they are mingling freely with the several thousand refugees who have taken shelter in kovils, temples and school buildings? By the IPKF own account, they have persistently used civilians, including women and children, as 'human shields', explaining the reports reaching Colombo of large civilian casualties?

Secondly, and perhaps more crucially in the foreseeable future, over one thousand 'tigers' led by their supreme commander, Velupillai Prabhakaran, are said to have filtered through the advancing Indian columns and vanished, in predictable guerrilla fashion, into the countryside and perhaps even beyond the peninsula. If the war has proved anything, it is the old maxim that the guerrilla knows his terrain best. Even the most innocent Jaffna Tamil knows a hundred ways, by land and water, of slipping out of the peninsula.

The Tamil separatist insurgency will go down to history as 'the land-mine war'. Of the six hundred and twelve casualties suffered by the Sri Lankan forces (unofficial sources put the figure higher) from 1983 to 1986, three hundred and nineteen (319) were killed by land mines. The percentage in the two-week war of the peace-keeping force is likely to be much higher. Jaffna and its environs is one vast undetected land-mine and its buildings a huge booby-trap as a foreign observer described it.

In a final message to "our beloved people", the LTTE vowed to carry on the war. How? urban terrorism may well be the 'tigers' choice in Jaffna, but Prabhakaran and his hard-core fighters who 'melted away' in the past few days are certain to re-group in the jungles south of the peninsula, re-assess the entire political-military situation, and after re-grouping probably move into another stage of their armed struggle. If they move into the eastern province, the IPKF will surely be called on by President Jayawardene to take on the LTTE and EROS, its ally on another front and that front, now fairly quiet because of the pressure on the 'tigers' in the north, will be far more challenging because of the province's ethnic composition. The Tamils are the biggest community but they are outnumbered by the Muslims and the Sinhalese, together. Though the LTTE's tenacity, spirited fight-back qualities, and capacity for improvisation on their own terrain, took the Indian troops as much by surprise

as it did the Sri Lankan army for four years, the north is militarily a less complex ground. The east can confront the IPKF with the sort of problems that baffled the Israelis and even the Syrians in Lebanon. With their supply lines cut off, their Tamil Nadu rear-base neutralised, the 'Tigers' cannot lead the Indian army into a Vietnam or Afghanistan quagmire. The problems of the region's major military power in a peace-keeping role in small neighbouring country ravaged by ethnic conflicts and more recently by the advent of so many armed groups and militias (JVP insurgents, small Muslim fundamentalist bands, Sinhalese home guards, and four known Tamil militant groups) may make Lebanon a more appropriate analogous scenario.

But Jaffna remains for the moment for all sides, the main preoccupation. The Sri Lanka government and its military advisers, local and foreign, have shared the common hope that if the 'head' of the separatist snake is smashed, the tail will die soon after. If General Depinder Singh was right in speaking of a "political process," where are the politicians? The TULF secretary-general, Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam is still in Madras, and has visited Colombo twice in recent years. He has not been to Jaffna for years. Nor have the large majority of the TULF's MPs. In the 'Tiger's' farewell message to the Tamils which was signed by deputy leader 'Mahattiya' and the political committee, the TULF was described as "treacherous puppets" of India, and India as the supporter of the "racist" Jayewardene regime, and the co-instigator of the recent military crackdown.

If it is correct to say that the LTTE invited the aggressive Indian military response by its own manifest failure as a quintessentially militarist organisation to prepare for, or participate in, the inevitable transition from armed struggle to political power-sharing as envisaged in the accord, it is equally fair to suggest that all Tamil groups will be reluctant to undertake the responsibility of running

a civil administration in Jaffna. To be put bluntly, individual who offers his services will begin his duties by signing his own death warrant the LTTE claimed that it was deceived by Indian diplomats and outwitted by President Jayawardene when the 'Tigers' agreed to have seven seats in a twelve-member interim administrative council. The fact is that both the diplomats and the President kept to their word in choosing seven from the LTTE list but the seven chosen did not satisfy the Eastern Province Tamils, most of all the LTTE's own Eastern Wing. The LTTE had already alienated the Eastern Province Tamils by its massacre of one hundred and forty Tamils from rival groups.

However the anti-LTTE sentiment in the east will not ease the burden of Colombo or Delhi when they face the next problem of installing a provincial administration. Will leading Tamils volunteer despite the risks they will run? If so, it would mean that the LTTE does not in fact enjoy the popular support it has continued to claim. Much would depend on the impact of the operation that is now over. Has the "foreign army" and one-time protector behaved badly, and even worse than the Sri Lankan army, as the LTTE's current propaganda has tried to convince both the Sri Lankan and world press?

The state-owned *Daily News* has meanwhile dismissed as a "canard" western news reports that a team of Indian Civil servants will run the provincial administration. Such a step will incur the hostility of the anti-LTTE Tamil and the Tamil neutral, praying once more for the 'peace' that the peace accord promised and was in fact a reality for a few weeks in August. It will also gift more ammunition to the opposition in the south. The bomb that exploded in the Indian High Commission office in Kandy was a deafening reminder that the old north-south ethnic divide is no longer the main factor in the new political geography of an island, on the edge of anarchy.

In its message to 'the beloved people of Eelam', the LTTE's

political wing, plainly disenchanted but somewhat wiser, accused India of working with the Sri Lanka government, to crush the LTTE. It spoke also of India serving its own State interests and its interests as a regional power. An even bitterer lesson for the LTTE, as indeed for many Tamils in the north and elsewhere, was the lukewarm response of Tamil Nadu to LTTE's emotional appeals. The LTTE had to eat and swallow its pride and beg of Mr. Karunanidhi to raise a 'stir' in Tamil Nadu — a *Karunasidhi* which the LTTE's strategists had contemptuously ignored when courting MGR.

Mr. Dinesh Singh, the former Indian foreign minister who was one of Mr. Gandhi's special envoys to Colombo earlier this year told me in Delhi recently:

"Like other states, Tamil Nadu will regard the Sri Lankan conflict and our role as a national issue".

The Hindu, the voice of the powerful newspaper establishment in the state, confirms Mr. Singh's judgment. It broke a long silence with an editorial that condemned the 'Tigers' massacre of 200 Sinhalese civilians and warned the Tigers that they had taken on the government and people of India.

A more immediate and likelier prospect troubles both Colombo and Delhi. The hard-core rebels who survive could take to the jungles south of the peninsula and return to the 'war of the flea' this time harassing the Indians rather than the Sri Lankans. The thought of a long counter-insurgency operation on behalf of the Sri Lankan government hounds the Indian elite so obviously, that the Indian press in the past weeks has given as much prominence to the Sri Lankan story as to the World Cup cricket.

But on different pages. While the international stars Imran Khan and Vivian Richards and the local hero, Kapil Dev, spread themselves freely in the sport section and beyond, President Jayewardene and Mr. Prabhakaran monopolise the front page.

The Indian editorialists and analysts devote more attention to the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka than to Mr. Gandhi's talks with Mr. Reagan on US aid to Pakistan, the Indo-Pakistani skirmishes on the Sichen Glacier, and the Tibetan uprising.

The Indian opposition is demanding a special parliamentary session on Sri Lanka, and the Marxist Communist Party of India which governs West Bengal has issued a lengthy statement warning the government of foreign policy implications, including US designs, in supporting the Indo-Lanka peace accord.

A Times of India editorial is titled 'Into a Deeper Morass'. Other papers ring the changes on that world so suggestive of fearful analogies — mire, quagmire, quicksands, imbroglio — which depict

India as a superpower bogged down in its own Vietnam or Afghanistan.

The best that India can hope for now is that it will be a short operation. 'We must move in fast, finish the job and get out soon,' says a well-known military affairs analyst. The sense of international *deja vu* appertaining to that remark is overpowering.

Mr Nikhil Chakravarty, veteran editor of the left-wing 'Mainstream', is more conscious of the internal situation in Sri Lanka, and the increasing isolation of its regime. President Jayewardene is applauded for a "masterly" move which has forced India to 'underwrite his own presidential tenure'.

Indian policy makers are aware of the predicament the 81-year-old president is the only Sri

Lankan politician selfconfident enough to pursue the perilous course of offering a semi-autonomous homeland to the Tamils, and thus serve, however inadequately, the Indian interests as 'protector' of the Tamil minority.

With Mr Pant, the Indian defence minister, beside him, Mr Jayewardene was frank about his motives. He wanted the Indian army to relieve his army in the north in order to deploy it in the south, the scene of a rapidly nationalist incipient Sinhala youth insurgency.

All this adds up to one very uncomfortable question for the government in New Delhi. Will this prove to be yet another of the world's intractable sectarian disputes which means the next generation of Delhi's policy makers will have to live with the "Sri Lanka syndrome?"

Peace a 'must' to hold Aid Group meeting

"Peace must be restored if the special Aid Group meeting is to be held" said Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel after his first round of talks with the World Bank's Vice President for Asia Mr. Attila Karaosmanoglu, who was on a week's visit to Sri Lanka recently. Mr Karaosmanoglu also met President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Premadasa and other ministers. The special Aid Group meeting has been scheduled for December 4.

The consortium which pledged six hundred and seven (607) million U.S. Dollars at its annual meeting in June, will be asked by the bank to contribute another three hundred and eighty (380) million U.S. dollars to help Sri Lanka's economic reconstruction and recovery program.

The 380 million figure was fixed after a World Bank team spent three weeks in August-September studying the damage done in four years of fighting in the north and East. Of the 380 million the World Bank which will

support a three-year program, the bank will pick up 75 million dollars, the Asian Development Bank will contribute 40 to 50 million and Sri Lanka's donors the balance. The total cost to the Sri Lankan economy was estimated at fifty billion (50) rupees (1.6 billion, one point six billion dollars). This was made up of infrastructure (20 billion rupees) escalated defence costs (15) loss of expected foreign investment (7) and drop in tourist income (8).

Besides discussing this reconstruction program, the World Bank official will take up the Finance Minister's request for 60 to 70 (sixty to seventy) million dollars as loans to support Small and Medium-scale Industrial Development Projects with high employment generation. The government is seriously worried about youth unrest in the deep south (Sinhalese) where anti-government violence shows signs of Sinhalese youth insurgency. "In both north and south, youth revolt has strong economic reasons, and we cannot afford to repeat in the south, the

mistake we made in the north with the tamil youth" said Mr. De Mel, in an interview, unemployment which was 12 percent two years ago, stands at 17% now, and over a million new voters have not had the chance to participate in elections since 1977, since elections scheduled in 1983 were postponed through a rather doubtful referendum held under emergency. Mr. De Mel expects the World Bank to extend credits up to 30-35 million dollars, and the 25-30 million dollars the two-year development program he has in mind will create half a million jobs, he said. The new budget, which will be presented on November 17 shows a drop on 1.5 (one point five) billion rupees (50 million dollars) in the defence estimates at 9.2 billion rupees (nine point two) defence will still cost more money than education, health, public administration and local government added up. Sri Lanka has already started negotiations on a 140 (one hundred and forty million) loan as a structural adjustment facility. — J. S.

"Attempt to intimidate independent journalism"

— HINDU

The *HINDU* has issued the following press release. It is signed by Mr. N. Ram, who has been widely recognised by the Indian and world press as a key back-stage negotiator of the Indo-Lanka Accord.

"D. B. S. Jeyaraj, THE HINDU's Colombo Correspondent, was taken into custody by the Sri Lankan police authorities on the night of Monday, October 26.

He was taken in for interrogation following the publication in a Sri Lankan daily of the interview he conducted in Jaffna with the LTTE's deputy leader, "Mahathiya". The interview was conducted

for THE HINDU and is being published in full.

"At considerable risk to his life and safety, Jeyaraj went to Jaffna from Colombo just before the IPKF operations began. He stayed in the theatre of conflict, behind the LTTE lines, for approximately ten days and made his way back to Colombo, again at risk to his life. To our knowledge, he was the only pressperson of any professional standing who covered the events behind the LTTE lines through the thick of the hostilities. He travelled, by foot and bicycle, in Jaffna and to its rural outskirts during this period.

"The arrest of Jeyaraj quickly followed the publication of the interview with "Mahathiya" in the Colombo-based daily, *Island*. The punitive action, revealing intolerance and the disturbing hand of censorship, raises serious concerns relating to media independence and the exercise of democratic rights.

"It is learnt that the arrest of Jeyaraj is consequent on instructions from Sri Lanka's Secretary, Defence and relates directly to the conduct and publication of the interview. We feel it is an attempt to intimidate independent journalism and the putting out of independent information and critical views."

N.C.C. on Accord

The National Christian Council remains firm in its conviction that the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord signed on the 29th July '87 was the best possible solution to the ethnic conflict in the situation that had developed.

The Commission for Justice and Peace of the National Christian Council expresses its deep concern over the untold hardship and suffering experienced by the people in the North and East arising out of the confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE. We are also deeply perturbed over the killings and massacre of Sinhala civilians who have lived for generations in the Eastern Province and over the wanton destruction of

their homesteads. It is our firm belief as expressed from time to time that violence either by the State or by the Militants can never solve the problems of our people. Today thousands have become refugees in their own country.

Time and again we have seen the hardening of positions both within the Sinhala and Tamil communities. This extreme polarisation has always endangered the emergence of a political solution acceptable to both communities based on mutual trust and confidence. Today we are at war with each other making Sri Lanka a country marred by poverty and devastation caused by hatred, exclusivism and intolerance.

We earnestly urge all political leaders in our land not to pursue sectarian gains when the future of our nation is at stake. If the struggle of the Tamil Militants is not to end in disaster and further suffering it is imperative that the LTTE halts its military operations, gives up its military strength and devote its energies to building democratic political structures.

If the totality of the Sri Lankan population is not to be disillusioned with the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in our country it is imperative that the Indian Military offensive is suspended to enable political negotiations with the Tamil Militants.

J. Newton Perera
Secretary

Fear of mistakes hampers Indian army

John Elliott

India's proud and large army of some 1.1m people has only lost one war — against China in 1965 — during the country's 40 years of independence. But its experience, training and inflexible structures gave it little preparation for its present bloody conflict with Tamil Tiger extremists in Sri Lanka where it now has at least 17,000 troops and maybe more than 20,000.

It has built a reputation for tough effectiveness by defeating its smaller neighbour Pakistan in three short wars since 1947, and by guarding India's long 15,200 km of land borders including the 219,000m high Stachen glacier where major battles have been won against Pakistan in recent weeks.

But observers believe it does not have the flexibility and sensitivity to cope instinctively with new situations such as fighting guerrillas, despite considerable experience tackling years of insurgencies in India's far north eastern states of Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram.

General Krishnaswami Sundarji, India's respected and outspoken chief of army staff, said earlier this year that over-centralisation and a failure to encourage initiative were the army's "significantly weak areas." He warned that "if we have an over-centralised set-up in peace, results cannot be expected as if by magic in war."

Judging by the progress the army has made with its assault on Jaffna, it has the capability to learn fast and overcome some serious mistakes of the past week or so, when it lost men by not preparing the ground before parachute drops and by not taking enough precautions against land mines.

India's army is the third largest in the world after the Soviet

Union and China, but probably ranks fourth if the US Army total is expanded to include the Marines. It is also the world's largest volunteer army because there are no conscripts. Privates, known as *Jawans*, are recruited between the ages of 16 and 25 for a minimum of 15 years and make up much of what many observers say is an unnecessarily long administrative "tail" to the main fighting forces.

It is going through a period of rapid change, adopting new technologies and equipment, including 400 Bofors 155 mm howitzer guns bought in a controversial \$1.4 bn order from Sweden. It has also recently formed Army Aviation to operate its own combat and transport helicopters for the first time.

In addition to a 150,000-strong Indian Air Force and 5,000-strong Navy, the army is supplemented with various paramilitary forces which total over 1m more people. The most important of these are the Central Reserve Police Force and the Border Security Force.

But there are also a number of other paramilitary groups, ranging from the Railway police and Central Industrial Security Force to the Ladakh Scouts and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police.

The British relied especially on the loyalty and fighting skills of Gurkha and Sikh regiments, but also laid the ground work for what is now broadly a secular army with each division being made up of soldiers drawn from all over India. When for example the army stormed the Sikh's Golden Temple in Amritsar in June 1984, there were companies from Madras in the south, the Rajput warrior caste from Rajasthan, Biharis from north central India, and others from the Himalayas as well as Sikhs themselves,

who make up about 10 percent of the total army.

There is a similar mixture in Sri Lanka now where Tamil soldiers from the southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu are fighting Sri Lanka's Tamil extremists, just as Sikhs fought Sikh extremists in the Punjab. Such tensions are usually absorbed without difficulty, although there was a serious mutiny by a small proportion of Sikh soldiers after the 1984 Golden Temple raid.

Pay is low by international standards, but adequate when compared with low salaries of other Indian public servants. General Sunderji receives rupees 9,000 (about £1,500) a month, while a major general is on about rupees 6,300 and a colonel goes up to about rupees 5,000 on top of this there are various extras. An acting colonel has a four bedroom army house on a cantonment which has its own free school plus a batman and monthly allocations of rice, spices and lentils. A full colonel is entitled to a car with driver.

"The officers are very well informed about their army," says one foreign soldier who has trained with the Indian army. "They know more about the sizes and equipment of the army and the rules for carrying out a manoeuvre like crossing a river or attacking a post than most others in the world. But I do not think they are flexible at putting this into action. Their slavishness to their rule book, and their fear of ruining their career by making a single mistake, impedes initiative."

"Unfortunately, it has become part of our ethos — this fear of making mistakes," says General Sunderji. "It has prevented decentralisation of authority in peace, the development of leaders at all levels, and is the single most corrosive aspect which is going to hurt us as an army."

F. T.

From the frying pan into the fire

Sathasivam Krishnakumar, alias Kittu (27), the legendary 'Jaffna Commander' of the LTTE is in Madras on his way to London for an operation to fix an artificial leg for the one he lost in a mysterious bomb attack on him a few months back. According to sources, the bill for the surgery is being footed by the Tamil Nadu chief minister.

'Lieutenant Colonel' Kittu who joined the LTTE as an 18-year-old school drop out in 1978 is today one of the eight living central committee members of the LTTE and, in the Jaffna peninsula, is known to enjoy a greater reputation as a fighter than even his leader Prabhakaran. He is credited with being responsible for the military and operational successes of the LTTE and for having fought from the front while other leaders chose the security of Tamil Nadu. It was under his command that the Jaffna peninsula became a virtual LTTE fortress which even the combined assault of the Lankan armed forces could not penetrate.

Hobbling on crutches now and trotting out equally unstable arguments, Kittu gave this interview aided by his constant accomplice 'Major' Rahim. Excerpts.

What is the LTTE's assessment of the present explosive situation in Sri Lanka and what solution do you offer to resolve the impasse?

Major General Harkirat Singh of the IPKF has written a letter to our leader Prabhakaran accusing the LTTE of being directly responsible for the incidents in the north and east. He has interpreted this to mean that the LTTE is now flouting the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and has warned that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) may be pushed to a situation to take military action against the LTTE. To this, our leader Prabhakaran has replied in a letter sent

SADANANDA MENON analyses the impossible situation the Indian government has landed itself in by abandoning its earlier mediatory role in the Sri Lankan crisis

through Mr Mathaiya that the life and security of the LTTE cadres is the responsibility of the IPKF and until India guarantees this categorically now, there can be no solution to the present situation.

So what is your position as of today? Are you going to suffer the accord or are you going to scuttle it?

We are not against the Accord. It is the Sri Lankan government which has flouted it by arresting 17 of our cadres. They are directly responsible for the death of our boys. Prabhakaran has also asked in his letter to Harkirat Singh what action the IPKF has taken against those directly responsible for the death of 12 of our cadres.

But they were apprehended transshipping arms. Is this not a direct violation of the Accord and aren't those indulging in it at this time liable to be arrested and questioned?

Even after the Accord was signed, we retained some arms for the security of our leaders and this was done with the permission of the IPKF. So carrying these arms cannot be construed as violation of the Accord.

But the large-scale use of arms in the past few days in the north and east by your cadres does not indicate any small and token possession of arms as you claim. No one can believe that so much mayhem is being caused by mere use of 'personal' arms

Well... um... (drums heavily on the arm of his sofa)... well, we

are not sure of the current situation there. We are not informed of what's happened there.

How do you respond to the presence of Indian troops in your Eelam area?

Oh, the IPKF being there is no problem.

What would you say is the strength of the IPKF there?

Well, the Indian Southern Command under General Depinder Singh has over a million troops. Of this some 20,000 are in Lanka now.

The IPKF has directly named the LTTE as an obstructionist force trying to sabotage the peace process and has condemned your group in the sternest language.

We consider the government of India and the IPKF as directly responsible for the death of 12 of our boys. Before their death Prabhakaran had written a letter through Mathaiya to the IPKF commander warning him that if anything happened to them, we will not observe ceasefire. This was very clearly stated.

So you have started your gun battles again in retaliation for the suicide of 12 of your cadres. But how far is it a very wise move to take on the combined strength of the Indian army as well as the Sri Lankan army with just a few 'personal' arms which is all that you claim to possess?

See, we are not against the Indian government or against the

Accord. We placed our full faith in the Indian government. But unfortunately it has led to the death of many of our cadres and leaders. Even after so many deaths, the government of India has not clarified anything on our security and we are deeply upset about this. We can come to some settlement only after India takes steps to safeguard the lives of our cadres and leaders.

Steps like what?

It should guarantee the security of our cadres and a solemn assurance that instances like the arrest of our boys will not be repeated.

You say you already have been betrayed by placing your faith in India. Isn't it counter-productive to once again expect something from India?

That was a different problem. We don't say that India is against the LTTE. Indian government is merely a victim of the pre-planned strategy of the Lankan government to scuttle the Accord.

One of your spokesmen said earlier that India has vested interest in Trincomalee harbour and that is why it is attempting an Afghanistan style military occupation. Is this really an LTTE position?

There is a definite need for the Indian forces there. I think we will need the IPKF there for a long time to manage the situation. The accord is a mere agreement between a few individual politicians. There are many groups and parties with conflicting ideas on this. So until we have a calm situation the IPKF will have to be present there to ensure that everything goes smoothly. This may take a long time. So we don't expect them to be leaving for at least another year. And Trincomalee is certainly a vital and important strategic place as far as the security needs of India, particularly a united India, go.

What will be the LTTE's response if the IPKF chooses to continue its search and if it detains Prabhakaran?

Our leader Prabhakaran has said that until he has his cyanide capsule with him, the IPKF cannot arrest him.

You really mean to say that he will choose that as a political option?

If the arrest is for humiliating him, he certainly will.

Why should the IPKF want to do that?

If not to hurt and humiliate him what other reason can there be to want to arrest him. Just because we had complete faith in the government of India we surrendered all our arms. Up to now we have not been anti-Indian. But it is unfortunate that the Indian government has not understood our problems. For example, the fifth demand of Thiruppur when he fasted to death was that India should supervise the surrender of arms of the Home Guards and of the armed Sinhala civilians. India never took us seriously until they themselves were attacked and one soldier died. Now the IPKF has woken up. We are sorry they ignored our pleas earlier. We have struggled here for a long time. We are familiar with the kind of problems that are likely to crop up. All our demands have been just demands.

Supposing all your demands are accepted and all parties are satisfied and an intertn administrative council is set up. For you will it not mean a compromise on the idea of an independent Eelam?

What we are fighting for is our right to self-determination and our right to live honourably. You may call it by any name. As long as it is guaranteed or given, we will be very happy. In the present situation, we may have to keep a low profile. Eelam is our ambition. That remains. Only our mode of struggle will change.

In Sri Lanka, several Lankan scholars have been issuing warnings about the common spectre haunting both the north and south of Sri Lanka — "The Spec-

tre of Polpotism", a fanatic ethnic-populism is challenging the foundations of a democratic society.

While the LTTE struck the first blow against the accord by violating the ceasefire following the suicide of 12 of their cadres who had been detained and questioned by the Lankan army, and by launching attacks on Sinhalese civilians, the chauvinist proscribed party, Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) has been on the rampage in Southern Sri Lanka. Now President Jayewardene has driven a further nail in the coffin by announcing that the amnesty offered to the Tamil militants after the signing of the Accord was no longer valid. He has offered a Rs one million award for the capture of LTTE supremo Prabhakaran.

But the final blow was delivered by India itself by abandoning its objective 'mediatory' role and becoming an aggressor. It is strange now to find Indian forces on Lankan soil hunting for and apprehending Sri Lankans on behalf of their own government. If arresting or annihilating LTTE members is seen as some what plausible way of hammering out a solution then India has missed out on the gravity of the situation. Rajiv Gandhi's advisors on Sri Lanka are not only burning the boat at both ends but also all around.

Critics of the accord had foreseen the present scenario even at the time it was signed. It had been pointed out that India was voluntarily stepping into a political swamp from which it would be well-nigh impossible to extricate itself. Now the situation has been deliberately provoked by the Lankan government as well as the Tamil militants and India finds itself in a no-win position. Setting out to break the back of the Tamil militant movement is going to alienate the IPKF from the Tamils with certain repercussions in Tamil Nadu. Failure to do that would be to invite ridicule from the Lankan government,

from its rabid anti-India elements in Colombo. Whatever move the IPKF makes is going to make it highly unpopular in one segment of Lankan society or the other. What is interesting to understand is why it chooses to take a totally partisan attitude on behalf of the Jayewardene regime at the expense of the other segments. Also no one has explained the real reason why the Indian army is doing police duty for a tottering Jayewardene regime.

Of course this will not be the first time in recent history India has performed this task. Fifteen years ago it was Rajiv Gandhi's mother Indira Gandhi who had airlifted several divisions of Indian armed forces to Lanka at the request of then Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike to quell the JVP-led youth insurgency on the island. At that time India still had not emerged as a regional power with definite claims to the Indian Ocean zone.

Today the picture is different. Indian hegemony in the region has been conceded from several platforms. This time when Indian troops go in to contain the intransigent Tamil militants, they are not likely to return home in a hurry. The fears expressed by LTTE leaders (see interview) that India is likely to stay on in Lanka for a long, long time seem more than valid.

The present raids by the IPKF on Tamil militant hideouts is also likely to once again cause a substantial number to return to safe havens in Tamil Nadu. LTTE sources have indicated that they have been given some sort of assurances on this by the state government. What kind of conflict this creates between the Centre and the state is not worth the guess.

That India is fully aware of the dangerous dimensions of the situation, particularly the fall-out in South Asian zone, in other countries with substantial Indian populations, is borne out by the airdash of Defence minister

K C Paudyal himself to Colombo, to try and retrieve the shaky accord. Much of India's diplomatic thrust in the region is at stake. However his open support of Lankan President Jayewardene at their joint press conference indicates that his mission is hardly diplomatic and that India has chosen to take a hard line on the matter.

That makes three of them (and probably more) who are taking a hard line: the Lankan government's stand is rigid on the question of united north and east province. Jayewardene will not accept it. The LTTE has taken a hard line on the composition of the interim administrative council, on the withdrawal of Lankan paramilitary troops and on their right to retain arms. Now India too has taken the hard option with its stated intention to curb Tamil extremism.

The parallels with the Punjab situation are many. India certainly had a major hand in building up the Tamil groups and assuring them support. It was India's way of keeping the Lankan government on a leash. That was very much the policy followed in Punjab when the Bhindranwale form of extremism was nurtured and promoted. Now suddenly the Centre finds that the Tamil militants too have become a larger-than-life force and seem to have lost their influence over the Tigers.

The combined stands of all the parties concerned have now brought matters to a position much worse than before, and soon we may need a completely new initiative to intervene and bring everyone to heel. It has been a major loss of political initiative for India to have abandoned its mediatory posture with the result that the entire sequence of events seems like a shift from the frying pan into the fire.

One of LTTE's major motivations in taking the unreasonable line it is taking seems to be its need to buy time to consolidate itself in the east, where it has not been traditionally strong. This has now become the main

plank of the cunning battle of wits being played out between the LTTE and Jayewardene. LTTE proposed Sivagnanam's (from Jaffna) name to head the interim council with other member representing the east. Jayewardene struck off the names of those from the eastern province. LTTE withdrew the name of Sivagnanam and proposed the name of a Batticaloa man, Padmanathan, to head the council. JRI screamed 'foul'. LTTE cried 'foul'. Stalemate.

Ultimately, in the event of an election or a referendum in the east, the LTTE hardly stands a chance of winning. So they now have to appear to win themselves friends in the east. The resulting turbulence is also pre-planned by the LTTE. If Lanka has carried on over 25 years of Sinhala colonisation in the east effecting major demographic changes, the LTTE now hopes to reverse it by systematically attacking Sinhala civilian populations in these regions.

The larger question that confronts all those concerned today is whether the savage intensity of the ethnic strife can be contained only if Lanka becomes an Indian protectorate. The question has been asked before. During the turn of the century Lanka was called 'Lipton's tea garden'. It seems now well on the way to becoming India's kitchen garden.

It is clear too, though not reported in the Indian press, that Jayewardene's real fear is his own people in the south who are using the JVP as a vehicle to air their 'desa-premi' ideology and 'jatiyata' ideology. To the extent that JRI is unable to use his forces, now relieved from the north and east by the Indian presence there, to contain the east by the Indians, to contain the rapid growth of the JVP and check its deep infiltration into all segments of Lankan society, to that extent the Indo-Sri Lanka accord will remain a figment of political speculation.

— Sunday Observer

The Status of the Judiciary in the last decade

H. L. de Silva PC

In any appraisal of the status of an institution that is an integral part of the polity of a State or a People, it is inevitable that the evaluation has to be made in relation to constitutional and political requirements which it is expected to fulfil as such an institution. The question would then be: Has it fulfilled that role? Secondly, if the appraisal has to be made in respect of a contemporary period, it is also inevitable that its performance would have to be measured in relation to the period which preceded it and which was incidentally at a time when the country was for a time under a different political dispensation. Thirdly, assessing the achievements and failures of the institution in the given political environment inevitably involves passing judgement, on the one hand, on judges, who are for this purpose in a sense on trial, and on the other hand on politicians who traverse the corridors of power for the time being. For a practising lawyer like myself who has to depend a great deal on judicial understanding, if not goodwill, talking on this subject is no small hazard. For another thing aiming barbed shots at the Government in power is not recommended during a time of Emergency. So please do not be too disappointed if I am seen to exercise a certain restraint and a certain degree of reticence in making my comments on this subject this evening. Indeed I shall as far as possible avoid making judgements and seek to approach the subject in as objective a manner as possible consistent with a commitment to truth, but rather point to the various problems that arise in order that you yourselves may draw your own inferences and conclusions on these matters.

Firstly, let me deal with the role which the judiciary is expected to fulfil under a demo-

Text of a talk delivered at the Centre for Society & Religion

cratic political system. Very briefly, the judicial power of the State is invoked in situations where a determination or adjudication has to be made as to the relative merits of a case or the rights of parties in a dispute or controversy, whether that dispute or controversy is between the State and the citizen or between two citizens inter se. The judge who is required to adjudicate or make a judicial determination of such a dispute or controversy is called upon to do justice, as the expression goes "according to law." The essential precondition for doing justice between parties is the need for integrity, impartiality and independence on the part of the Judge. These are the primary values required of a Judge. The possession of other attributes such as the capacity for logical reasoning, in-depth analysis, erudition in the law and lucidity of expression are no doubt important, but are in a sense secondary. The latter requirements are important because the Judge is not called upon to do justice in the abstract but in relation to the concrete facts of the case laid before him and as judicially determined by him, followed by a conclusion reached upon an application of the relevant law to those facts. But in the public mind the pre-eminent values are always integrity, impartiality and independence and quite rightly so. Their perceived absence in a given case vitiates the whole judicial process and negates its very purpose and existence. At the same time while suspicions may arise that they were lacking in a given case it is often practically impossible to prove that these primary values were either negated or compromised by the Judge. That is why it is so important that

not only must the Judge be free from bias but even from the appearance of bias because the very existence of suspicions are enough to damage or destroy the image of the impartial Judge and consequently the value of his judgement. Errors of law made by the Judge are often demonstrable and can be corrected by a higher court sitting in appeal. But a dishonest and biased perception of the facts is much more difficult, if not impossible, to establish or rectify and remains a permanent excrecence on the exercise of judicial power.

In order to achieve this independence on the part of the Judges there are many requirements that must be shown to exist. First of all the Judge himself has to be a man of character and integrity conscious of his duty as a Judge and possessed of those inner resources of courage and steadfastness and a sense of dedication which can withstand all extraneous pressures. That is asking quite a lot from a man who after all is human like the rest of us. Absent these attributes, the holder of the office would quite plainly be unfit to be a Judge. Secondly, he must as far as possible be insulated from extraneous influences and pressures. In order that Judges may function under conditions in which they would be free from such external pressures and constraints that threaten independence, various Constitutional devices in the way of safeguards are normally provided. But in a sense they are of secondary importance if the man himself lacks integrity. In the case of the minor judiciary the 1978 Constitution reintroduced the institution of the Judicial Services Commission which is a non political body comprising the Chief Justice and two Senior Judges of the Supreme Court that is vested with the powers of appointment, promotion, trans-

fer and disciplinary control of Judges. The 1972 Constitution had abolished the J.S.C. which made the minor judiciary more susceptible to improper pressures and its re-introduction in 1978 was no doubt a salutary step and enabled the minor judiciary to regain a degree of credibility.

Equally important, is the need to provide the material conditions necessary to maintain independence in the way of adequate remuneration, suitable housing and transport facilities and a general improvement in their conditions of service that will ensure a contented judiciary provide greater attractions for recruitment to the service. It has become increasingly difficult to recruit lawyers with the requisite experience and ability to serve in the minor judiciary on prevailing scales of remuneration in the context of high incomes at the Bar. If we do not pay heed to this and take remedial action without delay the country will have to pay a heavy price for the gradual deterioration of what has hitherto been, by and large, an efficient and an esteemed institution. The erosion of public confidence in this institution would undermine the entire administration of justice and signal the end of the Rule of Law in this country. There should be greater public awareness of this problem and public agitation for better conditions of service for this class of State Officers from whom a great deal more is expected than from the ordinary administrator. A great deal has to be done in this direction (i.e. in respect of the material conditions of service alone) if the judicial service is to regain the prestige it once enjoyed in the country.

From the point of view of its organisation and structure the two Superior Courts — the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal remain unchanged in their legal status as was the one Superior Court under the 1972 Constitution. Their security of tenure is constitutionally guaranteed, their salaries are charged

on the consolidated Fund, they held office during good behaviour and are irremovable except by the President upon an address by Parliament. But a great deal more has to be done if there is to be created a proper environment for the actual and practical existence of judicial independence and for there to be visible evidence of such independence. Despite the constitutional promise of security and independence for the future that is amply provided in the 1978 Constitution with the inauguration of the new Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal and the abolition of the former Supreme Court and with it the premature termination of the judicial careers of quite a number of Supreme Court Judges and the supersession of others by those junior in service, there occurred a catastrophe which cast a pall of gloom upon the independence of the Judiciary in this country from which it will take a long time to recover. At the level of the higher echelons of the Judiciary, more important than the Constitutional safeguards is the need for mutual respect and understanding among the three organs of government viz. the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary.

Under the 1978 Constitution the concept of sovereignty which was in the People include these three components of governmental power (i.e. the legislative executive and judicial power). But there was a significant difference in regard to their exercise. The Legislative power of the People was to be exercised by Parliament and the Executive power was to be exercised by the President. In the case of the Judicial power however, although the logical repository of the power ought to have been the Judiciary, it was provided that it was to be exercised by Parliament through the courts and tribunals established for the administration of justice. In this the framers of the 1978 Constitution were following a bad precedent that had been set by the framers of the 1972 Consti-

tution. The apparent reason for this reluctance to permit the Judiciary to exercise the judicial power of the People directly was presumably the fact that the Superior Court Judges were not persons who had been elected to that office by the people but had been appointed by an elected representative — the Prime Minister in the case of the 1972 Constitution and the President in the case of the 1978 Constitution. Another reason was possible the need to emphasise the denial of any right in the Judiciary to strike down legislation through the exercise of the power of judicial review over laws passed by Parliament, which was in any case expressly prohibited. But whatever be the reason it tended to emphasise the fact that the Judiciary was the weakest branch of the three organs of governmental power and this has generally tended to downgrade its status. Unlike the Supreme Court of the United States and the Supreme Court of India the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka has no power to declare legislation ultra vires the Constitution even if a law that has been enacted by Parliament, or even a pre-Constitution law, be demonstrably at variance with the Constitution. It is difficult to see why this should be so in principle because the law-making power of the People has to be exercised by their representatives in Parliament in conformity with the Constitution and not in derogation of the limitations on that power which the people themselves have placed on Parliament through the Constitution. It is in no sense an infringement of the sovereignty of the People if their representatives are controlled by another organ of Government — the Judiciary whose special function is to administer the law, including the fundamental law. Broadly speaking Parliament and the President under the Constitution are in a sense co-equal and not subordinate one to another but exercising plenary power, each within its own sphere. On the other hand Parliament has on more than one occasion assumed a

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Unitary and Federal Constitutions

Colvin R. de Silva

The current controversies concerning the proposed amendments to the Constitution following upon the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord appear to turn a great deal on the attitude to Article 2 of the present Constitution which declares that—

"The Republic of Sri Lanka is a unitary state." There appears to be quite a degree of confusion in regard to this matter and it will perhaps help to draw attention to certain relevant considerations. A unitary state is usually contrasted to a federal state. What is important in this connection is that quite a range of constitutions can be and are unitary in character. It is also the same with federal constitutions. There is no model laid up in heaven, so to speak, from which any deviation will deprive a constitution of its unitary character. It is the same with federal constitutions.

Thus, there can be unitary constitutions which have strong "federal" features; as also federal constitutions with strong unitary features. The Indian Constitution, which is involved in the present controversies, can be characterised as a federal constitution with strong unitary features. Indeed there are those who would contend that in fact the Indian Constitution falls on the other side of the classification and is a unitary constitution with strong federal features.

The point underlined by the above is that our admittedly unitary constitution can undergo any changes which may be denounced as tending towards federalism without losing its unitary character. Surely, therefore, it is the proposed amendments, that must be looked at, and not merely the contents of the proposed amendments themselves, in order to make out that our constitution will lose its unitary character by reason of the changes it will undergo by the incorporation of the proposed amendments.

If the above is lost sight of, all that can take place is a sterile controversy as to what amendments are federalist on the one hand and, on the other, what features proposed are unitary. Indeed there is the danger that the controversy will fall into the unconscious or unstated assumption that the various features of our constitution which give it its unitariness are themselves the sole test of unitariness as distinct from the act that it is only one variant of unitary constitution.

The question of "Unitary or Federal" has also got tangled up, perhaps inevitably, with the question of the referendum.

Our Constitution is pretty clear on the question as to when a referendum is called for in regard to a proposed amendment. It is essential to stress that the question is not entangled with some what inappropriate question whether a proposed amendment is "federalist" in character.

If a question regarding the character of the constitution is being posed in connection with a referendum demand, the only manner in which it could be raised is not by examining the purported character of the proposed amendment but by examining whether the impact or consequence of the proposed amendment on the Constitution will be to push it over the divide between unitary constitutions and federal constitutions.

Incidentally, this is what has to be carried in mind by those who argue that there are basic or fundamental features of our Constitution which cannot be altered by any process which is provided in the Constitution.

May I be permitted finally to point out that the unity of a country is not determined by its state-form. The federal form is often claimed to carry this danger; although, historically, the federal form of state has always been the means of holding together in a single state units which would otherwise be separate states.

There is no contradiction in idea of a united country and the containment within that country's state-form of certain elements which, without that state-form, would be characteristic of separateness.

The Status of . . .

(Continued from page 12)

certain dominance over the Judiciary in a somewhat obtrusive manner even in respect of the exercise of what may be considered strictly Judicial powers. On one occasion, while proceedings for the quashing of certain findings against persons in the course of an inquiry into the administration of local authorities which was held by a former chief Justice (Mr G. P. A. Silva) under the Commissions of Inquiry Act were pending in the Supreme Court, Parliament enacted special legislation imposing civic disabilities on the basis of these findings against the Petitioners who were seeking to quash these very finding what was objectionable was the unseemly haste in which it was done. The enactment of the law would have rendered any judgement of the court ineffectual. On another occasion while the former Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike and the late Mr Felix Dias Bandaranaike had instituted certiorari proceedings in the Supreme Court to quash the findings and recommendations made against them by the Special Presidential Commission, Parliament passed a special resolution imposing civic disabilities on them both which step led to the Supreme Court declining jurisdiction to hear the matter as the Resolution when passed by Parliament and upon being so certified by the Speaker could not be questioned before the Court.

(To be continued)

Peter Wright, Judges and Journalists

R. W. Johnson

Let us first dispose of *Spycatcher*—a wellwritten book which eschews a sensationalist style even when dealing with sensational matters. *The widespread impression that book is mainly about MI5 attempts to destabilise the Wilson Government is quite wrong—there are just a few pages about this. Most of the book is an account of the endless mole-hunting undertaken in the aftermath of the Burgess/ Maclean/ Philby affairs and the construction of Wright's case that the MI5 chief, Roger Hollis, was a Soviet spy. This latter question is, for Wright, very much the heart of the book, but I doubt whether readers will be universally convinced by his case or even that they will be chiefly interested in it. Most, one suspects, will savour more the chillingly casual way in which Wright details how even friendly embassies were bugged and assassination schemes plotted and also the sheer Le Carre-like richness of the bureaucratic and diplomatic intrigues, particularly when they involve characters as colourful as Edgar Hoover or James Angleton. Wright describes how Angleton ingeniously contrived to enjoy simultaneously his three main hobbies of drinking, smoking and fishing. Having bought a stretch of river, he buried bottles of Jack Daniels at regular intervals in the river bed, so that he could always fish with a whisky and a cigarette in hand.

Wright himself emerges as a believable source—though caution is perhaps advisable: he is professional dissembler. He is that peculiarly English type, the man recruited from below into one of the Establishment's magic circles, who embraces the Establishment's (conservative) principles with enthusiasm, only to explode finally in rage when he finds that those principles are a

fraud. Specifically, Wright feels he was cheated out of his pension by ungentlemanly gentlemen and seems to have written this book for revenge as well as for profit. From time to time a dramatic name or sensational detail is thrown in front of the reader with a sort of studied naivety, as if Wright is unaware that it is veritable hand grenade. But his own book shows how, over and again, he was able to turn the merest smidgeon of a clue into deadly evidence of betrayal: he decidedly not naive, and if he drops names, it is for a purpose. He seems, though, to have made his own assessment of what he can and can't responsibly say—and certainly the book gets much thinner in explosive detail as it advances toward the present. Wright is clearly still holding back a good deal. If I were the head of MI5 or the prime minister, I'd be far more worried about grenades still in Wright's armoury than anything he's said here.

Readers of the *LRB* will need no reminder that the Law Lords have made the writing of a review of this book a matter of grave legal risk. For all I know, even what I've written above is illegal in their eyes. What they would certainly regard as heinous would be to write a proper, long review in which one quoted Wright directly or extensively described the contents of the book—the sort of thing I'd normally do for *LRB*. More wicked still, one could go to the Australian High Commission in London, obtain copies of the *Melbourne Age* or *Sydney Morning Herald* and then reproduce from them reports of the *Spycatcher* trial going on in Australia. One can without fear publish accounts of trials in the USSR or Albania, or anywhere else where, as here, the judges know their duty to the government, but you can't report what's going on in that Australian court. The most severely unfunny side of things is the rapid and arbitrary way in which the legal goalposts

are being moved about, in which new rules and laws are being made without public discussion and outside the legislative process. Under our judge-invented law it has not only suddenly become illegal to publish a book review or cite Australian newspapers, but a vast new legal doctrine has been invented: that an injunction against X also binds Y. What if X has never heard of Y, doesn't even know about the injunction againsts him? Ignorance of the law is presumably no excuse: so that doing or writing anything is now dangerous.

And one must always remember that there is no legal aid to protect freedom of expression. If, for example, a rich and powerful corporation or individual decided, as a result of something I've written, to launch suit against either me or the *LRB*, we would be utterly at his mercy. Any attempt to resist his suit would undoubtedly bankrupt me and close the *LRB*, for neither I nor the *London Review* has the financial resources necessary to fight an opponent with a really deep purse. Even to get into the ring with such an opponent one needs to have many hundreds of thousands of pounds to spare: it's not a question of poverty, just a matter of not being exceedingly rich. Our lawyers, knowing the draconian libel law, which means that almost all libel suits are won, would advise that discretion was the better part of valour. So even if the *LRB* and I were innocent in law and in fact, we would, in effect, be found guilty on grounds of insufficient wealth. Indeed, our lawyers would hasten to advise us to make truly cringing apologies in order to minimise our damages. Lack of great wealth makes one so guilty that the only responsible thing to do would be to say we were wrong when we knew we were right—to commit a sort of private perjury. It would be unwise to protest. And one must remember that our judges are, by definition, rich men. A Law Lord

* *Spycatcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer* by Peter Wright. Viking. 392 pp., \$19.95, 10 August, 0 670 82055 5.

earns £671,400 a year; our senior judges are recruited from the comfortable upper-middle classes and from amongst barristers earning hundreds of thousands a year.

The latest antics of the Law Lords have deservedly created a storm. But no one who has studied the process of the British law and the behaviour of the English judiciary as it touches questions of freedom of expression can be in the least surprised at this fresh monstrosity. It is worth setting out where we stand.

One starts with the fact that we have no constitution. Generations of English schoolchildren have had the vast mystification practised upon them that we do have a constitution (until recently you could do an A level called 'The British Constitution'). But this constitution wasn't written down, so you couldn't read it, use it, study it or be sure exactly what was in it. But you could feel very, very proud of it. One can imagine the general hilarity which would greet the claim by

say, the ruler of Uganda that his country had a constitution, but that it existed only in the mind. Those who wish to go parrotting solemnly on about an unwritten constitution here might reflect that this is precisely the sort of claim that an Idi Amin might have made there.

The lack of a constitution or bill of rights means two things. First, nowhere does our law positively uphold freedom of expression - it is a freedom negatively defined as the things one

Australian court rejects Britain's spy book appeal

SYDNEY

Britain lost its court appeal to maintain a ban on the Australian publication of former secret service agent Peter Wright's memoirs.

The New South Wales court of appeal rejected Britain's case and awarded costs to Wright, a former MI-5 counter-espionage agent.

Lawyer Theo Simos, representing the British Government, asked the court for time to decide on a further appeal to the high court of Australia, the supreme legal body in the land.

Chief Justice Laurence Street granted the request and temporarily extended the injunction on Wright's book "Spycatcher".

The three-judge panel decided not to grant a permanent injunction on the book, to be published by Heinemann Australia PTY Ltd.

Wright, 71, who retired in 1986 after 28 years in the MI-5, was not in court for the judgement, the latest chapter in the two-year legal wrangle.

A smiling Malcolm Turnbull, Wright's lawyer, said he was very pleased with the verdict, which rejected Britain's claim that Wright had a life-long duty of confidentiality.

British high-commissioner John Leahy, who was in court, told reporters that he would send the

judgement, which is more than 150 pages long, to London for further instructions.

"It is impossible to take a decision on such a weighty document. We hoped for the best, but took nothing for granted."

Asked whether the British Government would cut its losses, Leahy said: "I can't exclude anything, but we don't give up easily."

"It is a very important point of principle we want to see observed - Peter Wright's obligation of confidentiality. If we decide to appeal, it will be because we want to see this principle upheld," Leahy added.

The court rejected Britain's claim that Wright's book would damage its national interests, neither would the court agree that it would affect Australia's security.

Justice Michael Kirby in his judgement said that allegations of Soviet penetration of the British secret service should be publicly examined.

"Indeed it was healthy that it should be so, for that exemplifies the free and democratic nature of the society which MI 5 and its equivalents... are established to defend," He said.

Wright, who lives in the southern Island state of Tasmania, alleged in his book that the late MI 5

chief Sir Roger Hollis was a Soviet mole.

Hollis played a key-role in the setting up of the Australian intelligence network after the Second World War.

Kirby dismissed as unacceptable what he described as Britain's efforts to enforce its penal laws in Australia.

Justice Michael McHugh, the third appeal court judge, said much of the information in "Spycatcher" had already been published.

"The book no longer retained the quality of confidentiality and that the publication of what was confidential would not cause any detriment to the British Government or the (secret) service."

"Spycatcher" has been published in the United States, and thousands of copies are in circulation throughout Australia and Britain.

"Decisions by the courts of this country that particular acts or publications are or not, in the public interest of other countries, would constitute a fertile source of embarrassment for the relations of Australia with those countries," he said.

Britain's lawyer, Simos, is expected to request a 21-day extension of the injunction on "Spycatcher" pending instructions from Whitehall.

can say or write through the chinks left in our draconian laws on official secrets and libel. This is quite bad enough, and quite routinely leads to the situation where one cannot reprint in Britain things that have appeared in reputable foreign newspapers. Secondly, it means that our judges clamber happily into the yawning gap thus left.

And our judges are a problem all of their own. They are exclusively political appointees; they are, as a group, notably illiberal—anti-black and anti-semitic feeling is not uncommon and women are still often shamefully treated by many judges; and they are more executive-minded than any other judiciary this side of the Iron Curtain. They also tend to invent (or disregard) laws when they want to. The classic case here was *Shaw v. DPP* (1961), in which the Law Lords, wishing to ban a certain publication but finding no law allowing them to do so simply invented a new offence of 'conspiracy to corrupt public morals'. When it was pointed out that the laws passed by Parliament knew no such offence, the Law Lords asserted that the courts were the ultimate guardians of 'the moral welfare of the State' and that this gave them 'residual power, where no statute has yet intervened'. Quite apart from this extraordinary act of self-arrogation, it is difficult to imagine any ground further out of touch with contemporary morality than the Law Lords. Yet the years since 1961 have been hundreds of convictions for offences against this impudently invented law. On the whole, it has been pornographers who have suffered, but this 'law' has also been used to harass *Oz* and the *International Times*.

This was followed in 1972 by the 'thalidomide trial' in which the Distillers company sought to prevent the *Sunday Times* from publishing articles about the plight of the thalidomide children. The Law Lords found, on contempt of court grounds, that the articles were indeed an unfair form of pressure on the company,

upheld Distillers and gagged the *Sunday Times*—until the European Court of Human Rights overturned the judgment in the cause of freedom of expression. Parliament later attempted to reconcile the British and European notions on contempt of court in the Contempt of Court Act—but Lord Diplock speedily announced a new law of his own, making it clear that Parliament had not done this and that the new Act could even open up fresh ways of curtailing press freedom. Then in 1975 the Attorney-General sought to prevent the *Sunday Times* from publishing the Crossman Diaries. The Lord Chief Justice, faced with the difficulty that there was now law forbidding indiscretions by (dead) Cabinet Ministers, announced a new 'law' under which courts could decide what opinions Ministers might express about Cabinet discussions—but then allowed publication on the grounds that the Diaries dealt with events a decade old.

In all this, the chief concern of the judges is to try to see things the Government way. Lord Reid, in *Conway v. Rimmer* (1968), best summarised the attitude of the Law Lords. The premature disclosure of Cabinet Minutes was, he said, in no way allowable, for 'disclosure would create or fan ill-informed or captious public or political criticism. The business of government is difficult enough as it is, and no government could contemplate with equanimity the inner workings of the government machine being exposed to the gaze of those ready to criticise without adequate knowledge of the background.' Probably only an English judge could believe that the right way to cope with people who are ill-informed and who lack adequate knowledge is to prevent them having more information. In France, by the way, a list of the projects approved by the Cabinet is routinely issued to the press the day after each meeting—and such a practice is normal in many other countries too. Once again, the whole Army's out of step with our Johnny.

In 1981 the judges even discovered that censorship might extend to covering what went on in open court. In the case *Home Office v. Harman* the Law Lords found Ms Harman guilty of contempt for having communicated to a journalist a copy of a document which had already been read out in open court. Had the journalist taped the trial or taken it down in shorthand, there would have been no case. But Lord Denning defended this manifest absurdity with further stern warnings: 'the danger of disclosure is that critics... will seize on this confidential information so as to seek changes in government policy, or to condemn it.' Who but an English judge would describe efforts to criticise or change government policy as 'the danger'?

English judges are so slavishly executive-minded that it is probably seldom necessary for them to be told precisely what the Government would like. But it would be folly to think this could never happen. As both the recent books on the Stephen Ward case have shown, the trial was rigged from beginning to end. The Police threatened and blackmailed witnesses into lying on a grand scale; Lord Chief Justice Parker went through extraordinary antics in order to try to perjure the result of the trial. According to Knightley and Kennedy's *An affair of State*, the judge in the case, Mr Justice Marshall, was overheard in conversation with 'a person very high up in the judiciary', who asked: 'Are you certain that you'll be able to get him?' Marshall replied: 'Don't worry, I'll get him on the immoral earnings charge.' Similarly, Lord Denning appears to have been told that Ward was telling the truth when he asserted that he was an MI5 agent, but Denning omitted this vital information from his Report and asserted instead that Ward was a crypto-Communist. The fact that all this judicial bad behaviour should occur in connection with a trial which was of enormous importance to the government of the day is, to say the least, fishy.

Judges are not merely appointed and promoted by politicians but come from the same class, frequently attended the same schools and universities, and belong to the same clubs and Masonic Lodges. A quiet word in the right ear from time to time is normal behaviour for members of the human race, and despite occasional appearances to the contrary, judges are members of the human race.

The *Spycatcher* ruling merely confirms that it will be no good bringing a bill of rights (which will have to be interpreted by the judiciary) unless we also do something about our judges. Bluntly, a good number of them need to be sacked or forcibly retired. The judicial retirement age of 75 needs to be lowered by at least ten years. And if we are to have a politically-appointed judiciary, let them be recruited from outside the ranks of barristers and their appointment be made the exclusive prerogative of the Parliamentary Opposition.

The British quality press is an institution in which we can take greater national pride than we can in our judges; the former is still the best in the world. We must not let the bad drive out the good.

The whole quality press is now under judicial attack: the only papers to behave the way the Law Lords want are the *Express*, *Mail* and *Sun*. Best of all is the *Sun*; at every stage of the Wright affair it has abused Wright, praised the Government and applauded the judges. Indeed, the *Sun* could be said to be the judges' paper. Unlike the quality press, it has never attracted the adverse attention of the Law Lords or Lords Denning or the Attorney-General. Sure, it invents news; that's OK. Sure, its election coverage consisted of Page Three girls wearing Tory rosettes on — well, you can guess where. True, it featured articles by Joseph Stalin ('Why I'm voting Labour') and Winston Churchill ('Why I'm voting for Maggie'). The actual

authorship of these articles may be controversial but no complaint has been received from Messrs Stalin and Churchill, so the *Sun* is legally in clear. In any case, the *Sun* is owned by Rupert Murdoch, who unswervingly supports Mrs Thatcher and is exceedingly rich. The *Sun* is the *Sun* Newspaper of the Year, say Lord Lords. I Could Really Drop My Knickers For Those Cuddly Judges, says Page Three Linda. Those Law Lords in Spanking Form Again, says Same Fox, see Centre Pages.

Peter Wright is watching all this from far away. I hope he's enjoying it — and reflecting upon it. Throughout his career he chased down Communists and pinkoes because they subverted the Establishment he held dear. He has now demonstrated that what they could do was as nothing compared to the subversive power of letting just some of the truth. Let's hope he tells us more.

— *London Review of Books*

Sex for secrets

An Indian official is caught in the leaking act

Salamat Ali

NEW DELHI

For the second time in three years, the Indian intelligence community has been rocked by a spy scandal. A senior official in the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) — the country's external intelligence agency — has confessed that he passed on sensitive security information to a foreign power.

Although the foreign power has not been officially identified, 47-year-old K. V. Unnikrishnan, a deputy inspector general of police on secondment to RAW, had allegedly leaked secrets of India's dealings with Sri Lankan Tamil insurgents to a US agent.

Unnikrishnan's activities were revealed shortly before New Delhi and Colombo signed a peace accord on 29 July to end the

Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka. Since then the RAW leadership has been engaged in changing its secret codes and communications procedures, in addition to reviewing all other aspects of its work which have been compromised.

Before his arrest, Unnikrishnan headed the RAW's operation in Madras and was directly in charge of Indian dealings with Sri Lankan Tamil militants based in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Although he was not part of the decision-making apparatus, as field coordinator of Tamil militants he was privy to most of the details of the secret negotiations involving New Delhi, Colombo and the militant Tamil groups.

Authorities began to suspect a major leak in the RAW set-up

when Indian negotiators were repeatedly disconcerted during their talks with Sri Lankan officials, who seemed to know in advance details of New Delhi's discussions with the Madras-based Tamil rebels. New Delhi was also surprised that Colombo had detailed knowledge of clandestine arms shipments received by the insurgents and all the weapons India had confiscated from the Tamil guerrillas.

In mid-1985, when India brought Colombo and the militants together for peace talks in the Bhutanese capital of Thimpu, it discovered that the militants' negotiating strategy and the Indian view of it had been leaked to Sri Lanka. Last year, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appointed P. Chidambaram, a junior minister, as his special representative for

talks with Colombo. Shuttling from New Delhi to Madras and Colombo, Chidambaram began a series of talks. What had transpired between him and the militants in Madras was usually known to the Sri Lanka by the time Chidambaram reached Colombo.

One pointer to the likely source of the leaks was the Tamil militants' complaint that Unnikrishnan was playing a divisive role by carrying tales between their various Madras-based groups wondering loudly if he was truly acting on New Delhi's policies as they understood them.

Unnerved by the leaks and unsure of their source, the RAW leadership mounted a massive counter-intelligence operation. It placed almost the entire senior strata of the Tamil Nadu police force and other related Madras-based officials, including Unnikrishnan, under surveillance. For months, these officials' offices and homes were bugged, their telephones were tapped and their movements monitored.

* * *

The documents, photographs and other other materials gathered in the counter-espionage operation narrowed the search to Unnikrishnan by mid-year. Ironically by then his name had been recommended to the Prime Minister's Office for promotion. Earlier he had turned down an option to join the regular cadre of the RAW, preferring to remain in his parent police service while on deputation to the intelligence outfit. By the mid-1980s he was the RAW's top field officer in Madras coordinating Sri Lankan affairs.

Confronted with the incriminating evidence, Unnikrishnan is said to have confessed his spying activities. During a tenure in Colombo as the RAW's representative six years ago, he had become friendly with an unnamed US consular official and, together with him, engaged in several extra-marital affairs with unidentified women. Despite these sexual escapades, he was apparently a henpecked husband and his alleged

American contact knew that Unnikrishnan was mortally afraid of his wife.

After his return to India, he was briefly stationed in New Delhi before moving to Madras. Some time in 1985, a woman describing herself as a stewardess with Pan American Airways telephoned him from Bombay to say that his American consular friend had told her to contact him if she felt lonely. Unnikrishnan flew from Madras to Bombay and a liaison developed between the two. During 1985-86, she gave him complimentary air tickets to fly to Singapore. During those jaunts in Singapore, compromising photographs of the stewardess and her lover were taken.

Some time early last year, an American official based in New Delhi flew to Madras and confronted Unnikrishnan with the photographs. The RAW man was trapped and is known to have agreed to cooperate with the American, who later made Madras his own base of operations.

According to the authoritative fortnightly magazine *India Today*, the American quietly slipped out

of India when Unnikrishnan failed to show up for two pre-arranged meetings — after he was arrested in Madras some time in the middle of the year. Although official sources have asserted that Unnikrishnan's controller was an American diplomat, it is not clear to which US agency he belonged. The implication of the revelations so far is that the Americans were passing on Unnikrishnan's information to Colombo for about 18 months preceding his arrest.

As a civil servant, Unnikrishnan could not be sacked or demoted without an open legal hearing. But New Delhi invoked Article 311 of the Indian Constitution to dispense with the legal requirements on the grounds that national security was involved. An open trial would have brought to light more than India is prepared to admit in respect to the insurgency in Sri Lanka. As in the cases of other spies, his trial would be in camera, possibly at the high-security Tihar Jail in the capital. And no details of the trial proceedings are likely to be made public except the sentence passed.

— *Far Eastern Economic Review*

No C.I.A. de-stabilisation

— *Shultz assures Rajiv*

WASHINGTON

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said Vice President George Bush had assured him the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had not tried to undercut his government.

Gandhi, in a television interview denied newspaper reports that he had accused the CIA of trying to undermine him, but said foreign agencies do operate in India. 'Vice President Bush did talk to me today and he assured me that the CIA was not involved in any such activity in India,' Gandhi said. He made the comment in an interview tape recorded before he left Washington on Tuesday night to return to India.

Asked about the newspaper reports, he said: 'I have not suggested that. That has been an interpretation that newspapers have given. So let me correct that first.'

He was also asked if he had been concerned about any 'foreign hand' influence, particularly from the United States, undermining his government.

'No, the foreign hand, again is a newspaper term,' he replied. 'But to say that there is no involvement of foreign agencies in India would be absolutely wrong.'

Gandhi also said India had not tilted towards the Soviet Union and away from the West.

(Continued on page 28)

COPSITU Memo to Ronnie

1. The Conference of public Service Independent Trade Unions is a Federation of 30 Unions in the public Service and the Federation is pleased to bring to your kind notice some of the hopes and aspirations of the public servants of this country.

2. We congratulate you on the manner in which the financial management of the country was handled during the past ten years. This effective financial management has been appreciated and admired by some of the global financial institutions and we are deeply proud of it.

3. Development of Human Resources

During recent years the main thrust of financial allocation has been on capital investment and little or no priority has been given to human resources development. It is essential that equal attention and allocation be provided to human resources without which no other resources can be developed. It is our considered opinion that investment on human resources will pay richer dividends.

4. The need for increase in salaries

There are about 407,000 public servants in Sri Lanka and they are by far the lowest paid employees when compared to other sectors like the Mercantile and Banks. This anomaly has been spotlighted even by the World Bank.

A revision of the salaries paid to public servants had not been done for more than a decade and the appointment of the Administrative Reforms Committee was due to the clamour by the Public Sector Trade Unions.

We wish to point out that on a Family Budget prepared by the COPSITU on statistical surveys conducted, a middle class family consisting of 5 members requires approximately Rs. 4880 per month to provide their basic necessities as shown below:

	Rs.
Food	— 2,500
Shelter	— 1,845
Clothing	— 315
Miscellaneous	— 220
	4,880

A survey undertaken by the COPSITU on indebtedness among public servants reveals that 50 per cent of the public servants' take home pay is only 58 per cent of their salaries.

It is evident that public servants are unable to meet their household expenses and thereby resort to loans to exist. It would be seen that the public servants are far below subsistence level.

We would therefore strongly urge the Government to implement the recommendations made by us to the Administrative Reforms Committee in respect of salaries in the forthcoming budget as this will go a long way to relieve the hardships and

frustrations faced by the public servants. This will in turn improve productivity and help to have a contented public service.

5. Permanent monitoring body

It is our view that the Administrative Reforms Committee be allowed to continue functioning under His Excellency the President for the following purposes:

1. To monitor the proper implementation of the proposals recommended (by the ARC).
2. To implement fresh proposals that may be considered necessary to increase the efficiency and the productivity of the public service.
3. To have the salaries and cadre requirements of the public service under constant review.

Mahendra de Alwis
Secretary COPSITU

Forced into a hole

*Am I being forced into an unwilling hole
By this disconcerting chase of murder
If Peace were assured, I would forget.
How much could I tolerably contain
Without a greater crime being hatched.
How long could I forgive myself
When wound after wound rips open
Not only an already disfigured body
But also needling my last uninjured nerve
Inviting a kind of mental gangrene.
How convulsive can this killing fit get
Despite the hymn of reassuring principles
That picture me as being almost cured and well.
Voices reach me from an inaccessible summit
(Busy arranging another move?)
While, if I do not succumb to a surrendered mine
Or a wholly one sided machine gun spray
I torment myself every brutal minute
Searching for the sense of a futuristic accord
That is to reconstitute my fragmented mind.*

— Tilak A. Gunawardhana.

A national alternative—how?

If we are to believe the Congress leaders, anybody attempting to pull the Rajiv Gandhi Government down is helping destabilisation. Strictly walking in the footsteps of the old French emperor who declared "after me, the deluge" and following the British rulers according to whom the end of their rule would plunge India into chaos, the present-day Congress leaders assure us that India without them at the helm would go to rack and ruin.

On the other hand, there are the BJP leaders and their supporters in the media according to whom there cannot be a national alternative to the Congress unless the BJP is an active partner in the national combination. Those who do not accept this position are denounced as the "agents of Rajiv Gandhi."

Is there even a grain of truth in either of these two propositions? A look at the political history of India since independence and the present political situation in the country would show that there is not.

Basis for destabilisation

First about destabilisation. It is neither a bogey created by the Congress (as is asserted by the BJP and its friends) nor is it a danger which has been out in check by the Congress rulers (as the latter claim). Destabilisation is a reality today. It was, in fact, written into the very process of the division of India into the two warring states of the Indian Union and Pakistan.

Nobody was so conscious of this as Mahatma Gandhi who had declared that the vivisection of India was like the vivisection of his own body. Seeing the tragedy associated with partition — millions slaughtered, property worth several crores looted, hun-

dreds of women raped, etc. — he was so heartbroken that he "prayed to the Almighty" to take him from "this vale of tears". That was the source of stabilisation, the assassination of the Mahatma being a portent of what would happen to free India if these forces were given free rein.

The question is whether the Mahatma's ardent followers who took over the reins of administration in free India learnt the lesson of the communal venom injected into the hearts and minds of the millions — Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs; did they realise that this would prove a danger to national unity, the danger which will culminate in the destabilisation of the Indian Union? Have they taken adequate measures to wean the people away from the communal venom of the Hindu, Muslim and other varieties?

Without going into the past (which is no doubt necessary), let us confine ourselves here to an examination of some of the most recent developments in the country.

The recent happenings in the Deorala village in Rajasthan — the ghastly murder of an 18-year

What is the real nature of the destabilisation Challenge in India? Why is communal venom still at large? Why is there so much division and why so much damage to national unity and cohesion? What is to be done about all this? And underlying all these questions, what are the imperatives behind the search for a national alternative to the Congress (I)? E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), presents a detailed Left analysis.

old widow in the name of the ritual performance of Sati — shows that, far from taking India into the 21st century as he claims to be doing, our Prime Minister is taking the country at least 150 years back. I am referring to the legal abolition of the practice of Sati by the then British Governor-General, Lord Bentinck. It was the pressure of the enlightened public opinion in India itself, combined with the liberal traditions in British society, that made the Governor-General enact a law prohibiting the inhuman practice.

Today, however, that atrocious ritual is being resurrected under the 'benign' rule of a Congress Chief Minister, supported of course by the leaders of some (non-Left) Opposition parties. Reports have appeared in the media that in what was claimed to be the willing self-sacrifice of the young woman, she was physically pushed into the fire even when she was trying to get out of it. This sadistic practice enacted in a Congress-ruled State plus the ongoing efforts to build a "Sati Mata temple" in defence of which young men with naked swords have been marching shows the extent to which religious

Sanatanaism can go. The Chief Minister and his colleagues of this Congress-ruled State as well as the leaders of some Opposition parties who are behind these reprehensible deeds are doing nothing less than bring up new Hindu versions of Bhindrawale. Can the Prime Minister Party President who has not taken any effective political-organisational measures to isolate the organisers of such inhuman practices defend the country against destabilisation?

Take, again, what happened to the just cause of the poor Muslim women in whose defence one of the Prime Minister's Ministerial colleagues, Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan, resigned his office. Are the Muslim fundamentalists who demanded the "sacred right" for their men to do what they like with their women any the less deserving of condemnation than the perpetrators of the Sati crime in Rajasthan? In both cases, the essence of the crime is the same — oppression of women in the name of religion. In one case, it is claimed to have the sanction of the Hindu scriptures, while the other is supposed to have the blessings of the Holy Prophet. Can any secular democratic individual, group or party compromise with such use of religion in defence of inhuman rites and rituals?

Opportunistic alliances

Then comes the electoral alliance with the caste and communal forces forged in the first State where the Congress was electorally replaced (Kerala). It is full 27 years since it was knocked together by the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Congress President Indira Gandhi. That alliance still continues under Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who is now Prime Minister and Congress President, even though a subcommittee set up by him after the recent elections in Kerala (with Mr. Durbara Singh as chairman) is reported to have recommended that it should be ended. (The recommendation, of course, remains on paper).

I have given here only three instances to show that the party

which claims to be fighting the forces of destabilisation is, in fact, the agency which has been fostering these very forces of destabilisation. Is it not unrealistic therefore to talk of fighting destabilisation without fighting the fosterfather of those forces of destabilisation?

Defence of national unity

We who have been fighting the Congress for nearly four decades have criticised and continue to criticise it on several counts — economic, political and socio-cultural. There is, however, no more damning indictment of almost 40 years of Congress rule than the fact that the national unity and cohesion built over decades of anti-imperialist struggle lies shattered today. A fresh effort is, therefore, required to reforge the unity on a new basis.

Can this be done? My answer is that it can be done provided we recapture the moral-political values which constituted the common tradition of the anti-imperialist movement since the 1930s. What are these common values of the anti-imperialist movement?

There is, first, the sense of anti-imperialist solidarity with the freedom-loving peoples all over the world. Revolutionary upsurges in other countries inspired our freedom fighters; so did our struggles strike a sympathetic chord among the freedom fighters of other countries. Solidarity with and mutual assistance to the freedom fighters of all countries is, in other words, one of the most valuable traditions built by our freedom movement.

The second moral political value to which our freedom movement dedicated itself was the commitment to serve the common people. At least from the days of the Gandhian dedication to the service of "Daridra Narayan" and the modern socialist communist movements commitment to the struggles of the workers and peasants as the major force in the struggle of freedom, our movement has been intimately

associated with the objective of liberation — economic as well as socio-political — for the common people.

Thirdly, and following from the above, was the idea that, while the immediate objective of the freedom movement was the attainment of freedom for the country from the British rulers, India should steadily march towards socialism and be friends with those countries who, having secured freedom from colonial rule, started reorganising the socio-economic life of their respective countries, making it possible for the working people to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

Forging unity

Above all, it was the freedom movement which, for the first time in the millennia-old history of the country, made a united people out of the scores of castes, several religious communities, over a dozen distinct linguistic-cultural groups, etc., making them all a single Indian nation. While the earlier Indian society was dominated by the caste and other divisive forces, and while the British rulers who followed unified the nation with their swords and guns, it was the freedom movement which, through its determined struggle forged the unity of the Indian people, built up the Indian nation.

Using these moral political values as the yardstick with which to assess the performance of free India, let us note with satisfaction that free India continued to be in solidarity with the fighting anti-imperialist peoples throughout the world. The Government's foreign policy of world peace, anti-colonialism, non-alignment and cooperation with the socialist powers, though pursued with some twists and turns on occasions, has ensured for the country an honourable place among the fighting nations of world.

Barring this achievement of which we can well be proud, the performance of free India has regrettably been far from

satisfactory—to put it very mildly. Freedom has not meant the ending of the socio-economic exploitation to which the toiling millions have for centuries been subjects. Even the most ardent supporters of the ruling Congress Party will admit that the result of the planning process undertaken by the Government of free India has meant that, while a handful of the rich have been enabled to become richer and richer, the mass of the common people are being rendered poorer and poorer.

Framework for an alternative

It is from this analysis of the developments that took place during the four decades of independence that a pattern of the national alternative emerges. The alternative, let me make it clear, is not based on the mechanical coming together of a few parties or political groups in the Opposition from the Left to the right, as is suggested in some quarters. In fact, it is not a question of who—which parties and groups—would constitute the national alternative but what the alternative is intended to achieve. For example:

In foreign relations, the national alternative would carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and pro-socialist world policies pursued by the Congress party since the latter half of the 1920s and which since the mid-Fifties, developed into the present day nonaligned movement of which the Government of India has been an active participant. In this sense, the alternative policy in foreign relations would in essence be the same as that pursued by all the Prime Ministers so far. However, since the Left parties have a relatively more clear-cut understanding of and approach to world politics in the present era of humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism, they will continue to fight the vacillations that occur in the Government's anti-imperialism and commitment to the nonaligned movement.

Crucial in this connection is the economic aspect of foreign policy which is moulded, among other things, by the increasing collaboration between the Indian monopolies and multi-nationals. Out of this arises the Government's increasing dependence on the World Bank, the IMF and private multinationals. This poses a danger not only to the economic independence and sovereignty of our nation but exercises its baneful influence on foreign policy. There is, in fact, an intimate connection between the vacillations shown by the Government on foreign policy questions and the growing collaboration between the Indian and foreign monopoly capitalists.

Disastrous are also such internal policies of economic development which involve a number of compromises with feudal elements. The Left parties have made a basic critique of path of planned development along capitalist lines (though it is given the name of socialism) which has been the essence of the five-year Plans from its earlier days. The Left parties would therefore continue to fight for an alternative path of socioeconomic development for the country—a path which has been concretely spelt out in their critiques of the various five-year Plans which were formulated by the Planning Commission and Government. While continuing that struggle, the Left parties would cooperate with all other secular democratic forces in working out a more modest set of demands as was outlined in the consensus document of the Calcutta conclave of secular Opposition parties in January 1984.

The same all-India Opposition parties agreed at an earlier conclave held in Srinagar (October 1983) in working out a consensus document on Centre-State relations. They were successful (though this document) in steering clear of centralisation at the expense of State autonomy (as is demanded by the Congress, the BJP, etc.) and of State autonomy at the expense of national unity (as had originally been demanded by some regional parties

who, however, agreed at the Srinagar conference to the consensus document).

The two consensus documents of the Srinagar and Calcutta conference thus constitute a set of policies which are alternative to those of the Congress. Furthermore, in evolving that set of alternative policies, none of the caste or communal organisations or parties (including the BJP) was involved. They, therefore, provide a graphic example of that Left and secular democratic alternative to the Congress for which the Left Parties have been fighting.

Continuing struggle

The development of this Left and secular democratic alternative, however, is not a mere electoral process. On the other hand it is the forging of militant mass actions: a continuing struggle against obscurantist belief and practices such as untouchability, Sati and other forms of oppression on women, untouchability and other forms of oppression on backward castes—in fact, every manifestation of the outdated customs and manners which stand in the way of modernising the socio-cultural life, economy and polity. The battle for modernisation inaugurated over a century and a half ago by such stalwarts as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and others in Bengal and which reared the first generation of social reformers should be carried forward and made an integral part of cultural and political life. This would inevitably set the Left parties against all manifestations of fundamentalism and revivalism—Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh.

This struggle on the socio-cultural plane would be fully integrated with the militant actions on the socio-economic issues for which the initiative is being taken by the trade unions and other militant mass organisations. The Left-led mass organisations have already taken the initiative for this.

(Continued on page 28)

GREAT 'RESEARCH' DEBATE

Hawking conspiracy theories

Andare

This time the gloves seem to be well and truly off. If Kautilya has been (so far at least unsuccessfully) trying to promote a good old punch-up between the protagonists and antagonists of ethnic populism (ethno-pop for short), readers of 'The Island' last Sunday were treated to a good old-fashioned hatchet job on the antagonists. The venue was the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies. The assailant was Susantha Goonatilake, Director of Research at the People's Bank and perhaps more to the point, some time President of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Goonatilake's thesis is that a disproportionate sum of money is disbursed annually for research to a handful of institutes, centres, foundations and some interest groups, whereas the local universities get only a small piece of the cake. While the universities have qualified and skilled research and other personnel those employed by the other agencies are sometimes not even up to scratch, he alleges. He also alleges that funds are disbursed on grounds of bureaucratic, class and religious considerations while those who have access to the cocktail circuit and peripatetic academic pale faces have a greater chance of getting on board the gravy train.

Showdown

Admittedly this is not Dr. Goonatilake's language. Being a good little academic he bandies such jargon as 'broad world system analysis' and 'formally generating interpretative material.' But it is necessary to first recognise that what we are witnessing is a right royal squabble among what Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam (himself no stranger to the tribe) called 'Colombo's incestuous intelligentsia.' At last the chips are down. The gloves

are off. The highbrows have come out of their corners.

The situation that Dr. Goonatilake complains about owes much to the present enervation of the universities. Tied down by bureaucratic taboos and weighed down by a paternalistic structure, the universities are just not agile enough when it comes to the academic rat race for funding. Their place has been taken by what Dr. Goonatilake has called 'the private research industry.' What many people fail to see is that the open market economy and the liberalisation of trade acted as a catalyst not merely to the capitalist class. It also provided a shot in the arm to the academic mandarins of the private sector (as against the university sector). There was a free availability of funds and the situation was made even more congenial by the burgeoning National Question. Here was a ready-made and prepackaged issue for their researches. So the carnival was on.

Dr. Goonatilake's grouse is that this 'research industry' is almost entirely monopolised by the Colombo centred liberal/radical intelligentsia whose eggheads and a few increasing bevy of academic cuties can be seen flitting from the ICES to the Centre (for Society and Religion, of course), from MIRIE to Satyodaya and so on. There was incidentally a significant omission from the normally alert Dr. Goonatilake's list — the Social Scientists' Association. Anyway the main characteristic of these bodies according to him — a characteristic from which his other complaints derive — is strong interlocking of directorates, or of influential positions and a very tight network of informal contacts. What he means in other words in layman's language is that the same people are everywhere and know the same

people both here and abroad. In other words the incestuous nature of the inbred Colombo intelligentsia again.

But how far is Dr. Goonatilake correct when he sees this as a sinister conspiracy, an academic mafia which has been able to manipulate the collective Western mind about the nature of what is called the 'ethnic crisis.' Given the 'broadly humanitarian orientation' of this elite (Dr. G's own words), it was perhaps inevitable that they should have taken up the position that they did. What seems to have pained the former SLAAS President is that 'Sinhala chauvinism' has been identified as the main culprit. Dr. Goonatilake, fairminded man that he is, ready to admit that there was Sinhala chauvinism, but says is the same breach that there was Tamil chauvinism, too. But I am afraid that this is just not good enough. The Sinhala intelligentsia has to squarely face up to the chauvinistic hysteria which has been gripping this country for some time and has even unbalanced certain intellectual attitudes and the Sinhalese have to do this first if only because they constitute more of the population. 'Sinhala, of course, but Tamil also' is a formulation which smacks of intellectual cowardice.

Intellectual Cowardice

Couched in scholarly language though it is, Dr. Goonatilake's thesis is another manifestation of a malaise we have been quite familiar with after July 1983. Just as our insular politicians and their cohorts were complaining about the bad international press which Sri Lanka received and were saying that 'we have no friends now,' Dr. Goonatilake says that an academic mafia has prevented foreign funding from coming into areas which they do not approve of.

Note carefully that Dr. G. admits that 'if you are an upper middle-class academic with extensive foreign contacts (like say myself) it would be easier to cultivate these sources and get foreign funds either for yourself or your friends.' (No false modesty here.)

So it is all a question of funds — who gets what part of the cake. As Dr. Goonatilake well knows foreign funding and the seminar and conference games have become accepted institutions of the 20th Century.

If you can't get funds for yourself and your friends and travel about frequently flitting from this seminar to that conference, you are just not worth your academic salt.

Your academic excellence is to be measured by the number of airline tags on your briefcase.

This vain intellectual exercise has been brilliantly satirised by David Lodge (no mean player of the game himself) in his novel 'Small World.'

Neo-colonialist Embrace

Dr. Goonatilake's thesis is the best illustration that Sri Lanka's academia will not be able to do with the foreign embrace for a very long, long more time to come.

Those who lament most stridently that the open market economy has locked Sri Lanka irrevocably into the neo-capitalist world system do not perhaps realise that the research industry has tightened the foreign embrace on Sri Lanka's intelligentsia.

In the lean and ascetic days of the United Front, I remember Dr. Senaka Bandaranayake complaining about the intellectual neo-colonialism of foreign academics who came here to blithely lift the research material of local scholars and reproduce them as their own.

Today with foreign funding, our academics can do their own thing and perhaps as Dr. G. complains, tailor it to suit ingrained intellectual attitudes in the West. But what is the answer?

To hawk conspiracy theories? Or to broadbase the network of funding so that the universities and sections more truly representative of the indigenous ethos than the Colombo intellectual establishment will be drawn in?

SG Vs SAREC HURIDOC, et. al.

Jayadeva

Wednesday last week, my good friend Andare said all that needs to be said about Dr. Susantha Gunatilake's "Foundation Lecture", and said it very well, in the right tone and style. I have little to add, except by way of meekly voicing the difficulties, doubts and misgivings arising from my own reading of Dr. Goonatilake's two-part article.

Some of these are probably attributable to both my dullness of apprehension and my lack of expertise in the field of ethnic research and foreign relations pertaining thereto. However, I need no excuse for revealing them: unlike Dr. Goonatilake, I cannot claim membership of the "upper middle class" academic League; my horizons are firmly circumscribed by my rural lower middle-class or literate peasantry status. And my foreign contacts, alas, are strictly limited to the white (or sometimes pink) faces that come and go at the British Council and the American Center. Nothing intimate, of course. Only the view from the last row.

Now to my problems, several of which, I am sure, will be shared by other common readers like me. First, I found myself drowning in a flood of acronyms and anagrams. SAREC, NOVIB, NORAD, IDRC, CIDA, NARESA, MIRJE, CROPP, HURIDOC — what on earth do they stand for? Are they fish, flesh or fowl — or mythic beings from a Steven Spielberg fairy tale? (Come to think of it, SAREC and HURIDOC would make a nice pair, in the vein of ARTOODETOO and SEETHREEPIO. One fat, the other thin. Must drop a note to Spielberg.)

Dr. Susantha Goonatilake (SG hereafter) offers no succour to the distressed and the uninitiated. His referential domain is vast and he has no time to waste on the likes of us who are groping for initial bearings. I turn the following Sunday to RS and RC of CRD. They are no more sympathetic — HURIDOC is glossed, but the contraction remains. And there's no one to ask. You can imagine how frustrated I feel as

the true extent of my ignorance dawns upon me. But I press on bravely, skirting the abbreviations as best I can, much in the manner that I have been doing these many years past with TESL, TOEFL, TESOL, ESP, STEL, RFU and similar teasers plentifully brought forth by practitioners of the English teaching game.

The fact is that I am hugely interested in SG's subject which, broadly speaking, has to do with research, the funding of research and the uses of research. It's a subject that has been around for some time. SG's own declared focus on it — the external funding of domestic research is not new either. Just a couple of years ago, it received extensive treatment in the pages of the Divaina attracting contributions from diverse sources, without however leading in any useful direction. All I recall from that prolonged exchange is a welter of untidy emotions, misunderstandings and insinuations expressed in increasingly intemperate language. Acronyms didn't figure in it, but personalities did.

It was therefore with much hope that I picked up SG's article. I brightened as I read the preamble:

"My emphasis will however be primarily on the material written in English and generated by formal centres of analysis of the ethnic problem and which are referred to abroad. It is this material that interphases with the World System and is therefore of interest to us."

Very promising indeed, although I wouldn't have used "interphase" in this context for all the project money in the world. I was also buoyed up by the credentials of the writer who, one gathers, is a man of science, and a former President of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science, no less. Naturally, my expectations were high. Here at last, I thought, was a man who was going to give me a rational, ordered picture of the universe of research funding, and the political and cultural implications of such foreign supported enterprises located in our country.

Alas once more. I'm in for a severe disappointment. I search in vain for examples and evaluations of "the material written in English and generated by formal centres of analysis." I cannot find even a single brief quotation. It cannot be, I tell myself, that such material is "classified" and hence inaccessible to researchers, for as SG himself informs us, "the material interphases with the World System" (whatever that may be.) That is to say, the literature produced by these centres is not meant for restricted circulation. Even if the "new Third World mandarins" shield their writings from native gaze, there are no bars to our extracting whatever we want from the "World System."

Why then doesn't SG go to the primary sources, I ask myself. Why doesn't SG show us concrete instances of how the deracinated eggheads who populate these centres and hold the reins of the burgeoning "research industry" actually shape opinion? Now I

don't doubt SG's word that they influence opinion but I would dearly love to know just how they do it. Do they pander to the entrenched perceptions of their overseas patrons and sponsors? And even more disturbingly, do they dare distort the truth? Do they mask certain facts and highlight others in an endeavour to maintain the lines of funding? In short, what is the quality of their research?

These are some of the questions that I imagined SG would take up and answer in a scientific manner, for the enlightenment of his audience at the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies and subsequently for the benefit of the readers of this newspaper (which, I should add in passing, has from its inception been a hospitable forum for dissent and discussion). Instead of treating these substantial issues, SG rides off in several directions at the same time, kicking up a lot of dust which settles on everybody around including himself.

Had he stuck to his original self-assigned brief, and stayed on course, SG could have thrown valuable light on the formation of intellectual and cultural values, and helped us to understand some of the less visible processes at work in our society, and in societies similar to ours.

Consider, for instance, the very intellectual concept of research, a concept by which academics and universities set great store. No research, as far as I am aware, is totally and absolutely objective or disinterested. Every act of research, big or small, internally or externally funded, is governed by a viewpoint, or a worldview if you wish. Furthermore, every act of genuine research starts with a hypothesis, crude or refined depending on the nature of the subject and the calibre of the researcher. (I stress GENUINE, because much that passes for research among the Sinhala intelligentsia is hardly more than clusters of raw data lacking both structure and direction. (Research, in other words, is not analogous to picking up

a mammoth, and digging randomly for cultural artifacts as convenient sites.

Research, though always connected to a viewpoint, and structured by a hypothesis, can and does show varying degrees of honesty and accuracy. Obviously, if the researcher discards or suppresses facts that are contrary to his hypothesis, then he is being dishonest. If, on the other hand, the researcher clarifies and refashions his hypothesis in the light of factual evidence, he is true to his calling. Indeed, he may even question his own viewpoint in the perspective of his discoveries. The point is fundamental and needs no further emphasis. Equally, we ought to be aware of the aims and objectives of the research funding agencies. SG, I am glad to note, is alive to this matter. He lists these.

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Mendis — Flamboyant batsman

Sunil Gavaskar

Way back in 1974 an Indian team led by Ajit Wadekar made a tour of Sri Lanka. Those were the days when Sri Lanka was striving to attain Test status and so the two "Tests" we played were unofficial ones. I had had the pleasure of touring Sri Lanka earlier with the Indian universities team in 1970 and had made some friends who were fanatic about the game. When we arrived in 1974 these friends informed me of the up and coming players in Sri Lanka. The two names they mentioned were Duleep Mendis and Roy Dias. The same names were mentioned by Milind Rege who had toured with another team earlier on. Of course, Milind was more impressed by the classical style of Roy Dias because Milind appreciates that kind of batting more than the flamboyant style that is the hallmark of Mendis.

A year later in 1975 Sri Lanka returned the visit to play three "Tests" and other games. Anura Tennakoon, their captain, was their best batsman, with David Heyn as his principal support. Mendis and Dias did not have a great tour nor did the other batsmen. The wicket turned square from the first day and batsmen of either side were living on borrowed time. Thus the last two "Tests" became low-scoring matches where the bowlers dominated and the results were close. India won that unofficial "Test" series and it was a long time before India and Sri Lanka were to meet in a five-day encounters.

In the meanwhile the two World Cups had taken place and Sri Lanka had beaten India in their game in 1979. That was the game where a young budding Kapil Dev was harshly treated by Sri Lankan batsmen, particularly Mendis in the slog overs. Mendis effortlessly swung him over the ropes at midwicket

and moved from his stumps to slash him over point repeatedly. The shots were struck with immense power and even the sluggish soggy outfield had to bow down under pressure from the red leather spheroid projected from the English willow of a Sri Lanka batsman. Mendis just toyed with our bowling that day and from there started his domination of the Indian bowling which was halted only in the last series in India when, for the first time, he did not score a century and, in fact, played no significant innings on the tour. That was, perhaps, the reason that Sri Lanka fared badly, because even Dias failed to contribute his usual quota of runs. These two players have been the scourge of the Indian bowling ever since Sri Lanka got its Test status.

In 1982, Sri Lanka made its first official tour of India. They were to play one Test and three one-day Internationals. In the one-day Internationals they were blasted by a batsman called Srikanth who scored two 90s and another 50 plus innings in the three one-day innings that he played. India won the one-day series quite comfortably thanks mainly to Srikanth's batting, but on each occasion the Sri Lankans had set the Indians a very stiff target which only Srikanth's batting made look easy. Dias dominated the batting for Sri Lanka in these games, batting with great style and fluency, making old timers recall the elegance of late Sir Frank Worrell. Mendis played the odd forceful innings, but it was really Dias who stole the show as far as the Sri Lankans were concerned.

Sandwiched between these one-dayers was the only Test match of the tour. Here too Dias was in great form, but the man of the match was Mendis. He scored

105 in the first innings and exactly the same score in the second, thus becoming the first Sri Lankan to score a century in each inning of a Test match. The wicket was hard and bouncy and Kapil was able to get a fair amount of bounce from the wicket. If that was a plus point, the weather was a big minus. In fact, if one was to ask the bowler (especially a quick bowler) to bowl a sixth consecutive over there was the possibility of being charged for cruelty to humans. As a batsman Mendis took the easy way out, simply clobbering (and that is the apt word) our bowling for boundaries. Thus there was not much occasion to run singles and twos and feel the intense heat.

His knock in the second innings virtually saved Sri Lanka for they were trying to wipe out a first innings lead and then scoring enough to make India bat again. Sri Lanka not only saved the games, but also had us on the run when we lost wickets at regular intervals. We had to put up the shutters to try and avoid an impending defeat. That was, perhaps, the first instance of India making a mess of a run-chase and invariable the mess seems to occur at the Chidambaram Stadium in Madras. May be it is the heat in Madras which makes even theolest heads go haywire, at least Indian cricketers' heads.

Duleeps' next act of glory was almost a repeat of the Madras Test. Sri Lanka were playing a Test in England for the first time and this Test was going to be a sort of relief for English players because they had just been completely blanked out by West Indies in the five Test series. They were in for a surprise. After having been ground by Sidath Wettimuny they were simply taken apart by Mendis. The English bowlers tried to bounce him out

imagining that to be a weakness in his batting. Instead they found that the deliveries were being hit to all corners of the ground. Botham bounced and found the ball sailing over the fence. His glares turned into shrugs and then to pleas for help from his teammates who were enjoying the whole thing and instead grinned back at him. Duleep got a hundred and then in the second innings looked set to get another. Typically he tried to reach it with a six instead of bushing the ball for singles and twos and was caught in the deep hooking Botham's short delivery. Botham had won at last, but at what cost!

That was Duleep's match again and thereafter he has been the batsman the opposition wants to get out. He has been captaining Sri Lanka ever since. Sri Lankan cricket went through its crisis with a majority of the players going to play in South Africa. As captain he has led the team with personal example and his players have responded favourably to the leadership. He is leading Sri Lanka campaign in the Reliance Cup being one of the few players to play in his fourth World Cup. He is familiar with the conditions on the sub-continent and so are his players. It would be interesting to see how he and his men fare in this championship for while they were inexperienced cricketers earlier on they can no longer be called so now. They will not be the pushovers the everybody thinks they will and Duleep Mendis's role will be the crucial one in their campaign. Professional Management Group. ●

No C.I.A. . .

(Continued from page 18)

'We have not tilted toward the Soviet Union at any time' Gandhi said. 'We have been very friendly with them. We have a lot of trade with them. We buy a fair amount of our military equipment from them but not all...

'But we don't tilt toward the Soviet Union', he said. 'We're very independent'.

President Reagan has urged India and Pakistan to intensify talks on issues including control of nuclear weapons, but Gandhi indicated on Tuesday and again in the television interview that he was unwilling to talk to Pakistan.

'The issue is not only Pakistan,' he said. 'We've got China just to the north. We've got the Indian Ocean which is full of nuclear forces to the south.

'With Pakistan, we tried a number of things,' he said. 'We proposed at least 15 different things from nuclear to economic to culture, everything.

'But we just get no response from them. They talk well, then they go back and get bogged down.'

— Sun

A national . . .

(Continued from page 22)

Adopting such a programme of course, the Left and other secular democratic parties and organisations would help the evolution of a united force which will make a bid for bringing the Raiv Gandhi government down and providing an alternative government in which the Left and secular opposition parties will join hands with such Congressmen and women as are preparing to break loose from the shackles of their leadership. The caste-community based parties and organisations would obviously have no place in this set-up. The developments that have been taking place in the Congress during the last few months give us the confidence that the forging of such a national alternative is eminently practicable.

— Hindu

November Anniversary

THE GEORGIAN

Stern in stone

The seminary at Tsilbis,

Cells drawn dark against bright leaves blown

Wind woven into windows, still in the moving light

Etching life on the shadowed, silent, stone

The unseeing frown of windows turned within

Cool cells with honey smells and incense smells

The fervent murmur of the novices

The novice with the piercing ascetic eyes

Saw the search as a silent, solitary, quest

A break away from chants and tempting rites.

Together. Still a quenching of the self

A steeling of the will for the great world's weal

Tempered alone to shape a million wills

A million feet to thunder and to beat

The lonely path into the road of revolution.

And the beat not only of the wild warm heart

Far south in the Georgian sun. He stirred

The frozen heart of the steppe, the cold

Palaces falling to the Winter storm.

This rebel did not sulk in his native hills

He swept forward with the unerring tide that took

This century by storm.

From the warm Black Sea to the icy White

The Ukraine to the taiga clear

He saw Globe complete and knew

He didn't have to wait for the World a fire.

— U. Karunatilake



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dependency in day to day life*

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