

'Satanic Verses' – a Sinhala writer's response

— *H. A. Seneviratne*

LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 11 No. 22 March 15, 1989 Price Rs. 5.00 Registered at the GPO, Sri Lanka QJ/32/NEWS/89

The IPKF

**Into an
Ampara
quagmire ?**

— *Mervyn de Silva*

JULY

**The
Referendum
Time-Bomb**

5

COLVIN

— The pursuit of power

— *Hector Abhayavardhana*

— Negotiator par excellence

— *Tilak Gunawardena*

— No cultural revolutions

— *Upali Karunatilake*

P.A.P. and a role for rural youth — *Dayalal Abeysekera*

Polls, violence and J.V.P. strategy — *Vasanthi Amarasinghe*

Why Wijetunga ?

● **Indo-Soviet ties**

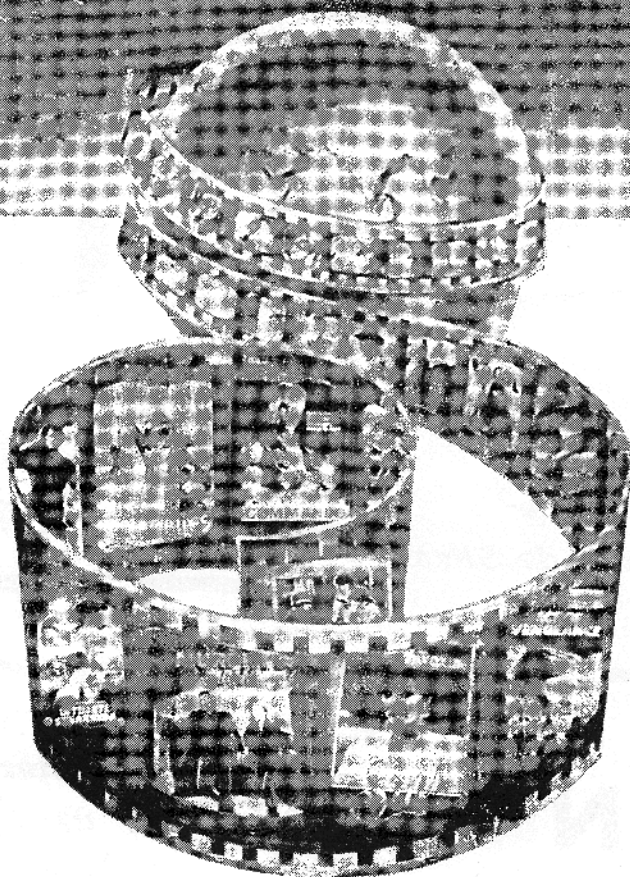
● **Book reviews**

● **Arms and the poor**

The best video in Town

LARNAS

Video Home Entertainment



**AN EVER INCREASING GALAXY OF
SUPERLATIVE 'A' GRADE MOVIE SPECIALS
FROM HOLLYWOOD AND WESTERN FILM CAPITALS.**

IF IT'S ON VIDEO CASSETTE.... IT'S ON LARNAS PLAYLIST LEGALLY
SUPERLATIVE VIDEO FILMS OF UNMATCHED QUALITY TO TURN YOUR TV
SCREEN INTO THE MOST ENTERTAINING MOVIESJUST FOR YOU!
THESE MAKE LARNAS THE CHOICE OF SRI LANKA'S MOST DISCERNING
FILM FANS.



SO TAKE HOME THE BEST VIDEO IN TOWN

LARNAS (PTE) LTD.

302 HAVELOCK ROAD COLOMBO 5.
TELEPHONE 589926

SRI LANKA'S FIRST NAME IN VIDEO HOME ENTERTAINMENT

MORE FOR MOTHER

Effective, Women's Day March 8, women in the public service will be entitled to three months maternity leave, a move initiated by Mrs. Hema Premadasa, the President's wife, and recommended to the Cabinet by Health and Women's Affairs Minister Renuka Herath.

NO MORE DEBASEMENT

There'll be no more debasement of Sri Lanka's culture. Mr. A. J. Ranasinghe, Minister of State for Information has ordered the SLBC and Rupavahini to ban programs that do so. The ban applies to "cheap pop music and films depicting too much sex and violence", a news report said.

"While the President and the Government are working on the Janasaviya program, we must build the Manasaviya" (strengthen the minds of the people), the report quoted Mr. Ranasinghe.

TO BRIDGE THE GAP

Trade Minister A R Mansoor wants immediate measures to reverse the trend that led to last year's Rs 23 billion trade imbalance. One of the measures the Minister has in mind is a co-ordinated export development drive between two ministries, Agriculture and Mahaweli Development.

The Minister, according to a report, was thinking of new plantations of fruits and vegetables for export; and also of cinnamon, cocoa, coffee and spices to be developed like tea and rubber.

A different perspective

I have had the occasion recently to read the 'News Background' in your journal (J.G. 1.1.89) under the heading "Swedish media denied visas" and thought of writing this letter to you to give your readers a different perspective. The contents and heading of the report might unfortunately, give the impression to your readers that there was/is a total embargo on Swedish journalists visiting Sri Lanka to cover developments such as the recent Presidential Election etc. This is incorrect. I am aware of several Swedish journalists — more eminent than Thomas Bibin or his colleague — who have been visiting Sri Lanka on reporting assignments. I personally saw Bibin in Colombo in July last year which means that he has not been denied entry to Sri Lanka. The point I want to emphasize is that there is no ban on Swedish journalists visiting Sri Lanka.

Bibin's statement "we have been sponsored by SIDA" quoted in your report conveys the wrong impression that the journalists were really sponsored by SIDA for the specific purpose of covering the Presidential Election and to report on the political situation on the anniversary of the Indo Lankan Peace Accord. The fact is that it has been a practice for SIDA to pay, on application, a very nominal travelling allow-

ance annually to 10 journalists and ten photographers who themselves wish to make reports from different countries. Bibin and Ohlsson have been recipients of this allowance. SIDA has its own office within the Swedish Embassy in Colombo and any political assessment of the situation in Sri Lanka would have been obtained from their officers in Colombo. If SIDA or The Swedish Government wanted to, but not from a journalist whose views on Sri Lanka are controversial.

I have been living in Sweden for a quarter century and I have been following with interest the coverage on Sri Lanka in the Swedish media. I am aware of a malicious campaign.

Your readers might perhaps be interested to know that separatist lobbies here had accused the Swedish Embassy in Colombo of discriminating against Sri Lankans of the Tamil community applying for visas to Sweden. Sweden is one of the most liberal countries in Western Europe as far as the issue of visas are concerned. It is therefore clear that not only Sri Lanka but other countries as well deny visas to aliens for their own reasons. It is of course a sovereign right of any independent country.

Sam Casio Chetty

Hammarbyvagen,
Sweden.

LIBRA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 11 No. 22 March 15, 1989

Price Rs. 5.00

Published fortnightly by
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 24B, Union Place,
COLOMBO - 2.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva
Telephone: 547584

CONTENTS

News Background	3
Dr. Colvin R. de Silva	10
The Region	13
Janasaviya — III	17
Poll '88 — III	19
Correspondence	21
Books	22

Printed by Ananda Press
52/5, Wolfendhal Street, Colombo 13,
Telephone: 26375



A unified and unique contribution through diversification

The Browns Group of Companies cover almost every aspect of trade, industrial and agricultural development in Sri Lanka. With the accent on Group Progress through diversification and specialisation, each Member of Associate Company is equipped to provide services and goods of the highest standard. Yet the Group, as a whole, is based on a concept of unified service, which assures you of the overall benefits of its combined resources.

THE BROWNS GROUP OF COMPANIES

481, Darley Road, Colombo 10. P. O. Box 200, Tel. 597111

**AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, ENGINEERING, TRANSPORT,
TOURISM, EXPORTS, TRADE.**

REFERENDUM

— the last and the most dangerous poll

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS
BACKGROUND

One more election to go — the Referendum, moment of maximum danger. With an encouraging 64% turnout, a spirited Sri Lankan bought some desperately needed time for what is widely regarded as an embattled, if not doomed, democracy. At the same time, however, the Tamil voters, seem to have placed a time-bomb under the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord. The significant difference in Tamil voting between the North and the East, and the communal voting pattern — Tamil, Muslim and Sinhala — in the East gives cause for serious concern in the coming months. The timing device on the bomb indicates that the explosion is likely on or after July 5, the date fixed by President JR for the eastern province referendum which will decide whether the present North-East merger should continue.

The North voted 'Independents' meaning EROS which has maintained friendly ties with the LTTE. The 'Independents' it is said includes some well-known LTTE sympathisers. The East however, favoured the LPRLF contesting under the TULF banner. The EROS won more seats (13) than the TULF (10). And it was EROS that refused to take an oath under the Sri Lanka constitution and left its 13 seats unoccupied when President Premadasa addressed Parliament on the 9th. EROS or rather its political wing EELAVAR DEMOCRATIC FRONT told the President it wants the 6th Amendment removed. When it was rushed through Parliament in August 1983, soon after the vicious anti-Tamil riots, even the strongly parliamentarist

TULF said 'No', left the House, and then to exile in Madras.

President Premadasa played it smart. Come to Parliament, state your case, and the other opposition parties may also welcome the withdrawal of the 6th amendment which requires every MP to renounce separatism. There won't be any problem of a 2/3 majority, what with the UNP's 115, the EDP's 13 and the TULF's 10. President Premadasa has cornered the EDP, on that. However the 6th Amendment is NOT the major political issue. The referendum is. And the EDP is not at all happy about a July 5 referendum to decide the fate of the North-East merger. But the Referendum will be held, not only because it is what the Accord requires but because no Sinhala-dominated party can afford to expose itself to the charge that it has acquiesced in a permanent North-east linkage.

And the referendum assigns the Muslims, the smallest of the three communities island-wide but the second largest in the eastern province (33% to the Tamil 42%) the key role in the drama of the Referendum.

The Muslims are caught in middle.

Yet the situation, if handled shrewdly, can bring its own rewards since the Muslims hold the balance.

In the East, the Muslims are Tamil-speaking. Elsewhere the Muslims talk fluent Sinhala. The Muslims have lived in peace with the Tamils for a thousand years until the "war", initially confined to the North, moved

to the East to make Muslim neutrality a grand illusion. The Sinhala psyche accepts Jaffna (the North) as the Tamil homeland, but not the East. The real problem, though is economic and contemporary. Successive regimes have sought to satisfy the demands of the land-hungry in the populous Sinhala South by moving settler colonists to the East where new "virgin" lands have been opened through high-cost irrigation schemes.

Population pressure, economic rationality, and of course electoral needs, the government would argue, justify such settlements. Tamil opinion-makers however present the matter to their constituency as a deliberate, even sinister, attempt to "colonise" Tamil area and alter the demographic character. As in Israel, the "settlements" are the flashpoints.

Though the IPKF dominates the east, the Sri Lankan army and navy have a strong presence in Trincomalee, and many camps in the southern parts of the province close to Sinhala settlements. As the referendum approaches, and emotions run high, the JVP could raise the temperature to fever pitch by provoking a "fire-fight" between the IPKF and Sri Lankan troops. Better still, it could engineer an incident which would compel the IPKF, possibly in hot pursuit, to come charging into predominantly Sinhala areas. Then the "real" war will begin, with the IPKF peering into its future quagmire.

Decisive Votes

The election results do not hold out much hope for a

smooth or, from the Tamil point of view, successful referendum. The Muslims hold the key. Or rather the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) a creature of post-accord politics.

On the anvil of the Sinhala-Tamil conflict, the Tamil-speaking Muslims have forged their own distinctive identity. Religion rather than language is the defining characteristic. Though East-based, SLMC, only a year old, contested seats in many other provinces. It did not fare too well but it has established itself as the authentic Muslim spokesman.

Before the mid-December presidential poll, the SLMC leader, the resourceful and astute Mr. Ashraff, joined an eight-party alliance, chaired by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Mr. Ashraff, however, asked for too many seats in Colombo in the parliamentary contest. Rebuffed, he went his own way. Now he offers Tamils a deal—Swiss-type cantonal demarcation. It may fit into a scheme proposed by the US Congressman, Mr Stephen Solarz, who has taken more than a passing interest in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict.

If things are back in the melting pot, the parliamentary poll results are once more the reason. Up to February 15, there was a coherent fairly settled. Delhi-backed Tamil consensus. The EPRLF ran the Trincomalee-based North-East council. The other militant groups boycotted the provincial polls, while the LTTE persisted in its guerilla war, although on a lower key.

The EPRLF has held its own in the East. Yet, the pro-LTTE "independents" have more MPs. They will set the pace, making stronger demands on land, police powers money and of course the referendum. The EPRLF group will have to keep pace. Together, they will prove troublesome for Mr. Premadasa, embarrass India, and complicate Delhi's relations with its preferred presidential candidate.

Provocative Line

The Tamil line will provoke the SLFP and the Muslim Congress and re-introduce into parliament an acrimonious ethnic debate which stopped after the TULF withdrew in 1983. Convinced that she was "robbed" of victory in December, Mrs. Bandaranaike will pounce on this heaven-sent opportunity to clobber President Premadasa who has been accommodating to the North-East council. The fallout from the heated parliamentary exchange will suit the extra-parliamentary JVP ideally.

Already the JVP whose pre-election campaign of violence helped the UNP to defeat Mrs. Bandaranaike, has predictably branded the presidential poll "fraudulent" and the presidency "illegal". It has renewed its call for a patriotic war against the Indian "occupation forces" and the overthrow of the "puppet regime".

Aware of the alternative, the return of the Sri Lankan army, the independents fielded by EROS may not want the IPKF to get off the LTTE's back. Between EROS in the Colombo parliament and DMK in office in Madras, pro-LTTE elements in Jaffna hope to put sufficient pressure on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to declare a ceasefire and re-open negotiations as a prelude to incorporating the "Tigers" in a more representative, and stable Tamil consensus.

Mr. Jayewardene fixed the July 5 referendum arbitrarily. Both Delhi and the Tamils had hoped the North-East council would at least have one year. If India presses Mr. Premadasa to postpone the referendum, and he succumbs, it will be a propagandist bonanza for Mrs. Bandaranaike. But it is the JVP's strategy that will in fact be advanced. If Mr. Premadasa refuses and the referendum is lost, the 'accord' will be a dead letter, and Indian policy in a shambles. What options will be left? Cyprus?

A deal with the Muslims, a cartographic re-arrangement, and a troops pull-back from the East are already being discussed in academic circles. The security implications and Indian interests are appreciated. A total Indian pull-out will confront the Sri Lankan army with an impossible two-front war which army commander Lt. Gen. Wanasinghe has ruled out.

(Continued on page 5)

REFERENDUM: Madras-Delhi focus

On March 15, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. Karunanidhi was expected to meet Prime Minister Gandhi in Delhi. The DMK leader has already been briefed on the LTTE view by Mr. V. Gopalaswamy, the Tamil politician from Sri Lanka or India who can claim to have had direct talks with 'Tiger' supremo, Prabhakaran. The LTTE's non-negotiable basic demand is an unconditional ceasefire.

A ceasefire-cum-negotiations was also the main point made by the EROS ('Independents') delegation that met President Premadasa just before Parliament met for the first time on March 9. The 13 MP's from the EROS-led group 'boycotted' the inaugural sessions having presented its own case: ceasefire, repeal of the 6th amendment (the oath renouncing separatism), release of 140 prisoners, strengthening of the Devolution 'package', and most crucially, to make the merger permanent i.e. no referendum. If the last is granted, the 'Accord' falls apart, and the reaction of an inflamed Sinhala opinion is unpredictable.

Meanwhile, the EPRLF has de-linked itself from TULF, and TELO from both. The Tamil 'consensus', such as it was, is also collapsing. The visit to Madras and Delhi by the EPRLF Chief Minister of the North-East council has to be seen in the light of these developments. The referendum is the vital question, and that is a Delhi-Colombo transaction.

Wijetunge as Premier: Neither displease nor appease Delhi

To all but the best informed, President Premadasa's choice of the unassuming Mr. D. B. Wijetunge as Prime Minister came as a surprise. Anyway, it ended weeks of intense speculation and uncertainty... even at the highest levels of the U.N.P.

When the announcement finally came, President Premadasa himself offered his own reasons for not choosing the front-runners. There were 'aspirants', he said who had the support of various sections in the party. He did not wish to 'create divisions'. Both party insiders as well as knowledgeable Sri Lanka-watchers emphasised two considerations that may have weighed with the President. Firstly, the frontline aspirants had been over-ambitious, showing a certain weakness for 'empire-building'. Their aggressive and lavish pre-election P. R. campaign to project their own egos betrayed a lack of team spirit. It also revealed large resources, including access to both Corporation and private sector funds.

Second, if one of these two were nominated, the other would cause much damage to party unity. In any event, regional and caste factors had to be recognised. Thus, D. B. Wijetunge, an upcountry *goigama* party veteran who had been a Minister before, an MP on several occasions, and 40 years of service to the UNP.

While Party and personality factors mattered most, a front-page boxed item in the Madras-based HINDU introduced an external element, said some analysts. The report from the paper's Delhi correspondent almost amounted to canvassing on Lands Minister Gamini Dissanayake's behalf. Mr. Dissanayake, of course, was a key

negotiator of the Indo-Sri Lankan 'peace accord'. So much so, the JVP referred to the previous government as 'the Jayawardene Dissanayake-Thondaman' regime.

It was 'a kiss of death', said a well-known academic, specialising in South Asian affairs. The same Tamilnadu paper, by the way, popularised the term 'hawk' for Mr. Dissanayake's main rival, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, the National Security Minister who was in charge of the abortive Vadumaarachchi operation, the final offensive against the LTTE in the north. The militarist Lalith was hardly a favourite of India.

So, the compromise was somebody who would not offend or displease India and at the same time a person who would not be seen by the Opposition and Sinhala opinion as an appeasement of India.

However, the local considerations weighed more.

M.

NCMC to be nationalised

The private North Colombo Medical College (NCMC), cause of much student unrest, is to be state run, following a cabinet decision to nationalise it. Government spokesman Ranjan Wijeratne told a media conference that students qualifying from that institution will be awarded medical degrees known as MBBS (NCMC).

Foreign students will continue to be admitted on the payment of fees; a decision on whether local students would be paying fees or not would be taken later, the spokesman said.

Campus killing — no end to student revolt?

Just when ex-Foreign Minister Hameed playing negotiator on a vexed domestic question was reporting progress on the NCMC dispute, a major cause of campus and school agitation, the Vice Chancellor of Colombo University, Professor Stanley Wijesundera was killed in a daring, daylight assassination by a lone gunman a few days after his retirement. What effect will it have on the new government's strenuous bid to get the campuses re-opened. The teaching staff and indeed heads of educational institutions throughout the island would have been greatly demoralised by this killing. Indeed, the entire Sri Lankan professional class and intelligentsia seems to have been stunned by the boldest of murders.

The Inter University Students Federation (IUSF) had hailed the resolution of the NCMC dispute as 'a victory', the *SUN* reported. The NCMC, as this journal commented from the start, was a radical departure from the progressive educational policies in this country, introduced even before independence. As the LG noted, it was the "privatisation" concept introduced by the UNP into the previously protected area of Sri Lankan social welfare. The IUSF, the *SUN* report added, did not regard the new move, though welcome, as a solution to the problems that provoked countrywide student unrest.

REFERENDUM...

(Continued from page 3)

But if the "ligers" have ceased fire, a New Delhi-backed peace-keeping force, which will undermine the JVP and defuse tensions in the East, is one possibility.

[A part of this article is excerpted from a commentary by the author published recently on the editorial page of the *TIMES OF INDIA*.]

Gopalswamy's 'Personal Diplomacy'

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne was of course absolutely right to summon Acting Indian High Commissioner Nirupen Sen and lodge a protest about the visa-less visit to the North by Tamilnadu M.P., Mr. V. Gopalswamy. The incident, by the way, helped Sri Lanka observers of the post-election Tamilnadu scene to get a clearer view of the emerging Madras-Delhi relationship with particular reference to the Sri Lankan issue.

The powerful DMK leader, Mr. M. Karunanidhi is indeed a sympathiser of the Sri Lankan Tamil cause and would be the first to welcome an IPKF ceasefire and fresh Delhi-LTTE talks. But he is totally opposed to the present LTTE line of calling for an immediate withdrawal of the IPKF, and Indian support for a political position which comes pretty close to total autonomy, if not 'Eelam'. The fact is that the LTTE's fixation on 'Eelam' and its fiercely militaristic approach make it exceedingly difficult for the DMK leader or the EROS-led Independents, with all their goodwill, to assume a productive intermediary role. LTTE's interest in getting the IPKF to ceasefire is understandable but what firm commitment is it ready to make before the IPKF takes that step? Either the LTTE does not know the language of negotiation — the charitable view — or it is trapped, not just in the jungle, but by its mind-set.

The Daily News reported:

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne welcomed Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi's condemnation of DMK parliamentarian V. Gopalswamy's illegal visit to the Vavuniya jungles to meet LTTE leader Prabakaran.

"I am glad Mr. Karunanidhi has adopted that approach. I hope he will deal with Mr. Gopalswamy appropriately", he said.

A PTI despatch relayed by Lankapuvath said that Karunanidhi has severely condemned Gopalswamy's 24-day visit to Sri Lanka's North-East province as a highly irresponsible and needless adventurism".

The chief minister has also called the visit a violation of party discipline and unacceptable to the DMK.

"The visit has only brought some publicity to Mr. Gopalswamy and has not helped to solve the Sri Lankan Tamil problem. On the contrary the situation has worsened after his visit with increased attacks and deaths", Mr. Karunanidhi told reporters in Madras.

The PTI report adds: "Asked whether any action will be taken against Mr. Gopalswamy, he said the party's disciplinary committee and executive committees would consider the matter."

An official spokesman of the Foreign Ministry at New Delhi said the central government agreed with Mr. Karunanidhi's position that Mr. Gopalswamy's visit to Sri Lanka was unnecessary. All India Radio said.

Mr. Gopalswamy who left Tamil Nadu in the first week of February was in the north-east province for three weeks before he returned to Tamil Nadu. He travelled illegally and without informing the DMK leadership.

In an interview with AFP, Minister Wijeratne has rejected a demand for an immediate pull out and added Colombo will not talk to Prabakaran under any condition.

"He must come out into the open without any conditions. It is a matter of time before the IPKF gets him," Mr. Wijeratne has said.

Restoring Unity — most urgent concern

In his inaugural speech to Parliament, President Premadasa identified the task of bringing back 'all those who have been alienated for one reason or other' as his most urgent concern, and restoring national unity under a single Sri Lankan banner as his ultimate objective. However he warned violent extra-parliamentary forces that "the the patience of our people is not unlimited".

While re-affirming his commitment to Democracy, Mr. Premadasa reminded the Opposition of its national responsibilities, and invited cooperation in achieving three main goals, peace, discipline and poverty alleviation. He said:

While the Buddhist ethic

of achieving peace only through peaceful means would be applied, "let those who disturb the peace understand that the patience of our people is not unlimited" he said.

"Now that the elections are over, let every member of this assembly, irrespective of party or ideology, work towards the realisation of the objective of poverty alleviation", he said.

Our people have courageously demonstrated their unfailing dedication to the highest principles of democracy. Our people have given their verdict in a clear and positive manner. They have chosen their head of state, their government and their representatives in the opposition.

Tamil moves in the North

The largest Tamil parliamentary group, LTTE ally EROS which won 13 seats contesting as an independent group at the February 15 general elections, has offered President Premadasa some suggestions towards restoring normalcy in the strife-torn North and East. In a letter to the President the group, which now calls itself the Eelavar Democratic Front, has proposed:

A permanent ceasefire, repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and a release of all political prisoners;

Government arranged facilities for Tamil speaking people to have their own security forces;

Naming of dates for reduction or withdrawal of IPKF and Sri Lanka armed forces from the North and East;

Amendment of the Peace Accord to spell out the full national status of the Tamil-speaking people.

The FDP letter has said that the Tamil-speaking people have a distinct national identity, and that "these people have a right to establish a statehood within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, as an interim solution to their problems".

Meanwhile, the EPRLF is talking to other Tamil and Muslim groups about the forming of a national council for the North-East Province. The media quoted EPRLF leader K. Padmanabha saying: A national council will help forge Tamil-Muslim unity and strengthen the North-East provincial government. It will also help Tamil MPs voice Tamil aspirations in parliament.

EPRLF leaders have already talked to TELO, ENDLF, EROS, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and the Muslim United Front. They have not talked to the LTTE, but are taking steps to do so, Padmanabha said. "We invite the LTTE to enter the fold", he said.

While such moves are afoot, the North-East Province Chief Minister Varatharaja Perumal has expressed dissatisfaction with the pace of devolution. He claimed at a media briefing in Colombo that only about a fourth of the devolution mentioned in the thirteenth constitutional amendment had been completed so far.

"On the vital subjects of land and law and order no progress has been made", he said. He bla-

med the bureaucracy and some ministers who, he alleged, were trying to undermine the goodwill that President Premadasa was trying to build.

Mr. Perumal was asked for his views on an IPKF withdrawal. He said that at the speed things were now being done, the IPKF would have to stay for six years or more. "For the maintenance of law and order we need at least 7,000 members of the Citizens Volunteer Force (CVF) and 6,200 policemen to man the 62 police stations", he said.

The IPKF was brought here, the Chief Minister said, not only to disarm the LTTE but also to ensure the implementation of the Indo-Lanka Accord in full. Delaying the implementation, delayed the departure.

In Parliament, the Chief Minister said, Tamil representatives would support the Government to work for the good of the people. The support would be on the basis of issues. If to do a good thing the Government needed a two-thirds majority, the Tamil representatives and the USA (United Socialist Alliance) would help.

US aid to Third World a failure, says study

WASHINGTON

American economic aid to developing countries has largely failed, says the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) which administers the aid.

In a 158-page report, AID notes that "only a handful of countries" aided by the U.S. since the '50s "has ever graduated from dependent status".

A House of Representatives report issued about the same time reaches the opposite conclusion, raising the question — is it a case of glass-half-full or glass-half-empty.

The House Task Force, co-chaired by Congressman Lee H. Hamilton (Democrat) and Benjamin A. Gilman (Republican) asserts that the U.S. AID programme has had "a positive record of accomplishments, management and expertise in development" and calling AID's overseas missions "a unique asset".

The AID report is captioned: "Development and the national interest: U.S. economic assistance into the 21st century".

Context

The roles are reversed. Normally it is the Administration

which always claims success for its activities while Congress picks holes. In the case of AID, it is the opposite.

The AID report notes that there has not been a major overhaul of AID since the '70s.

Stressing the urgency of such reevaluation in today's context, the report says: "America simply does not occupy the same unchallenged position of economic and military preeminence as it did in the '60s. The luxury of an open-ended maintenance programme for developing countries... We can no longer afford it."

(Continued on page 8)

Death of a Socialist

They cremated Colvin R de Silva, the LSSP leader, amidst much public homage at Independence Square on March 2. His death was a great loss to the nation, and especially to the working class and the common man, they said.

President Premadasa, on behalf of the Government and the UNP, said in a funeral oration that Dr. de Silva was a great humanist and a patriot who placed service before self throughout his long and eventful public career. When he embarked on a course of action he was unconcerned about consequences and possible disadvantages; it was the cause that mattered to him, the President said.

Bernard Soysa, the senior-most surviving LSSP and general secretary of the party, said that the loss to the nation was great. It was not easy to speak briefly about such a man, a national figure, a national treasure, whose versatility was remarkable; in drafting the republi-

can constitution of 1972, Dr Colvin R de Silva freed this country of British imperialism, the LSSP general secretary said. We were still fighting battles of race and caste, on the eve of a crisis; Dr de Silva believed that we would either unite or perish, he said.

Mr Maitripala Senanayake, MP, on behalf of the SLFP, said that Dr Colvin R de Silva was a freedom fighter who concluded a battle in 1972 when he played a significant role in drafting the Republican Constitution. His death was a loss to the common man.

EPRLF leader Varatharajah Perumal, Chief Minister of the North-East Provincial Council, said that Dr de Silva's fight for social justice would not fade away.

SLMP leader Ossie Abeygunasekera, opposition leader in the Western Provincial Council, said that the highest respect they could pay a great leader was to continue his political struggle.

The Communist Party's General Secretary K. P. Silva said that the country had lost an intellectual, a patriot and a revolutionary. As a patriot Dr de Silva had fought for the rights of the common man, for the liberation of the working class and for socialism against capitalism and aristocracy.

"We will continue his struggle", the CP leader said.

The Chief Justice Mr. Parinda Ranasinghe in a tribute to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva said that the late Dr. de Silva's attainments and accomplishments were many and varied.

"Tributes to Colvin the historian; Colvin the thinker; Colvin the politician; Colvin the trade unionist; Colvin the parliamentarian; Colvin the Cabinet Minister; Colvin the Constitution-maker; have been paid and would be paid in a fitting manner in other places which he adorned, and in which he dazzled. We for our part, however will, on this occasion, recall and remember and pay our respects only to Colvin 'the legal phenomenon', the Chief Justice said.

US aid to...

(Continued from page 7)

The AID study, issued on the eve of an international development conference which began a three-day conference on Monday, wants to tilt AID towards private enterprise.

Radical Shift

The AID report wants a "radical reshaping" of future official assistance programmes "to face new realities".

These include realisation that U.S. aid plays only "a supportive part at best" in the development process compared with private efforts, the impact of overseas investment, the role of private American voluntary organisations and the example of the "wealth-generating dynamism of the American economy itself".

AID Administrator Alan Woods told a news conference recently that the report is meant as "an intellectual base" for a new debate on the aims and

directions of the AID programme for the 21st century.

He admitted that it offers no recommendations and "raises more questions than it has answered".

The Hamilton-Gilman Task Force too has its grievances against the way aid has been administered. Their report says that the AID programme has been lost in a maze of different and often conflicting objectives, listed priorities, mandated reporting requirements and notifications of project changes.

It suggests repeal of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, a new Aid Bill, a clearer definition of U.S. objectives and replacement of AID by a new Economic Co-operation Agency.

Revamp

Both the Administration and Congress now want to revamp AID and to cut it. It is not clear how far they will succeed in changing priorities.

At present they are viewed by most observers as bordering on the ridiculous. Israel, for instance, gets aid totalling \$ 1,000 for each man, woman and child in its population.

Egypt comes next because it has signed the Camp David agreement. Turkey and Pakistan are priorities in the context of the cold war and Greece because if Turkey is given something, Greece too should be.

India by contrast gets about three cents per head by way of development assistance. This is justified because the Americans say India is the largest recipient of International Development Association assistance.

However, the U.S. contributes only 25 per cent or less to IDA and even if that is taken into account, the picture will still be grossly distorted.

Congress and the Bush Administration are now negotiating cuts and it will surprise no one if the AID report forms the basis for long-deferred cuts.

The Two Front War

SOUTH

3000 troops continue crackdown

More than 3,000 troops continued their anti subversive offensive in the South seizing hard core members and discovering arms caches.

Military operations extended to a 50 square mile area involving Akuressa, Weligama and Dikwella. Entry and exit points to the area, previously identified, were sealed off and troops conducted a thorough search.

By early yesterday more than 2,000 persons between the ages of 18 to 45 years had been screened. Of this, more than 250 are being held after they were identified by Police as hard core subversives. Security forces also discovered 32 shot guns in a hide out at Wagaruwala in Buttala.

Among the hardcore subversives arrested was a person believed to be the alleged assassin of the late District Minister for Galle, G. V. S. de Silva.

The Military Forward Headquarters in Galle has drawn in personnel from Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Moneragala and Embilipitiya for the massive operation.

In a swoop outside Galle town, security forces attacked a JVP hideout on the Rama Vista Hill also known as Ramas Ela Kundu. They discovered Gul Kuttas (locally made hand guns), shot guns, hand bombs, JVP literature and military type uniforms.

Six subversives were killed and five more were arrested in this encounter. One of the

dead has been identified as Viveka, a hard core woman subversive.

The southern operations are under the charge of Major General Cecill Waidyaratne and are being directed by 12 senior officers.

Major General Waidyaratne conferred with officers in charge of police stations in the Matara district. With operations due to come to a close, the OICs have been given a series of guidelines to follow both by the army and police top brass.

Southern Province Chief Minister, M. S. Amarasiri, also addressed them on the Government's objective of immediately restoring law and order.

(Sun)

Two boatloads of subversives destroyed

A naval patrol on Tuesday night destroyed two boatloads of subversives attempting to flee from Kottegodu to Gandara by sea, military officials said.

The two motor boats carrying the armed subversives had been spotted by a naval patrol in the high seas between the two southern villages. They opened

fire at the patrol and the navy retaliated.

The boats were destroyed and eight subversives were killed, the military officials said.

The subversives had been fleeing from the Kottegodu area which was part of a zone in which a massive security forces

operation was underway in the past 72 hours.

It was carried out by a new Military Forward Headquarters in Matara which is under the charge of Major General Cecill Waidyaratne, Commander of Division One of the Sri Lanka Army.

(Sun)

NORTH

IPKF smash 3 LTTE border camps, kill 50

Heavily armed Indian troops have smashed up three well fortified LTTE camps located at the North Central Province border killing about 50 and wounding several more, an Indian diplomat said.

She said the camps sited about 20 kilometres from the border in the thick jungles around the Nararu lagoon were the biggest

LTTE fortifications, outside Nithikaikulam in the Mullaitivu district, destroyed last year.

The diplomat said the complex was spotted on March 2 and the fighting went on for three days before the LTTE was overrun there.

Meanwhile, Regan, Batticaloa's LTTE leader, had swallowed cyanide, reports from there said.

The Indian High Commission was unable to confirm or give details of this development.

The spokesperson said a large haul of weapons including AK-47s and a large quantity of ammunition were captured at Akkarapattu.

She said eight Indian soldiers were killed and 17 injured in the operation.

POLITICS WITHOUT POWER —

It can still be worthwhile!

Hector Abhayavardhana

A personality of heroic proportions, such as Colvin R. de Silva possessed had to stand out in any society. Tall and muscularly built with a mane of hair that stood upright even when it was combed back. Genial in countenance and ready to break into laughter at the first opportunity. Versatile with a capacity for hard work that unfailingly burnt the midnight oil into the early hours of the morning. A man who took a positive delight in excelling all comers, including his own past performances. And most of all, a man who sought eagerly to be loved and appreciated by everybody among whom he moved, and gave generously of his own affection and esteem as his part of the transaction. Perhaps the finest of his personal qualities was his magnanimity. He never wrote his speeches. Nothing bothered him more than the sophisticated, in fact snobbish, requirement to produce a speech that could be read out from print on an annual occasion devoted to honouring the dead. As one writer recently related, he met a request for the text of a speech that he had just delivered, with the remark that he spoke from his heart.

And yet this remarkable man spent more than fifty years of his political life without tasting the fruit of real political power. I say "real" political power, because he served as a Minister in charge of two portfolios, Constitutional Affairs and Plantations, in the United Front Government of 1970 to 1975. This was not a Government formed by his political party, the LSSP, except in the role of a minor partner. It would be true to say, therefore, that Colvin R. de Silva died at the ripe old age of eighty-three without realising his life's

ambition of putting himself and his party in political power.

The significance of this comment becomes even more captivating when it is remembered that, remarkable as Colvin was personally, there were personalities no less remarkable who were associated with him in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. There were five people, for instance, who combined to launch the LSSP in December 1935, viz. Philip Gunawardene, N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Gocnewardene and S. A. Wickremesinghe. Each of them played a prominent part in the fight against imperialism and the winning of democratic rights for the mass of people. With perhaps the single exception of Philip Gunawardene, all of them remained true to their original beliefs and refused to compromise their socialist principles. But none of them was to succeed in winning political power to implement the programmes for which all of them stood.

I have heard it said that what is really remarkable about the LSSP is that it was able to spend more than fifty years in the search for power without ever finding it. The reference is to the ability of the party membership to hold together for almost a human lifetime despite the absence of immediate success. A political party is not a religious movement. Its members look for material achievement as the fruit of their exertions and sacrifice. The question is whether such achievement is expected in the short term or the long term. so long as the prospect of achievement remains, there will always be party members who are willing to wait long periods for realising them. Thus a party that can keep going for fifty years

and more without winning power surely reflects some firmness of conviction among its members relating to their intrinsic beliefs.

It is possible, however, to exaggerate the strength of inner conviction when estimating the patience of the party's membership. Thus, the winning of power cannot be related to total power alone. There are many kinds of compensation along the road to total power. And all members of the party do not set their sights on total power. Various sections of the party find compensations in positions in local bodies, mass organisations, provincial councils etc. Their partial success contributes to the general movement of the party and sustains the fight for total power of the party as a whole. The problem that would arise in such a situation would relate to the central leadership of the party and the achievement of its goals. Could it persevere with its former goals or would it be necessary to accommodate shorter-term prospects?

I have said that, with perhaps the exception of Philip Gunawardene, the principal LSSP leadership of 1935 stood by its early principles to the end. Why then were they unable to implement them? An explanation immediately suggests itself: some of the principles for which the LSSP leaders stood were not capable of immediate implementation in the local context. Obviously this does not apply to all the LSSP's principles. The 1935 LSSP programme contained a number of measures that could be implemented through the devices and interstices of the State Council system of that time: for instance, abolition of the headman system; grazing land for cattle; free education, etc. As against this the dem-

(The author, a veteran LSSP'er, is a member of the party's politburo.)

and for the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, could not be implemented in the near future. Demands like these were long term demands.

But there is the danger that formulating the problem in this way may give rise to the impression that the programme of the LSSP is an eclectic collection of popular demands put together at suitable moments. Such an impression would be wholly untrue. Political parties, and revolutionary political parties particularly, do not limit their functions to echoing slogans that have wide backing among the people. Even the most unrestrained demagoguery at election time balks at promises that cut across interests that a party is committed to protect. In the case of radical or revolutionary parties, they are distinguished by their outlook even more than by their programme. It is its outlook or philosophy that binds such a party to the protection or services of specific class interests. This is what distinguished the LSSP in the thirties and forties from other parties. The LSSP then embodied the forward-looking, radicalised, modernistic aspirations of the younger generation, with the university as an impregnable fortress. Of such nature was its claim to represent the future.

What is it that took place in the fifties to change the party's destiny? The answer that is most readily supplied is: Sinhala Only and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike! But Mr. Bandaranaike was far from the cause of the change: he was only the agency by which the change was brought about. The road was paved for Mr. Bandaranaike by the failure of the LSSP to develop itself as the principal unifier and builder of the modern nation that was seeking to emerge in the then Ceylon. Philip, N.M. Colvin, Leslie and SA Wicks were in their prime in this period. Philip, perhaps, was already

displaying his proneness to appease the clamour for Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony. But the others were as firm as they had ever been in their rejection of Sinhala chauvinism. Unfortunately, to spurn Sinhala chauvinism was not enough. What could displace it? The answer that the LSSP and the Communist Party provided was: Socialism! This was, unfortunately, not the answer that the masses expected. Nor was it what they were able as yet to understand.

Before proceeding to explain why Socialism was not the answer to Sinhala chauvinism or why the masses could not understand it, we may be permitted a little diversion. Today, more than seventy-two years after the commencement of Socialist development in the Soviet Union, the leadership of the Soviet Government calls out attention rather sharply to the reality that the construction of Socialism in the USSR is far from complete. It is being told us that, ever since Lenin's death, the Soviet Union, instead of completing the construction of Socialism in the country or promoting it in the world outside, has been making things more and more difficult both for the USSR and the world. Now this is not at all the picture that was being given to the world throughout more than sixty years.

In fact, in Ceylon, ever since the late thirties, the LSSP had been engaged in telling the Ceylonese people that neither was Socialism being built in the Soviet Union nor was the Soviet Government seeking to take forward the world struggle for Socialism. The LSSP maintained that the USSR Government was using the Communist Parties throughout the world as instruments of the foreign policy of the national Soviet state. Thereby these Communist Parties were being induced to disrupt and distort the Socialist struggle in their respective countries.

The revelations that are increasingly taking place in the Soviet Union today substantiate the LSSP's criticisms of Soviet and other Communist Parties' policies and actions. Small wonder, therefore, that instead of devoting its attention to the particular problems of Ceylon, including the problem of Sinhala chauvinism, the Ceylon Communist Party concerned itself with elaborating and executing the line laid down by the Comintern and later the Cominform for all Communist Parties in the world. Such a general line, even if it is possible to envisage that exceptional knowledge and intuition could produce a miraculous prescription that would meet the peculiarities of all situations in the industrial countries of the world through a single formula, could have little validity in the underdeveloped countries. The consequences had to be disastrous.

But this does not mean that, by reason of its critical approach to the Communist Party's policies, the LSSP had to be correct in the matter of its own policies in Ceylon in the forties and fifties. On the contrary, the LSSP's own attitudes and policies flowed out of the general line of opposition to Soviet Russian and world Stalinism. As part of the Fourth international, the LSSP was engaged in the international struggle against Stalinism whose principal strategic objective was the defence of the Soviet state against its internal and international enemies and the building of a new international centre of world revolution. In the situation in which the Fourth International found itself, this had to be the dominant formative influence in evolving LSSP attitudes and policies. In other words, just as the policies of the Communist Party took shape through the subordination of local considerations to the Soviet Government's arbitrament, the policies of the LSSP took shape in inverse reaction to the Soviet line through the doctrine of the

(Continued on page 24)

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva

Tilak Gunawardhana.

Among Trotskyites in Sri Lanka, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva resembled Trotsky most, in appearance, except for the fact that the former did not sport a 'goatee'. Politically they played two different roles, and their end came in two different ways. We never went through the revolution that Russia experienced, even though some thought that we were close to one, once in the fifties, and then again in the early seventies. If the fifties situation developed into a full scale revolution, then Dr. Colvin R. de Silva would have had a significant role to play. But in the situation that developed in seventies, the revolutionaries thought he was in the camp of the reactionaries helping to prop up a petite-bourgeois government. The revolutionaries of the seventies vintage never forgave the revolutionaries who taught them their first lessons in Marxism. In the country as well, the two major Marxist parties failed to consolidate the position they fought and won in the forties and fifties. In the first parliament they led the opposition, giving rise to hopes among leftists in the country that they would even capture power entirely through the ballot.

With the advent of the S.L.F.P., the Sama Samaja Party suffered disastrously, and by 1978 they did not have a single representative in Parliament. And what an irony of fate, when at the end of the recently held elections to parliament, the United Socialist Alliance nominated Dr. Colvin R. De Silva as its national candidate in Parliament, and even before parliament could meet, he passes away!

How do we assess his contribution to the politics of this country? In terms of electoral success, or personal popularity he has very little to show. True he was responsible for the first republican constitution.

But that was in an S.L.F.P. dominated government. In case Trotskyites on their own came to power, and if he had been responsible for a constitution, the outcome would have been very different. It is difficult to say whether he really was proud of his legal contribution to the consolidation of a government that would have been characterised by most as petite-bourgeois.

But those who knew what was going on behind the scenes during the drafting of that constitution, knew that Dr. de Silva did not allow the S.L.F.P. legal brains to have their own way. Time and again Felix Dias Bandaranaike tried to prevent Mrs. Sirimao Bandaranaike from accepting Dr. de Silva's draft. At one stage Felix Dias submitted his own draft to the leader of the S.L.F.P.

In is here that Dr. de Silva displayed his remarkable skills as a negotiator par excellence. Felix Dias with all the political muscle he had within the S.L.F.P. failed to get his draft accepted. If it really came to a vote within that party, he could have had his way. Dr. de Silva represented a dispensable little group in the left coalition. They were outnumbered by the S.L.F.P. faction. Yet Dr. de Silva with the greatest of skill out manoeuvred Felix Dias and produced what is considered to be a historic document. It marked a decisive change in our political development. Having been tied to the British crown for well over 150 years, and declaring allegiance to the British sovereign even after formal independence, and severance of colonial ties, it was the Government that came in

(Continued on page 16)

COLVIN

*Triumphant,
You emerged from the Underground
As JR took off to San Francisco
With his modified Co-Prosperity thesis
That finally brought all to roosting
In the shadow of the Stars & Stripes
Under the Rising Sun.*

*Some say now that this roosting
Logically led on to roosting
In cultural revolutions, Jihads,
Naxalbari and Napalm.*

*You never fell
For the temptation of non-class contradictions
The terror and opium of tribal religion
Whose scrolls cloaked the Paper Tiger
While Death stalked each land.*

U. Karunatilake

Benazir orders army purge

LONDON

Surveillance

Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, has ordered retirement of more than 40 senior army officers, believed to be loyal to late Gen. Zia.

Ms. Bhutto has also curtailed the powers of the main intelligence agency in an attempt to break the links between the intelligence network and the political opposition. *The Sunday Times* reported from Karachi today.

While risking a military backlash from top officers, the army purge is likely to secure the support of middle-ranking and junior officers whose promotion was held up by Gen. Zia.

Military sources said the army retirements had the support of General Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of the Army Staff, who had a long meeting with Ms. Bhutto in Islamabad last week.

The General, who became Chief of Staff after Zia's death in a plane crash last August, has consistently pledged to leave politics to the politicians.

In what Pakistani officials described as the biggest mass retirement for five years, the Prime Minister is attempting to remove the influence of officers — many of them brigadiers — who owed their promotion and allegiance to Gen. Zia.

In one unit alone, the artillery corps, 13 Brigadiers will have to retire, almost a third of the top officers, the reports said.

The sources said Ms. Bhutto had also taken a vital step towards consolidating her power by deciding that the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI) must stop conducting political surveillance.

It was, one source said, the "most important decision" of Benazir during her three months tenure in power.

The ISI, which has 100,000 employees, emerged under Gen. Zia as one of the most influential military and internal security agency in the third world.

It challenged more than \$ one billion of American aid to Afghan resistance fighters and had considerable influence on Pakistani politics, leading attempts to discredit Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party and fomenting Opposition, the report said.

According to PPP and senior Government sources, within two weeks of taking power Ms. Benazir Bhutto formed a committee to reorganise the intelligence service, fully aware that ISI could undermine her own position.

She placed in charge Air Chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan, a PPP supporter and former Air Force Commander, with specific instructions to examine ISI's affairs.

The Prime Minister cleverly cited the findings of this committee to support this week's decision said one key official adding "she played her cards intelligently," the report said.

He said Ms. Bhutto had ordered the transfer back to the army of Brigadier Imtiaz Ahmed, who had served for nine years as ISI's chief of internal political security.

The ISI will now have to concentrate on "counter intelligence and military-related security affairs."

Official Contact

According to former ISI officers, Ms. Bhutto's decision will leave no room for official contact between army officers and politicians. Until last week the political wing of ISI could legally maintain contacts with politicians.

Many believed ISI was responsible for the formation of the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) before last November's general elections, the report said.

This alliance of eight parties now runs Punjab Province and is said to be behind Islamic fundamentalists who claim the nomination of a woman as Prime Minister was an 'un-Islamic act'.

Ms. Bhutto embarrassed by the row over Salman Rushdie's book, *The Satanic Verses*, knew about ISI's role among the fundamentalist opposition and decided to act before the situation got out of control.

As part of her campaign of trying to stop the Islamic resurgence, she has banned a fundamentalist rally in Islamabad tomorrow. But militants said they plan to defy the ban and to increase their efforts for the Prime Minister's resignation.

Gorbachev: Indo-Soviet ties are dynamic

MOSCOW

The Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said that his country's relations with India were acquiring a dynamic nature.

He was making a major speech on foreign policy matters on Thursday at Kiev, the Ukrainian capital.

On Soviet — US relations, he said improvement in the relations between the two countries has been a major break-through for the entire world. He said that the approach of two countries had made it possible to remove a large rock hanging over mankind.

Mr. Gorbachev told the gathering the radical change in the

Soviet-Chinese relations which was another tumbling block, alienation which at times became hostile between the two great socialist powers, has now moved to the road of peace and progress.

First time

Mikhail Gorbachev reminded that it was for the first time in the entire post world war era Soviet Union has been able to enhance its national security without resorting to any military build-up and growth of defence expenditures.

On the contrary, Soviet Union has begun reviewing its military doctrine giving it an entirely defensive character.

He reiterated that Soviet Union's foreign policy was firmly

based on principles of freedom of choice, a balance of interests and internationalisation of many a problem. But he regretted anti-Sovietism has not been given up by the architects of military budgets and military-industrial complex.

He spelt out two major premises of his country's foreign policy, namely impossibility of ensuring one's own security without taking into account of the security interests of the others, futility of attempts of building reliable security system in the nuclear age by military means and secondly, impossibility for any society achieving progress while remaining in isolation from the rest of the world.

(Continued on page 20)

Benazir to repeal all anti-women laws

The Pakistan Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto, has said that those who opposed her on the ground that a woman could not be Premier in an Islamic country had changed their stance so often they were now devoid of credibility.

In an impassioned speech to women activists at the 40th anniversary of the founding of the All-Pakistan Women Association (APWA) here late Wednesday, Ms. Bhutto said her Government would repeal all laws that discriminated against women.

"It is not a question as to who man or woman, should rule

Pakistan. Instead the basic question is how should the country be run," she said.

A conference by ulemas (religious scholars) stated recently that a woman could not be a Head of Government, a charge used during her campaign last year.

Ms. Bhutto questioned their findings, contrasting them to those of another religious conference held earlier which, she said, had stated that Islam allowed a woman to be not only Head of Government but also Head of State.

"Either the first set of ulemas

were right or lying, or these ulemas are lying or are right," she said. "In any case, their credibility is in doubt."

Ms. Bhutto told the APWA that the Pakistani Constitution gave men and women equal rights and that even the amendments added by the late President Gen. Zia permitted a woman premier.

In the amended Constitution "which was adopted under the patronage of a self-styled proclaimed fundamentalist, it was given that a woman could become a Head of Government in Pakistan. Then why this contradiction?" she asked.

'India an important trade partner for U. S.'

The increasing trade liberalisation in India and the growing awareness in the U. S. of the full market potential of the country and its emerging role as a supplier of goods and services will continue to accelerate bilateral commercial growth, the U. S. Consul-General for South India, Mr. Thomas M. F. Timberman, said here today.

Inaugurating "Showcase-USA-

89" an exhibition of multi-industry catalogues at the Anna University, he said the U. S. was leading in foreign collaborations and direct investments in India. In 1988 investments in India totalled \$65 millions, the balance of trade was in India's favour, and the imports had gone up by 15 per cent.

Mr. Timberman said U. S. now considered India an impor-

tant partner, and this was reflected in the hefty hike in the number of joint ventures — an increase of over 20 per cent from last year.

With the U. S. trade deficit running to over \$150 billions and the national debt totalling \$1.5 trillions, the U. S. manufacturers were working hard to push up exports and explore new avenues.

POVERTY IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

Militarism to blame

K. F. Rustamji

The Indian Finance Minister recently advised all ministries in a feeble sort of voice to economise. Nobody will listen to him. In consequence we will not be able to find resources that we will need for fighting poverty, which ought to be our first concern.

Within a short time the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation and the goodwill generated will pass into history, and we will go back to the old routine of spending more and more on security, less and less on development, thereby creating more and more dissatisfaction. In Pakistan this type of reckless spending was one cause of the end of a dictatorship. If we are not careful, it will make us a tottering democracy.

The hawks talk loudly about the military ambitions of Pakistan — they want revenge, they say. In fairness we must put the record straight. Pakistan has not engaged in any military initiatives after 1965. The Pakistan stance has been defensive throughout, with a little bit of shouting when they felt we were aggressive. The initiative in the 1971 war was clearly ours, when we went to help the East Bengalis, and provoked the hapless Yahya in to attacking us.

Hard Realities

All the great nations of the world are talking about disarmament. It is obvious that they have been confronted with the hard realities of their economic situation, and have seen the dangers of discontent igniting a revolt in their people. China has reduced its army by a fourth. The Soviet Union is withdrawing half-a-million men from Europe. All nations are trying to make use of detente to reduce expen-

diture. That powerful economy, the United States, is steeped in debt, and numerous smaller nations have become bankrupt. When will we see the warning?

Put a problem of detente with Pakistan to a bureaucrat, and his answer will be, "How can we reduce expenditure if we can't trust them".

Put it to a diplomat and you will get all the well-chosen words of elite diplomatic jargon that build up to the statement that we should wait and see whether detente will last. Put it to a politician and he will say, "No, no, will the voters approve, and it may create unemployment," forgetting that if the security budget is reduced by only 10 per cent year, it may enable us to have all the electricity we need for farm and factory in five years time, and give more employment.

Put it to a general and you will get the most sensible answer, "What are the threat perceptions? If you feel they are lower, reduce expenditure by all means; but don't blame us for unpreparedness if you are proved wrong".

No Debate

Getting out of the rut of past thinking is the problem we have to face. Unfortunately, nobody except Mr. Rajiv Gandhi propounds doctrine in our democracy. There is no theoretician in the Congress party. Can a Prime Minister, hounded in by all sorts of capricious critics, formulate ideas for getting public opinion without involving himself in senseless controversy? He must encourage the thinking section in his Cabinet to raise public debates, as Mr. Vasant Suthi does from time to time. There are many men in the

Congress who can do it. Why not organise the groundswell of public opinion in this way?

Do we in our democracy show sensitivity to the problems of the millions who, below the poverty line, live a precarious existence day after day? We presume they do not deserve the benefits of democracy. A new class of super-rich persons has arisen after independence in the world's 17th poorest nation. The middle class has expanded considerably, but the poor have also proportionately increased, and they have no say in the management of their affairs. They are not even able to project what they need.

We expected that democracy would enable them to better their lot. We felt that the vote would enable them to influence politics and Government. Nothing of the sort has happened. We have got used to their presence. We are getting used to their sullen misery. We only plan in a bureaucratic way to help a few families with credit and income evaluations, called poverty programmes. The restless mass of the poor will push us into chaos unless we give them support in development.

India is said to be mentally not attuned to revolution. The fact that it has never had one in history is true. All that we have had was a non-violent change when the British left. What is forgotten is that time and again we have had something worse than revolution — chaos. We seem to have forgotten the partition riots, or the last period of chaos that occurred towards the end of Mughal rule. Again and again, anarchy has stalked the land. Its frequency and intensity is increasing.

[The author is a specialist on military affairs]

We should expect the frequency to increase because times have changed. The population is increasing rapidly. The poor are changing too; even the doctrine of karma is no longer accepted. TV, cinema, newspapers, education, word-of-mouth rumour, visits to cities and towns have created so much restlessness in the poor that it can erupt and cause irretrievable damage to the nation.

The basic cause of disorder is economic insecurity combined with political incitement. You can see it clearly in the Vijaya-wada outburst. You can see it in the 1984 riots in Delhi, or the communal outbursts of Uttar Pradesh, almost one every month. What does the attack on Safdar Hashmi show, or the gangland wars in Bihar? Even partition was caused by the desire to possess what someone else had, accentuated by political drive.

Danger Ignored

I am surprised that our politicians cannot see the danger. Even the Opposition which is looking for causes to espouse ignores it. Instead they spend that time in cacophonous uproar over Bofors.

In our democratic system, the poor have one great disadvantage — they are not able to articulate their feelings and frustrations in a striking manner. A fractured society, riven with caste and occupation and status, ensures that any move to help the poor ends in nothing.

The person who has seen the danger at first hand of neglecting this important problem, and has spoken about it with splendid courage, is Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Is it not remarkable that this young politician, who fought for democracy and won in a country we all thought worshipped militarism, has had the courage to give a clarion call to this sub-continent to change direction, and divert resources from armament to development?

In the sub-continent of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, where millions live on the edge of extinction, and where millions leave their village homes every year to put up hovels in squalid shanty-towns just to survive, the voice of the poor is not heard. There is no way, except in an election, to make their feelings clear, and even in that they are misled. Ms. Bhutto has lived in turmoil, and owes her place to the poor, and so she realises that the removal of poverty has got to be her first concern. Mr. Gandhi too thinks the same, and he has a problem which is much bigger in magnitude.

Cosy & Cynical

Very few, however, of the people who crowd around our two Prime Ministers have any experience of poverty. Many of them have never visited a village — nor even a city slum. In their cosy little cubicles they spend their time scratching for power and keeping the system going. They are busy having "a hard look." Cynical, suspicious, ever alert to shoot down every noble idea with distrust, they always play for safety.

How do we introduce the poorest and the most depressed into "Focus" on television, or put him up before a newspaper editor who talks of going slow on disarmament, or to the economist who sees "a year of buoyancy ahead" and is not prepared to assure us that the poverty line will not expand due to deficits, extravagance and inflation? How are we going to make poverty visible when many politicians pretend that it does not exist, or will soon disappear?

These are the people that we are relentlessly goading into violence owing to our excessive fear of being overwhelmed by Pakistan. They will smash and burn when they see that their lot could have been changed, and we refused to change it. Then it will be our turn to suffer, and those who lead the carnage will shout loudly "They deserve it."

Then perhaps the Finance Minister may speak a little more emphatically on the need for economy.

Dr. Colvin...

(Continued from page 12)

1970 that legally confirmed our sovereignty with a constitution that was the first of its kind drafted and ratified in this country itself.

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva will always be associated with that epoch making change in our political history.

His contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism will require a detailed assessment. Hector Abeywardana in a previous issue of the 'Lanka Guardian' had made a brief attempt. Batty Weerakoon in a way contributed to that assessment, recently by publishing a collection of articles written by Dr. Colvin R de Silva. The history of the Samasamajist movement in the country has already attracted the attention of scholars from here and abroad. Some of this writing was undertaken at a time when the Party was playing an important role in the forties and fifties (even extending up to the sixties). These assessments need periodic revision in the light of new political developments in the country. Recent changes in the composition of the ruling party itself would have to be seen in the light of the pioneering work done mainly by the Samasamaja Party in its years of growth. While the party itself may have suffered electoral misfortunes, retreating to a position with no significant political support in the country, its early policies and work still form the basis of policies of parties that have come to power. To this historic role that the Samasamaja Party had played, Dr. Colvin R De Silva could claim to have made a contribution that only the late Dr. N. M. Perera could equal.

Mobilising youth as change agents

Dayala I Abeysekera

The allocation of at least one quarter acre of public land within close proximity to the central spread of the residences of the IBs to put up the Janasala is vital. This is because the plan is to have the Janasala locality as a nucleus to embark on training programmes, income generating ventures, mobile office 'public days', IBC activities and any other activity that is deemed as necessary by the VIC for the betterment of life of its JB membership.

The immediate requirement for the Janasala building will be a boutique-front for conducting retail transactions, a store room to stock the commodities and a meeting room where the heads or their representative of each of the village JB families will be able to meet and conduct their deliberations and carry out other training programmes designed by them in association with governmental departments / authorities / NGOs. In case the proposal for incorporating the NNS within the VIC/Janasala complex is accepted, another banking cell will have to be added to the building.

Linking Governmental Extension Services with the Village

A crucial problem of development in a developing country with a well-entrenched system is the non-linkage of extension services with the target it strives to reach, viz., the common people. The vast army of public servants has been insulated within a system of self-perpetuation and bureaucratization resulting in a blatant dereliction of duty that is not punishable by law but more often is rewarded by the system. Social accountability is non-

existent. The source of this apathy or ineffectiveness is the State and a political elite that is primarily intent on system-maintenance and not of social change, mobilization of people and wealth generation. This edict could be changed drastically if the political will is there to institutionalize the achievement of 'holy orders' like career advancement on social accountability.

To bring the bureaucracy within reach of the village community, a representative of each service line should visit the Janasala complex at pre-appointed intervals (fortnightly/monthly) when the IBs could come with their problems and discuss with officials the best strategy to overcome them. Mobile teams of officers should be incorporated into the agency extending services to the public.

Incorporating the Educated Youth as Change Agents

It is most likely that due to generations of passive acceptance of poverty, the bulk of the older IBs may not respond to the JP with the enthusiasm and innovativeness that it demands. To activate them a few educated but unemployed youth of the community (who could be outside the families of IBs) should be incorporated into the JP as Change Agents. Such selections should be made on leadership qualities, commitment to the ethic of social service and of course, past performance.

The educated youth would be the most potent human resource available within a village setting. Angered by a system that stifles their potential the youth charged with the mission of eradicating poverty will become the cutting edge of the JP. They will exhort the IBs, officials and the rest of the community to live up to the promise of the JP. It may be prudent to have special income generating activities and training pro-

grammes targeted at the youth, possibly stimulated through the NNS which could go hand-in-hand with the investment programmes for the IBs.

Concluding Remarks

The proposed fortification of the JP through the establishment of the VIC and the Janasala complex is admittedly a structuring of an otherwise flexibly adaptable programme.

It was assumed that even with the granting of an investment capital of Rs. 25,000/- per IB family, the family alone had minimal chance of breaking away from the vicious cycle of poverty and deprivation. It was the belief of this writer that devoid of an organisational base and intense mobilisation of the IBs, the chances of at least two thirds of them emancipating themselves from poverty were remote. Thus, the fortification of the JP was proposed.

It might be pointed out that what is proposed is the time-tested formula for capital formation within the resource scarce rural or urban setting. Embarks on running a boutique, catering to the basic food needs of the rural population. Before long he turns out to be the village MUDALALI since he sells the goods that are in most demand. This becomes a recurrent source of capital accumulation for the MUDALALI and a constant source of bondage to the customer who invariably has to seek credit from him.

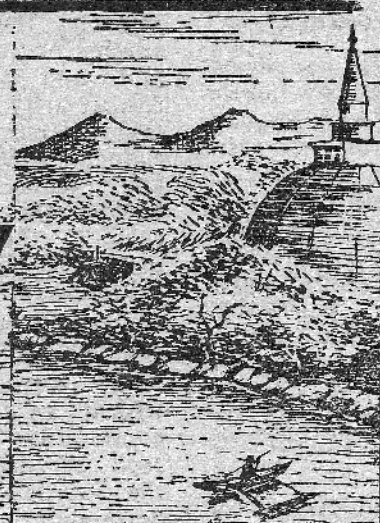
The proposed Janasala complex seeks to replicate this basic truism in capital formation with the exclusion of the exploitative social relations between petty capitalist and impoverished consumer. In the Janasala, the capitalist and consumer are meshed into one, nurturing and reinforcing each other through a unique process of relatively non-exploitative process.

(Concluded)

Dr. Abeysekera is Asst. Resident Representative of FORUT, a Norwegian NGO.

to link up with technology

Few other countries can claim that capital invested over 15 centuries ago in extensive irrigation programmes is still contributing to their life.



... and Sri Lanka is linking modern technology to these age old assets through the Mahaweli Diversion Complex which will assuredly lift us into a better life.

CIC channels a wide range of expertise into Sri Lanka's agriculture and industry. From Paddy Field to Factory Floor from Plantation to Cottage Weaver.

**Modern expertise means
improved quality**



TAL-3002

The impact of organised violence on Electoral politics

Vasanthi Amarasinghe

It was clear that Premier Premadasa alone was resolutely opposed to these steps. He went out of his way to explicitly contradict the view that the JVP was responsible for the crisis, saying so publicly on many occasions, from the time that his nomination was announced (for example in Hong Kong in September 1988: "as far as the violence and the crimes that are now prevailing in certain areas of Sri Lanka are concerned, I cannot pronounce the JVP guilty." (*Daily News* 28/9.)

He went as far as to force the Secretary to the President, W.M.P. Menikdiwela, to retract and apologise for an official communique he had issued. The statement of 16th November had announced that "The Prime Minister... added that the dissolution of Parliament can be considered if the leadership of the JVP will stop violence, enter the mainstream of politics and consent to serve in the Interim Administration." Two days later, Menikdiwela "corrected an error" in the statement, announcing that "the Prime Minister had not said that the dissolution could be considered if the JVP leadership would stop violence", and "that at no time in the discussion had the Prime Minister attributed violence to the JVP."

It also appeared at this time that feelings were mutual, if we are to go by widely-distributed publications and statements supposed to have been issued by the JVP. In these the JVP and the DJV virulently attacked the President and selected ministers, as well as, for sometime after the nomination, SLFP leader Mrs. Bandaranaike. The *Sunday Times* published (on 6/11 and 13/11) a translation of a lengthy communication purported to have been sent by JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera, in response to ques-

tions addressed to him in their sister paper the *Lankadeepa*. Among a number of very long answers the briefest is the response to a question about the Prime Minister:

Q Prime Minister R. Premadasa does not speak against the JVP. He publicly states that the JVP should not be held responsible for the acts of violence in the country. What is your idea of his actions?

A Whoever they may be, we judge people by the things they do and not on what they say.

The main objectives of subversive violence and Southern terrorism in the weeks preceding the poll were to bring the terror campaign to such frightening levels that it would enforce a compulsory boycott of the election by voters.

The actions to prevent voters going to the polls took the form of a psychology of terror, actual killings (including those of election officials on election day), blocking of roads, the exploding of bombs, stopping of public transport and the interruption of power, postal and telegraphic communications. Conditions in Matara in the week before the poll are representative of many Southern and North-Central areas. In Matara the poll was preceded by an effective 'curfew' imposed by the 'subversive organisation'. People were told to remain in their houses after 6.00 pm, to turn off all lights, radios and televisions. On the morning of the poll a new set of posters went up, some in very large characters, warning voters that "the penalty for voting was death". Here, as in many areas, it was only the intervention of the security forces that created the conditions later in the day for at least some sections of the population to cast their votes.

What is most significant is that these disruptions were most felt and most effective in the Southern electoral districts, such as Matara, Galle, Hambantota, Moneragala, all of which recorded low polls (23.84%, 49.78%, 29.43% and 17.01%, respectively), and the North-Central districts of Anuradhapura (40.36%), Kurunegala (50.05%), Matale (30.28%), Polonnaruwa (29.73%) and Badulla (41.80%), all highly rural areas in most of which the SLFP traditionally commanded a high degree of support, especially in the outlying villages rather than in the towns.

The four southern districts mentioned above had a total registered vote of just over 1.48 million, of which only 34.22% voted. All four districts registered a very high poll in the 1982 presidential election, all over 80%. If we consider the figures for the Galle and Matara Districts which the SLFP won in the present election, they would have gained approximately 50,000 votes more than the UNP had at least 80% voted in the same way that people actually voted on the 19th December. The situation in the North-Central districts is similar. The SLFP won (55.15% of the valid vote and 54.25% of the registered vote) in Anuradhapura (where 40.36% polled), and might have gained a majority of more than 32,000 over the UNP had 80% voted in the same proportions. For a number of reasons, it is possible to think that even in those Southern and North-Central districts which polled low and were won by the UNP, the SLFP may well have obtained a majority. Reports and documentary evidence clearly indicate that in these troubled, low-polling rural Sinhala electorates, the most badly affected polling stations were in the villages off the beaten track. Voting was

easier in the town areas and on main roads which were kept open by security forces. The superior UNP organisation, with its better transport facilities, would have been able to pull out more of its voters to the polls than the SLFP.

It has already been pointed out that high polling and large UNP gains were made in areas where traditionally UNP-voting ethnic and religious minorities dominated. The sealing-off of the poor, rural Sinhala vote, with many instances of entire villages that were unable to cast a single vote, must have made tremendous inroads into the SLFP's position. An article by Outsider in the *Sunday Times* of 8th January (sections of which had been deleted on legal advice), showed swings to the SLFP in 19 of the 22 districts, with swings of 15.89%, 19.20% and 18.66% in Galle, Matara and Anuradhapura, respectively. If these three medium-low polling areas reflected a general trend in the Sinhala rural constituencies.

The nine districts listed earlier have a total registered vote of 2,522,559. In fact only 50.97% (i.e. 1,285,768) of these voters went to the polls, and 23,201 votes were spoilt. A total of 1,236,791 voters did not vote. If the polls had been in the usual range of 70-80%, between 1,765,791 and 2,018,047 could have been expected to vote in the presidential election under normal conditions. Had, for example, even 54.25% (the percentage obtained by the SLFP in Anuradhapura District), of these voted for the SLFP, adding up to another 1,094,790 to their final total, a very different result might have transpired.

The four remaining districts which registered a less than 60% poll — Batticaloa (58.48%), Trincomalee (53.81%), Jaffna (21.72%) and Wanni (13.79%) — were all within the Northern and Eastern areas, affected by the ethnic conflict and occupied by the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF). In the presidential election of 1982, 121,389 votes were won by the SLFP here and 133,830 by Jayewardene, the UNP candidate.

While they may not necessarily have given high votes to the SLFP, and the presence of another candidate at this time with potentially wide support in these areas may have affected the voting pattern, it would not have helped the UNP candidate much. It has to be noted that Mrs. Bandaranaike's election petition singles out these north-east districts as areas where free polling was deliberately prevented by death threats, etc. As there is no question of DJV or JVP activity in these areas, this raises the interesting question of who was responsible for a campaign which seems to have been nationwide?

Another commentator, the thrust of whose argument is so different from ours, nevertheless conceded this when she wrote, "In the final analysis it has to be said that the JVP may have lost the election for Mrs. Bandaranaike" (Radhika Coomaraswamy in the *Lanka Guardian* 1/1/89).

The equally important issue is whether a free and fair election would have produced a very different result. Careful analysis may partially answer this question. So also may the results of the February parliamentary poll and the political atmosphere in which takes place. The answers may not be of more than academic interest in themselves. What is really important is whether Premadasa's regime, will solve the problems of economic development and social unrest in Sri Lanka.

Premadasa is known to be one of the country's most dynamic and go-getting political leaders. However, will the present path of violence destroy the democratic traditions built up in the country over the last 50 years? Should this happen, one of Asia's most politically developed democracies could fall to the lowest political and economic place in the region. Premadasa built his populist political career in Colombo's slums. If his economic programme fails to deliver the goods, it may one day lead to a crisis much greater than that which engulfed Sri Lanka in 1988.

The first symptoms of the present disease of large-scale "terrorist" violence to achieve political ends were visible in the Referendum of 1982 and Sri Lanka's mysteriously engineered holocaust of 1983. The failure to see that the presidential election of 1988 was not just an exercise in electoral politics holds very great dangers for Sri Lanka's political future. The test of whether it can still have a genuinely free and fair election will be the parliamentary election of 15 February. As this article is being written, one month before that event, the indications are that it may be as flawed and as questionable as the presidential election.

(Concluded)

Gorbachev...

(Continued from page 14)

Home scene

On the home scene, Soviet President referred to those forces in the society, which occupying important places in the various sectors of the society, looking for *perestroika* petering out in due course and everything then going back to the old track.

But that his main thrust was on giving socialism a human face.

He again made a forceful plea to eliminate the existing deficit of many consumer goods and drew attention to the fact that production indices were showing upward trend but acute shortages of vital necessities prevailed.

Earlier in the day Mr. Gorbachev made his first visit to the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and indicated to a worried Soviet public that he will take a cautious approach to nuclear power.

Official Soviet television on Thursday showed Mr. Gorbachev, dressed in a white robe and hat, touring the site of the world's worst nuclear power accident and quizzing workers and officials about its safety.

RUSHDIE AFFAIR — A Sinhala Writer protests

H. A. Seneviratne

Whatever are the stances taken by governments in various countries in accordance with their views the community of writers throughout the world cannot but protest against this man-hunt to kill a fellow-writer.

Rushdie has gone into hiding since Khomeini 'decreed' that he should be killed because his novel blasphemes the Islamic religion. In the meantime, in Nigeria, which is a Muslim country, Wole Soyinka, Africa's first Nobel prize laureate, denounced this death 'decree'. It was reported that several hundreds of Muslims in Northern Nigeria demonstrated demanding his death too.

Norman Mailer with several other American writers condemned the 'death sentence' saying that "If he (Rushdie) is killed for folly, we must be killed for the same folly". He described this as "the largest hit (murder) contract in history".

There are writers in our country too and there are diverse unions and organisations of writers.

But writers in this country do not appear to have come forward to condemn the order to kill Salman Rushdie for the 'folly' of writing a novel. Does the silence on an important issue like this mean that there are no real writers in this country? Or is it that the media do not allow the expression of their views? Whatever be the reason does it not imply that we cannot be too proud of ourselves as sensitive human beings?

Salman Rushdie's book was first banned in India, the country of his birth, Pakistan, South Africa and Saudi Arabia also banned it. In Sri Lanka too it is banned.

A book is banned when it cannot be suppressed by a conspiracy of silence. What is primarily proved by the banning of a book is that it cannot be refuted by writing against it. On the other hand, if the whole basis of a work, the reality of it is false it will be 'refuted' by society even without any literature being produced against it. That is how the destiny of a book is decided.

What will be decided by banning a book or killing its writer is not the destiny of that book or its author but the destiny of the nation that underlines such banning or killing. Iran is no exception.

We in Sri Lanka cannot read Salman Rushdie's novel and pass judgement on it for the simple reason that it is banned. It is wrong to ban a book. How wrong will it be to call for the killing of a writer? We should denounce the attempt to kill Rushdie a thousandfold more than we would denounce the the banning of his book.

To the voices raised to prevent Salman Rushdie from being killed I add mine too, whatever be the weight it will carry as that of a writer in Sri Lanka.

Note:

In the letter accompanying his statement, Mr. Seneviratne says that three leading Sinhala papers have not published his protest. He has no objection to the publication of this fact about the response of the "Independent" press — Ed.

N. VAITILINGAM & CO., LTD.

70, K. CYRIL C. PERERA MAWATHA,
COLOMBO 13.

DISTRIBUTORS OF "RIVER" BRAND GALVANISED SHEETS

HARDWARE MERCHANTS & MANUFACTURERS OF
BARBED WIRE, WOODSCREWS & WIRENAILS.

Office
Phones: Sales Department

33143-5, 27669, 26842

Take-off points for self-reliance

Towards a Theory of Rural Development by G. V. S. de Silva, Wahid-ul-Haque, Niranjana Mehta, Anis-ur-Rahman, Ponna Wignarajah. *Progressive Publishers, Pakistan.*

BOOK
REVIEW

Five Asian Development scholars of international repute, two of them Sri Lankans, have published a collection of studies deserving considered attention. "Towards a Theory of Rural Development" is remarkable in that it is not just a series of individual exhortations, but a result of truly shared experience and collective creativity. It has therefore, for officials and professionals engaged in poverty alleviation a double significance: the painstaking and patient approach to collective creativity among the authors and the substantive content of their message. In particular the many small and larger private organisations venturing into rural development should use this book as a standard reference in their staff meetings. The authors make it eminently clear that simplistic solutions always have disastrous consequences. They have been amongst the first to point out that respect for complexity is the most fruitful attitude of rural problem solvers to community development.

The book is co-sponsored by The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Sweden. Originally the material was published in 1975 by that foundation under the title: *What Now - in an attempt to influence the restructuring of the UN system towards Another Development*. Today the authors can pride themselves in still being very much to the point and up to date. Their central thesis is our need to switch from the macro-economic to the micro-economic perception of development. Unfortunately, this thesis is still not yet internalised enough by international or national bodies. Then and now we see large capital intensive, macro-level projects are faltering in their

development effect. Western consultant companies and contractors who have been gorging on the funding are going bankrupt for want of tangible proof of their contribution. International and bi-lateral funding agencies are turning increasingly to private organisations to do the trick. Community participation, grass roots decision-making, empowerment of people, process orientation are the issues of the day. Everybody talks about it, — some even very eloquently — but very few know how to do it in practice.

The authors provide food for thought for development workers who yearn to go about their endeavour in a professional manner. They provide a simple conceptual framework for design and evaluation of rural project.

Another basic tenet of the authors is: Before the poor can benefit, their dependency on the rich must necessarily be reduced. In practice, this entails developing in poor rural communities their staying power in an environment riddled with conflict. The project should be looked at in terms of an inter-related and varied set of activities which are undertaken in stages. Social organising of the people and self-reliant income generation based on local resources is intertwined, one flowing from the other. Creation of an economic base for the poor cannot be achieved without actualisation of a collective consciousness and cooperative values. Projects must be built on the collective experience of the previous stages.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodological imperative in approaching the community. As part of the process of their conscientization, the

people themselves should be on an equal footing with the social researcher and change agent. They should be involved in gathering data, analysing, assessing and taking decisions on their own development priorities and actions. Similarly, for the process to be sustained, the people should be involved in evaluation of their own progress. Self-evaluation should be part of the internal dynamics of the project. Project design and evaluation are two sides of the same coin. Although stated comprehensively in 1975 by these authors, the recognition of PAR as a legitimate method of research as well as a fundamental right of communities is largely limited to the private organisations.

The authors substantiate their practical framework with a very thorough analysis of a wide variety of Asian examples: The Village of Sultanpur, India. The Comilla Experiment, Bangladesh; The Rural Reconstruction Project (TRRM), Thailand. The well known Bhoomi Sena movement in India is treated in great detail and in its methodology, the take-off point for community development is the moment when people say: **We shall take decisions. We shall take outside help only to raise our own capabilities!** Many true rural development practitioners will nod in recognition of that. The 417 pages are worth while acquiring because they contain for all of us some of the most essential take-off points for self-reliance in community development.

Andreas Fuglesang
Dale Chandler

The authors work for an NGO in Colombo.

KOESTLER REHABILITATED

Light Pierces Noon's Darkenss

Margaret Van Hattem on a prophetic coincidence in the East's lifting of the ban on a seminal book

It has taken nearly half a century and a second revolution in the socialist world for the prophecy to be borne out and for the prophet to find honour in his own country.

In 1946, Arthur Koestler, author of *Darkness at Noon*, the first sustained moral indictment of Stalinism, called for a "psychological disarmament" in the Soviet Union as an essential prerequisite to military disarmament.

Appeasement of the Soviet paranoia and persecution mania, he warned, could prove as lethal as the appeasement of the German mania of grandeur had proved earlier.

Urging the Western powers to counter Soviet territorial claims with demands for the free flow of ideas across Soviet-occupied territory and the free movement of people across East-West frontiers and to keep up an unrelenting pressure, he predicted that Soviet military disarmament would "automatically" follow such a process, but it would not take place without profound psychological change.

By one of those bizarre coincidences which would have fascinated and delighted the man himself, the long-standing ban in the East on his best-known work, *Darkness at Noon*, has been lifted just as the Soviet Union has embarked on the process of disarmament which he predicted.

None of Koestler's 25 books has yet been published in his native Hungarian — nor in Budapest, his birthplace.

But now *Darkness at Noon* is being serialised in the Lenin-grad periodical, *Neva*, and is about to be published in Budapest.

Publication in London in 1940, with Koestler correcting the page proofs from his cell in Pentonville Prison, caused little stir other than to start a long, slow process of disillusionment among some British socialists, which was to continue growing through the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian uprising, the 1968 crushing of the Prague Spring, and the prolonged military intervention in Afghanistan.

But Koestler's thinly-disguised account of the 1938 Moscow show trials, staged by Stalin to eliminate those old Bolsheviks whom he feared as potential rivals, caused a storm two years later when published in France, when the Communists emerged from the German occupation as the largest political party.

The French translator had to retreat behind a pseudonym, while Koestler himself was subjected to verbal abuse, slander and threats of physical violence. Entire stocks of the book were mysteriously hauled up from suburban and provincial bookshops (by the Communists, it was later revealed), while a black market developed on which the book sold at five times the marked price.

It was not published at all in the East, which had to wait another 16 years for Khrushchev's "secret speech" to the Soviet Party Congress to learn the truth about Stalin and Stalinism.

The book's impact in France was such that Koestler was credited with turning the tide single-handed against the Communists and losing them the 1945 French elections.

The unusual phenomenon of intelligence and self-confidence in the Kremlin has changed the nature of the intellectual pool into which a book, once seen as seminal in the West, will now drop in the East, but it will be surprising if it make much of a splash. Indeed it is puzzling that it has taken the politically relaxed (relatively speaking) Hungarians longer to recognise their greatest 20th-century writer than to begin debating openly the merits of ending the Communist Party monopoly on power and re-introducing a multi-party system.

In 1948, the mid-point between Stalin's death and the peak of his reign of terror, Koestler had to seek refuge in Britain.

Writing in the British socialist paper, *Tribune*, he foreshadowed developments in Soviet policy leading to disarmament, developments which caught the West totally off guard when first announced late last year, but which, when predicted by Koestler, were denounced as so incendiary that he was branded a fanatical cold-warrior.

Urging the Western powers to counter the post-war Soviet territorial claims in south-eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and North Africa, he sought a "psychological disarmament" that would break down

the Soviet fear and suspicion of the West, which, he suspected; was being nurtured by the Kremlin.

He proposed a basic framework of demands centred on the free flow of ideas across frontiers, free access to the Soviet Union for foreign publications, newspapers, books, periodicals, films, accredited journalists and parliamentary delegations, and the abolition of curbs on the free movement of foreign travellers in Soviet-occupied territory and on Soviet citizens wishing to travel abroad.

These demands, he urged, should be pressed constantly at the highest international levels.

"No treaties and paper agreements will induce the powers to disarm, as long as the people remain in the state of acute anxiety and latent hysteria," he warned.

But concluding, in words which could today well pass as an extract from a speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, he cautioned that restoration of the free flow of ideas, "the arrested bloodstream of the world", was a "matter of universal survival". "The alternative before us is one world or no world at all." ●

POLITICS WITHOUT...

(Continued from page 11)

Permanent Revolution. Both CP and LSSP were influenced in the determination of their strategies by the dominant influence of the Soviet Union, even if this was so in opposite directions.

The fact was that the Russian Revolution was doomed to a disastrous fate in the absence of an accompanying proletarian revolution in Western Europe. Lenin was profoundly conscious of this fact and he strove to the utmost, first to stimulate, and then to sustain the revolutionary wave from one country to another in Eastern and Central Europe. But Lenin found himself confronted by the central fact that, while the workers in Germany, Poland and Hungary were ready for revolution, there was no revolutionary party in any of these countries to lead the endeavour. The formation of the Comintern was a desperate endeavour to throw the resources of the Soviet state into the building of revolutionary parties in Europe before it became too late. But even this proved to be a catastrophe.

Revolutionary parties could hardly take shape where even the barest local roots were lacking in the native proletariat. What eventually turned out was that pliant bureaucracies in one country after another were placed in command of weakling formations, entirely patterned on the Russian Communist Party and completely subservient to its leadership's dictates. It was a cruel caricature of an international movement.

The CP and the LSSP could not escape being part of this pitiful tragedy. It could be said that the LSSP tried hard, desperately hard, to keep its head above water. It had able leaders, brilliant men and stout-hearted women to lead and temper its ranks. But with the collapse of the European revolution there was not much that the Asian countries could do except to provide a push here or there and wait, as in China, for another opportunity. It was in Soviet Union that the revolution was being kept alive, but under conditions of Stalinism that questioned whether that was worthwhile as an end in itself.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Air Mail

Canada/U.S.A. for 1 copy L/G
US\$ 50.00 for 1 year
US\$ 30.00 for 6 months

* * *

U.K., Germany, New Zealand
Australia, Netherlands, France,
Japan, Holland, Philippines,
Austria, Norway, Sweden,
China, Ireland, Switzerland,
Nigeria, Belgium, Denmark,
Paris, London,
US\$ 40.00 for 1 year,
US\$ 25.00 for 6 months

* * *

Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia,
Dubai, Bahrain, Arabian Gulf,
Syria, Singapore.
US\$ 35.00 for 1 year
US\$ 20.00 for 6 months

* * *

India, Pakistan.
US\$ 30.00 for 1 year
US\$ 17.00 for 6 months

* * *

Local
Rs. 140/- for 1 year
Rs. 75/- for 6 months

THE PREMIER PORT IN SOUTH ASIA

A massive Port Expansion Project has transformed Colombo into a modern Container Handling Port and Transshipment Centre qualifying for "Base Port" status with the following additional facilities to the Industrial and Commercial Port Users:

- Bulk-Handling facilities for Grain, Fertilizer and Cement.
- Rebagging and Reprocessing facilities.
- A Streamlined Bonding Service.

Any special requirements could be arranged for on request.

Enquiries:



SRI LANKA PORTS AUTHORITY

19, Church Street, P. O. Box 595,
Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Telephone: 2 5 5 5 9

Telex: 21805 PORTS CE

WE ARE A DIFFERENT KIND OF GUARDIAN TO YOU !

There are a multitude of guardians during your lifetime

- They who guard the freedom of speech & expression
- They who protect the basic human rights of mankind
- They who guard the democratic freedoms to which each of us are entitled to as citizens

*Each of us is a guardian to others who view us for their
dependency in day to day life*

**BUT THE DIFFERENCE IN OUR GUARDIANSHIP
RESTS ON OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR YOUR FUTURE
WE ARE TRUSTED GUARDIANS OF YOUR HARD-EARNED
MONEY, GUIDING YOU ON HOW TO SPEND AND HOW TO SAVE
FOR YOU AND YOUR DEPENDENTS' TOMORROWS**

**SO REACH OUT TODAY
FOR YOUR LIFE-LONG GUARDIAN**



PEOPLE'S BANK

A Different Kind Of Guardian For You