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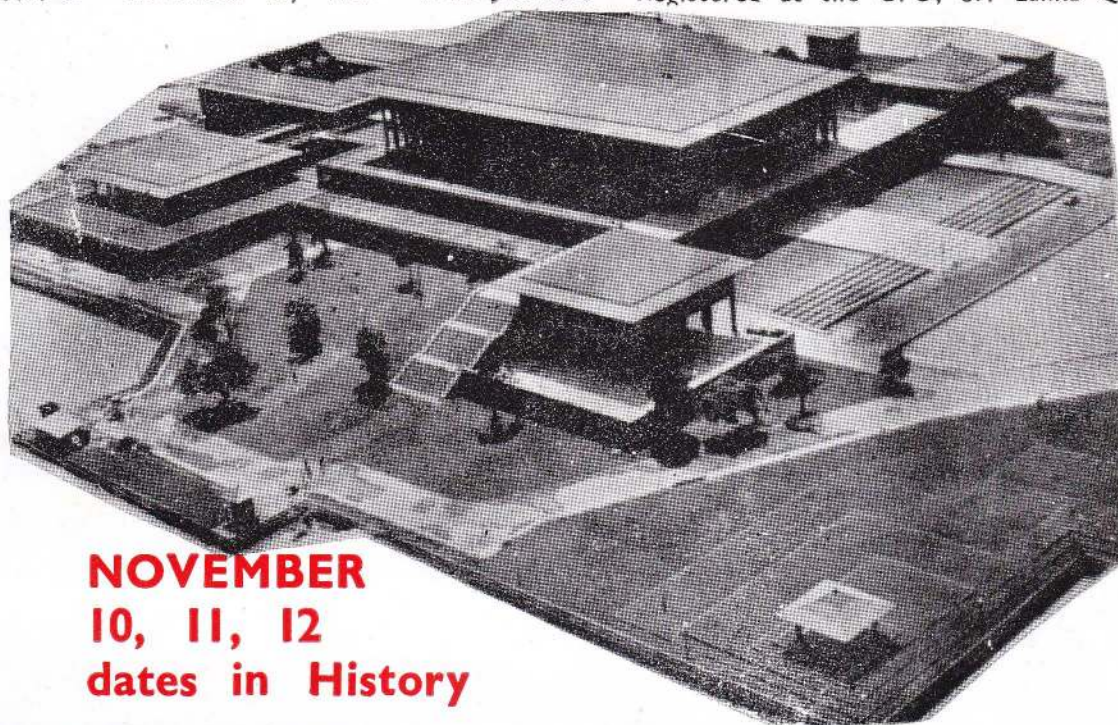
**INDIA'S ROLE IN SRI LANKA**

— Bhabani Sen Gupta

**LANKA**

# **GUARDIAN**

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**NOVEMBER  
10, 11, 12  
dates in History**

**The illusion of power and the reality — Mervyn de Silva**

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**C.R.M.'s point-by-point reply — Desmond Fernando**

***Also:* The crash of '87, Handling the J.V.P. and  
The Gorbachev report**



# Black Knight

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# TRENDS

## YOUTH UNREST

Youth unrest has become a popular seminar topic. A sign of the times, and a healthy one, but are we too late? Time will show. Meanwhile, it is reassuring to see that the subject is discussed in the wider context of population growth, education and unemployment.

Statistics are not always ready at hand or when available, not always reliable.

These figures were presented at a seminar held at the Bluebird Central College, sponsored by the District's Welfare Society. The speaker, Mr. J. A. Gunawardene underlined the dramatic downturn of the economy from 1982 onwards, a fact we all know. He related this however to the 1977-1982 upswing

and employment generation curve. With the high growth rate registered the UNP regime's first five years, some 200,000 jobs were created per year. Today's unemployed exceed 800,000. Well over a Lakh of school leavers enter the job market. Sri Lanka's working age group is a rising percentage of the population too. By 2000, A.D. it will be 60% of the 29 million population.

## ROYAL ROW

If a job is the school-leaver's oppressive worry, school-entering is a very common cause of parental anguish — particularly to the middle class family so anxious to give a child a "good education", meaning education in one of the "established" schools. Better teachers, better facilities and a better environment give him/her a head-start over the poorly equipped rural or semi-urban schools.

The struggle for a place in one of these schools has become so acute that proper system of admission are evidently honoured in the breach. "Connections" and "money" seems to matter most. There are "objective criteria, true enough, like the residential

or 'area' rule. But one can always get oneself 'temporary' or 'false' address.

The admission system to the elite schools has become so open to criticism and, in some quarters, abuse, that Sri Lanka's best known school, Royal, it was reported in the SUN, is at the centre of a controversy that may end up in the Law Courts.

## JOBS GALORE

There's no dearth of jobs — but only in the forbidding living and working conditions of the plantations. If the Indo-Sri Lanka Citizenship and Reparation Agreements are properly implemented, there would be 290,000 vacancies next year when persons of Indian origin who have been accepted as Indian citizens are repatriated.

The jobs are mainly in the so-called "coolie lines" — hard work, very modest wages. But the UNP affiliated National Employees Union is not taking any chances. It has told the State Plantations Corporation and the JEDB, the two biggest employers, that preference should be given to workers now employed in estates of less than five acres.

## LALITH ATHULATHMUDALI AND 'MAINSTREAM' ARTICLE

In our Oct. 15 issue, we published an article titled "Does Rajiv realise he's riding a Tiger", by Mr. Nikhil Chakravarty, the distinguished editor of the Indian journal MAINSTREAM, in which the following sentence appeared:

"Of these Lalith Athulathmudali is believed to be behind sending out agent provocateurs to the disturbed eastern province where they helped to spread large scale violence".

We have been informed by Mr. Athulathmudali's lawyers that this statement is "completely false". On behalf of the LG we accept this, and express regret to Mr. Athulathmudali for any damage caused to his reputation and character, and any pain of mind.

LANKA

# GUARDIAN

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# STATE OF SEIGE

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS  
BACKGROUND

A 5 to 4 division in the Supreme Court, the narrowest possible in the 9 member bench. But a massive majority in the House — 136 to 10. Though reflecting a sharply contradictory balance of opinion, the numbers represent the formal verdict of the judicial, constitutional and the parliamentary systems. But what of the political reality?

Overhead, a helicopter hovers protectively. (Menacingly?) A convoy of tourist-type buses, escorted by heavily armed soldiers in jeeps and trucks, moves swiftly through the streets from Hotel Lanka "Oberoi" on the four miles stretch to the lavishly laid out Parliamentary complex at Jayawardanapura. The passengers are M.P.'s, Deputy Ministers, District Ministers and Cabinet Ministers. Each day, 3 in the morning and then on the return journey 3 in the evening, this tableau was enacted from Nov. 10-12, three days perhaps more critically important than any in the Sri Lankan parliament's 40 year calendar.

Such are the capricious turnabouts of history that posterity may well determine that this was President J.R.'s boldest and bravest hour, but for the moment it was a scintillating image of an embattled regime, a state of seige.

The numerical division inside in no way mirrored the great divide of popular (Sinhala) opinion outside. Since there were no MP's from the Tamil north, the divide, one might say, that marked electoral opinion in the Sinhala South. Whether the Peace Accord is in fact the foundation for national harmony as Mahaweli Minister Gamini Dissanayake and Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel argued or the initial step to physical division as

MEP Leader Dinesh Gunawardena claimed, the immediate outcome of July 29 Accord has been Discord. With an interesting contribution from the Tamil-Muslim-Sinhala representatives of the East, the most bitterly contested theatre of the 'war' as well as the ethnic conflict. They all voted for the PC Bill and the 13th Amendment. How fairly did they reflect the situation on the ground, and actual opinion trends in the province? Now that the 'North' is being pacified militarily, with the LTTE reduced to hit and-run and sniper attacks and of course, their speciality, land-mine warfare, it is the East which will be both politically and militarily the focus of both the government's and the IPKF's attention next year.

The ethnic mosaic, the highly sensitive (and explosive) issue of the north-east merger, the 'harder areas', the flow of refugees, the presence of armed groups, Tamil, Muslim and Sinhalese, will surely make this Sri Lanka's powder-keg in the foreseeable future. It is only with and after the P.C. elections that these tensions will surface and quickly sharpen.

The South of course is the main base of national politics, the real arena of the power struggle. All these decades, that struggle has assumed the form of a parliamentary contest, with eruptions of violence, often accompanying a general election and its immediate aftermath. The singular exception was the 1971 insurrection.

The Police claim (*Island* 12/11) that "two hard core JVP'ers" had confessed that the outlawed party would return to pre-1971 tactics. The admission, if authentic, has no credibility. The political situation is radically

different. The 1970 electoral victory of the first left-inclined 'United Front' had raised enormous youth expectations, particularly among the lower-middle class semi-urban and rural youth, and these high hopes were quickly dashed. The police, cleverly, triggered the insurrection.

Today the main features of the social-political scene are:

- (1) an exhausted ten-year regime that postponed polls in 1982, and perpetuated its power,
- (2) a parliament in which the UNP holds 85% of the seats for the 52% vote got in 1977 July
- (3) a million youths who have had no chance to exercise their right to choose an MP.
- (4) the dramatic post-83 downturn of the economy.
- (5) rising unemployment and cost of living.
- (6) a righteous youth anger over the high life of the affluent, the widespread corruption and racketeering.
- (7) a chronic violence that has become a part of the new pattern of life, the post-77 institutionalising of political violence and the militarisation of Sri Lankan society, a by-product of the 5 year war in the north, the familiarity and access to arms.
- (8) a repressive regimen, particularly vicious in relation to youth protest and expression of radical opinion. (See Ronnie on JVP)

Is the JVP or the SLEP the bigger threat to the government? Answering the question, President JR said "The JVP is a threat

to democracy, the SLFP is not a threat. It is a challenge to the UNP. It is trying to defeat us not trying to overthrow the government."

Is the SLFP among the "allies of the JVP you mentioned"? "No" said the President. "It may be some at the lower level but not the SLFP as a party".

While the social political environment was extremely congenial to violent agitation, the "Accord" provided an ideal rallying point since it combined two emotive issues — anti Eelam and anti-Tamil, aggressive minority separatism and Big Brother expansionism/hegemonism.

It is clear from President IR's reply that he is aware that youth activism finds its operational terrain much wider because it includes the SLFP's huge support base.

The UNP's strategy will take that into account. President IR's calculations are plainly based on the assumption that the majority of Sinhalese will fatalistically accept the situation once the Bills are law. Then, he will go into the offensive. Already that is evident. The heavily guarded motorcade and the army escort was not prompted by memories of the Aug 18 grenade attack in Parliament. Each UNP MP had received a 'final warning' printed in red. A vote for the bills meant death for the MP and his family.

Fear was the weapon. Thus, the resignations, *en masse* sometimes, from UNP or pro-UNP organisations. Will the answer be counter-fear or counter-terror? "At Imbulgoda a body was found with a placard round its neck which read 'this is what we do to saboteurs'". "OUTRAGED PUBLIC KILL JVP'ERS, BURN HOMES" read the banner headline in the frontpage of the *Daily News*. (See box)

## The race against C.O.L.

The Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel is determined to give an all-round pay hike with his 10th budget later this month. But while the wage-earner and the salaried will certainly welcome anything that is offered — bigger, the better — the actual contribution with these periodic increases to make life somewhat easier for the middle class family has to be judged in terms of the permanent (and losing) race against prices.

Of the statistics furnished by the Central Bank, perhaps the most telling is the ten year comparison (1978-87) between C.O.L. and the wage hikes. The monthly income of the average middle class Sri Lankan family rose by 420 rupees over this period, while the rise in Cost of Living was well over double that — Rs. 908.

Some other interesting figures:

Central Bank reports show that while the daily wage of an average workman increased by 60 percent in the the last six years, cost of beef shot up by 133 percent during the same period.

There has also been a notable increase in the cost of rice, dried fish, vegetables and other consumer items as well as water bills and electricity bills.

The problem of the increasing cost of living has also effected the rural farmer, the report reveals. The daily wage of a farmer increased by about Rs. 15 in the past six years, while his daily living cost increased by double that amount.

Between 1952 and 1975, the cost of living index kept pace with income. In this period the index went up 98.3 in between 1975 and 1987 shot up by a staggering 467.5.

An outraged public reacted violently to a chain of disruptive attacks launched by subversive JVP elements.

Four JVPers were killed, three at Hambantota and one at Imbulgoda. Several homes of JVPers were burnt at Manerigala, Buzula and Siyambalanduwa.

At other places the public arrested JVPers engaged in sabotage and handed over to the police.

School masters in some places caught saboteurs or chased them away when they turned up to disrupt the schools.

At Badulla the Vigilance Committee assaulted and drove away about 30 JVPers who were destroying a pylon to cut the power supply and later reconstructed the pylon.

In an engagement with JVPers, a police party led by ASP K. P. Pathirana of the Hambantota police shot dead two of them.

From early morning JVP subversives sabotaged transport and power supply systems in some towns and attempted to keep children from their schools in the outskirts.

Reports to police headquarters indicated that although a certain degree of disruption was achieved elsewhere by these elements, they did not have the day to themselves, very often meeting with resistance from the people.

At Imbulgoda a body was found with a placard round its neck reading "This is what we do to saboteurs".

Sabotage was reported to power lines feeding Galle, Matara, Badulla, Matara and Kilinochchi. Train services were disrupted by the removal of fishplates at a number of points in Anuradhapura, Panadura, Medawachchiya, Peradeniya and at points in Kandy.

— Daily News

# WAR OF THE 'TIGER'

## — Which phase next?

'This should be a short, sharp exercise and our boys should be back soon' said Mr. Gandhi in an interview with British TV. Before students of Vietnam and Afghanistan are seized by an overpowering sense of *deja vu*, they should note a *Hindustan Times* report which states that 'Indian troops will in future be specially trained in anti-guerrilla warfare'. The decision has been taken, said the Indian daily, following 'the higher-than-expected' casualty figures. While the Indian army has decades of experience in fighting ethnic insurgencies, especially in north India, the IPKF has encountered unexpected difficulties — tactics of ambush, the use of landmine etc.

Observing that the next stage of the operation will move from the Jaffna peninsula and the north to the ethnically mixed eastern province, Nikhil Chakravarty, the editor of the reputed *MAINSTREAM* wrote the following:

By all indications, it is clear as daylight that the storming of the LTTE base in Jaffna town is by no means the end of the bloody story. For no guerilla force is the fall of the citadel the end of the armed resistance. Rather, it is the beginning of a new phase which may turn out to be advantageous for it.

### No End

It needs to be noted that the battle for Jaffna town does not end the virtual war that the Indian Army is now waging against this Tamil militant group in Sri Lanka. After Jaffna town, there is the thickly populated Jaffna peninsula to be cleared. Beyond that is the rest of the Northern Province, and after that the more difficult job of tackling the Eastern Province with its mixed ethnic composition.

It has taken more than two weeks for the Indian armed forces to capture Jaffna town.

This has been done through a full-scale military operation. By the candid admission of the officers in charge, most of the LTTE armed cadres and leaders have either escaped the Indian Army net or have gone into hiding within the four corners of the town to try to harass the Indian Army on a hit and-run basis.

### Disturbing

When the Indian Army was despatched to Jaffna under the nomenclature of a peace-keeping force, what it had to undertake was a full scale military operation, there being no question of peace-keeping as done by a police force. Now after the capture of Jaffna town with heavy casualties and fairly extensive destruction of property, there have come disturbing reports that the Indian Army has now been using helicopter gunships to bomb out other towns and habitations which it suspects to be LTTE nests.

What does this really imply? The Indian authorities seem to have no idea whatsoever how to isolate the LTTE. The civilian population that has had to face Indian Army attacks including strafing from the air would certainly not be heartened by its presence in the Tamil provinces. Rather, the Tamil population in the area would be hardened in its bitterness against the Indian Army.

One also hears nowadays in official circles that efforts would now be made to activate the other Tamil militant groups so that the LTTE could be isolated. Hasn't this job been thought of rather late in the day? All these months, the approach of the Indian authorities was that the other militant groups did not matter and the LTTE alone would have to be talked to. Then suddenly in the second week of October, a full-scale military operation was mounted against it. Of course, the plea trotted out by the Indian authorities from the Prime Minister downward has been that the LTTE broke every promise it made.

### Immature

The perspective before the Indian Army in Sri Lanka is fearsome. The scope of conventional positional operations is minimal; instead, it will have to grapple with full-scale guerilla attacks by a determined, well-armed group, well entrenched in the support of the local population. The fall of Jaffna town need not have crushed the morale of the LTTE. It is a determined unflinching dog-like group, ready with cyanide. Had the Indian authorities made a serious assessment of the type of adversaries they had to contend with, they would have realised the enormity of the disaster which our armed forces are being pushed into.

## U.S. tilt 'to' India ?

### Rajiv flays U.K., Pakistan, Israel

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi denied there was a "pro-US" shift in Indian foreign policy following his recent talks with President Reagan and new agreements on science and technology, and prospective US arms purchases. (The Indian Air Force chief leaves for US on Nov. 18).

Speaking to the Congress Parliamentary group on Nov. 6, he said that there was no truth in the allegations made by the media and the Opposition that Indian policy was "changing". We remain committed to principles, principles, enunciated by Pandit Nehru and Indira Gandhi, and don't change from event to event.

We don't compromise on fundamental issues such as security and unity of India nor on world

problems like South Africa or disarmament or development.

However, he said "I feel there is a shift in the US attitude towards India as regards India's role in the region".

"India is strictly nonaligned. It is very friendly with the Soviet Union and there is no change in that too."

At a meeting in Maharashtra three days later, Mr. Gandhi, A.I.R. reported, lashed out at "alien force" operating in Sri Lanka prior to the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. "Even the racist South Africa tried to meddle in Sri Lanka affairs". Britain, Pakistan and Israel made their appearance on the scene and the situation would have deteriorated but for the Peace Accord."

## Lift ban on JVP

— Ronnie

Finance and Planning Minister, Ronnie De Mel said that he would urge the lifting of the proscription on the JVP as a means of stopping the violence in the south, reducing the bottled up youth frustration, and taking the youth into the mainstream of the country's politics. But he emphasised, this would be conditional to renouncing resort to arms.

The Minister was addressing a youth meeting in his Bulathsinhala electorate, also observed that if a party is declared unlawful, it goes underground and resorts to violence such as killings and bombings just like what the JVP is engaged in, at present. The JVP did not resort to violence from 1977 to 1983. They resorted to violence only after 1983, when they were proscribed, the Minister said.

"If this was done I am sure 90 percent of the JVP will take up the path to peace and democracy, while 10% will remain in the fringes sticking to violence. The 10% can be managed and they too will be ineffective in a short period of time, Mr. De Mel added.

The Minister also said that Sri Lanka was too poor a country to think of giving unemployment allowances to the unemployed youth of the country till they receive employment.

The Minister said this in reply to a youth from the Minister's electorate, Bulathsinhala, who asked the Minister to give the thousands of unemployed youth an unemployment allowance until they find jobs, instead of doubling the Fund Stamp Scheme. Minister De Mel explained that Sri Lanka was one of the 20 poorest countries of the world and was beset with a vast array of problems.

## India rejects opposition's

### 48-hour ceasefire call

While India rejected the Opposition call for a 48-hour ceasefire to enable the LTTE to surrender arms, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran in a statement has said his government would co-operate with the Indian government to implement the peace accord. All India Radio said.

The Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh told parliament that India would continue its armed action to disarm the Tigers.

Replying in the two-day debate in the Lokh Sabha, the junior minister said the Indian government was trying to get the Tigers

to surrender arms for over two months and added he doubted the LTTE would lay down their weapons in the 48 hours requested.

He added the implementation of the July 29 peace accord was in the best interests of the Tamils and in the best interests of Sri Lanka and the region.

Mr. Singh said the Indian forces will cease action the moment the LTTE surrenders its arms and agrees to abide by the peace accord.

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister released the much awaited statement yesterday and pledged to work with the Indian government to implement the peace accord.



**LT-GENERAL DEPINDER SINGH**

# “There were constraints”

The overall commander of the IPKF in Sri Lanka is Lt-General Depinder Singh, 58. Masterminding operation Pawan between Madras and Palaly, the General has so far avoided the press. But last fortnight, he made an exception for *India Today*. After a quick dash to Jaffna on October 29, he discussed the IPKF's military strategy, Operation Pawan, and allegations of civilian deaths with Madras Correspondent S. H. VENKATRAMANI. Excerpts:

*Q. Why was the LTTE not disarmed by the IPKF under the accord's terms?*

A. The charter of the IPKF was to maintain peace between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE, not interfere in inter militant group clashes. So we were naturally very cautious. If the Sri Lankan Army could not disarm them in four years of fighting, how could we in a day? And we knew that if it came to taking their arms by force it would end in a military confrontation with them.

*Q. What were the main hurdles that the IPKF faced in the battle for Jaffna?*

A. Initially, there was a paucity of troops. When the battle broke out, there was only one brigade in the whole of the Jaffna peninsula. There was half a battalion at the front, one at Point Pedro and one west of Palaly. Actually we had not mobilised for war. And each battalion available had only 50 percent strength: people had gone on leave or for training. Secondly, the LTTE's use of civilians as human shields was a constraint. Thirdly, to avoid damage to civilian life and property we did not employ our full range of heavy weaponry.

*Q. What weaponry did the IPKF use?*

A. We used small arms and light mortars only. Later, when we encountered heavily fortified bunkers and resistance from concrete houses, tank guns were used only to knock out bunkers.

*Q. What are the Mi-24 helicopter gunships being used for?*

A. There has been a great deal of to and fro movement from the Jaffna peninsula to the neighbouring islands and the mainland of Sri Lanka through the lagoons and shallow waters. This movement in the initial stages, brought in reinforcements of personnel and logistics and later on exfiltrated LTTE cadres from Jaffna. The gunships were used in the lagoon areas to interdict such movement. We used helicopters for carrying troops. But they came under sniper fire. So we had to give orders that they should bring down suppressive fire in turn. I wish to state, categorically, that we did not use offensive air power in the operation to free Jaffna town.

*Q. But the helicopter gunships were used in Chavakacheri.*

A. Yes. One or two helicopter gunships were used. But we had confirmed military intelligence that the Tigers were present in sufficient strength in Chavakacheri. Also, we had two companies of our soldiers east of Chavakacheri, and there were two battalions of the Madras regiment in Navatkali. The idea was for the battalions in Navatkali to link up with the two companies east of Chavakacheri, but we met with strong resistance from the Tigers. So we were forced to use the gunships. We have only four or five helicopter gunships in Jaffna. There were admittedly a few civilian casualties in Chavakacheri; the death toll was 27.

*Q. How much support did the Tigers have from the local population?*

A. The LTTE had been running the civil administration in Jaffna for the last few years. In the process, the civilians had been intimidated to toe the LTTE line. There were, of course, some active sympathisers, but I cannot believe that the vast majority also actively sympathised. There were instances where the LTTE instructed the local populace not to visit IPKF facilities to record complaints or seek medical assistance. Despite this admonition, the civil population continued to visit. Now that we have entered Jaffna there have been cases, gradually increasing in number, where civilians have volunteered information about the location of LTTE camps and caches. I can say with confidence that vast majority of civilians are interested only in peace.

*Q. Was the IPKF prepared or trained for the kind of urban guerrilla warfare involved in the operations?*

A. Urban guerrilla warfare is a comparatively new phenomenon for the Indian Army. But given the professional competence of the junior leaders and the men's dedication, it didn't take long to understand the nuances of this type of environment and master them.

*Q. Considering that many of the Tigers have escaped, what strategy will the IPKF adopt to protect the local population and counter the guerrilla war that is certain to continue?*

A. At worst, it will involve deploying for a classic counter insurgency scenario. However, I am sanguine that out of the free use of Jaffna and its facilities, the LTTE will join the peace process. One immediate stress is on relief, renovation, and rehabilitation.

*(Continued on page 13)*

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**CRASH OF '87**

At ceremonies in the White House connected with the resignation of Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, his chief Mr. Reagan thanked him warmly for making 'America strong'. At whose expense? The US budget deficits have hurt the whole world, as always the poorest the mostest. Now, it has hurt a large number of Americans, not just capitalists and market speculators, but ordinary American families, who finally had to pay the price of huge military budgets — the tactic of driving the Soviet Union into spending money too, part of the grand strategy of 'rolling back Communism'.

These comments are from the reputed voice of British business the F. T., and from *Workers Vanguard*, a Marxist weekly published in the U. S.

The News that Mr Caspar Weinberger is about to resign as US Defence Secretary will probably not cause any great sorrow in European capitals.

Mr Weinberger is of course respected in Nato circles as a forceful and effective politician closely associated with President Reagan's policy of building up US military strength, which many west European governments welcomed after the post-Vietnam rundown. The reversal of the trend actually occurred under President Carter and Mr Harold Brown, but Mr Reagan and Mr Weinberger carried it on in a spectacular way which put an end to any serious fear that the Soviet Union might overtake the West in strategic terms. It would be unjust not to recognise that that achievement is probably at least in part responsible for the somewhat better climate that now prevails in East-West relations.

But it would also be unrealistic not to admit that increases in defence spending were one of the main factors that brought about the enormous US budget deficit, which in turn is now held responsible in whole or in part for almost all the problems of the world economy. Mr Wein-

berger as Defence Secretary by no means lived up to the sobriquet of "Cap the Kaiser" which he had earned as President Nixon's budget director in the early seventies.

Also, while military strength is an essential precondition for successful East-West negotiations, there can come a point where its pursuit for its own sake becomes an obstacle to success. It is no good building up a great pile of bargaining chips if, when the other side comes to the table, one is not prepared to bargain. There have been times when that seemed to be Mr Weinberger's position and when perhaps under the influence of his former deputy, Mr Richard Perle — he appeared to determine to wreck the chances of any arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

(F. T.)

**Reagan Fiddles While Wall Street Burns**

Black Monday is a historic watershed, the American economy will never be the same. Why? And why now? There was fear that Reagan's antics in the Persian Gulf would trigger a U. S. war

with Iran. The week before the crash the U. S. Treasury Secretary James Baker told the West Germans to go screw themselves. This breakdown in the international agreement on exchange rate stability (the Louvre accord) threatened a further fall in the dollar and flight of foreign capital. Rising interest rates were sucking money from stocks into the bond market.

The *Times* pointed to a clause in the new tax law, under which Wall Street operators could no longer deduct interest on funds borrowed for corporate takeovers, a major swindle fueling the stock market boom. Some analysts blame computerized investment programs for exaggerating (!) movements in the market. But none of this can explain why corporate America lost one-third of its market value in the week ending on Black Monday.

Two and a half years ago, we wrote: "The Reagan gang is living in a fool's paradise on borrowed time and money". ("Reagan's Dollar Boom Going Bust?" WV No. 376, 5 April 1985). The five-year bull market on Wall Street has seen the deindustrialization of America continue apace. Stock prices doubled and even tripled for companies whose actual productive capacity was shrinking. Paper wealth was rising sky-high, the real economy was stagnating. A crash was long overdue, long predicted, and when it came it came with a vengeance. And when the bourgeoisie devalues its wealth by a third, it is usually right.

"The Reagan years have been marked by a qualitative deterioration in the international position of American capitalism, setting the stage for a major fiscal/financial crisis. By 'financing' the military buildup through tax cuts for the wealthy, the Reagan government has run up a budget deficit

(Continued on page 11)

# Foreign policy — Leninism in a changing world

It took only 18 to 24 months in the wake of the civil war to end the international political isolation of the state of workers and peasants.

Treaties were concluded with neighbouring countries and then, at Rapallo, with Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and other capitalist countries extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Republic.

The first steps were taken to build equitable relations with oriental countries — China, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

These were not simply the first victories of Lenin's foreign policy and diplomacy. They were a breakthrough into a fundamentally new quality of international affairs.

Naturally, not all our subsequent foreign policy efforts were successful. We have had our share of setbacks. We did not make full use of all the opportunities that opened before us both before and after World War Two.

We failed to translate the enormous moral prestige with which the Soviet Union emerged from the war into effective efforts to consolidate the peace-loving, democratic forces and to stop those who orchestrated the cold war. We did not always respond adequately to imperialist provocations.

It is true that some things could have been tackled better and that we could have been more efficient. Nevertheless, we can say on this memorable occasion that the overall thrust of our policy has remained in concert with the basic course worked out and charted by Lenin.

This is overwhelmingly instrumental in averting the outbreak of a nuclear war and in preventing imperialism from winning the cold war.

Together with our allies, we defeated the imperialist strategy of "rolling back socialism". Imperialism had to curb its claims to world domination.

Naturally, there have been changes in the Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence. At first it was needed above all to create a modicum of external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist revolution.

Continuing the class-based policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful coexistence later, particularly in the nuclear age, became a condition for the survival of the entire human race.

The new concept of foreign policy was presented in detail at the 27th congress.

As you know, this concept proceeds from the idea that for all the profound contradictions of the contemporary world, for all the radical differences among the countries that comprise it, it is interrelated, interdependent and integral.

The reasons for this include the internationalisation of world economic ties, the comprehensive scope of the scientific and technological revolution, the essentially novel role played by the mass media, the state of the earth's resources, the common environmental danger, and the crying social problems of the developing world which affect us all.

The main reason, however, is the problem of human survival.

That was how Lenin's idea about the priority of the interests of social development acquired a new meaning and a new importance.

Acting jointly with the other countries of the socialist community, we have submitted several important initiatives to the United

Nations, including a project for devising a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The Warsaw Treaty states have addressed NATO and all European countries with a proposal on reducing armed forces and armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency.

We have suggested comparing the two alliances' military doctrines in order to make them exclusively defensive.

We have put forward a concrete plan for the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons and are working vigorously in this direction.

We have advanced proposals on devising effective methods for the verification of arms reductions, including on-site inspection.

We have come out resolutely for strengthening the prestige of the United Nations, for the full and effective use of the powers conferred upon it and its agencies by the international community.

We are doing our best to enable the United Nations, a universal mechanism, to competently discuss and ensure a collective search for a balance of interest of all countries, and to discharge its peacemaking functions effectively.

## COMMITMENT TO DIALOGUE

The most important thing is that our concept and our firm dedication to peace are reflected in practical actions, in all our international moves, and in the very style of our foreign policy and diplomacy which are permeated with a commitment to dialogue.

And so, now that more than two years have elapsed, we can say with confidence that the new political thinking is not merely another declaration or appeal but

a philosophy of action and, if you will, a philosophy of a way of life. In its development, it is keeping pace with objective processes under way in our world, and it is in fact already working.

The October 1986 meeting in Reykjavik ranks among the events which have occurred since the new stage in international affairs began, which deserve to be mentioned on this occasion and which will go down in history.

The new thinking with its regard for universal human values and emphasis on common sense and openness, is forging ahead on the international scene, destroying the stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and dispelling distrust of our initiatives and actions.

It is true that, gauged against the scope of the tasks mankind will have to tackle to ensure its survival, very, very little has so far been accomplished. But a beginning has been made, and the first signs of change are in evidence.

This is borne out, among other things, by the understanding we have reached with the United States on concluding in the near future an agreement on medium and shorter-range missiles.

The conclusion of this agreement is very important in itself; it will, for the time, eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons, be the first tangible step along the path of scrapping nuclear arsenals, and will show that it is in fact possible to advance in this direction without prejudice to anyone's interests.

That is obviously a major success of the new way of thinking, a result of our readiness to search for mutually acceptable solutions while strictly safeguarding the principle of equal security.

In this critical period the world expects the third and fourth Soviet-US Summits to produce more than merely an official acknowledgment of the decisions agreed upon a year ago, and more than merely a continuation of the discussion. The growing danger that weapons may be perfected to a point

where they will become uncontrollable is urging us to waste no time. For that is why we will work unrelentingly at these meetings a palpable breakthrough, for concrete results in reducing strategic offensive armaments and barring weapons from outer space — the key to removing the nuclear threat.

### TURNING POINT

At this new turning point in world history as we celebrate the 70th anniversary of our revolution which could not have won without theoretical preparation, we are examining the theoretical aspects of the advancement to durable peace.

The new way of thinking has helped us to generally prove that a comprehensive system of international security in the context of disarmament is needed and possible.

Now we must prove that the attainment of this goal is necessary and feasible. We must identify the laws governing the interaction of the forces which, through rivalry, contradictions and conflicting interests, can produce the desired effect.

In this connection we should begin by posing some tough questions — of course, tackling them from Leninist positions and using Leninist methodology.

The first question relates to the nature of imperialism. We know that it is the major source of the war threat.

The second question is connected with the first one; can capitalism get rid of militarism and function and develop in the economic sphere without it? Is it not a delusion on our part to invite the West to draw up and compare conversion programmes for switching the economy to civilian production?

The third question: can the capitalist system do without neo-colonialism which is currently one of the factors essential to its survival?

In other words, can this system function without the practices of inequitable trade with the third world, fraught with unforeseeable consequences?

Another related question: how realistic is our hope that the awareness of the terrible threat the world is facing — and we know that this awareness is making its way even into the higher echelons of the Western ruling elite — will be translated into practical politics?

After all, however forceful the arguments of common sense, however well-developed the sense of responsibility, however powerful the instinct of self-preservation, there are still things which must not be underrated and which are determined by an economic and, consequently, a class-based self-interest.

In other words, the question is whether capitalism can adapt itself to the conditions of a nuclear free world without weapons, to the conditions of a new and equitable economic order, to the conditions in which the intellectual and moral values of the world systems will be compared honestly. These are far from idle questions. The course history will take in the coming decades will depend on the way they are answered.

### CRASH OF...

*(Continued from page 9)*

greater than the accumulated total in the previous almost 200 years of the American republic. This deficit has been heavily covered by foreign borrowing. Within the space of a few years the U.S. has gone from the world's leading creditor nation to the biggest debtor."

Wall Street finally collapsed under the weight of "the twin towers" of historic government budget deficits and international payments deficits.

It was Japanese money-men, German bankers and Arab oil sheiks who paid for Star Wars and the other Pentagon hoodlogues. Wall Street was sold as a "safe haven" for foreign capital. In Reagan's America, the rich would get a lot richer, the poor would be thrown off the welfare rolls and the workers would be kept in their place... down.

**Regional Perspective**

**India's Role in Sri Lanka:  
Pluses and Minuses**

**Shabani Sen Gupta**

From the Commonwealth summit meeting at Vancouver in Canada to Washington DC, where the prime minister met President Reagan and his principal aides, India's peace-keeping role in Sri Lanka won unqualified approval and support. This unprecedented event has been interpreted in India and South Asia as the first international recognition of India's status as the leading power in this region. The recognition has unmistakably produced some satisfaction among India's foreign policy elite. It has simultaneously created apprehensions in the neighbouring capitals, especially in Pakistan, that the world powers now recognise India's 'hegemony in South Asia.

Since the Bangladesh war of 1971, in which Indian troops vanquished the Pakistani army in the provinces and marshes of what was then East Pakistan, the world has tended to see India as the primary power in South Asia. Indians also have had a mirror image of their country. With Pakistan split into two sovereign states, India faced no credible threat from the North West. To be sure, some eminent persons in the United States, the most eminent among them being President Richard Nixon, gave the credit for the Bangladesh victory to the Soviet Union rather than India. But this did not materially alter global perceptions of India as an emergent power nor the Indian self-image. Indeed, Indians saw the Soviet connection as complementing and reinforcing India's stature as South Asia's undisputed regional power. Indians believed that India had earned and acquired that

power stature as a result of three decades of uninterrupted political and economic development, and pursuit of a foreign policy of independence and non-alignment.

There was a catch, however. The western world recognised India as the regional power in South Asia. But it gave India no role. In order to understand the dichotomy, one has to hit upon a precise concept of the role of an independent regional power in a bipolar world. The concept has to be crafted with three components. First, primacy of the national interests of the regional power in a geopolitical region which the external powers would not violate. Secondly, the regional power must have a determinant voice in the affairs of the region, especially in matters of serious conflict. Finally, junior members of region will acknowledge the influence of the regional power.

Measured by these three parameters, India was hardly in a position to act as the regional power of South Asia even when its primacy in the region was, in principle, recognised. The peculiar geographical, historical and psycho-political features of South Asia stood as a recalcitrant barrier to India's leadership being accepted in the region. Indians themselves did not conceptualise an appropriate leadership role. The primary quality of leadership is that it acts as an integrative influence and draws neighbours of a geopolitical region together. The leader has to win the willing cooperation of smaller and weaker neighbours. At times it may have to give more in the short run, hoping to get adequate

compensation in the long run. The leader has to be generous. It has to be sensitive to the psychological complexes of the smaller and weaker neighbours. In these democratic times, the leader has to recognise the equality of the juniors so that, over time, the juniors concede that the leader is the first in a group of equal nations.

The exercise of integrative leadership by India was admittedly difficult in South Asia. Therefore most Indians chose to define India's primary position in terms of power rather than leadership. In this they only emulated established international norms.

No major power was seen to be offering true leadership to its geopolitical bloc. China was more feared than loved in South East Asia or East Asia; the United States in Latin America. The Soviet leadership of the East European community of nations rested more on power than on compatibility of ideologies and political developmental models.

So, to a large extent, did the American leadership of the Atlantic community despite a larger element of compulsive consent. Neither in Africa nor in Latin America could one see a regional power capable of offering integrating leadership to its neighbours. The Shah of Iran stood in splendid isolation from his smaller Arab neighbours. Nassor's pan-Arabism failed to create an integrated community of Arab nations.

In the bipolar cold war world, a regional leader had necessarily

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to be either an ally or a proxy of either power bloc or either superpower. The literature on international relations since World War II, conceptualised and written mostly in the United States, did not recognise an independent regional power. Until recently, it did not recognise the legitimacy of the doctrine of non-alignment.

Now that the world's temper and mood has changed and India is given the role of a regional power, Indians are pleased but not elated. The initial euphoria about the July 29 accord for peacekeeping in Sri Lanka has vanished. Its place has been taken by doubts and apprehensions about the mission's success. Moreover, military success of the IPKF may well be negated by adverse political fallout both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu.

There are still strong arguments in support of the Indian mission. One is that it is entirely legitimate. Another is that although it has missed important deadlines, will miss more, and reversed political objectives, any alternative to it would have been far worse for both countries. Overcoming these positive features, however, is the grim possibility that the peacekeeping mission may get entirely derailed. Indians cannot help asking if the external power's stand off policy — a welcome signal by itself — stems from a realisation that they had nothing to gain and much to lose by getting involved in a messy ethno-political civil war in a poor resourceless country. Are they applauding India because it has pushed itself into a no win situation?

The legitimacy of the intervention does not compensate for the irony of the reversal of one of its assured objectives. Instead of protecting the Tamil militants in the North and the East of Sri Lanka, IPKF is now set to destroy their willingness, disarm them by force and compel their leaders those who may survive the battles now being fought — to come to the negotiating table.

Six actors are engaged in the present phase of the peace-keeping operations. These are: the government of India, public opinion in India, the President of Sri Lanka, other cabinet leaders and political institutions in Sri Lanka; the Tamil militants of Jaffna, and finally, the Sinhals of Sri Lanka. At this time, three of the six actors are working for the IPKF mission, three against it. The first three elements are the Indian government, the Sri Lanka President and Indian public opinion. The three elements pitted against the peace-keeping mission are: the Tamil militants, the Sri Lanka government (except the President) and the Sinhala community. However, four of these six elements happen to be split. Not all Tamil militants are do-or-die men; some are willing to give the July 29 accord a chance. The Sri Lanka cabinet and parliament are not uniformly against the IPKF role, nor is the Sinhala community. J. R. Jayewardene is not without clout, and enjoys considerable support among the intellectuals and professionals of Colombo and other urban areas.

The really dangerous factor for India is the growing alienation of the Tamils of Tamil Nadu from the IPKF's determined bid to disarm the Tigers by force. The heavy casualties the Tigers are taking and the certainty that little will be left of their arms depots when the fighting is over threaten to create a rift between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the ruling AIDMK of Tamil Nadu.

The balance of forces, however, still favours the peace-keeping mission. But it may not be so for a long time. Success of intervention is ensured by its quick termination: this is what made the Indian intervention in Bangladesh a text book success story. The IPKF is now not much smaller than Sri Lanka's entire army of 24,000. The Tigers will stake everything to prolong the fighting, to get India bogged down. What is needed on the

Indian side is determination to secure the minimum objectives of the fighting in Jaffna — significant disarming of the Tigers — and quick withdrawal of the bulk of IPKF. No more than a few thousand Indian soldiers must remain in Sri Lanka on New Year's day; the thinning out must begin in the next few weeks. This country has always opposed prolonged foreign military presence on the territory of a sovereign state, except in the case of U. N. peace-keeping forces. India can hardly make India an exception to one of the articles of faith of its own foreign policy.

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**"There were..."**

*(Continued from page 7)*

*Q. There have been allegations of heavy civilian casualties, and soldiers going berserk and raping women.*

*A. It has been our endeavour, at considerable risk to our officers and jawans, to keep damage of civilian property and life to the minimum. And, as the heavy casualties of our officers indicate, they have led from the front and therefore, the question of indiscipline just cannot hold water. For every two or three armed men, the LTTE has another two or three unarmed sympathisers. And in a free fight, they take all their casualties to hospitals and register them all as civilians. I certainly think it dishonourable to pull out people from a house, line them up, and shoot them. We have not done that at all. But if soldiers return fire and direct it at a house from which they were fired upon, you can't accuse them of killing civilians. They can't distinguish between civilians and LTTE cadres in that house.*

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# The Status of the Judiciary in the last decade

H. L. de Silva PC

Such actions had the effect of emphasising the superior authority of Parliament over the courts and to that extent devaluing an important institution of government. Somewhat similar action was taken under an earlier regime by the House of Representatives (under the 1972 Constitution) when it nullified the decision of the majority in the nine-judge case in regard to the Courts power to issue an injunction under the Land Acquisition Act by an amendment to the Interpretation Ordinance. The House of Representatives under the earlier regime again showed its impatience over the lengthening hearing before the Constitutional Court, when it was hearing argument over the Constitutionality of the Press Council Bill, by debating the conduct of the Court in deciding the time limit for sending their opinion which led to the resignation of the Judges. In all these situations under both the 1972 Constitution as well as the 1978 Constitution the Legislature has asserted its dominant position showing scant respect for Judiciary and emphasising the subordinate role of the Judiciary and thereby damaging its image in the mind of the public. Another aspect of the relationship between Parliament and the Judiciary concerns the power of removal of the Judges of the two Superior Courts on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity which is vested in the President, upon an address made to him by Parliament. It is provided by Article 107(3) that

Parliament shall by law or by Standing Orders provide for all matters relating to the presentation of such an address, including the procedure for the passing of such resolution, the investigation and proof of the alleged misbehaviour or incapacity and the right of such Judge to appear and to be heard in person or by Representatives.

It is clear from the this provision that establishment of proof of the alleged misbehaviour or incapacity postulated the exercise of the judicial power of the State. So that the finding of guilt, which is required before steps are taken to present an address to the President, by reason of the provisions of Article 4(c) has to be made by a Court, tribunal or an institution created and established by the Constitution or by law — the only exception being matters relating to Parliamentary privilege. It would therefore in my view unconstitutional for Parliament itself to delegate such powers of inquiry and adjudication to a Select Committee of the House set up under its Standing Orders which unless the Constitution cannot exercise such judicial power.

Yet this was the procedure that was followed by Parliament when allegations were made in a letter to the President against three Judges of the Supreme Court by the Respondent in the case of Felix Dias Bandaranaike v. K. C. E. de Alwis and secondly in respect of the conduct of the former Chief Justice, (Mr. Neville Samarakoon) in making a public speech critical of the Government. The question arises as to how the constitutionality of this procedure may be questioned in a particular case. Could Members of the Select Committee or Members of Parliament be restrained or their decision impugned in any way? Would the President himself be immune from suit in respect of such a proceeding under Article 35? These are interesting questions to which no clear answer may be given.

No problems of a similar kind ought to arise in the case of relation between the Judiciary and the Executive except perhaps in case where a special

immunity has been conferred. In the case of the Administration and the Executive they are subject to judicial review and control by the two Superior Courts through the prerogative writs and by the Supreme Court through the fundamental rights jurisdiction and to a lesser extent through the declaratory action and the action for damages by the District Courts. Public Officers like ordinary citizens must justify their acts according to law before the Courts. It is in this area that the Courts can come into their own and assert undoubted authority to control and give full expression to their views to the full extent of their powers, and others control the abuse and misuse of powers. It is in this area that the prestige attaching to independent and impartial judicial determination is seen to be of inestimable value in our democratic system. Through this process the Rule of Law is strengthened. In this area the least that the Executive can do is to ensure that nothing is done to obstruct the administration of justice in its control over the Administration. Public demonstrations calculated to intimidate the Judiciary which go unpunished and such disingenuous acts as rewarding violators of the law by granting them promotions are likely to demoralise the Judiciary, and curb judicial independence.

Finally, may I say a word about judicial creativity. Although traditionally judges are considered to be non-political functionaries who have to administer the law as they find it as if it were some kind of automatic process, this is not so in reality. The judicial process opens up new avenues of growth and development of the law to a significant degree. In certain areas of public law and especially in the field of fundamental rights

and civil liberties there is room for judicial creativity and much scope for judicial activism if judicial valour has not yet ceased to be. So development of the law in this field would be, not inconsiderably, influenced by the political, social and economic philosophy of the judges. With the widening of opportunities for legal education and lawyers now being drawn from a wider social spectrum reflecting a like diversity of views changes are inevitable. So conditions must be created for these changes to take place through a process of smooth transition without a destabilisation of essential legal norms and values.

If I may revert to a point made earlier on, in order to

give full scope for these developments, compatible with our own valuable traditions, judges must not only be completely free in regard to their judicial functions, but they must feel and enjoy this freedom in a tangible way. This freedom must find expression in bold and imaginative judgements that inspire the community and rebuild public confidence in the strength and courage of the judiciary. The public are quick to sense weakness and timorousness among judges and that is fatal flaw if the Judiciary is to command respect.

All this requires much more than just security of tenure and

the absence of any fear of victimisation from the Executive which of course are essential. The judiciary in order to function well must recapture the prestige it once enjoyed. It must be provided with opportunities for a continuing legal education, facilities for research and scholarship in specialised fields and more congenial conditions of service. The public cannot expect much from a Judiciary that receives niggardly treatment at the hands of the State. After all, as the Good Book says, it is from those to whom much is given that much can be expected.

(Concluded)

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# Sri Lanka and Non-Alignment

Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike

This lecture is more than a formal academic occasion. For me it means a memorial tribute, in the first place, to a distinguished Sri Lankan who stood with me and by me in the exciting, turbulent and often dangerous arena of politics for almost a quarter century — a close associate and an exceptionally able aide.

Felix Dias Bandaranaike was a remarkably gifted man. He had a fine scholastic record at school, University and Law college. He was a born orator and a debater, resourceful and sharp in argument, and blessed with a cutting wit and an impish sense of humour. His opponents in Parliament, all of them older and more experienced, recognised a formidable foe.

Felix Dias Bandaranaike was a brilliant lawyer, his initial choice as a career. However, unlike other members of his immediate family, who won renown in the field of Law, as Judge or Scholar, Felix chose the path of politics, a profession which allowed him wider and more direct access to the people, and therefore ampler opportunities to serve them. He joined the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and entered Parliament in 1960.

From that very first year I recognised his intellectual calibre, his boundless capacity for work and his total dedication to the democratic socialist ideals, principles and programmes of our party. While his intellectual commitment to these ideals never wavered, I was soon to discover that he shared with the founder of our party, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, a passion and a flair for International Affairs, a subject which gave them both a special intellectual excitement.

This lecture was given on 5th November 1987 at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Colombo.

As you know the late Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike was a Minister in my cabinet in both Governments I headed after the general elections in 1960 and 1970. He was one of the brightest and ablest Ministers I appointed. At various times he held some of the most important portfolios in my cabinet and despite his relative youth distinguished himself in all of them.

When I first assumed office in 1960, the Non-Aligned movement was in its infancy. It was under fire from both power blocs. I was determined to push forward the principles of Non-Alignment and to adopt them as a corner stone of my Government's foreign policy. Equally importantly, I chose Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike as my Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs since the constitution itself determined that the Prime Minister should hold these portfolios. From that time on whatever portfolios Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike held, I always relied on his advice in the implementation of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Foreign Policy. Indeed the late Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike represented me at all of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conferences and I know he was held in high respect and regard by those participating. At these Conferences on the many special missions I entrusted to him, he proved to be an exceptional negotiator.

I propose with the permission of the Chairman, to mention only in passing, Sri Lanka's role in the Non-Aligned movement and

to focus mainly on the principles and activities of the movement and the challenges it faces in the current international setting.

The various ideas, elements and principles that came to be embodied in the concept 'Non-Alignment' its historical necessity and its development as a movement, did not come as a surprise to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Its origin goes as far back as 1947 to the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, at which my late husband Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike participated. He was a firm believer in the principles of Non-Alignment. One has only to read the proceedings in hazyard to appreciate his deep commitment to International Co-operation among nations on the basis of the five principles of "Pancha-Sheela".

He firmly opposed the division of the World into military blocs and the continuation of cold war politics. For him, National Independence of the new nations based on this policy was not 'Neutrality' connoting a lack of morality or an unwillingness to take positive stands on international issues.

## DISARMAMENT

At Belgrade (1961) we met at a time when the cold war which had begun in the latter part of the nineteen forties had not yet abated. The arms race was proceeding apace with nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers posing the danger of a war that would annihilate human civilization. Underlining the dangers posed by these nuclear weapons was the dramatic news on the eve of the summit of the detente of a nuclear bomb by the Soviet Union which had decided to end its moratorium on testing.

It was not surprising that in this charged international atmosphere the question of disarmament and peace was foremost in the minds of the Non-Aligned leaders in Belgrade. In my own statement at the summit, I said that I spoke "not only as a representative of my country but also as a woman and mother who can understand the thoughts and feelings of those millions of women, the mothers of this world, who are deeply concerned with the preservation of the human race". I also said, "disarmament is a crucial question of our times... vast sums of money that are expended in manufacturing these weapons of destruction could usefully be spent on Economic and Social development in various countries of the world"... and further that "as countries having a vested interest in peace, we should make an immediate appeal to the big powers to resume negotiations with a view to the achievement of complete and general disarmament", these sentiments were fully supported by the other participants as well.

May I, at this point digress for a moment to refer to an initiative I took in 1962 in the context of the Sino-Indian border conflict. As soon as hostilities broke out, although China was not a member of the Non-Aligned movement but sympathetic towards it, I consulted some key Non-Aligned countries in order to offer our good offices to India and China to bring about a peaceful settlement of their dispute. I believe our prompt action led to an early ceasefire and negotiations. I visited India and China as an emissary of the conference with the proposals of the six Non Aligned countries that met in Colombo and urged on both parties to negotiate a settlement. We were inspired to act on the basis of one of the fundamental principles of Non-Alignment, which was the need for a peaceful settlement of disputes.

From the time the developing countries regained their freedom, they were faced with the massive task of overcoming the backwardness and poverty which they had

inherited from their colonial past. They faced also an international Economic system which was inequitable in the distribution of wealth, the terms of trade, and the division of labour. On the other hand, there were the new trends of nationalism. The newly independent states were beginning to assert control over their resources which until then had been in foreign hands or exploited by them. The oil producing Arab States were step by step assuming control over the ownership, production and price of their oil.

At the Lusaka Summit 1970, Economic issues received priority and the summit issued 'A declaration of Non-Alignment and Economic Progress' which brought to the forefront the need for Non-Aligned unity and co-operation on International Economic problems. It also emphasised 'Collective Self-Reliance' through increasing economic relations among the developing countries.

The 4th summit at Algiers 1973, carried this momentum further and as many studies had been undertaken on the world economic system. The result was a Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. I should like to mention here that my proposals at the Algiers summit for the establishment of a special fund for agricultural development and a fertilizer fund were accepted. The Colombo summit Mainained the same momentum on economic issues in a separate "Economic Declaration and Action Program".

#### INDIAN OCEAN

An initiative I first took in the Non-Aligned forum in Lusaka (1970) was the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. For four centuries from the 15th, to the 19th, Indian Ocean had been the arena of great power rivalry and so were our neighbours around the ocean.

The hard won freedom and independence of the Indian ocean states are however once again under threat. The Indian ocean is fast turning in to an area of competition on the part of the superpowers for military advantage. Their aircraft carriers, cruis-

ers and submarines equipped with long range ballistic missiles roam the ocean causing serious concern for the safety of the littoral and hinterland states. A naval base has been established by the United States in Diego Garcia and elsewhere the major powers make use of facilities for their naval operations.

Great power military rivalry in the Indian ocean becomes a particularly dangerous element in the situation that the states of West Asia are among the richest sources of petroleum production and reserves. The presence of great power naval units to safe-guard these states or their oil installations unilaterally or otherwise, will inevitably risk a counter-response from a rival. In an area constituting such a powder keg the course of prudence suggests the removal of great power military presence and the resolution of the region's problems through diplomacy. The Non-Aligned and the United Nations do have an useful role to play in this respect.

The concept of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone — presented by Sri Lanka involves not merely the removal of great power rivalry from the Ocean. It also imposes a reciprocal obligation on the part of the regional states as well, to behave in a manner that does not prejudice the peace and safety of fellow member states within the region. We expect that a regional power would exercise restraint and desist from becoming a source of concern or a threat to its own neighbours. There would be no benefit to the states of the Indian Ocean if a withdrawal of great power military presence were merely to be an opening for the exercise of hegemony by a regional power over its weaker neighbours. As the Sri Lankan representative at the United Nations starkly put it in 1971, "we do not want to substitute heebub for satan".

The hopes we entertained for the early implementation of this declaration have not yet been

*(Continued on page 22)*

# The Accord

Nihal Jayawickrema

A continuous 72-hour curfew was imposed, under a state of emergency, in Sri Lanka, to enable the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to be signed in Colombo by President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India. The text of the Agreement was made known to the people of Sri Lanka only after it had been duly signed and sealed; and that too, only after a rigorous press censorship had been introduced in the country. The fact that the agreement contained a vital annexure in the form of two letters exchanged between the two Heads of Government and bearing the same date as that of the Agreement, on matters quite unrelated to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, suggests that prior knowledge of those two letters may even have been withheld from all but the small select group of presidential advisers. Any treaty conceived in secrecy and executed in secrecy suffers at the outset from a lack of legitimacy which only general and widespread public approval can provide. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the very legitimacy of President Jayewardene and his government is seriously challenged by every opposition group in Sri Lanka today due to his failure to hold a general election in 1983 when it should have been held had the Constitution not been amended in admittedly dubious circumstances.

In Sri Lanka, the immediate reaction to the Agreement took the form of massive public demonstrations, the burning down of government buildings and offices, physical attacks on government parliamentarians and the destruction of their personal properties. This was due not only to the fact that the Agreement was foisted upon the country so sud-

denly and so abruptly, but also because it constituted an irreconcilable change of direction; a complete change of policy.

For years, the government had been wedded to the theory that devolution of power was possible only to small district units, and that anything beyond the district unit would pose a serious threat to the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. When in early 1984, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike, suggested the province as a viable economic unit, she was immediately branded by the Prime Minister as a traitor — a national traitor, whatever that term might mean. The merger of two units, across provincial borders, amounted to the acceptance of Eelam and was, therefore, not negotiable. In the government's view, the problem was one of terrorism, to which there could only be a military solution. This was language which many western countries, upon whose generosity Sri Lanka thrived in the early 1980s, easily understood.

For at least eight years, the military solution was vigorously and enthusiastically pursued. There were jobs for the boys as the number of ministries proliferated: Defence, Internal Security, National Security, Commercial Security, Industrial Security, Civil Security, and Manpower Mobilization for Security. There was money for the boys as big businessmen became arms dealers or middlemen, and began to enjoy the patronage of the ruling party's inner circles. War was the daily staple diet with which, through the national media which is effectively controlled, the government fed the Sinhalese-Buddhist population of the south. It was an excellent diversion which made many overlook, or even forget altogether, such mundane things as the cost of living, galloping corruption in very high places, general elections, and such other like trivialities.

But if the war, which the south was regularly assured was all but

won, took its toll of Sinhalese lives, in increasing numbers, at greater frequency, the finger was inevitably and consistently pointed at the direction of the sprawling giant across the Palk Straits. According to the government, it was in India that the militants had their training camps; it was India that supplied arms, ammunition and logistics; it was India that was waging this war by proxy. Some members of the government, in particular the Prime Minister, had developed into a fine art the whipping up of anti-Indian hysteria. Newspaper editorials screamed anti-Indian propaganda. And it was only in June this year, barely three weeks before the Agreement was announced, that the government orchestrated a massive anti-Indian demonstration in Colombo in the wake of the Indian air-drop of food supplies in the northern province.

And then, one morning, the country was told that it was all over; the war had been lost in the north, and would have been lost in the east in a matter of weeks; the Sri Lankan army was being ferried out, and Indian troops were about to land; the north and east will form one administrative unit under a single provincial council with a Tamil governor and a Tamil chief minister; and above all, learn to love and respect India, and accept it as the great power in the region, which has now agreed to underwrite and guarantee peace in Sri Lanka. The trauma that the country underwent with that announcement manifested itself in violence, directed not at the Tamil community, but at the President and the members of his government.

The Agreement itself deals with three distinct subjects: the civil war, foreign policy and the ethnic problem.

## The Civil War

It provides for the immediate cessation of hostilities throughout the island. The militant groups will surrender all their arms. The government will confine the army

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# Ethnicity and Economic growth

Sonali Deraniyagala

## INTRODUCTION:

There is no doubt that the phenomenon of ethnic conflict has overdetermined the socio-political processes in Sri Lanka. This paper sets out to examine whether emergence of ethnicity as a political phenomenon can be linked to the nature of growth-related economic policies and the resulting process of economic growth that has taken place in Sri Lanka in the post-independence period.

While this paper examines whether the heightening of ethnic conflict can be explained in terms of the income shares accruing to the main ethnic groups, Sinhalese and Tamils, (as well as the distribution of income shares within the groups), it also seeks to go beyond that, and analyse whether the politicisation of ethnicity can be explained in terms of factors inherent in the growth models adopted by various governments.

The term economic growth model or strategy in this paper is taken to mean not merely the theoretical model adopted, but the translation of this model into the specificities of the Sri Lanka polity. Thus given the significance of the role of the state in accumulation strategies pursued by various governments (this will be discussed in details below), the analysis of growth strategy will include considerations of the nature of the state in Sri Lanka.

Thus, the first part of this paper will examine the effect of key growth-related policies on the economic performance of the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups. This analysis will be carried out within the broader framework of the model of growth as stated above. In particular, it will examine whether the switch from a closed and state controlled economy to a open free market economy brought any significant changes in relation to the economic

power of and within the two main ethnic groups. In doing so, it will address the crucial question of whether despite adoption of a radically different economic model in the post 77 period, the factors that determined the accumulation process in the previous period still persist and what the significance of this is in terms of the economic position of the ethnic groups.

The second part of the paper will investigate whether there is a direct link between the impact of the growth process on ethnic groups and the heightening of ethnic consciousness. An analysis of this is necessary, as we cannot assume that a differential impact of economic growth on ethnic groups (even with minority groups being disadvantaged) would necessarily generate ethnic conflict. At this point, the analysis will take stock of development in the political sphere (in terms of the articulation of ethnicity) and examine how closely this has been linked to economic phenomenon. In doing so, it will investigate whether the political dimension developed with relative autonomy to the economic sphere and whether factors in the political arena, in fact, militated against the growth process itself.

The existing theoretical treatment of economic growth and accumulation can be divided into 2 broad categories, for the purpose of analysis. Firstly, those theories dealing with strictly economic variables (income, capital savings etc.)—these are mainly neoclassical theories. Secondly, there are those theories (mainly Keynesian/structuralist and Marxist—) that examine the social forces behind the movement of those variables. This section will examine the extent to which these theories of growth included, or leave room for the inclusion of ethnicity as a social phenomenon that influences and is influenced by the process of

economic growth. What is relevant here, are those theories that approach growth from a political economy perspective.

Post Keynesian growth theory includes the distribution of income and the rate of capital accumulation and these 2 sector models include certain assumptions about and considerations of wider social forces. (Robinson, Passinatti, Kalecki etc.) For instance, Kalecki's analysis of the political trade cycle takes the social issue of class to be central to the growth process. Marxist economy theory of accumulation and reproduction include variables like the social rate of exploitation and the profit rates. However, as these theories treat class to be central social force determining the growth process, factors like ethnicity can only be included as subsumed to the class issue or within a specific historic content. There is no allowance within these theories to include ethnicity as a factor that can overdetermine the growth process (as well as other social process), not as an exogenous 'shock' in a particular period but as a force intrinsic to the nature of accumulation within a country.

To some extent, the demands put by the phenomenon of ethnicity on economic growth theory, can be seen as similar to challenge posed in an earlier period by the phenomenon of 'imperialism' in affecting the process of economic growth and pattern of development. The outcome of this was the development of theories that recognized different modes of production in the imperialist and colonized states and understood how the pattern of growth in the latter would be result of the dynamics between the different modes of production. (Emmanuel etc.)

Ethnicity may be seen as entering the accumulation process in a similar manner. The pattern of growth that

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ensures may be the outcome of the dynamics between dominant ethnic interests and other social forces (class etc.) and even include the dynamics of highly politicised minority ethnic interests. The outcome of these forces might lead to ethnicity emerging as the factor that overdetermines the process of accumulation. These suggestions in relation to a theoretical framework are merely tentative and are only meant to indicate that, we should seriously consider the need to develop a framework where ethnicity play a central role within the political economy of growth.

Any such framework must include the following questions.

- (a) How does the accumulation process in a country have differential impact on ethnic groups and by what mechanisms.
- (b) To what extent can the process of accumulation be shaped by ethnicity — in terms of the interests of dominant ethnic groups determining growth patterns as well as how the degree of politicization among minority groups may also mould the accumulation process.
- (c) the link between the 2 above processes.

The following sections will go on to analyse the growth experience of Sri Lanka in the light of the above questions.

First however, given the central role of the state in the growth process, it is necessary to examine the nature of the state, in terms of of the dominant ethnic interests it represented.

(To be Continued)

### Sri Lanka and...

(Continued from page 18)

realised. The great powers have escalated their military presence in the region. We ourselves are facing the dangers of regional hegemony. Diplomatic efforts on Sri Lanka's part, as Chairman of the UN AD HOC committee to convene a conference of states in Colombo for the implementation of the declaration have been unsuccessful so far owing to resistance by the western powers.

The AD HOC committee has proposed that the conference be held in Colombo not later than 1990 and this has yet to be approved by the UN General Assembly.

The Algiers Summit (1975) was a landmark. Membership had increased to 75 (from 25 at Belgrade — 1961) constituting 2/3 RDS of the membership of the UN. It met in an atmosphere of reduced tensions between the East and West which came to be known as détente. The UNCTAD studies had shown that disparities in the North/South relationship had become sharper.

(To be Continued)

### The Accord...

(Continued from page 19)

and security personnel to barracks, disband all para-military units, and grant a general amnesty to all political and other prisoners held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Regulations. The state of emergency will be lifted in the north and east. To

implement this part of the Agreement, over 7000 Indian troops are now stationed in the north and east. The process of enforcing a truce has begun. It has not kept to the timetable specified in the Agreement, and not all the arms and ammunition may have been surrendered. But there is no Sri Lankan military presence in the region; and that is a significant step towards peace. However, the success of the exercise must depend upon the ability and the willingness of the Indian military forces to perform two tasks: firstly, to enforce the peace between rival militant groups, some of whom have suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the now dominant Liberation Tigers and must naturally be thirsting for revenge; and secondly, to win the confidence of the large Sinhalese and Muslim populations in the eastern province for whose safety and protection neither the Sri Lankan army nor the para-military home guards are any longer in their midst.

## WAR MEMORIAL

*Sun tumbled*

*The Casuarinas glow*

*Putting down their pretty spinsters hair*

*This park corner where the city's blood runs slow*

*Now fevered by a frenzied week-end fair*

*This corner, where two wars dead*

*Await their journey on a launching pad*

*Poised skywards away from the morning shreds*

*Of ice cream cones, on hasty trampled beds*

*Of this war's soldiers passing through from leave*

*Tasting, sticky the city's bought affection*

*Breaking journey on the trains to death*

*From drab villages where at last the postman*

*Brought in the boon to the job craved vow*

*(Though this wasn't quite the Application*

*They bribed the oracle about).*

*So they buy their pleasure and are themselves bought*

*Hired and herded so the city ticks*

*And machines tick in banks like the drip of blood*

*In blasted fields with all life awry and poppies*

*No where available for colour matching*

*Here in the park they flicker each November*

*No recent deed, however, to remember.*

U. Karunatilaka



## The Tragedy of Social Science in Sri Lanka

Rapier

Dr. Susantha Goonetilleke's much publicised broadside (Island, 27 & 28 September) purporting to deal with ethnic studies industries call for serious consideration by social scientists, as they have been his special concern over the years. In fact he has suffered martyrdom for his analysis of social research funding of Sarvodaya which he spares, the two being now in scard. His present argument is that private research agencies with the "correct" contacts, though manned largely by "unqualified" staff, derived research grants denied to universities. The analysis is in terms of gross magnitudes; the university share of social research appropriations constitute a little over one per cent of funds disbursed. The basic assumption is simple: a given grant produces the same research output, provided the researcher has the minimal qualification of a Master's degree, which is undifferentiated. Although the Cambridge M.A. is conferred on payment of a fee, and may be exceptional, other postgraduate degrees ranging from those of Sussex, in England to Silliman in the Philippines, are equal. Having secured that passport to research the holder is entitled to an equal share from the research budget. Dr. Goonetilleke's complaint is that this does not happen, and that persons lacking an M.A. unfairly enjoy research funding, often through affiliation to institutions favoured by international agencies. He is careful not to mention subject-areas. Thus can a thesis on Mahayana Buddhism qualify a candidate for funds on women's studies which, alongside mass communications constitutes one of the best funded industries in contemporary social research, replacing the earlier

fashion of population studies. These areas are especially attractive to those funding agencies which Dr. Goonetilleke calls 'controversial' eg. USAID, Asia Foundation, Rockefeller, Ford etc. Pictures of the U.S. Ambassador or some American representative handing over large cheques to Sri Lankan researchers appear in our press frequently as Dr. Goonetilleke is well aware. The international funding agencies adopt a simple rule of thumb - the researcher being identified by dubious "contacts" he is required to present a report of a given number of pages or words for the stipulated fee. These purveyors of information are oblivious of A.N. Whitehead's dictum that the growth of science is not primarily in bulk, but in ideas. For the contractor bankrupt of ideas, the irresistible temptation is to "stitch" passages from the works of others, often not even paraphrased. And we have judicial authority which condones "correspondences" detected in the work of those who write "a lot" vis-a-vis the thorough and conscientious scholar who publishes a little. The criterion is bulk, not ideas or academic excellence.

Dr. Goonetilleke claims that "the broad democratisation of the knowledge structure" which emerged after the Free Education Scheme is being threatened by "isolated and elitist" research, especially through a system of sub-contracting which alienated social research from "much of the mainstream of discussions" in the vernaculars. The knowledge structure is therefore derivative, dependent on research priorities determined by the centres of intellectual gravity in the west. This includes the current fad of indigenization, which

the author wholeheartedly accepts. By implication, there exists a pristine vernacular culture uncontaminated by western influences, constituting, as it were, a fund of folk wisdom (volksgeist) on which discussions an undifferentiated mass intelligentsia which should not be corrupted by exposure to foreign literature through translation programmes. The high proportion of our population, including the near fifty percent on the margins of subsistence, protected from starvation by food stamps, derive their cultural and intellectual sustenance from this pristine vernacular culture.

The elitism detected in local social research fails to reckon with a scandalous mal distribution in access to the international social sciences literature. If we subscribe to the view that the mass-intelligentsia is firmly anchored to a folk base of mainstream discussions and needs no injection of foreign knowledge, it is the uncreative directors or bureaucratic research agencies who need intellectual founder from abroad and have built up expensive libraries for their own use, while the average M.A. has to be content with a few textbooks and lecture notes. The present author was appalled to find that candidates from rural areas seeking university appointments confessed that they had no access to social sciences literature after they graduated. An equitable distribution of library resources, at least in state institutions such as ministries, government departments, banks and training institutes, through the organization of an efficient system of inter-library loans is imperative. The public libraries of provincial capitals must play a major role in such a system. There is uneconomical

implication of books in state institution, monopolized by the "elite" of research agencies who may have little time for reading or creative thinking owing to other preoccupations such as globe-trotting, looking up family overseas, attendance at international conferences, and the struggle for publicity. The latest fads are avidly imported and currently fashionable international literature adorns their exclusive libraries.

Condemnation of elitist research is the most intriguing methodological stock in trade of the professionally low ranking social scientist. The closest possible intimacy with the subjects under investigation is necessary to gain acceptance in the populist estimation of these practitioners. The means by which that intimacy may be secured are not considered, nor are they concerned with the ethical and legal implications of securing information. In a survey of mendacity, a top researcher can pose as a beggar, but dare he utter terrorist hideouts, or drown himself in order to experience at first hand the torment of a drowning man? Max Scheler ridiculed this naive notion of which is now known as "participatory observation" or its local "living-in" variant.

The capacity for empathy cannot be inculcated by formal training for a master's degree. Yet the problem reportedly comes up in a variety of research situations, especially in its legal and ethical aspects. What is the level of intimacy allowed to a personnel officer with pretensions to sociological expertise, with his factory "hands"? In England the hired private detective collecting incriminating evidence for a divorce action is guilty of the medieval crime of evesdropping, still on the statute books. It will be recalled that a pioneering investigation into prostitution undertaken early in this century by W. I. Thomas in Chicago virtually ended his academic career, following the wide publicity received by his arrest and charge of false registra-

tion in hotels. His research did, however, lend to his classic study on *The Unadjusted Girl*. More recently the introduction of a tape-recorder into the jury rooms of an American court, to document the deliberations of jurors led to strong protests against the invasion of privacy. Hence the earliest subjects for social research were those unable to assert their rights — the poor, the underprivileged, ethnic minorities, and delinquent groups. For "niggers have no souls". It is only a step further to employ espionage devices, including female decoys posing for years as mistresses of foreign service influentials to secure "classified" information for intelligence dossiers.

The corrective to such reprehensible research devices particularly in the three professions identified as most prone to charlatanism — psychology, sociology and medicine — is their professionalisation. The credit for the consolidation of a cadre of qualified physicians, distinct from quacks and drug peddlers, must go to the Royal College of Physicians in England. Professionalisation of psychology and sociology in this country has been a tardy process, and quacks abound. Personal interests stand in the way of the objective determination of professional standards. Dr. Goonetilleke does not mention the Sociological Association where it was originally insisted that only sociology graduates should qualify for membership. Soon other interests, domestic more than foreign, perverted, the ideals of professionalisation. In fact, where professionalisation is weak, even State-sponsored research institutions fail. In the absence of professional surveillance various nondescript persons, from a variety of motives, feel competent to pontificate on social science.

A situation has been created by the machinations of ambitious specialists in which it is no longer necessary even to possess a M.A. degree to belong to a professional association and all

potential supporters of those seeking office are welcome. Research directors have to be recognised as experts whether they have been appointed through political affiliation, bureaucratic "contacts", nepotism or response to ritual advertisements. The candidate acquires a quasi-professional self-confidence owing to his ascribed position rather than through research achievements. In a national regime of totalitarian democracy political bosses with ambitions of Caesarism, legitimize their tenuous support base by promoting a coteries of cowering henchmen whose adulations are given widest publicity providing a substitute for mass support. Dissent has to be repressed. The most innocuous criticisms of the Establishment are punished as though they constituted a crime of lese majeste. Megalomania and hysteria being infectious, "the Great Director" acquires an arrogance of power, lording it over humble and ill-paid beasts of burden known as "research assistants". In a rare mood of contrition in fact an inverted arrogance, Dr. Goonetilleke confesses to having been one of the first to use in private inaccurate expressions such as "genocide" and "holocaust", little realising that his inane "confessions" are discredited, of no interest to anybody, carrying no weight even in the scrap-heap of "mainstream" knowledge. In a wider context, the ambition of University education imagine that that the god-given task of developing higher education devolves on them forgetful of the fact that their position is due to political affiliation rather than academic excellence. The mediocre scholar so placed appeals to better qualified and internationally reputed scientists working abroad to return to ill-paid positions, without facilities, denied even so much as clerical assistance. He is innocent of the fact that in view of his humble position qua scientist his exportation are treated with the contempt they deserve.

Professional associations are degraded by indiscriminate admission of laymen who, at best

are earnest devotees "who come with heart wide open and brain half closed" (T.H. Marshall) in the hope of finding in social science an alternative to religion. Confining myself to sociology, described by a leading economist, Sir Roy Harrod, as the most important subject of adult study today, it is most unfortunate that all chances of nurturing an incipient professionalism have been blocked by the machinations of a self-seeking clique, through the simple device of laicisation. Consequently sociology and its bona fide practitioners both suffer from the company they are obliged to keep, exposure themselves to hostile caricature of the woolly thinking of "peripheral" scholars. As T.H. Marshall observes, nothing is more conducive to woolly thinking than the knowledge that one is addressing a flock of sheep "who infiltrate professional associations owing to a "democratic" admission policy which welcomes the innocent. To conclude with Marshall, "the road sociology chooses should be one with busy traffic on it, and company and conversation with others of a kindred spirit". Like-minded professionals have no role in a market-place dominated by over-eager and over-ambitious social climbers and adventurers whether of the political Right or Left.

The intellectual vacuum created by the demise of sociology, largely

caused by the cunning machinations of unsullied by professional restraints, is a premonitory sign of the collapse of civilization itself. For we live in a society which needs to forge appropriate modes of response to critical situations for which we have no articulated ideological guidelines, or built-in secular values, as in Thai society. In that event sociology is only an expendable adjunct to civilisation. Here, in the absence of enlightenment from concerned social scientists people have to depend on jejune lay analyses and prescription. The Minister of Justice opines that the Eastern Tamils or descendants of Mukkuvu tribes from Malabar, hence their adoption of matrilineal succession and their practice of charms and magic (but why not Malayalam as their language?): the grant of land for mosques by Kandyam Kings is taken to be evidence of communal harmony, ignoring the taboo on commensality and marriage. New myths of caste origin are fabricated on the basis of fanciful etymologies. Policy prescriptions are freely proffered — fifteen minutes of "Tamil music" and a weekly Hindu talk broadcast over SIBC are assumed to promote communal harmony, and so on. Millennia of conflict are ignored. A proposal for the institution of a Policy Research Institute, even if accepted, must fail owing to ignorance of the social science fields involved.

The economist being always at hand and ever ready to undertake research for which he is totally unqualified is the obvious choice, preferably, according to advertisements, the "micro-economist".

To counter the uncertainties embedded in most social science reasoning, an Australian savant has proposed the use of "fuzzy sets". Social studies can never approximate to the hard sciences, unless man is completely dehumanized, in which case sociology turns into cybernetics. This did occur when the older political economy was replaced by mathematical approaches — admission to the Cambridge economics tripos course required a degree in mathematics as pre-qualification. In the circumstances the need for a body of social scientists equally respected for their integrity as in their expertise, and acutely conscious of the limitations of their disciplines to provide certain answers to problems agitating decision makers, is more urgent than ever before.

If it be considered that Rapier's thrust is no match for a massive "broadside", (L. G. Oct 15) let it be remembered that the colossal cannon mounted on the early warships caused such thunderous reverberation when firing a broadside, that the attacking vessel oftentimes capsize for the vibration, leaving the target unaffected!

## CRM's Reply to Dr Susantha Goonatilake

In a recent lecture, published *The Island* on 27 and 28 September, Dr. Susantha Goonatilake levels a series of charges at several NGOs whom he claims to be part of an "ethnic studies industry". He includes CRM in his generalised attack. We feel that we should put the record straight on some matters concerning CRM. Had Dr. Goonatilake taken the trouble to study our history and activities from our published material, and consulted us on other matters, he might have avoided making many mistakes.

**"Spawned at the whim and fancy of a few individuals" and "export-oriented"**

CRM started in 1971 in response to an extremely grave situation in the country, when the basic rights of many citizens were suspended, thousands of youth were in jail without charge and many poor families were deprived of their breadwinners. Among its founders were Buddhist and Christian clergy, University lecturers, teachers, trade-unionists, lawyers, doctors, artists, writers and film makers. Prof. E. R.

Sarachandera was its first Chairman.

CRM took up a number of matters arising out of the continuing use of emergency powers, regularly bringing them to the Government's attention and requesting remedial action. They included the right of public meeting, the lifting of censorship, the right to distribute and affix posters and leaflets, trade union rights, the rights of persons in custody, habeas corpus, the disposal of dead bodies, the admissibility of statements to the

police, the need for effective machinery for dealing with complaints against the police and army, and the new laws. It should be clear from this that we were neither motivated by "whim and fancy", nor "export oriented", but were responding to a critical domestic situation.

Since that time CRM has continued to take up a wide range of issues and cases involving the civil and political rights of people from all communities and walks of life in Sri Lanka — among them trade union rights, franchise, civic rights of political leaders, parliamentary privilege, political tuggery, the right to a fair trial, the rights of persons in custody, citizenship, the independence of the judiciary, etc. It has functioned for 16 years almost entirely on the voluntary work of its members. Any interested person, or systematic researcher, can gain some idea of the scope and character of our activities from our book *The People's Rights* (1978) and from our subsequent published statements.

CRM has a very specific scope. It is concerned primarily with the exercise of governmental power, and the relationship between this and the right of the subject. Where abuse or misuse of such power takes place, or is likely to take place, its function begins. Its concern is with those human rights commonly referred to as civil and political rights. As we pointed out in 1978:

"We realised from the start that we did not have the organisational capacity to become a mass movement and we made no pretensions about this. But this does not mean that our interests are narrow or sectarian. We conceived of ourselves as a group which examines laws and the workings of government in the light of basic principles of human rights, which principles are common to a wide spectrum of political groups and parties. Our function, then, is to make representations to the government, to initiate debate, to focus attention, and to alert the public through publicity and by placing the result of our research before the mass organisations of the people—political parties, trade unions, religious bodies and so on—to take note of or ignore as they will." (*The People's Rights*?)

### "Private industry"

This implies, at the very least, that either people are being paid for their work or that the organisation is making money out of its work, and also, perhaps, that the results of that work are privately consumed. However, CRM policy-making, writing, research, documentation, legal counselling and representation, case work, correspondence with victims and officials, submissions and appearances before official committees, courts, etc., are all done on an unpaid voluntary basis, by people who are otherwise employed. This includes experienced and highly qualified lawyers, of whom the late S. Nadesan QC was only one example. Dr Goonatilake should not be unaware of CRM's challenge to the Press Council Bill in 1972, to the Kufuwana Constitutional Amendment in 1980, to the Fourth Amendment (re the Presidential Election) in 1982, the *Pasidu Wanda* fundamental rights case on behalf of Rev. Daramitipala Ratunasara in 1982, the defence in the Nallanayagan case in 1986, and various other causes which CRM lawyers have undertaken without any form of payment at all. It should also be clear from the very nature of our work that it is neither for private consumption nor for private profit, but for public benefit.

### "Exclusively foreign-funded"

The foregoing paragraphs show that this observation is clearly misdirected. For its first eight years, CRM functioned entirely on locally-generated donations, subscriptions and membership fees, and brought out its first major publication. During this period CRM accepted foreign funds only for its Distress Relief Fund which was administered separately under its Chairman the Rt Rev. Leo Nanayakkara, and which helped destitute families where the breadwinners was in prolonged detention. This operation was wound up in 1977 and CRM has not engaged in relief work since.

In more recent years, some foreign funding has been sought for specific projects such as translations, publications and distribution. However, CRM continues to function without an office of its own. More important, its members continue to provide their time on a completely voluntary basis. The entire intellectual "product" of CRM is unpaid. If evaluated in money terms it would well exceed any foreign assistance received. It is significant to examine what the position would be if we had no foreign-funded projects. CRM's intellectual output and services would be exactly the same. What would be less would be what Dr Goonatilake complains we don't do enough of, namely dissemination of our work widely in Sinhala, Tamil and English.

### "The result is that the Universities are starved of research funds"

We would certainly deplore the lack of funds for University research but we cannot believe that this is a consequence of any resources that might be given to voluntary organisations like ours. Nor do we think that stifling research by voluntary organisations or NGOs, and limiting their freedom of expression and operation, would improve the research situation in the Universities in any way. Indeed CRM has assisted University staff members when their freedom of expression was threatened. The existence of "watchdog" NGOs outside the University framework is important in the defence of academic freedom itself.

### HURIDOCs

Dr Goonatilake's casual approach to his research material can be seen in his reference to HURIDOCs. His lack of concern for getting his facts right here should prompt one to treat his other statements with circumspection.

He speaks of "the human Rights Documentation Centre (HURIDOC) at Oslo in Oslo". There is an initial confusion here.

HURIDOCs (the final S) is important) does not stand for Human Rights Documentation Centre. There does exist a Human Rights Documentation Centre, which is part of the Council of Europe; it is located in Strasbourg. HURIDOCs stands for HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION SYSTEM. Dr Gnanatilake then states that HURIDOCs "documents alleged human rights violations", and implies that it is a "service" solely concerned with Sri Lanka. However, HURIDOCs does not document violations or even collect documents, and is certainly not restricted to Sri Lanka; it is a system of guidelines, standards and formats available to any

organisation in the human rights field that wants to make use of it. Dr Gnanatilake's " cursory examination" of the subject seem to have led him to confuse HURIDOCs with SLP, the Sri Lanka Human Rights Database Project, which is housed in the Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), and which does deal exclusively with Sri Lanka.

### in conclusion

Though Dr Gnanatilake claims to have "presented the output of a network ... of the ethnic studies and action industry", he doesn't actually do that in his paper. He does not examine a single document produced by these NGOs. If he is interested

in making a serious assessment of an organisation such as ours, he should study its history, activity and publications before claiming any sort of expertise. CRM does not do research on the ethnic question: that is outside its scope. It is concerned with the civil liberties aspect of the ethnic question. This is however, only one of a wide range of CRM concerns. The fact that it has come to feature prominently in our recent activity is only a reflection of the importance it has acquired in national life at the present moment.

Desmond Fernando  
Secretary

## The isolation of the intelligentsia

Andare

The exchange between Dr. Susantha Gnanatilake and an assortment of academics and intellectuals is in danger of becoming a private dialogue if it has not always become one. This in spite of the fact that Dr. G. has taken the fight to the presumably more native pastures of the 'Divina' as well. The reason is not far to seek. The average man, even the average intelligent man, is not very worried about how academic spoils are divided among Colombo academic and intellectual elite. And that basically is what the debate is about, stripped of all its pretensions.

The unconcern of the average reader towards the debate also show how separated the intelligentsia are from the people and this includes Dr. G. as well. In actual fact both he and his detractors belong to the same class and same milieu. They are all dominantly English-speaking (although now adjusted to a bilingual set-up), living in Colombo and holding membership of the academic and intellectual brahmin caste, old boys of the same elitist schools and sharing basically the same mental make-up. The only

difference is that the prolonged ethnic conflict has polarised them as no other issue had done before. Hence the dichotomy we see now between the liberal-radical intelligentsia and the populist-nationalist intelligentsia each group shouting ritual abuse at the other.

The intelligentsia in the generic sense was the product of the liberal academic education spawned by the Jenningsian university milieu. While one section of the intelligentsia accepted the western liberal values and the world view which went with it without much question the other section was drawn either to Marxism or nationalism. While the Marxists looked forward to the apocalypse the nationalist expostulated about the dominance of English in the university and ballroom dancing at the socials.

Both sections however settled down comfortably in either the groves of academe or the corridors of the CCS (later SLAS). They were basically English-speaking and had by now entered the westernised urban milieu. But the challenge of bilingualism saw them conquering that hurdle too.

While the more urbanised of these elements spoke Sinhala fastidiously with a mild English accent the more earthy native sons took pride in their proximity to the village after it became no longer unfashionable to flaunt one's roots.

During the last several decades this intelligentsia in its generic sense has undergone several convolutions. There has been considerable traffic across the liberal-radical divide.

Mild liberal intellectuals who took more interest in poetry than in politics have blossomed into red-hot radicals. The worship of Ezra Pound has been exchanged for the worship of Antonio Gramsci or Louis Althusser. Similarly the radicals of yesterday have become tame-out liberals some of them even apologists for the existing order. Marxists have abandoned Marxism for nationalism. Fresh virtues have been discovered in Anagarika Dharmapala and Piyadasa Sirisena.

On the opposite pole these worthies have been castigated and condemned as 'racists', a term

of abuse which comes easily to some people's lips these days and for wholly surprising reasons as well.

But nothing has polarised them more than the ethnic problem. The liberal-radicals supported the Tamil struggle advocated a political solution while the populist-nationalists refused to concede that there was an ethnic problem at all. Now the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and the post-July situation have thrown both groups into some confusion. The fact is that both groups are products of our times.

In the context of anti Tamils violence which was brutalising society particularly after July 1983 and the mass Sinhala hysteria which was growing the liberal-radicals were bulwarks of sanity. On the other hand the populist-nationalists realised that there was more to it than resolving the ethnic problem and that it was the growing authoritarianism and intolerance in our society which was pushing the country towards crisis.

But their tone was stridently Sinhala chauvinist and this bred distrust about their motives among the uncommitted.

This dichotomy among the intelligentsia and the need for an ideology of sanity suited to our times is at the heart of the present crisis.

The liberal-radicals (or lib-nuts to use Kantilyan terminology) were angered by the growing Sinhala intolerance directed at the Tamil people and were impelled to make historical forays to trace the reasons for this alienation. They were correct in pointing out that if the archetypal historical pLebias propagated by popular history and instilled in the Sinhala mind were not fought and combatted there would be no hope of a reconciliation. But this has to be done in an idiom which is easily understood by the people and through methods close to their ethos.

In fact the central question before Sri Lanka today is how the various communities can best preserve their culture and way

of life while being free of any one community's hegemonistic influence and respecting each other's way of life. For this a synthesis of ideas is necessary. But does the present squabble between the lib-nuts and the pop-nuts further that common interest? *— Island*

The following paragraphs from JAYABEVA'S Column "S.G. vs SAREC, HURIDOC, et al" were inadvertently Omitted:

"He lists these ...

agencies under two headings "Relatively non controversial sources" and "more controversial sources". His categorisation has clear political connotations, to which one cannot by any means take exception.

I would, however, stress another aspect of the research funding situations that SG overlooks. All such agencies, whether private or government backed, raw or cooked, have their particular agendas. Thus, research is not necessarily more independent, and more conducive to the general good of a society, simply because it is sponsored by the State or by universities. The State is ever jealous of its powers, rights and privileges. And universities are, more often than not, instruments of the state.

Here is what a wellknown American academic, a teacher in the humanities has said about the university system in his own country a country which, SG would willingly admit, possesses some of the greatest higher education institutions in the world. (I am quoting only a few lines from a long essay.)

"And what are the imperatives our students would find inscribed upon their teachers' lives? "Secure the grant!" "Update the bibliography!" "Publish or perish!" The academic life may be busy and anxious but it is the business and anxiety of careerist competition that fills it, not that of a dangerous venture. So it is by and large outside the aca-

ademic profession that our students must look for the defiant minds of the time.

"But then let us admit that the academy has very rarely been a place of daring. One might perhaps count on the fingers of one hand the eras in which the university has been anything better than the handmaiden of official society: the social club of the ruling elites the training school of whatever functionaries the status quo required."

I would be the first to raise my hand in favour of more research funding for the universities (here at least my response should be quicker than SG'S) But I also recognize that it would be foolish to ask or expect from the universities anything other than what official society encourages or permits them to deliver.

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