MUSLIMS IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

— *Special Report*

LANKA GUARDIAN

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Prospects for Peace in Sri Lanka

Can We Tempt the Tiger ? — *Mervyn de Silva*

Has Delhi Caught the Tiger's Tail ?

— *S. H. Venkatramani*

Also: Lanka thrashes India, Pathirana and Racism **and** S. Nadesan Q.C., J.V.P.

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ANTI-ELITE

Is there a new pre-1956 type wave of populism in our society and politics today or is it yet another current of anti-elitism that will soon subside? Not unnaturally, anti-elitism usually assumes the form of anti-western polemics and propaganda, with the top Colombo schools, once the exclusive preserve of the privilegentsia, as the main symbolic targets.

The place of English in our educational system is the focus of an increasingly fierce debate in the media. In part, this is a spin-off from the ethnic problem, which is taken to be a Sinhala-Tamil conflict. The English-educated, especially of the pre-1956 generation, argue rather naively that Sinhala-Tamil relations would have been far less abrasive if only English had remained the medium of instruction. Nobody is foolish enough to propose that English should be restored to its old status but there is nonetheless the strong feeling that English should be 'the link language', linking in effect the Sinhala and Tamil middle class.

Or are these sporadic outbursts of anti-elitism a sign of tensions within the governing groups?

Prime Minister Premadasa was at his sardonic best when he informed a rural rally how he came to "learn the law". The court deans, he said, used to throw 'briefs' into his backyard when he was a schoolboy.

Far more blunt was the District Minister of Kandy, Mr. W. P. Dissanayake. Kandy he said needed its own Provincial Council. A Council for the Kandyans is no new idea. It was the Kandyan leadership which first presented a case for federalism.

But the District Minister's main argument was extraordinary-dramatic enough in fact to make the front page of the Island.

"We do not want to be ruled by Royalists and Thuminans in Colombo". He spoke at the St. Sylvester College hall to 300 D. D. C. members who had been absorbed into the LGSC. His speech was largely devoted to the new Pradeshaya Mandanala scheme.

DEANS DEMO

A don, a professor or a dean are all teachers, after all, and State employees. There is nothing very special about them in that sense. And yet, they are workers in a very special place — the university. Right or wrong, good, bad or indifferent, it is the university and the quality of the education it imparts to this generation of undergraduates which will chiefly decide how closely the national achievement at the turn of this century will meet the common aspirations of the Sri Lankan people.

When these same dons and deans relinquish their non academic posts, to dramatise their persistent demand for a salary revision, it is an act of desperation that reflects a deeper malaise. It is not as if the U. T. A. has not presented a cogent case for a reasonable revision of their salary scales. They have done so, not last month, not last year. They have been agitating for several years. But to no avail.

Whatever the champions of 'the New Society' may profess the professor carries little authority, and not much value.

(Continued on page 5)

TRENDS + LETTERS

CRD Semantics

Mr. Reggie Siriwardena (for CRD) makes a distinction between "the greater number" and "more than half" of a set of people or things. It is a distinction without a difference. The Oxford Dictionary is of no help to CRD. If CRD meant "the largest single group" that is precisely the term they should have used, or a paraphrase of it. This is not the first time that CRD have been guilty of misleading statements. I do not believe it is going to be the last.

Boyd Almeida

Dematagoda

× × ×

General Assembly Vote

Your issue of 15 December 1986 contained a very interesting piece on the debate on the Foreign Ministry votes.

What puzzled me was the lack of any reference in the debate to the General Assembly

(Continued on page 7)

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NEWS BACKGROUND

Tempting the Tiger
(close linkages of a second kind)

Mervyn de Silva

Having permitted, through the arrogance of power and/or insensitivity, an essentially domestic problem to be externalised, the government is now striving to internalise its negotiated solution. That is the meaning of the self-styled 'direct negotiations' an exercise rapidly reduced to the less impressive status of 'direct contacts' because the chances of direct negotiations in the given situation were never too bright. For reasons that should have been obvious.

In effect, internalisation means the exclusion of India or a reduced role for the post-July 1983 mediator whose offer of "good offices" was instantly grabbed by a beseiged regime. The government which could have discussed a settlement with the T.U.L.F., when the T.U.L.F.'s authority in the north was still quite secure, did not choose to do so. In fact the behaviour of the Sri Kotha stormtroopers in Jaffna during the D.D.C. polls not only undermined the T.U.L.F.'s authority but the confidence of the Jaffna voter, especially an already restive youth, in the democratic process. From that moment, terrorism grew in a soil more and more congenial for a popular revolt. Slowly but surely the balance of effective power in the north was shifting from the traditional parliamentary leadership to the non traditional (non Vellala) second generation youth even as the character of the Tamil movement changed from non-violent constitutionalist opposition to armed resistance.

When the Sixth Amendment forced the TULF out of parliament, the goverment which should have, in its own and a 'united' Sri Lanka's enlightened interest, spoken to the T.U.L.F. and ignored the rebels, had nobody to speak to.

It could not speak to the TULF because it had moved head office to Madras, and it could not talk to the terrorists, either because it is *infra dig* for respectable governments to talk to terrorists or because the terrorists only understood the language of the A-K 47. The trouble with the second kind of conversation is that you have to win the argument also with the gun, and at that point of time, Colombo did not have the wherewithal to engage itself forcefully in that type of noisy and fiery exchange.

So it had perforce to discuss the problem with the TULF. The TULF, with more than its fingers burnt, was ready to talk only through the Indian government and participate in formal negotiations only under Indian auspices. And so we had 'Annexure C', the Thimpu Talks, the A.P.C. and the TULF's top leaders in Colombo, last August, for several weeks.

To some members of the TULF politburo and to a few suspicious souls in Delhi, notably Mr. G. Parthasarathy who resigned his post recently, all this jaw-jaw was a 'time-buying' exercise for the preferred alternative of 'war-war', meaning more money for defence, more arms, more men in arms, more and better training, more security advisers, more camps, better communications, etc.

The National Security Minister, Mr. Athulathmudali, the "hawk", denies that the government's desired goal is a military victory. There is no military solution to this conflict he says, adding however a necessary pre-condition is a "position of strength", militarily that is.

In short, he denies that the government is nursing the idea of a 'big bang' or a "go for broke" military operation to chase the 'Tigers' back into the bush and plant the Lion Flag in Jaffna.

What then is behind the "direct negotiations" idea? More than 3 years after 'Annexure C', the tripartite exercise (Colombo-Delhi-Tamils) has not produced a negotiated settlement. There have been some advance, with concessions from all sides: Provincial Councils conceded by Colombo with much wider powers devolved to these assemblies; acceptance by Delhi that outright North-East 'merger' is out; a readiness by the armed groups to drop "Eelam" for a negotiable 'homeland' carved out of the east physically linked to the north.

But the concessions from all three sides have not produced a sellable package. The Eastern province has proved an irremoveable obstacle.

But meanwhile Indian suspicion has grown, and the problem, interestingly enough, is another sort of "linkage", Sri Lanka's external linkages, foreign policy and security — Pakistan and Israel, mainly. These linkages are perceived in Delhi as a danger, real or potential, to India's security interests.

TRACK TWO

In November, after Bangalore, the Indian negotiating team, as we commented in this journal, moved on to Track Two: foreign policy/regional security. This coincided, by the way, with the visit of Israeli President Chaim Herzog.

Colombo was rudely awakened to the fact that it was being pressed not only to yield on the **internal** issue (devolution and more so, the territorial unit) but on **foreign policy.**

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The pre-Bangalore crackdown on the Sri Lankan Tamil militants, the evident change in the climate of opinion in Tamilnadu and the fratricidal fighting between the main Tamil group, the Tigers and the EPRLF (TELO had already been decimated), and the determined bid by the LTTE to emerge as 'the sole Tamil representative' offered opportunities for Colombo.

Give the 'Tigers' the satisfaction of being recognised as the "sole" representative, and thus win them over to the idea of an 'internal' settlement. Cutting the links between Jaffna and Madras-Delhi would create a situation where Colombo could deal with the 'Tigers' independently. At worst, it may mean granting more concessions to the 'Tigers' but all such concessions will be domestic, not foreign policy. At best, if the offer of better terms through **direct** negotiations tempted the **LTTE** to loosen its ties with Madras-Delhi, then the time consuming process of such negotiations would leave the government in a far stronger position, militarily, to deal with the LTTE, its Madras support-lines severed, in case the talks proved unproductive.

When the 'peace mission' to Jaffna was announced, signals coming from the LTTE locally, suggested that the 'Tigers' were quite receptive to the idea. But that assumption was soon proved false.

In Madras the LTTE praised Mr. Gandhi's "sincerity" and then stated in the clearest language that it would not engage in any talks "behind India's back". Thus the hope that the LTTE, wishing like any liberation front to become autonomous, would cut its links with Madras (in effect, its life-line politically and militarily) was a miscalculation.

Colombo cannot use the LTTE to slip out of Delhi's post-83 clutches. Nor can it yield to Delhi's demands on the future shape of the Eastern province.

The next phase will be brinkmanship of the most daring (and dangerous) kind.

The Muslim Factor

When the *Lanka Guardian* published my brief report on the controversy over the Government-appointed Committee on "Personal Laws" an observation made in passing provoked some criticism in newspaper circles I was told. In that article (**Muslim Protest Triumphs**" L.G. Nov. 15) I made the following remarks — "Since the Muslims constitute the second largest minority in the island and part of a very much larger and highly influential international community, with which Sri Lanka has important diplomatic and economic ties, this sensitive question was sufficiently significant to deserve much more prominence in the press, not to mention study and informed comment".

It was said, I was informed, that I was trying to introduce a 'Muslim factor' into the present highly disturbed, political situation by exaggerating a "minor issue" which only concerned "Muslim marriage"! All I can say is that such critics, whether they be Sinhalese, Tamils or even Muslims, did not obviously know what was being preached in the mosques each week, and what the **moulavis** (theologians) were discussing and what representations they were making to Muslim leaders and influential individuals in the community, such as professional men, educated youth and business sections.

How many developments connected with the Muslims have taken place in this short time? First, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike (and he is the effective spokesman of the SLFP, isn't he?) devoted almost his entire speech on the government's foreign policy to the Israeli question. Was that an accident? Surely, one cannot say it was **only** about Israel? He was addressing the Muslim community. He was making a direct appeal to 'the other minority' and as a matter of fact he was defending both the Mulims and the Tamils in the context of the violence in the eastern province. We should all note that he agreed hundred percent with Mr. Haleem Ishak when the Colombo Central Third Member said "Muslims and Tamils have never clashed in the history of our country..". Quite categorically, he said" that is the opinion of the party, that is the SLFP view.

Then the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress had been already formed and its President, Mr. M. H. M. Ashraff addressed a press conference which clearly showed that this was essentially a move by the E. P. Muslims. It is true of course that Mr. Ashraff so far has remained silent on the Israeli issue. Unlike Mr. Ishak and other Muslims, both in Colombo and the E. P. who have tried to make a connection between the ugly events in the province and 'Israeli advisers', Mr. Ashraff has not yet attacked Israel. However, the UNP Muslims and the Opposition Leader made a "united front", may be only temporarily, on demanding an Independent Commission on the recent violence where many Muslims were killed and homes, shops, etc. destroyed. It was the District Minister Mr. Mansoor who called for such an independent inquiry. When Opposition Leader took it up in Parliament, he rejected outright the theory about 'Muslim-Tamil clashes'. The reaction from the government was most interesting, Mr. Jabir Cader, the Colombo Central MP who was a mayor of Colombo and is a big businessman, got up and speaking for only one minute that he was "extremely grateful" to the Opposition Leader, for raising the matter. Those incidents, he said, were "very shocking" to all Muslims in Sri Lanka. In my opinion, his last remark was most significant, politically speaking. 90 percent of the Muslims, according to Mr. Jabir Cader, voted for the U.N.P.

The speech of Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed M. P. Samanchurai, where

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the violence took place, is even more noteworthy and any student of political and parliamentary affairs should have attached some importance to his remarks the next day in the House. As Mr. Majeed himself said he has been a parliamentarian for 26 years ! He is now Deputy Minister but he made it a point to inform the Assembly "I never came into Parliament through any political party. I was voted by people not once, twice or thrice — for ten years I was an independent member... I think I hold a unique record. I cannot understand this treatment given to me..."

Mr. Majeed was talking about "Sugar Allotments to Sugar Corp. Employees", and about discrimination against 'my fellows', and about "permanent settlers" in the Digavapi (Temple) Zone. "Who are these permanent settlers" he asked and gave a short history from Mr. C. P. de Silva's time. It is the concluding passage of his speech that must be carefully noted:

"Now there is a Muslim political party. We live among the Tamils. Thank God! You must thank the Muslims that the Eastern Province is not what the Northern province is... because of the Muslims. And if you continue these activities you will find that the east will also be like the North..."

Muslim politics in this country has been the politics of the Muslim elite of the western seaboard, and the personal politics of respected "elders" like Dr. Kaleel and Sir Razeek. It remained pro-UNP politics until Dr. Baduidin Mahmud and the Islamic Socialist Front, slighcly more progressive, a little more oriented towards Islamic radicalism, gave a Muslim base for the S. L. F. P. But the E. P. was a neglected area. And in terms of leadership a vacuum. The pro-UNP and pro-SLFP Muslim leaders have all come from other parts of Sri Lanka.

Inspite of the fact that the Muslims of the E. P. were Tamil-speaking, unlike the Muslims in other provinces who speak Sinhala quite well, they did not evidently feel the need to produce their own leaders. This was surprising also because the E. P. Muslims are not involved in the gem trade or dependent on it, or engaged in the big business operations and lucrative professions which have attracted the Muslim upper class in western province or south.

The conflict in the E. P. in the past two years has become far more brutal than in the north. Also, it is politically more complex because of the presence of three communities.

The impact of the violence has brought many changes. The western Muslim leadership has lost control of the E.P. Top UNP'ers only paid brief visits to the East by helicopter. A 'power vacuum" exists. Muslim youth, some armed, are active. What will they do? What course will they follow? Mr. Ashraff wants to fill the vacuum and says he is "independent". So far he is independent of the Opposition and has refused to join the anti-Israeli bandwaggon which flies an anti-UNP flag. Is he really independent of the Government? How far can he attack the UNP plans for the E. P. ? Can he keep pace with the events?

A. M. M.

JVP terrorists ('out for the kill') go underground

Srimal Abeyewardene

Concerned by what the authorities regard as JVP "terror tactics", a countrywide police alert has been sounded and all stations asked to keep their eyes peeled on the activities of the proscribed organisation, police sources said yesterday.

Authoritative sources said: "We've had two murders and an attempted murder involving the extremists in recent weeks. First there was the killing of a Colombo campus student leader. Then there was the killing of the principal of the Gonadeniya Maha Vidyalaya at Weerakotiya. The third case was of attempted murder at Badulla".

A senior policeman said that all three incidents were clearly indicative of the willingness of southern extremist groups, notably the JVP, to bump off anybody who stood in their way.

"First they were engaging in crime to keep themselves in funds. But now we find that they don't stop at that and are ready to kill their opponents", he said.

He said that about 25 student activists wanted by the authorities have gone underground. These campus figures are from the universities of Colombo, Kelaniya and Sri Jayewardenepura.

There are some people who we believe are JVP hardliners, whom we'd like to interview in connection with the murders and attempted murder. They are all missing. Their descriptions have been circulated to all police stations and to ports and airports", the spokesman said.

Some student monks are sympathisers of the JVP and are active in the organisation. Some of them are also believed to have been involved in recent incidents, he said.

— *Daily News*

Trends...

(Continued from page 1)

HOSTAGE DRAMA

Sri Lanka had its own hostage drama, straight out of the movies. At Seeduwa, the workers of a factory owned by a wellknown Colombo firm, held 28 employees hostage for a few hours, threatening to kill them and set fire to the building. Nobody was shooting a new Gamini Fonseka film, though. This was real life drama. Why? The answer says much not only about the economic pressures on the working class but also on the life-styles that the "new Society" has created.

They were not demanding a million dollar ransom for the release of their 'comrades' from prison, or even a separate state.

All they wanted was a Christmas bonus! The style and idiom are cinematic and imitative. The message is violence.

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Funeral of Daya Pathirana

"Communal minded fascists and allies responsible for death"

Wikramabahu Karunaratne

"The assasination of Daya Pathirana was a threat aimed particularly at the students movement of this country and anti-racist movements in general. The communal minded fascists and their allies are responsible for his tragic death. The razor blade which was used for this wicked, baseless act was actually used against all anti-racist elements of this country. However those responsible for this should bear in mind that they cannot stop a just cause by the mere display of a razor blade."

Dr. Wickramabahu Karunaratne of the NSSP said so speaking at the funeral of Daya Pathirana of Deeyagaha, Aparekka, in Matara, the student leader of the Colombo University who was killed by a gang of assassins at Piliyandala a few days ago.

The deceased Daya Pathirana was a 2nd year bio-science student of the Colombo University and was also the President of the Independent Students Union of this University. He was the eldest in a family of 7 brothers and sisters and hailed from a typical middle class family. His body was removed from his home for burial by his varsity comrades amidst cries of a terribly grieved mother father and other family members. Almost every house in the village was decked with white flags and signs of mourning was visible on people's faces. Thousands of under-graduates from the Colombo. Peradeniya, Kelaniya, Jayawardenapura and Ruhuna universities attended the funeral.

The Ven. Aparekke Dhammananda Thera, Viharadhipathi of the Sri Sunandaramaya, Galboda officiated in the performance of funeral rites.

Mr. Athauda Seneviratne, former MP for Ruwanwella and Secretary of the LSSP Youth Movement said that with the assassination of Daya Pathirana an ugly and dangerous campaign of personal terrorism had began in Sri Lanka. He was killed by a group who did not like his broad socialist policies.

The LSSP would condemn this dastardly act. We should not leave room for the recurrence of such activity.

Mr. P. S. L. Galappaththi, M P for Devinuwara who expressed condolences on behalf of President J. R. Jayewardene, Prime Minister Premadasa and the government said that steps would be taken to bring to book the culprits behind this brutal and sordid crime.

Mr. K. L. Dharmasiri of the Independent Students Union, Colombo University said that as an undergraduate, the late Daya Pathirana always fought for the rights of the varsity students when the UNP administration attempted to oppress them and a so-called socialist students union kept silent.

Mrs. Chandrasiri Wickramasiri of the Revolutionary Communist Party said that the JVP was responsible for the death of Daya Pathirana and that capitalist elements in this country had helped them. There were also plans to carry out more such assasinations in future and all true progressives should be vigilant.

The Ven. Kadawedduwa Sasanathilaka Thera, the Ven. Vitiyala Choolalankara Thera, Mrs. M. P. Ramanayake, Messrs Chandrasiri Gajadeera of the CP and Member, UC, Matara, M. S. M. Akram of the SLSMP, Gunasekera Mahanama of Govt. Clerical Service Union, N. Alahapperuma and Chandra Rajanayake also spoke.

— Island

Indian Youth condemn murder

The General Union of Youth and Students (GUYS) vehemently condemn the murder of Mr. Daya Pathirana, an undergraduate of the University of Colombo and the President of the Independent Students' Union. The ISU not only has dared to raise its voice in support of the struggle for the right of self-determination of the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka, but also boldly exposed and worked against the reactionary policies of opportunist left parties in the South.

We recall with deep gratitude, the immense help rendered by the late Mr. Pathirana to people who fell victims to the state-organised regime of terror in July 1983. We are convinced that this a well planned and politically motivated murder. One can only discern, in this dastardly act, the total political bankruptcy of an essentially chauvinistic and reactionary group which had opted to view itself as extreme left. It is best for those concerned, to realise that political murders of this nature have throughout the history, failed to put out or even suppress the ideologies that motivate all progressive struggles. We earnestly hope that the Independent Students' Union would continue to operate on its progressive policies, undeterred by this irreparable loss or any further acts of this barbarous group, which masquerades as ultra-left. It is very necessary that the outcome of this dastardly murder should be the continuance of the progressive struggle with greater vigour and determination.

The General Union of Youth and Students (GUYS) extends its full support to all the progressive and constructive policies of the Independent Student's Union. We express our deep sorrow at this untimely death of such a noble son of Sri Lanka.

Secretary

General Union of Youth and Students (INDIA)

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Left alliance calls for committee of reps

The three party left alliance comprising the LSSP, SLMP and the CP have in a statement issued to the press said that in relation to the holding of general elections and referenda, a committee of representatives should be nominated by all recognised political parties together with the Elections Commissioner.

The alliance has said the Election Commissioner's report has raised the urgent need for important changes in the law and practice in relation to the conduct of elections and referenda.

"Our three parties have repeatedly pointed out that unless such changes are made immediately there is no assurance that any elections or referenda held under the aegis of this government will be really free and fair.

This is all the more so when, as pointed out in the report itself, the Commissioner does not receive the cooperation of the security and other departments of government in seeing that election law is obeyed" it adds.

— *Island*

SLOW MEN AT WORK

As I raced along Duplication Road
Dreaming of butterflies and cream soda
I fell into a nice oblong pothole.
Nothing happened to (nothing happens to me anyway) me
But I was jolted into an awareness.
Thirty miles an hour is the legal limit in Colombo
I was doing forty which is the giddy limit.
I should have noticed the sign SLOW MEN AT WORK
That would have slowed me down as well.
The workers may have been slow but they were jolly well working
Sweat poured down their harassed bodies
And their muscles were taut and gleaming.
The roads that were complete were a joy to race on
The Green Path stretch made me rev once more up to my usual forty
But this time I saw the sign and my racing came to an abrupt halt
SLOW MEN AT WORK

— **Nedra Vittachi**

Order to police: be quick with reports

The Attorney-General has written to the IGP asking for cooperation in ensuring that police reports on remand prisoners are provided as early as possible when the AG's department calls for such information.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Siva Pasupati, has said that in any event such reports should be made available within three weeks of receipt of the request.

He told the IGP that a very large number of prisoners are in remand without bail, some for periods as long as one to five years.

The major reason is that these suspects lack the means to make bail applications. The Legal Aid Committee has now taken steps to make applications on their behalf.

The IGP has circularised copies of the AG's letter among all police stations and said that any inordinate delay in sending the required reports will be viewed seriously.

—*Daily News*

Letters. . . .

(Continued from page 1)

vote on the Resolution on Nicaragua condemning the U. S. position in imposing a trade embargo, and in flouting the World court ruling, where I understand Sri Lanka had abstained, when the majority of the Non-Aligned Countries, and even some Western Countries, together with the Socialist Countries, had supported the resolution.

M. Kohomban

Dehiwela

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S. Nadesan QC — a tribute

by Manel Fonseka

(Civil Rights Movement)

Mr. S. Nadesan, QC, the eminent lawyer, Senator and gifted and dedicated champion of human rights, died in the early hours of Sunday morning after a brief illness. He was in his 83rd year.

Mr. Nadesan applied his intellect and passion for justice to an amazingly wide range of human rights issues throughout his life. Beginning his legal career in the 1930s, he was noted for his incisive logic, relentless pursuit of facts and skilful and dogged advocacy. He was elected to the Senate in 1947 as an independent, and was a founder member of the Civil Rights Movement in 1971. He was President of the Bar Council from 1970 to 1972.

In a long career of 55 years at the Bar, Nadesan was associated with a number of famous and important cases, such as the Abdul Aziz trade-union trespass case, the challenge to the Press Council Bill of 1972, the Fundamental Rights Applications against the banning of the *Aththa* and *Saturday Review* newspapers, and the challenging of the contention that the Supreme Court judges were deemed to have vacated office. Amongst his most recent and successful cases were the 'Pavidi Handa' fundamental rights case, the Kalawana Constitutional issue, and the defence of the Kalmunai Citizens Committee President, Paul Nallanayagam.

He was a colossus in a vanishing breed of lawyers who excel in every sphere of the profession. Nadesan was equally at ease, and equally a master of his field, whether applying his extraordinary talent to a criminal trial, a tax case, a constitutional issue, a trade union dispute, a complex commercial arbitration, or a case involving international human rights standards. This versatility marked his career from its beginning right up to his last days.

Mr Nadesan was himself charged — and acquitted — in 1980 with breach of parliamentary privilege, for a series of articles he had written on this subject in 1978. Ironically, he had been a member of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which had drafted the original Parliamentary Privileges Act in 1963.

Mr Nadesan had a unique record as an independent senator, having been a member of the Upper House from its inception in 1947 to its abolition in 1972, with a brief interruption. In the Senate he was associated with social and labour legislation and with issues relating to the national question. He made particular contributions to the question of minority rights and of citizenship for the plantation workers, both of which were seen by him in the context of national unity and national harmony.

Perhaps the most impressive of his many remarkable Senate speeches is that made, courageously, in the month following the April 1971 insurgency. It reflects Nadesan's passion for social justice; in it he eloquently identifies the economic and social problems which gave rise to the frustration of our country's youth, for which he says the older generation of which he is part must take the blame. It also reflects the his deep concern for human rights; its plea to a beleagured government not to dismiss out of hand allegations of excesses by the army and police, but to publicly commit itself to investigating them once conditions permit, is extraordinary skilled and compelling.

Among his most valuable are his dissenting report as a member of the National Flag Committee (1950), his still extremely relevant article on *Regional Autonomy*, originally published in the *Sunday Observer* in 1957, and, in his post-Senatorial days, his book on the principles of Constitution-making and the 1972 Constitution, and report on the 1980 *Strike and its Aftermath*, written for the Civil Rights Movement.

A number of Nadesan's cases in the superior courts are extremely important social documents, as they place in the public domain important evidence and issues which are otherwise inaccessible.

His life is a chronicle of the age, as much as the values for which he stood were such that he has been called 'the conscience of our times'.

Although a fierce and aggressive fighter he was a man of great gentleness and warmth. He was well-known for the simplicity of his lifestyle, his famous fruit and vegetable diet and the long, reflective walks which he took across the length and breadth of Colombo — often dressed in a pair of baggy shorts and carrying his papers in a shopping bag.

Many will mourn the death of a great human being.

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From the Editorials

(Excerpts from editorials and commentaries in the non party and party press)

SPORTS, BOOZE AND MUDALALIES

A leader page article in our columns yesterday drew attention to the menace posed by so-called sports clubs, which are a euphemism for pubs, and the flagrant existence of betting centres, both phenomena which contribute to the growth of crime and pauperisation of the people. Our article said that most of these sports clubs are really liquor booths which are operated in violation of the Licensing of Clubs law.

Social clubs are meant to foster sports and other recreational activities and the licensing of such places is in the hands of the local authorities. But the only sport which seems to flourish in these institutions is lifting a glass to the mouth or "exercising the elbow" as this pastime is called.

Our article said that apart from having nothing to do with any sports or recreational activities, these places are really proprietary clubs from which individuals make money. Needless to say as they are constituted today, these clubs are travesty of what the law intends. Some of these clubs may have a billiard table as some kind of gesture to the law, but more often than not lethal weapons which come in useful in an emergency are stored there. They are not governed by the excise law and charge prohibitive rates for the liquor they sell. There is no controlled price as far as these clubs are concerned. They are also the hotbeds of crime and corruption in the area where the bad hats congregate to hatch their plans and glory over their achievements. The Police often turn a blind eye to these institutions because they are controlled by local toughs who are close to powerful local politicians. These proprietors are also not averse to generously looking after the Police.

The same is true of betting horses. This is another illegal activity which is carried out freely in the open. Every corner of the city has a betting centre. Time was when it was only Punchi Singho or Citizen Perera who patronised these places. Now there are posh temples erected to the cult of the Turf where the new rich and the new plutocracy engage in the craze of race-by-race betting to the accompaniment of drinks on the house. This is in addition to the casinos which have come up quite liberally and where money is thrown away as if it is stale hoppers being fed to crows.

(ISLAND)

SOUND ADVICE

A sound judicial system is a sine qua non for the successful functioning of our democratic institutions. The very survival of the Rule of Law depends on the effective functioning of the Judiciary.

Chief Justice Suppiah Sharvananda did say a mouthful when he outlined to judges and magistrates the "great responsibility" they shoulder in maintaining what many people see as the last bastion of a besieged democracy in Sri Lanka.

Addressing the annual conference of the Judicial Services Association at Hulftsdorp, the Chief Justice borrowed a Churchillian gem to show the pivotal role of the judges — "The judge has not only to do justice between man and man. He also has to do justice between the citizen and the state. He has to ensure that the Administration conforms with the law and adjudicate upon the legality of executive action.' It is a responsibility which demands the highest qualities of learning, training and most important — character. It cannot be measured in terms of rupees according to the quantity of work done.

(SUN)

HUMANE

We do not know what evidence, if any, the government has to justify its detention of university lecturer, Ms. Pulsara Liyanage, under the Prevention of terrorism Act.

But we do agree with the 18 important women's organisations of the country who have pointed out the lack of humane considerations in dealing with her case.

Ms. Liyanage, who underwent a major womb operation a short while before she was detained and suffers from low blood pressure, has been the victim of a serious deterioration of her health since her detention, aggravated by the conditions under which she is detained.

In answer to a recent question, even the Minister of National Security did not seem to be too certain about what the C.I.D. has against her. She has not been convicted of any offence and there has been no denial about her deteriorating condition of health. Therefore, the request of the women's organisations that Ms. Liyanage should be placed in her parent's care while her case is being investigated seem to us to be not eminently reasonable but extremely mild indeed. After all there are many who, with even less reason, have been detained in their homes while investigations go on.

What is the point of Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali assuring American audiences of how his government respects human rights if Ms. Liyanage and others in her plight are treated in this way?

(FORWARD)

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The Tiger by the Tail

S. H. Venkatramani *(Madras) and Senior Editor* **Prabhu Chawla** *(Delhi)*

The Rajiv Gandhi Government has literally caught a tiger by the tail. Having dealt itself a hand in Sri Lanka's ethnic strife by periodically raising the stakes for both the key players — the latest example being last fortnight's SAARC summit in Bangalore — New Delhi now finds itself inextricably trapped in an increasingly dangerous and debilitating game. However honourable the intention, South Block is finding that its desperate attempts to broker a settlement of the Tamil tangle are like performing a trapeze act over a mine-field.

Nothing illustrates this better than New Delhi's curious — and clumsy — crackdown on the Tamil militants in Tamil Nadu immediately before and after the Bangalore summit attended by Sri Lanka President J. R. Jayewardene. Though the Centre has denied a hand in the crackdown, the militants and most observers are convinced that state Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran would not have given the go-ahead without New Delhi's tacit approval.

The pre-summit crackdown was, in diplomatic terms, a viable gambit since public opinion in Tamil Nadu had taken a sharp turn against the militants and there was little negative fall-out from the disarming of key militant groups.

The sudden severance of communication links was a major blow to the militant leaders' ability to get constant information about the Sri Lankan Army and pass on instructions to their cadres on the island. Said Velupillai Pirabhakaran, LTTE leader and military commander, who undertook a highly publicised 'fast unto death' in protest: "With this seizure of our communications machinery, the most vital link in our armed liberation struggle was broken. We got the impression that all these steps were taken to pressure us to sign a settlement with the Sri Lanka Government."

That was only too obvious. But the Centre underestimated the militants' deep-rooted mistrust of the wily Jayewardene. There was one further crucial misjudgement — the Indian Government's capacity to pressure the militants just did not work this time round, mainly because public opinion in Tamil Nadu had once again swung violently behind the militants. Even the Congress(I) leaders like the aggressive Rajya Sabha member P. Thangabalu sent telegrams to the prime minister protesting against the crackdown.

MGR, who had consistenly created the impression that Pirabhakaran was his protege, found the militant leader impervious to his appeals. Soon after meeting key Indian negotiators, Union Minister of State for Home P. Chidambaram and Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh, who were en route to Colombo, MGR said: "Pirabhakaran is not prepared to accept any suggestion. Nor is there any unity or consensus of opinion among the various militant groups. One group doesn't accept another's view. How can there be an early solution?"

With the militants in a fighting mood and Jayewardene hampered by powerful local pressures in Colombo, New Delhi faces a diplomatic task of unprecedented magnitude.

The Government of India has been emphasising that it does not support the Tamil militants for an independent Tamil Eelam state and will not even endorse their claim for greater autonomy than what Indian states enjoy. Despite the crackdown however, and the drama during the SAARC summit, when key militant leaders and MGR were flown down to Bangalore, the militants haven't budged an inch. Says EPRLF Secretary-General K. Padmanabha: "We are not against negotiations. We will co-operate with India in its efforts to find a peaceful solution to our problem. But we will not give up our struggle for a homeland."

There is a background to Pirabhakaran's intransigence in Bangalore in spite of the Sri Lanka Government's offer of the Jaffna chief ministership. LTTE's regional commanders and cadres in Sri Lanka had reportedly told Pirabhakaran that he could not accept being chief minister after having taken shelter for so long in Tamil Nadu, leaving them to face the Sri Lankan Army all this time.

But in spite of MGR having given up hopes on Pirabhakaran coming round, the Centre is pursuing its mediatory efforts in earnest. The external affairs ministers of India and Sri Lanka, K. Natwar Singh and A. C. S. Hameed, worked out further improvement to the Bangaloro proposals in Delhi, and Hameed has taken the final draft to Colombo to obtain Jayewardene's clearance to present it to the Tamils. Rajiv sent Natwar Singh and Chidambaram to Colombo to persuade the Sri Lanka President to accept the modifications worked out in Delhi. Reliable sources indicate that the modifications relate to the formation of a corridor under Tamil jurisdiction in the Trincomalee province to link the northern Tamil province to the eastern Tamil majority province of Batticaloa. The Trincomalee corridor is considered crucial because this strategically important province is the northernmost of the three eastern provinces and Tamils have been very touchy about the Sri Lankan ploy to divide their homeland into the north and the east. They claim that in Trincomalee maximum Sinhalese colonisation has taken place.

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Prospects for Peace in Sri Lanka

Opening address by **Hans Chr. Buggo,** *State Secretary, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation.*

Chairman, dear colleagues, Bishop Helder Camara has described to us the evil circle of violence. How violence creates violence, that creates violence, that leads to new violence. We witness this around the world today, in South Africa, in Lebanon, in Central America, in Northern Ireland and in **Sri Lanka.** *In Sri Lanka we have seen how during the last years, and especially since the dramatic events in the summer of 1983 the violence and brutality has escalated, how hate, and mutual disgust and mistrust have been on the increase. In 1983, one talked about ethnic disturbances" in Sri Lanka, today the word "civil war" is commonly used and the number of people killed, wounded and made homeless and the murder of innocent civilians is steadily increasing. It is clear that it cannot continue like this, and that a solution must be found, but they are searching for it in vain. At least from the outside, it seems as if it only gets more and more difficult to find solutions, that positions get steadily more and more inflexible.*

The Norwegian government, and indeed politicians of all political parties in Norway and the public at large have followed the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka with deep distress and concern. As you know, Sri Lanka is one of Norways nine main partner countries in development cooperation, and one with which we have had a good relationship and good results. It has been the Norwegian wish to broaden this relationship and develop our cooperation further. Unfortunately, the events during the last years have created great uncertainty in this respect. There is a strong concern in Norway about the conflict and the violations of human rights it carries with it. Although the conflict is very complex and aggressions are mutual, it has been the Norwegian view that the particular responsibility lies with the government of Sri Lanka, as a government, to do its utmost to assure the security and human rights for the citizens of the country.

In May this year, the parliament of Norway discussed the future development cooperation with Sri Lanka, in connection with a formal renewal of the cooperation agreement. It is noticeable that in this discussion, in the parliament, all political parties, I stress all, from left wing to right wing, made reservations as to the long term commitment of Norway towards Sri Lanka, dependent on how the situation develops. And in fact, the Norwegian development assistance to Sri Lanka has been modified and actually decreased as a result of the political situation. This is meant as a signal, as an appeal to the parties to try the utmost to find a solution.

The Ministry of Development Cooperation, has now started a work of what we call a Country Study: an evaluation of the situation in Sri Lanka, and the Norwegian development assistance to the country. We do this with all our main partner countries, and the objective is to get a better basis for our future development program, its size and content. No doubt, the country study of Sri Lanka will be of particular importance, given the situation in the country and given the political discussion that takes place in this country, in Norway, on the issue of Sri Lanka.

To break the vicious circle Sri Lanka witnesses, every effort must be tried of course, to build new confidence between the parties and to search for peaceful solutions. My government certainly will support any initiative which can be taken to this effect, and I welcome very much this particular seminar.

The people present here today should have one thing in common, we are all attached to Sri Lanka. To some of us Sri Lanka is the native land, to others, it is a foreign country but one we appreciate and admire particularly for its history, for its fine culture, its beauty and its attractive and proud people. To those of us who only know Sri Lanka as visitors, the conflict in the country may indeed seem meaningless and is such a tragic contrast to the splendid features of its nature and its people. But to those of you who know Sri Lanka from inside, I suppose that the conflict is probably neither meaningless, nor surprising. It has roots, it has its causes in history in culture, in religion, in tradition. And I suppose each one of you identify yourselves with one of the causes which is at stake, if not, with the many expressions of brutality which follow in their wake.

Let us hope that such a gathering as this seminar, with some people able to see the conflict from outside, people experienced in problem solving and confidence building, and on the other hand, some with a deep insight in and feeling for the conflict, and with this common concern, can create some new ideas, find some new groups to explore, that can be elements in a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict of Sri Lanka.

I have just returned from Africa last night. I spent four days in Zimbabwe, in Victoria Falls. As you may remember, that was the sight of very important negotiations between Ian Smith and the leaders of the liberation movement in Rhodesia during the seventies, and when you know what went on in Rhodesia in the 1960s and the 1970s it is simply fantastic to visit the country now, and see how black and white who only six, seven years ago, fought a bitter and bloody and fully fledged civil war, now have joined forces and cooperate to build their new nation. It shows that just below the surface for violence, there is a human need and a human wish to cooperate and work together. So there are examples of vicious circles being broken, and indeed we need some more. So let us hope that Sri Lanka may be the next example.

I wish you every luck with your seminar, and thank you.

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AN EXPLORATION OF CONDITIONS AND CONSTRAINTS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

Introduction by **Martin Ennals,** *Secretary General, International Alert.*

Norway started its development aid programme with a simple fishing project in Southern India in the fifties. Since then Norway has been doveloping, not only its development aid program, but the framework within which development aid functions. In this respect Norway is not unique.

We are often reminded that the preamble to the UN Charter starts with the words, "We, the peoples of the United Nations", and then goes on to refer throughout to the governments of the member states of the United Nations. It is more and more clear, however, that over the last ten years there has been a growth of non-governmental activities carried out through the private sector, voluntary organizations, non-profit making groups, in short by people with commitment who represent the People of the United Nations. More and more governments are realizing that if aid programs are to reach the people, then they have to go through people, rather than through bureaucracies. This is not easy to achieve. The grassroots approach is now being adopted by the UN which is exploring new techniques of getting the aid down to the grassroots — to the poorest of the poor. It is through this frontline approach that in fact the development programme is growing and governments are putting more and more of the aid program resources through non governmental channels.

This is germane to the subject of Sri Lanka because one of the other aspects of this evolution has been that human rights have become increasingly a factor in foreign policies. More and more, governments in both north and south are recognizing this fact. One of the major changes within the United Nations since the drafting of the Charter is the recognition that people have an international right to have their human rights respected. It is as simple as that. While non-intervention in the internal affairs of other member states is constantly cited, nevertheless in the field of human rights it is now accepted that consistent patterns of gross violations, mass killings, extra-judicial executions, and torture are all factors to take into account when governments decide their intergovernmental relationships. In the Norwegian programme it is actually spelled out, and the State Secretary, Hans Christian Bugge, who opened this conference made reference to it. Modifications, reductions or withholding of Norwegian assistance may take place when the government of a particular country takes part in, tolerates or directly executes violations of human rights. In Sri Lanka this has been an issue.

When there is conflict and violence, human rights are by definition violated. There is no worse violation of human rights than to lose your life. Innocent civilians are losing their lives in the sort of conflict which is continuing both in my country, Northern Ireland, and in Sri Lanka. We must recognize that human rights and the rights of the individual as protected by international law are part of the larger process of peace. This linkage between human rights and peace which is recognized in a number of UN agencies such as UNESCO and is something which we ourselves, in whatever capacity we are involved, have to take into account in the governmental and non-governmental sector.

It was within this framework that the non-governmental development agencies of several West European countries came together in 1984. They were experiencing extreme frustration about their programmes in Sri Lanka, where violations of human rights and the existence of ethnic conflict were prevonting them from doing their work in fields of aid and development. They turned to the traditional human rights activists, who are normally concerned with civil and political rights, and asked for help. This was one of the first occasions that people came together because of the common interests of human rights, both civil and political, and economic, social and cultural.

The outcome was to set up a new organization. It was recognized that Sri Lanka was not the only area where this situation could be and was occurring. And so, while recommending that an International Emergency Committee should be set up on Sri Lanka, they also recommended the creation of a larger organization which was then called the **Standing International Forum on Ethnic conflict, Development and Human Rights** (SIFEC). This has now been translated into **International Alert.**

In a seminar in Oslo, we have been looking at four conflict situations, Northern Ireland, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka and South Africa. South Africa, in the hopefully approaching postapartheid period, will have problems which it itself will also have to solve. We have spent the last four days looking at similarities, examining differences, seeing if we can find the indicators which would show where ethnic conflict is likely to escalate and what are the possible ways and means of tackling it. It has been a very rewarding four days.

Today we are trying to look at how to translate that type of scholarly discussion into practical action in the next stages of the Sri Lanka crisis. I can only speak of what we are trying to do. The latest peace proposals come after statements made in January 1986 by responsible members of the Sri Lankan Government that a military solution was the first priority. This concerned the international community in respect of Sri Lankan peace proposals. A

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situation was emerging where the aid countries concerned with human rights, development and peace would feel that their money was not being well spent and was being squandered. We held discussions through our Chairperson, Dame Judith Hart PC MP, with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and with President Jayewardene in Colombo.

The peace proposals which came out in June were made known a few days before the meeting of the World Bank Consortium, and were the subject of intense discussions in June in Paris at the World Bank meeting. In the end the aid levels were maintained, and indeed increased, but in a radio interview shortly afterwards, and in conversation, the Minister of Finance, Ronnie de Mel, made quite clear that unless the peace proposals were in fact effective, then the World Bank Consortium and the other aid giving governments might, in June of 1987, find their position rather different. There is therefore a recognized linkage between the international and national communities.

The peace proposals were initially announced as being a decision of government to be put through parliament and enacted. Although there was room for negotiation at the margins, the fundamentals were a government decision already taken. That was in June. But what has happened since then? There have been talks, there are still talks. We learn through newspaper cuttings that negotiations are continuing, that there are now possibilities of a new structure of the Provincial Councils which have been proposed under the peace proposals. The process continues under the protection of silence. Information about the process is not being shared — not only with the outside world which may be understandable — but with the people of Sri Lanka itself. One participant in the seminar has made very clear how important it is that peace can only come about with consent, and the people must know to what they are giving their consent.

In recent weeks, I have been talking to a good many of the expatriates in London from both communities. There is growing backlash, certainly in the Sinhala communities and amongst the expatriates, who are not unimportant in Sinhalese affairs. There is a growing sense that the Sinhalese are losing out with the peace proposals, and that the peace proposals are themselves developing their own momentum of opposition. I wonder what in fact is being done on both sides, to sell, in crude marketing terms, the peace proposals to the people whom it will affect. The communities, the people, have to be involved in the peace process. They have to be not only informed, but consulted, and somehow or other one has to carry the peace process through to the people who will benefit, or will lose disastrously, if it is not successful.

The international community can do a lot of things. It can say to the Sri Lankan government, and as I hope the governments will do, that aid and development cooperation will be suspended if peace does not come. But peace is expensive, and the government must be asked to give everything in its power to support peace and to provide the sort of guarantees which are necessary if there is to be an effective rehabilitation, reconstruction, rebuilding, reconciliation, between and within the diverse communities which make up Sri Lanka. It will cost money.

Just as the international community has a responsibility in protecting human rights, so the international community has a responsibility in promoting human rights and promoting the sort of work which will lead to the cessation of violations of human rights and the creation of a peaceful environment. The private sector, the non-governmental organizations, in short the people can, I think, make an immense contribution.

The frontline of many of the development and human rights processes are within the community organizations in the national structure. We in International Alert and in other organizations try to establish and maintain and promote such bodies with the funds which are easier to find in the industrialized countries. This I believe is an essential component, not only in the human rights battle (the sort of Amnesty International approach), it is even more fundamental in the development and peace concept. This is what we are discussing today. Thank you.

Presentations and interventions

The chairman invited firstly the Sri Lankan participants of the seminar to make interventions on the current state of the negotiations and the ongoing peace process.

Professor Kodikara, Professor of International Relations at Colombo University and specialist in Indian–Sri Lankan relationships, welcomed the peace efforts initiated by the Government. These talks include the Tamil United Liberation Front as well as Tamil militant groups. He expressed his gratitude for the support provided by the Government of India. The peace package now proposed is modelled on the Indian constitution. The proposals for the devolution of powers imply that the centre — parliament and government–devolve legislative and executive power to nine provinces, within the framework of a unitary state. Professor Kodikara admitted that there are some difficulties in "selling" the package, as the Tamils have requested a merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. A solution might be found in the division of the country into five Regional Councils. Agreement between the negotiating parties seems to be reached on powers to be devolved to the provinces, including the issues of law and order, and land settlement. For him, a major issue to be solved is the tension between the principles of the devolution as are being agreed upon, and the character of the Parliament, which is functioning under the existing unitary Constitution.

Professor Sivathamby, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Jaffna and Chairman of

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both the Citizens' Committee of Jaffna and of The Refugees Rehabilitation Organization TRRO, welcomed the great sense of optimism in circles close to spheres of influence or centres of power. He stated that the role of the Government of India is very helpful in solving some of the internal contradictions which the proposals are facing.

Essential to him is the question on how to contain within one polity the two major co-existing and interdependent communities, with their own historical consciousness and sense of nationality. He stressed that the major problem for him is the constitutional position of the Sri Lankan Tamils, and the guarantees for ensuring their security and safety. Those guarantees need to be defined in clear and unambiguous terms.

Another important problem to be solved is the constitutional position of the Muslim community, especially in the southern parts of the Eastern Province.

He stated that from the recent history of peace proposals in Sri Lanka, it can be learned that it is basic that what is agreed upon has to be implemented in practice.

Bhikku Pannawanse, Secretary for foreign relations of the Bhikku Organization for Humanity, elaborated upon the role of the Buddhist monks in the peace process. He stressed that in many temples they had provided assistance to Tamils, especially in the Colombo area, during the July 1983 disturbances. Statements by Sinhala and Tamil politicians have led to misperceptions on the views and positions of Buddhist monks and their organizations. The organization he represents strives for education in non-racism and humanity, also by pointing to the role of Tamils in Sri Lankan Buddhism.

He prefers that both Sinhala and Tamil should be the official languages in Sri Lanka, and sees no need for the concept of a state religion.

The demands for a separate state of Tamil Eelam he considered to be not realistic. His ideal is a decentralized Sri Lanka, in which the different communities live in peace and harmony. A concrete contribution to mutual understanding would be the translations of Sinhala literature into Tamil and vice versa.

Following, all participants were given an opportunity to address the audience on specific aspects of the current negotiations and the peace process, and especially on existing constraints and confidence building, as well as to raise questions to the Sri Lankan participants.

It was generally felt that the ongoing negotiations on the devolution of powers and the creation of Provincial Councils are encouraging, and that the government of Sri Lanka and Tamil organizations are sincerely working towards a political solution of the ethnic conflict.

It was stated that nowadays the conflict could be labelled a civil war between the Sri Lankan armed forces and the guerilla forces. Taking account of the strength of the conflicting parties, this military conflict can not lead to a military solution, which implies that a negotiated settlement is the only possible outcome.

In the recent past of Sri Lanka, there were negotiations without a ceasefire, and a ceasefire was implemented during a period without major peace talks. On basis of this, the necessity of a ceasefire as an integral part of the peace process was stressed by different participants.

Eminent is the role of Governments of India and Tamil Nadu, which are most directly involved with any peace settlement and its implementation. India could also bring Sri Lankan militants in Tamil Nadu to observe an eventual ceasefire. The Government of Sri Lanka should as well take measures with regard to possible infractions of a ceasefire by its armed forces.

His Excellency R. K. Anand, Ambassador of India to Norway, declared that it can be learned from history that India has used its position of a large country in relation to its neighboring countries only in a positive sense. India stands for peace, cooperation and goodwill; also with regard to Sri Lanka, it has offered, and will continue to offer, help to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The conflict also affects India, as a large number of Tamil refugees have fled to Tamil Nadu, and they have been provided assistance.

Attention was drawn to the opposition on the peace proposals and the devolution of powers, especially by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and among militant organizations of Buddhist monks. In reply to this, it was pointed out that the SLFP agrees to the concept of devolution of powers, but has reservations on the form in which it is presently being shaped.

It was generally recognized that an important element in the peace process are the perceptions of fear in the minds of Sinhala people that concessions to the Tamil minority might after a period of time lead to a Tamil Eelam unity in the North and East. It was realized that this fear has to be alleviated.

The importance of the role of the Buddhist clergy in the spread of information on the ongoing peace process and the devolution of power was stressed, as it is strongly engaged in political affairs and has a high level of credibility among the Sinhala population. The clergy is not a monolithic entity, but consists of groups and organizations with differing viewpoints on political matters.

Also, the government of Sri Lanka would have to take stronger initiatives to inform the population on the ongoing negotiations process. This would diminish the spread of rumours and distorted views on the recent talks.

The security of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is as well a crucial issue. The Government will have to take measures in order to ascertain that the safety and security of the Tamils are

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guaranteed as soon as an agreement has been reached.

One participant stated that in the official documentation on the negotiations he was missing the element of the behaviour of the people in the armed conflict. In this regard, special reference was made to the role of the armed forces of the state and of the guerilla forces.

The ethnic conflict has lead to a great amount of human suffering and material damage, problems which will not immediately be solved once a negotiated agreement has been reached. It was felt that nongovernmental organizations in Sri Lanka play, and will continue to play, an important role in the fields of rehabilitation and relief (assistance to internal refugees, health care etc.)

Nations were brought forward with regard to the role of the international community as a "third party", in addition to the Sinhala and Tamil groups. It concerns countries providing development assistance, intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations. Each of these groups faces strong limitation in capacity and power to deal with conflicts like that in Sri Lanka. Still, there are different layers of third-party involvement which could be pursued.

With regard to the role of donor governments, it would be preferable in the present situation to channel development assistance through concrete projects, especially of domestic nongovernmental organizations, more than to provide general programme aid. The project would also have to lie in the fields of relief and rehabilitation, and in efforts by nongovernmental organizations to contribute to the peace-making process.

Attention was drawn towards the general criteria which determine the relationship between the performance of a country with regard to the promotion and protection of human rights and the provision of development assistance. It was proposed to continue and strengthen on-going research in this field, especially with regard to the policy of the so-called "like-minded countries".

Groups of countries, like the Nordic countries, could function as a sort of forum where their good offices are extended to the opposing sides, to bring them together.

It was also suggested that the commonwealth and other inter-governmental bodies would be able to provide assistance as soon as an agreement on specific areas had been reached.

It was proposed that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) could play a role in the observation of the ceasefire, through the visit of prisons.

Transnational nongovernmental development agencies could continue to play a positive role by supporting Sri Lankan nongovernmental organizations which are working as alleviating factors in the rehabilitation and relief process, and nongovernmental organizations which contribute to the peace process.

Discussion on these subjects were taken up in the working group on "The role of the international community in the peace and reconstruction process" of the afternoon session.

Attention was also demanded for the position of the estate workers of recent Indian origin in the central highlands of Sri Lanka, which have suffered in the ethnic conflict. Approximately half a million of them have been repatriated to South India on basis of agreements between the Governments of Sri Lanka and India. Estate workers in Sri Lanka have recently obtained Sri Lankan citizenship. They have to be considered part of the negotiated devolution of power, as inhabitants of Central Province with a right to vote etc.

NEXT:

Lal Kurukulasuriya

(Sri Lankan Ambassador to the Scandinavian Countries)

The Tiger . . .

(Continued from page 11)

But exactly how the Indian Government can still persuade the Tamil groups to accept any modified proposals is unclear. Rajiv Gandhi said in Bangalore that Jayewardene's trifurcation idea for the east was "a reasonable offer", but that did not prevent the LTTE from turning it down. Natwar Singh reported "progress" in the Bangalore talks and MGR specified in the State Assembly that some broad agreement had been reached in Bangalore on the devolution of powers to the provincial councils to be formed. But the Tamil leadership is still unconvinced. Said LTTE's Tilakar: "Devolution was not discussed at all. We were only sounded out on the trifurcation proposal, and we rejected it." Added EPRLF'S Padmanabha: "No settlement can be enforced on us." And Pirabhakaran now says: Our ambition is made of sterner stuff. And our stand on Eelam remained unchanged."

New Delhi is thus caught in a delicate position. Popular passions in Tamil Nadu will prevent Delhi from trying to openly cow down the militants. Moreover, opposition parties like the DMK were silent only till the fear persisted that the militants were locally unpopular. And the fact that the recent police crackdowns coincided with the Sri Lanka Government's plans to launch a massive military offensive on the northern provinces has earned the millitant groups a lot of extra sympathy. Much, therefore, will depend on the extent of the response from Colombo to the latest diplomatic offensive by Natwar Singh and Chidambaram. With the militants in a fighting mood, MGR threatened with losing political face, and Jayewardene hampered by powerful local pressures in Colombo, the Indian Government faces a diplomatic task of unprecedented magnitude. In trying to play the honest broker, India has found itself saddled with the initiative.

(Courtesy: India Today)

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Murder Will Out

Antony Lewis

BOSTON

Cynicism, mendacity, secrecy: Those are the watchwords of the Reagan Administration underworld. Only a specialist could keep up with all the details that are pouring out now, the plotting and the knavery. But the essence is clear.

It goes back to the obsession with Nicaragua. When Congress forbade military aid to the contras, President Reagan did not accept that judgment. He signaled his Administration to proceed by other means.

Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, had the bright idea of cadging money for the contras from the Sultan of Brunei. Secretary of State Shultz approved — an indelible blot on the record of a principled man. The Sultan said yes last summer, and several million of his dollars went into a Swiss bank account run by Lieut. Col. Oliver North of the White House staff.

All kinds of money was begged and brow-beaten around the world. And then there was the problem of arranging for delivery of weapons to the contras in the teeth of the Congressional prohibition. For that a supposedly private network, closely linked to the Reagan Administration, was set up.

To get the flavor of the business, think about an outfit called Stanford Technology International Trading Group Inc. It was created by an Iranian arms dealer, Albert Hakim, now a U.S. citizen.

Stanford's president is retired Air Force Gen. Richard V. Secord, a specialist in covert operations. He and Mr. Hakim were introduced in the 1970's by Edwin P. Wilson, the former C.I.A. contract employee who is now serving a long prison term for his secret dealings with Libya and Colonel Qaddafi.

General Secord's fingerprints are all over the contra arms transfers. A Stanford employee, retired Air Force Col. Robert C. Dutton, handled the logistics of the secret supply operation. Another friend of General Secord's, Thomas Clines, a former C.I.A. agent, hired the pilots.

Flights to the contras went from Ilopango, a Salvadoran air base dominated by U.S. military advisers. The senior adviser, Col. James Steele, closely monitored the clandestine operations.

The essence of Contragate is clear

Then it turned out that the same planes were being used for "humanitarian" aid that Congress authorized and for weapons drops. When asked about that, Assistant Secretary Abrams said there was nothing wrong with it because the State Department was not paying for the leg of the fight taking weapons to the contras from Ilopango. The money for that was coming from other sources — e.g., presumably, the Sultan of Brunei.

"If we contract an airplane and crew", Mr. Abrams said, "it does not make us responsible for other work they may do while in Central America."

Exactly. Or as Tom Lether put it:

"Once the rockets are up,
Who cares where they come down?
It's not my department,"
Says Wernher von Braun.

The American people care: that's who. Once again an Administration has discovered that there is a deep feeling about the law in this country. Cynicism and mendacity about the requirements of law will not be tolerated.

Many supporters of President Reagan are deeply unhappy about the lawless means used in this business. Linda Chavez, who worked on his White House staff, put it in a sentence when she said "Oliver North was no conservative."

But many conservatives are still resisting the essential truth of Contragate. It was not just the means that went wrong but the end: using covert, violent means to overthrow a Government that we do not like.

"There is no necessary connection between covert sleaze and the contras' cause," an editorial in The The New Republic argued. But there is. That is why the Reagan Administration created the whole contra war in secret from the beginning: because it knew the American people would not accept the use of terrorism for political ends.

Other people have no such qualms. Not just the Russians but, say, the French shrug at illegalities committed in the interest of the state. Americans do not. It may be inconvenient, but it is a fact: If an American government cannot justify a policy to its own people when it resorts to secrecy and lawlessness instead, the policy will not work.

(NYK Times)

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The Conduits of Transnational Conglomerates

Dr. Mervyn D. De Silva

(Former Advisor, Ministry of Plan Implementation)

Many of the solutions for the food crisis that are being prepared after marathon talking sessions of international conferences are exactly those that have been proven failures over the past few decades.

They are mostly technological solutions which stress costly techniques of production rather than equitable distribution, sound consumption patterns, the abandonment of price manipulation, the scrutiny of the roles of affluent nations and their transnational agri-business corporations, and the array of international research institutions such as the Rice Research Institute and the **Winged Bean Institute**, which largely control the development of global food production and distribution systems.

If third world leaders are honest in their intentions to turn the tide against hunger they must place high priority to producing all the food their people need within their own boundaries, and distributing it more equitably to allow the entire population access to food.

Perhaps because elites in these countries nurtured, protected, and even lured by western interests fail or refuse to recognise the importance of giving the highest priority to feeding its own undernourished people, they instead go in for crops and projects that ultimately serve western interests and only perpetuate poverty and hunger in their own countries.

Thus, elites in developing countries encouraged by western institutions, donors agencies and their "philanthropic" organisations embark on cash crop production although they do not control the processing technology, nor the distribution circuits which alone could add value to the food they produce.

Examples

Examples are countless — Brazil's coffee and soya bean are largely processed and marketed by multi-nationals, and so is the story around the globe for oil, tea, rubber, timber, fish, and fruits, and so will it be for palm oil, soya bean and winged beans produced in Sri Lanka.

Whether such projects and others designed for export of vegetables to the West Asia and chillies elsewhere is in the national interest needs penetrating examination from all angles. The plain fact is that cash crops export-revenues in many third world countries do not even cover the price of food imports, much less industrial goods and inputs used for growing them.

Further, when these countries devote more and more of their prime land to cash crops production, it means that they take away land from possible food production. In other words, food from hungry stomachs.

FAO Projections

According to FAO projections food import deficits of developing countries will widen alarmingly to over 90 million tons of cereals alone — a striking symptom of the world's increasing food security problem. It is a problem that both developed and developing countries should take serious note of because it can only be resolved by a deep commitment to a massive increase in the investment in men and material, for food production.

But are the developing countries and developed countries doing this? The answer can be found in the real situation. In many of the developing countries cash crops occupy enormous areas of the best land and take priority for irrigation, fertilizers, pesticides, extension services, scientific research and financial credit.

In producing cash crops such as soya bean for animal feed, palm oil for the detergent industry, fruit and vegetables for multi-national processers and canners, and winged beans for food processors, western agri-business diverts more and more of the production of underdeveloped countries towards consumers of developed countries in an action replay of the colonial strategels. And, coupled with these strategies there are also attempts to change traditional consumption patterns of the people and divert grain that would be suitable for human beings to the production of meats. The booming poultry raising operations by multinational firms in Thailand, Taiwan, Pakistan, Indonesia and all over the globe supports the points at issue.

Cases of Failure

There are two well documented cases of failure in the strategy, so far used from the point of view of the ordinary citizens in two countries which foisted by the industrialised west.

Sri Lanka must become live to this situation and learn lessons.

The first case concerns a post mortem of the results of an International Research Institute which contributed towards aggravating the food situation in the country in which it was set up. The second concerns the introduction of a new crop on a commercial basis which got channelled to a production of broilers for export, thus propelling food prices beyond the reach of its low income groups.

Both these examples are relevant to us as we clamour to host similar international research institutes here as in the first case, and grow new crops or new strains of a traditional crop on a commercial basis as in the second case.

Let's take the first case, the International Rice Research Institute located at Los Banos in the Phillipines. Long before the consultative group on International agricultural research, an instrument of industrial interests in the first world was formed, the Rice Research Institute was established by

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the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations in the Phillipines in order to develop high yielding varieties of rice.

After nearly 20 years of growing miracle rice in the Phillippines low yields coupled with increasing costs in production is currently building up into an open war against the new miracle varieties of rice developed in the International Rice Research Institute.

The first to attack publicly the International Rice Research Institute and the agricultural practices it has introduced is a scientist, Dr. Burton Onate, President of the Philippine Agricultural Economic and Development Association followed by another scientist Dr Richardo Lantican, Head of the Institute's Plant Breeding Section.

In his criticism of the new varieties and practices Dr. Onate said that, "These practices which require high energy inputs have sapped the energy resources and economic bounties of the Philippines". He goes on to argue that the tenure of the International Rice Research Institute and similar foreign research institutes should be terminated because they are no more than conduits for transnational conglomerates.

Following Dr. Onate's attack, Dr Lantican says that the technologies from rich to poor countries have made us (the Philippines) sub-servient to the interests of the transnational corporations especially in the area of hybrid seeds, fertiliser, and from machinery.

FAO boasts that rice production in the Philippines increased by 2.4 percent after the green revolution but so did its imports of fertiliser from the industrialised countries.

Imports which were 208,000 tons in 1967 rose to 735,000 tons in 1977. But for all that, the new varieties have yielded only 20 percent more in rainfed land. The unenviable situation today is that even these increases in food are not accessible to the majority of the people because of high cost.

Situation Today

The situation today is revealed in the 1981 WHO Survey which showed that 67 percent of all pre-school children suffered from malnutrition. Additionally, the Asian Development Bank has ranked the Philippines as one of the worst-fed countries in the region. This is the first lesson — Marcos refused to see and so are our leaders of today.

The second case is the booming poultry export industry organised in Brazil which in actual fact has doomed its people to a serious food crisis. Brazil took to soya bean production some time ago and is the 2nd largest producer of soya bean and the 3rd leading producer of maize today. Joining the poultry export band waggon under the influence of multinational business enterprises it entered the poultry meat export market because broilers are in great demand in many parts of the world. Local production of poultry cannot keep pace with local consumption and political, economic, and natural exigencies have all added to the International demand.

It will be remembered how Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica began to import frozen chicken backs and necks so that the people could see immediately that there was more food in Jamaica because of prosperity under his short-lived free enterprise regime, which commenced in 1980. Unfortunately, these imports hurt the local broiler producers who could not compete with subsidised imports, and the soya bean processing plants on the island suffered since major customers and broiler producers cut back on soya meat purchases. In January 1981, Jamaica had to import 9,469 tons of chicken meat at a cost of US$ 2.8 million.

Brazil's Case

Undaunted by the experiences elsewhere Brazil expanded its broiler production and in 1980 accounted for 12 percent of the world's frozen broiler exports by exporting 260,000 m. tons of poultry meat. During 1981 exports reached an estimated US$ 380 m., a growth in exports nothing short of being spectacular considering 1975 exports of just 3000 m. tons.

Brazil's poultry industry absorbed soya, maize, and, grains became restructured to service export markets; standards were established to suit the export promotion programme and pricing strategies evolved were aimed at international markets. In the process, 80 percent of Brazil's chicken exports today is in the hands of one single company known as the Union of Chicken Exporters.

With grain and cereals in the form of broilers exported finding their way to the affluent dining tables in the west what is Brazil's position as regards food for its own people? During the past years, the price of 99 major food items have gone up by 44 percent!

By June 1981 black beans had risen by 422 percent, price of bread 200 percent, powdered milk 185 percent, tomatoes 112 percent and rice 112 percent — all basic foods of the people.

The present government while embarassed by these food price increases has not yet come up with a solution. This is all the more embarassing as Brazil is a second leading producer of soya beans in the world, the third leading producer of maize and beans, the eighth leading producer of wheat.

Yet the people are eating worse in Brazil today than ever before and it is costing them much more. In a recent analysis of the current Brazilian situation blame is placed on a number of different causes — the intermediaries, speculation food products, urbanisation of agricultural land, and increasing cost of transportation. The most important cause however which is conflicting government policies to create a large number of food exports while at the same time providing low cost food domestically appears to be unquestioned by the authorities on account of strong business lobbying, within and outside the country.

What lessons do these two case studies teach us in Sri Lanka? Do we want to adopt a landscape of large commercially operated farms growing crops for export existing alongside fewer and fewer subsistence plots with hunger and unemployment forming a part of the social landscape?

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Part II

National Development Through Agriculture

2. Neo-colonialism and the seduction of Third World elites

"... the neo-colonial phase, in which the penetration of the transnational corporations make physical occupation of territory unnecessary, has led to much greater control and ravaging of the Third World, and seduction of its elites into a global structure of power, privilege and wealth. With the Third World political, bureaucratic, military, academic and communications elites accepting the superiority of Western-style "modernization" and the role of science and technology in it, there has emerged a globle system of control, hegemony, exploitation and repression — all in the name of modernity and the theory of progress, all in the name of science and technology". — Statement issued at the 14th meeting of the World Order Models Project at Poona, India, July 1976. Can this trend be countered in Sri Lanka?

3. The realities of the CGIAR system

"In 1971, the establishment of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), with financial backing from major industrial countries and private foundations, and with the cooperation of international agencies, provided for centralised financing and control of 11 major International Research Centres, of which three are for livestock. The way this network operates practically guarantees that Centre-research must be of exclusive benefit to transnational agribusiness corporations. The Centres monopolise, together with US research stations, Practically all modern research knowledge and data. Under the circumstances, Third World countries are unable to carry out independent research on problems they might consider to have greater priority. As a matter of fact, CGIAR destroys local research in agriculture." — Ernest Feder, "The counter reform bloc" in Ceres, March-April 1979. Can we develop our ability to carry out independent research and still collaborate with the international scientific community?

4. The absence of an intellectual ferment

There has been, sadly lacking too an intellectual ferment from the academic community to stimulate a vigorous drive on the agricultural front. The vital need of a country such as ours, in which agriculture constitutes such a dominent sector of the national life, to develop an adequate University capability in the agricultural sciences was not recognised at the dawn of independence, at any rate in action programmes. And the Faculty of Agriculture, when eventually established, was strangled almost at birth by the personal ambitions of scheming individuals, bitter feuds, factionism and professional communalism. It has remained a dwarfed and stunted organisation, incapable of generating an intellectual ferment.

5. Positive aspects of the present infrastructure relevant to the Sri Lankan situation

There is, however, something on the credit side and due recognisation must be given to the positive features in whatever organisations that exist at present. Change must not be sought merely for the sake of change. Nor should we borrow uncritically from elsewhere systems suitable in other situations but not necessarily appropriate to our own. Positive elements, therefore, must be retained, defects in existing organisations remedied and the infrastructure "modernised" so as to better serve current needs. Thus it is well to recognise that there is a plantation sector in our agricultural system, primarily export oriented, involving relatively large estates and land holdings, served over the years by the commodity research institutes established during the colonial era, focussing on more organised and sophisticated establishments. There is a separate Ministry and appropriate Departments with responsibility for this sector. There is also a domestic agricultural sector, essentially with a rural base, comprising more than a million small farmers, with the peasants' livelihood dependent, often almost wholly, on small land holdings. This sector is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research and the Department of Agriculture. Over the years, the organisations focussing on these various components of our agricultural system, each with its characteristic features and special requirements, have acquired an understanding of and an expertise in the roles they are called to play. What has been built up, the systems and the structures and the organisations must not be dismantled. Yet, they have defects, serious distortions and paralysing ailments within their administrative ghettos. In the Department of Agriculture for instance, the Central Agricultural Research Institute at Gannoruwa is a tragic example of distortion, degradation and administrative thuggery. An Agricultural Research Council, hopefully, may be able to overcome such shortcomings so that our organisations and institutions could function more effectively.

(To be continued)

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Part V

Jaffna's War-time Economy

Paul Seabright

Industry and Public Services

It is difficult to find useful aggregate information on industrial production in individual districts of Sri Lanka, and Jaffna is no exception. It is in any case not one of the country's significant industrial areas, and the effect of the troubles on its industry must be guessed from examples. The cement plant at Kankesanthurai, which in 1982 produced 39 per cent of the country's output,[55] is now reported running at 10 per cent capacity[56] and a large rise in investment by its parent corporation in 1984 suggests that it intends to shift its capacity elsewhere[57]. A large Sigma Pump manufacturing plant has closed, and its premises are now occupied by the security forces[58]. There have been many closures of small engineering concerns, including workshops and garages, due to a combination of high costs (especially of fuel), shortage of skilled labour (many technicians and engineers have joined the migration abroad) and low demand. Construction is virtually at a halt[59] in the housing sector, since houses are usually the first target for security forces reprisals. In the public sector, roadworks are at 40 per cent of normal after a year and a half (January 1984 to July 1985) of no roadworks at all except some undertaken by militant organisations using pilfered supplies.[60] Contractors have abandoned work on a town water supply system in Point Pedro[61]. In the words of a public servant, "there is no investment, nothing, anywhere[62].

Of the major public services, transport is the one on which the effects of the disturbances are most visible in published statistics. CBRE reports that in 1984, as a result of security difficulties in operating bus services, "Northern and Eastern Regional Transport Boards (RTBs) each lost approximately 40 per cent of the scheduled kilometrage, while the North Central KTB lost around 30 per cent[63]". The 1985 performance will certainly have deteriorated. Similary, total pessenger kilometrage on Sri Lanka Railways in 1984 was 27 per cent down on its 1982 level[64].

Disruption to educational services is impossible to measure, but has clearly been important in the conditions of the last two years. To take only one indicator, there were 44 robberies of schools in 1983, 64 in 1984 and 19 in the first ten months of 1985 totaling more than one robbery for every four schools in the district[65]. There are also reports that significant numbers of recruits to militant organisations are still of school age.[66]

Finally, health services are under strain due to a combination of restricted supplies, difficult operating conditions and increased demand. At Jaffna General Hospital, for instance, there are recurrent shortages of drugs (especially antibiotics and antiepileptic drugs) and of other supplies such as food supplements, intravenous solutions and especialy oxygen[67]. Oxygen must come daily from Colombo by train, and each of the frequent cancellations of the service means cancellation of operations. Conditions of work have eased significantly since the ceasefire, for the curfew involved restrictions on movement in Jaffna[68] that made it hard to transport patients and supplies. Although some exemptions were in theory permited for medical purposes, confusion over the interpretation of these exemptions resulted in shootings by the security forces[69] so the effect of the restrictions remained. For example, in spite of the "white flag" exemption for emergencies, the number of admissions to Jaffna Hospital after 6 pm during the first ten days of December 1984 was seven, compared to 197 in the same period a year earlier (the majority of night-time admissions are emergencies).[70] Trantport conditions in November 1985 were better but by no means normal, for the hospital's ambulance is occasionally commandeered by militant organisations and two vans are on permanent "loan". There is also a shortage of staff to contend with. Of a normal operating strength of 80 doctors (normal in the context of a general nation-wide shortage of staff), fourteen have left because of the current difficulties, including six consultants.[71] Given a rising demand for medical services due to the crisis (admission rates for physical injury, coronary failure, malnutrition and psychiatric illness are all reported to have risen though it is not clear by how much[72]), and to the large number of refugees entering Jaffna from elsewhere in the island, resources are evidently under significant strain.

(To be continued)

Notes

55 CBRE, Table 27.

56 a s reliable.

57 CBRE, Table 28.

58 a s reliable.

59 a s corrected.

60 a s reliable.

61 ibid.

62 a s reliable.

63 CBRE, p 67.

64 CBRE, Table 31.

65 a s reliable.

66 a s corrected. There have been several press references to this phenomenon, none of which I can now find.

67 a s reliable, corrected.

68 There were five routes into the town, on which only inward movement was allowed in the mornings, only outward in the evenings.

69 a s relible.

70 *Jaffna Medical Journal*, Vol XIX, No 2 p 63.

71 a s reliable.

72 ibid.

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Sri Lanka humbles India

KANPUR

Sri Lanka turned the tables to score its most emphatic win over India in a one-day international here today. It was a very humbling defeat for one of the more accomplished teams in overs-specific cricket as India lost a bowler dominated match by a mile, so to say. The Indian batting display was pathetically insufficient to counter a team which defended its own modest score with utmost dedication.

It was Sri Lanka's first ever win in India and it thoroughly deserved it for the manner in which it fought back after suffering the disadvantage of having to bat first. The Test pitch did not turn out to be a good one for limited overs cricket but there was no excuse for such a miserable batting show as put up by India which was bundled out for its lowest one day score in a home match.

Risible decision: The Sri Lankan bowlers maincained the perfect three-quarter length, just keeping the ball there and trying nothing extra by way of pace. It was Ranatunga, at a military medium pace, who did the most damage with his constancy of length and clever inward seam movement. The Indians, who began badly, as did the Sri Lankans, simply collapsed in the wake of what was easily the most risible umpiring decision handed down in recent times.

Srikkanth and Vengsarkar were doing well enough towards rebuilding the innings as Ranatunga (31 and four for 14 and man of the match) and Gurusinghe had done earlier for Sri Lanka. But the moment debutant umpire ruled Vengsarkar run out when he was at least a yard inside the crease the India batting simply collapsed.

The ball tended to stop and come and one had to be extra cautious about driving. But beyond this there was nothing in the conditions that could be a good reason for such a collapse of psyche and innings.

Brilliant fielding: The Sri Lankans fielded brilliantly, taking as many an three splendid catches. The seamers, Rumesh Ratnayake, who had Gavaskar nicking a glide and Lamba leg before off a ball of fullish length, and Ranatunga, who put up a fine show of slow medium-pace bowling on a slow track, helped carve out a big win which has given the visitors the lead in the Charminar Challenge series.

India's troubles began the moment Srikkanth forced Rumesh towards Mahanama at point and kept running though Vengsarkar did not respond. Seeing Mahanama overrun the ball, Vengsarkar decided to go to the danger end. By the time Mahanama's throw came in to De Alwis, Vengsarkar had already made his ground and was in when Alwis missed breaking the wicket on the first attempt. To Vengsarkar's surprise, umpire Phoskun kept signalling him run out probably even before Alwis succeeded in breaking the wicket.

Shastri, who unwoand himself to drive Asoka De Silva for a six over long-on, was well beaten by a slower incutter from Ranatunga which knocked back his leg peg. Srikkanth, who had played a very sober innings because he could not force the ball in these conditions, slashed at a wide one from Ranatunga and edged to Alwis's right.

The chances of victory were receding fast and Kapil Dev aimed to drive a ball that stopped and came. Ravi Ratnayake took the return catch gleefully. The rest of the match had only to be a formality.

Three good catches: India passed its previous lowest of 62 in one-day Internationals only through Madan Lal and Arun who came together after Pandit had knocked back a simple catch to Ranatunga. Three good catches hastened the end. Mahanama leapt with anticipation at cover point to pick up Madan Lal's uppish drive off Ravi Ratnayake. Gurusinghe dived to his right at cover to pick up Chetan Sharma's drive off Ranatunga and Asoka De Silva covered ground fast at long-off to pouch Arun's skied hit off Ravi Ratnayake and the Indian innings had ended in just 24.1 overs.

India had to pay the price for being too presumptuous about the match and for being unable to fight back to recover from a poor start. The Sri Lankans had shown sufficient resilience in batting and bowling and the victory was truly theirs.

Lax handling of end overs: Lax handling of the end overs led to India giving away as many as 40 runs in the last 19 balls. A mixture of full tosses, overpitched balls and needlessly shortpitched ones were well punished by Rumesh Ratnayake and De Mel. Those runs, given away mainly by Chetan Sharma and B. Arun, added a measure of respectability to the Sri Lankan score. The bowling of the slog overs is India's greatest weakness in overs-limit cricket at present.

A magnificient exhibition of controlled spin from Maninder Singh had earlier helped India seize total control of a match in which it enjoyed the advantage of winning the toss (won by Ravi Shastri deputising for a luckless Kapil). The helpful conditions for swing and seam movement were best exploited by Kapil Dev, who had a superb and long first spell of seven overs. This pushed Sri Lanka so much on the defensive that there were to be only two spells of positive batting in the entire innings.

Ravi Ratnayake was adjudged leg before to an inswinger that might have missed the leg peg by more than a few inches. In cutting what was an incutter, Mahanama had spooned a catch to Vengsarkar at second slip and

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Aravinda De Silva fell in a routine mishook off Chetan Sharma that skied to Maninder at mid-wicket. Even after Kapil Dev left the field because of an injury to thumb and wrist in a failed attempt to catch Ranatunga at second slip off Chetan Sharma, the Indian seamers retained the control with Madan Lal bowling the right run denying length.

Ranatunga and Gurusinghe wisely played out a few overs before attempting the positive job of reconstruction. And when they decided to push it along a bit came the one phase of play in which the batsmen were on top of the bowling. There were a couple of fine drives from both off Chetan Sharma and Madan Lal which prompted Shastri to opt for Maninder's spin. He was on line from the first ball using splendidly the mild assistance there was by way of slow turn.

Superb catch: A superb catch by Madan Lal who dived to his right at square-leg to pick Gurusinghe's uppish sweep inches from the ground ended the stand of 52 in 75 balls. Ranatunga played across and over a yorker length ball from Arun to be struck plumb in front and Sri Lanka was struggling all the way against Maninder. Going forward and across to drive Dias played far too early for him to be in control of the shot and pushed the ball back to the bowler.

Mendis was relying only on his experience to keep the contest, while Guy De Alwis took a typical chance in pulling Maninder from the wicket line for six wide of long-on. In a failed attempt to sweep De Alwis was bowled round his legs and Maninder had the superb figures of three for 24. Five minutes had been lost when Kapil Dev was injured and lying on the ground for the physiotherapist to get there and a further seven for a change of ball. There being no provision for making up lost time, Sri Lanka was bound not to get even the usual half chance of batting out 50 over.

In trying to force the pace, Mendis swished wildly at Chetan Sharma after stepping away from line and it was up to the ninth wicket pair to make the most of the offerings in the end overs: Rumesh Ratnayake lofted Shastri over long-on for six the first ball he faced and two extra cover drives off Chetan Sharma and a lofted off-drive off Arun were other boundary hits of this off just 10 balls that he played.

De Mel pulled a short ball from Chetan Sharma and swung a full toss from Arun to long-leg and pulled him wide of long-on for six in the latter's shabby final over.

With Azharuddin pulling out due to a sprained back, India was able to fit in three support scanners, but two of them are yet to pick up the craft of bowling the slog over reasonably economically.

Teamwork pays dividends, says Mendis: A beaming skipper Mendis said teamwork had paid rich dividends. He, however said "we have yet to go a long way". It was not an easy task to beat the Indians'.

He said his team's fielding was superb and it made its task easier.

"India has a strong side and we cannot take it lightly in Test matches or in the limited over encounters," he said.

The Sri Lankan team manager, Mr. Abu Fuard said they were taking every match as a challenging task. Every day, they were learning, with a view to brushing up their team's game.

Police resorted to mild lathi charge outside the stadium, as scores of fans attempted to gate crash today.

Many ticket holders could not enter through different gates which were shut down at 9 a.m.

The entire stadium was jam-packed, Mr. Yashpal Singh, Senior Superintendent of Police said.

Eye witnesses said a number of people were injured in the scampede outside the Green Park. Steel-helmeted Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) and policemen were deployed to control the crowd.

Authorities, however, described the lathi charges as "mild" to control fans who tried to scale the stadium wall. The irate fans uprooted barricades at a few points and managed entry.

Half a dozen scribes, holding press-cards were also locked out following the rush of gate crashers at the press and television gate.

The tickets for the match were sold out last evening and the bulk purchasers of the tickets sold those in "black market". The demand of the tickets was more than usual as the city was agog with rumours that cine star Amitabh Bachchan and a few other stars were here to witness the encounter.

— Hindu

From the Editorials

(*Continued from page 9*)

THE FINAL ROUND

A pity is that representatives of the militant groups were not present at the talks to directly express their views. (Something which the S. R. has always been saying is essential if the negotiations are to be brought to a successful conclusion).

What if the latest round of talks leads nowhere?

The Sri Lanka Government's position is that the latest proposals made by it "Embody the Maximum Concessions Which Can Reasonably be made".

We believe there is still a chance to retrieve the situation — provided both sides act sensibly.

Otherwise there is going to be chaos in Sri Lanka.

(*Saturday Review*)

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

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

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

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