

• *The LTTE's hard-to-get policy* •

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TRENDS

OMINOUS SIGNS

Was it a well-planned money grab for strictly private gain or was it politically motivated? If the latter, was the gang Tamil or Sinhala? The evidence available, police say, points to a Tamil group. If that proves correct, the Rozelle murders and robbery (a 400,000 pay roll) could well be a most disturbing omen. The hills have been silent all these years, despite two fairly serious outbursts of communal violence. The plantations, the island's heartland and main economic support-base, have remained resistant to organised violence by radical 'armed groups', Tamil or Sinhala.

The much-maligned Thondamon has held the line and kept the "lines" quiet, always advancing the cause of his community through trade union means, and cleverly pre-empting each attempt to undermine his 50 year leadership. Even on political demands like citizenship under the Sirima-Shastri Pact (1 and 2) his pressure moves have not gone beyond satyagraha, prayer meetings, work stoppages.

Interestingly, another pay-roll ambush-and grab in the self-same plantation area failed. Pure coincidence or emerging pattern?

POLICE PROMOTIONS

Commenting on the recent police promotions, the WEEKEND's unusually well informed columnist Iqbal Athas wrote that despite the efforts of the IGP, Mr. Cyril Herath to realize his declared aim of building public confidence in the police, the Department is "in the throes of a crisis of confidence, within its own ranks, with the public and even with the government".

The IGP, who has since submitted his resignation had sent up ten names of senior SP's to the Defence Ministry to fill the post of D.I.G.'s. While the arguments advanced, notes Athas, tried to present a case for equal weight-

age to seniority and merit' the final choice of three new DIG's, did not appear to conform to this desired working principle. The 3rd, 10th and 26th in the seniority list were picked. (See PDUCE vs. Politics).

WHO DECIDES?

Though the Government said earlier that it was a matter for the individual Vice Chancellors to decide when the universities, closed since last year, should be reopened, DGC Chairman (and Secretary, Ministry of Higher Education) Stanley Kalpage has directed the Vice Chancellors to reopen them by August 1.

In Parliament last week, Foreign Minister Shaul Hameed ran, who headed a committee appointed to report on student unrest, announced the probable opening date as August 1.

But several Vice Chancellors have expressed reservations about reopening the campuses without students' problems being settled before that.

According to some official sources, 57 undergraduates are presently held in custody.

Meanwhile, Southern Province Chief Minister M. S. Amarasinghe told a press conference at his office in Galle that he had instructed the Vice Chancellor of the Ruhuna University to "make immediate arrangements for the reopening of the University".

CHARGE SHEETS

A teenage student died and several others were injured when security personnel opened fire in a confrontation with demonstrating students at the Dickwella Maha Vidyalaya. Now, the principal and three Vice Principals are being issued with charge sheets, according to a report in the Sun.

The Sun also said that the Matara Co-ordinating Office had "taken charge".

HELD IN CUSTODY

A man held in custody allegedly to be "persuaded" to give evidence against some others, was ordered to be released by the Appeal Court

(Continued on page 10)

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THE SKIRMISH BEFORE THE FINAL BATTLE

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Mervyn de Silva

The first skirmish after many years of the old enemies — UNP vs. SLFP. For years now, the SLFP has been 'boycotting' elections; whenever the UNP, which substituted a referendum for a General Election in Dec. 1982, was in the mood to hold them.

It is not only the first face-to-face (the Homagama by-election being postponed by the government after the campaign had started) but an encounter where relative strengths can be accurately tested in the absence of the U.S.A. or any other credible contestant, party or independent. Provided of course that the polls are free and fair. (The SLFP has already complained to the IGP that the police are harassing its campaign staff and supporters in Kekirawa and Katugampola).

The by-elections are in four of the seven provinces, outside the North and East, where provincial polls have not been held. The electorates are in Uva, Sabaragamuwa, North-Western province, and North-Central, a geographical distribution that looks almost like part of an opinion sampler's exercise. All four are predominantly Sinhalese, making it a near-perfect test of Sinhala opinion. There is a sizeable Muslim vote in Welimada, and the Muslims are part of the UNP's 'traditional' vote. The advent of the SLMC signals a lately awakened, perhaps more politically self-assertive, Muslim community. The Muslim vote is worth watching, whereas the CWC-dominated Indian Tamil plantation vote in Ratnapura is certain to follow Big Chief Thondaman's pro-government 'line'.

Given these features, the 215,000 registered votes in the 4 electorates is a pretty fair 'Sinhala opinion' sample.

But the true significance of the July 14 polls — and the results will be out by the time this issue of the L.G. is on the stands — is its proximity to the Presidential elections which has to be held before Jan. 3, and the next parliamentary election for which the last date is Aug. 1989.

Apart from the opinion-test, Thursday's quarter will also show us how successfully the UNP has loaded the dice — that is, in constructing a P.R. system, probably the world's most intricate to maximise its chances of victory. In short, a test also of the new electoral system.

Mrs. Bandaranaike returning home from a month's "R. and R." has taken the offensive. She says issues connected with the UNP's 11 year rule can be framed and fought out at the big elections in the offing. Now, the voters must decide on three matters:

- (a) The mounting mass demand for a general election.
- (b) The Indo Sri Lanka Accord.
- (c) The Indian military presence i.e. the IPKF in the North and East.

President Jayewardene, a veteran campaigner, chose not to defend but to take the offensive, by seizing the JVP issue as a stick to beat the SLFP, and also as a wedge to divide the opposing party's leadership — in this instance party president (mother) from Opposition leader, her son (See excerpts).

Making law-and-order vs. violence, democracy vs. terrorism the main campaign issue, President JR made a thinly veiled threat, too. He may have to take action against those parties which "supported" the JVP. The SLFP leadership reacted promptly. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike was the first to interpret it as a threat to proscribe the SLFP. "There will be a civil war if the SLFP is banned" he warned the government, having reminded the President that he had lifted the ban on the JVP last month.

Meanwhile Mrs. Bandaranaike impressed on the government that a ban on the SLFP will not prevent her from contesting the President as 'an Independent'.

The results will be closely studied not only by the foreign business community, the international Aid agencies, and Colombo's diplomatic enclave but by the LTTE, and of course the Indian negotiators. Already, the LTTE has hardened its stand, fully aware of the hotly contested by-elections, and its implications in the next, vitally important six months. A demand for a government proclamation on a permanent North-East merger is almost becoming a non-negotiable LTTE position. If it does not yield on this to Delhi, the chances of early North East polls can be ruled out. And if North-east P.C. is not in place in the next few months, what are the UNP's choices as December approaches?

When Mr. Gandhi returns to Delhi from his Mid-east and European trip, India's Sri Lanka policy-planning team will have a tough task before it.

A few by elections will follow. But this "four" will be the last serious clash of arms before the "War".

J.V.P. — we do not condone but we understand

— Mrs. B

Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike called on all opposition parties to rally round the S.L.F.P. to defeat the UNP.

She said all opposition parties included the JVP.

"The President is making veiled threats about imaginary connections between the JVP and the S.L.F.P. He can go on dreaming but we invited all forces to join us to defeat this government", she said. The SLFP, she said, did not fear such threats.

She also said the JVP was no longer a proscribed party and the President was forgetting too many issues.

Mrs. Bandaranaike said the JVP took to arms only after the Indo-Lanka accord.

"We do not condone what they are doing. But in their thinking they are fighting to safeguard the sovereignty and independence of our country" she said.

Mrs. Bandaranaike further said the President has a very short memory when he accused the S.L.F.P. of working with the JVP.

"Were it not J. R. Jayawardene who told Rannala de Mel to meet with JVP leaders in 1977 in jail and ask for their support to defeat the S.L.F.P." she asked.

She further said there was nothing wrong in inviting a party like the JVP to join forces. The JVP might even decide to contest the general election.

"If the President can discuss with murderers like Prabhakaran and give him an amnesty, why is he attacking the SLFP's invitation to the JVP.

J.R. warns

President Jayawardene said that public statements by opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike, expressing sympathy with the JVP, were a threat to the survival of democracy and the party system in the country. The JVP are killing UNPers and members of other political parties in their hundreds," he commented, "but the Opposition Leader is offering ministerial portfolios to these murderers.

The President was addressing a series of public meetings in Welimada.

He said it was a matter of grave concern to all in the country, that the SLFP should team up with the JVP when that party had adopted a course of violence.

"We cannot allow this serious situation to develop. Our parliamentary group may have to take a decision soon," he added.

The President recalled that the UNP did not throw in their lot with the killers when the late Mr. Bandaranaike was assassinated. Nor did the UNP align itself with the JVP when the latter resorted to an insurrection to topple the SLFP government.

"But the SLFP today have joined forces with the JVP

to destroy the UNP."

The SLFP leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike, had recently described him (the President) as the most unpopular leader in the world today. If that was her opinion she was entitled to it. But the facts were otherwise.

"In 1977, when we won over 140 seats in the 158-member parliament, the SLFP could win only four seats direct. They could win another four seats because of the advantage in contesting the multi-member seats.

"Is this not a world record? Mrs. Bandaranaike appears to have forgotten it," he said.

The President told the gathering that an attempt had been made on the lives of Fisheries Minister Festus Perera and NWP Chief Minister Gamini Jayawickrema Perera, on Saturday. The would-be killers had used a T56 automatic, but fortunately the bullets had flown over the heads.

"The JVP are behind this attempt too. And they are engaged in these acts of violence apparently with the help of the SLFP. Are we going to fight elections in the democratic way, or to engage in gun fights?" he asked. — (D.N.)

Electorate	No. of voters			Katugampola
	1977	1982	1988	
Katugampola	49,269	57,167	61,644	1977 UNP 23,475
Kekirawa	22,977	32,927	41,013	SLFP 14,445
Ratnapura	51,679	61,986	70,048	CP 6,365
Welimada	28,652	36,128	41,845	44,285
				1982 UNP 25,597
				SLFP 21,050
				Others 2,247
				48,894
				1988 UNP 23,090
				USA 16,667
				SLMC 662
				40,419
Electorate	Increase			
	1977 to 1988	1982 to 1988		
Katugampola	12,375	4,477		
Kekirawa	18,026	8,075		
Ratnapura	18,369	8,062		
Welimada	13,193	5,717		

Kekirawa		
1977	UNP	11,983
	CP	6,520
	SLFP	2,436
		<hr/>
		20,939

1982	UNP	15,454
	SLFP	12,281
	Others	875
		<hr/>
		28,610

1988	UNP	19,228
	USA	11,993
		<hr/>
		31,221

Ratnapura		
1977	UNP	23,525
	CP	16,000
	SLFP	5,000
	Others	157
		<hr/>
		44,682

1982	UNP	24,765
	SLFP	25,402
	Others	1,286
		<hr/>
		51,453

1988	UNP	21,928
	USA	21,927
		<hr/>
		43,855

Wellimada		
1977	UNP	16,314
	SLFP	8,633
	Others	492
		<hr/>
		25,439

1982	UNP	18,673
	SLFP	10,078
	Others	1,990
		<hr/>
		30,741

1988	UNP	13,762
	USA	11,825
	SLMC	2,234
		<hr/>
		27,821

FLASH

(as we go to press)

With smaller majorities the UNP has retained three of the four seats in the mini general election. The SLFP won Ratnapura with an impressive 4,785 majority. The UNP retained Kekirawa, Katugampola and Welimada. There was a heavy turnout of voters.

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What did the Southern province results reveal?

Mick Moore

Psephology in Sri Lanka was formerly largely a matter of studying the voters' preferences among candidates. Most voters went to the polling station and cast a valid vote. The question was: for whom would they vote? Since 1982 it has become less valid to see voting primarily as preferential behaviour — and exercise of free choice among a range of alternatives. The range of choices is being reduced and the physical obstacles to and potential costs of voting have increased. (There is of course one small new 'window of choice': whether or not to deliberately spoil one's ballot paper.)

In this new and more highly constrained voting environment there is less scope for drawing conclusions from quantitative analysis of electoral behaviour. One does not have available the kind of non-quantitative information on the local voting environment (How easy was it to vote? What were the perceived risks?) without which numbers may be barren or misleading. The numbers are however not entirely without value. Paradoxically, in an environment where voter turnout is generally low because of limits on electoral choice and/or threats of retaliation against those who do vote, one may learn something by looking at variations between electorates in voter turnout. This I do below for the June 9th elections for the Southern Provincial Council, in which overall voter turnout was only 27% and where the figure was as low as 5% in those electorates where the JVP is most active.

The statistical analysis cannot in itself be conclusive. It does

The writer, a senior lecturer of the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex Univ. has written extensively on Sri Lankan politics.

however appear to throw useful light on a number of urgent contemporary questions: not only the direct causes of variations in voter turnout, but the implications for our understanding of the support base of the four main political groupings in the Province (the UNP; the JVP; the SLFP and the 'Old Left' of the LSSP and the CP now grouped with the SLMP into the United Socialist Alliance). The most general conclusion is that long established differences among the three Southern Province districts in political behaviour have been exacerbated. The 'Old Left' has survived in the Western part of Galle district with much of its 'traditional' ethos intact. But in the deep South the radicalism of the 'Old Left' has largely collapsed and been replaced by a radicalism which is more militant, ruralist, populist, and introverted. This differential fate of the 'Old Left' vote may reflect differences between areas in the original social basis of that vote.

Voters and Protestors

There is no disputing that the low overall rate of voter turnout — a much lower rate than that in the other five Provinces which had voted in recent weeks — was due to a widespread fear of JVP retaliation against voters. It is worth mentioning that the figures on spoiled ballot papers are fully consistent with this interpretation. We know that in all recent Provincial Council elections the high proportion of spoiled ballots reflected deliberate protest. There could be no better evidence for this than the fact that, for example in Galle district 15% of the postal voters, who are mainly public servants, spoiled their ballots, while the highest figure for any single electorate in the district was 11%. The aggregate figure for the Province was 10%.

The figures in Table I illustrate the overall 'rationality' of those who spoiled their ballots. The higher the proportion of the electorate who felt it safe to come out and vote for one of the contending parties, the higher the proportion of the electorate who felt it safe to come out and make a protest by spoiling their ballot paper. Protestors as well as those willing to act within electoral system were, locality by locality, equally cowed by JVP threats against voters. This has a further implication which will be discussed below.

Voter Turnout

We are still left with the question of the causes of the big variations in voter turnout. To a large degree of course this reflects the strength of the JVP above all in the four electorates which comprise Hambantota district (MulKirigala, Tangalle, Beliatta and Tissamaharama) and the two adjacent electorates of Kamburupitiya and Hakmana in the north-west of Matara district. But what does one mean by "JVP strength"? Popular sympathy? Or the organisational capacity to prevent opponents from voting? For a movement pursuing political objectives through military means these two dimensions of "strength" may be very different. Because we have no independent measure of local variations in popular support for the JVP, the electoral statistics do not help with this question. For the same reason they are only marginally more helpful in assessing the theory that voter turnout was generally higher in urban areas because the state's armed forces were better able to provide protection for those who wanted to vote (see Rajpal Abeynayake in *The Island*). It is certainly true, that, within Matara

(Continued on page 16)

LTTE raises the ante

Conscious of the UNP's pressing need to hold provincial polls in the north-east, and claim a political victory that may help the party to recover lost ground in the Sinhala constituency, the 'Tigers' are playing hard to get. Aware that a Congress (I) which has taken so many body-blows at the recent by-elections, cannot reasonably extend the Presidential rule to so arbitrarily imposed on Tamilnadu beyond year's end, and must therefore hold fresh elections at which it does not wish to be totally disgraced, the LTTE is raising the ante with Delhi. Mr. Prabhakaran, who no longer has the freedom of movement he once enjoyed, is compelled in these circumstances to take what is known in the trade as 'evasive action' — vis-à-vis his own trusted aides, some doing courier service for the Indian C.I.A. (CONCLUSION: Time is running out for the Sri Lankan regime, for the India-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, and perhaps for Sri Lankan political system as we once knew it.)

The arrival of the TULF exiles (L.G. July 1) was a sure sign of Indian self-confidence. Mr. Prabhakaran, persuaded to join the democratic mainstream, plus a provincial council which had non-LTTE members including the last popularly elected representatives of the Tamil people would indeed be a political-diplomatic triumph for Mr. Gandhi, nationally, and in Tamilnadu in particular. Since it meant not merely the restoration of normalcy but of the democratic process, it would even be a modest victory internationally — certainly with those countries which would regard the restoration of stability a major gain, and a democratic set-up, a bonus.

And so, Mr. Prabhakaran has not only placed new demands but re-opened the pre-Accord debate, evidently with the help of some constitutional pundits,

both expatriate Sri Lankan and Tamilnadu advisers. Relying on the phrase "areas of historical habitation" in the Accord's preamble (a formal, if distant bow to the traditional homeland concept) the LTTE has returned to its pre-Accord compromise position on "Eelam", an independent state. While the Accord states in the plainest possible language that the North-east merger would be for 12 months and would be followed by a referendum in the Eastern province, the LTTE demands a proclamation that concedes a "permanent" merger. As a fall back position, it says that if a referendum is to be held it must be in both provinces, where, the Tamils are of course in a clear majority.

There is one other political demand — a fresh Sri Lankan commitment on colonisation, not to alter the demographic balance.

On the immediate issue of the modalities connected with an end to fighting, the LTTE speaks of a 5-day ceasefire, rather than a surrender of arms. Such a ceasefire will of course allow the LTTE a breather — a tacit admission that 'Operation Checkmate' has bruised the LTTE more seriously than it is ready to admit. Since its sophisticated communications system, another Tamil expatriate gift, has been one of its critically important assets, the damage done by the IPKF to its communication network, is one of the major reverses suffered by the LTTE's military machine. It wants the surrender of arms staggered — over five months. (An interesting time-frame because Presidential elections have to be held before Jan 3, in Sri Lanka, and the period of Presidential rule in Tamilnadu also ends in December).

While the LTTE, given its size, is probably one of the finest 'unconventional' fighting machines in the world, its political diplo-

matic back-up was always suspect. 'Eelam' had its rationale in 'the right of self-determination', at best a debatable thesis. Then it depended on constitutional-legal expertise to support its specific demands. It was hardly prepared with well-conceived negotiating positions in the event of a 'ceasefire' imposed by a superior military power. In this case, India, and most importantly for the LTTE, endorsed by its all-important backer, Tamilnadu's Chief Minister MGR.

Its communications wrecked, its hard-core cadres pushed out of its natural bastion, the Jaffna peninsula and the north, and the IPKF's mounting military pressure — after the IPKF recovered from the totally unexpected blows it received in the first 2 months — the LTTE decision-making command structure has also been disrupted. The differences in both perception and tactical calculations of the LTTE leadership (Prabhakaran, Mahattaya, Kittu, Anton etc) match the lack of coherence in Indian post-Accord strategy.

In terms of the total Sri Lankan political situation, and more especially the rapidly narrowing electoral political time-frame, the basic question now is — Can India deliver? If Delhi cannot guarantee a firm cessation of hostilities by August, and provincial polls by Sept-Oct., the UNP government's choices vis-à-vis national elections will be increasingly, and dangerously, limited. The result could be instability of a more dramatic kind than we have ever witnessed in these crisis-ridden post-1983 years.

— M.

NOTE:

The LTTE has virtually withdrawn from the ceasefire talks. It has accused the IPKF of "atrocities" worse than the S.L. army's, and branded the "Peace Accord" a "charter of servility".

A Medico - Mafia ?

Even a Government member, the usually well informed and articulate Dr Wimal Wickromasinghe (UNP-Eheliyagoda) confessed that he did not know what the amendments were when the Government rushed through two Bills containing amending legislation, in Parliament last week. The legislation, referred to the Supreme Court earlier as "urgent bills" and ruled as not inconsistent with the Constitution by the SC, were the Universities (Amendment) Bill and the Medical (Amendment) Bill. They were taken up for debate in one day, together, amidst opposition protests, and passed.

The Medical (Amendment) Bill, now an Act of Parliament, will allow the controversial, private, North Colombo Medical College (NCMC) to award its own degrees. What the amendment does, simply, is to remove the words "recognised institute" from Section 25 of the Medical Ordinance.

The principles of Free education have been thrown overboard, said Mr Dinesh Gunawardena (MEP - Maharagama). "Institutions", a variety of them, will be set up in order to award degrees.

"The Minister wants to rush this Bill through because he has been requested by certain quarters to do so. They are businessmen who are interested in the private medical college. What will happen ultimately is that the students who spend lakhs of rupees for their studies at the NCMC will charge it to the people who seek treatment from them. We must not allow businessmen to come into the medical set up of the country... The Government needs money for elections. There is no doubt it will get it from the rich, but I would suggest you drop this Bill for the time being", Mr Gunawardena said.

Mr Dew Gunasekera (CP - Kaluwana): "The people who are concerned with the private medical college are known as the Mafia group. They are very powerful. It is this group that imports

drugs. They have shares in private hospitals. They attend all drug conferences. They control the private medical college, and hold examinations. They are in fact controlling the medical profession. You can imagine who these people are.

"In 1979 this group was the author of the NCMC concept. Dr Heanilame is a clever person. It was they who conceived this. These people are making use of this concept to make money.

"Our doctors have maintained a certain reputation and are recognised abroad, but this group of greedy people are trying to mar this image".

As for the Universities (Amendment) Bill, it was explained that the amendment would make it possible to set up university student councils again (they were earlier

abolished by the UNP Government), with their functions defined by law.

"We objected to the abolition. We said that problems would arise as a result", Mr Richard Pathirana (SLFP - Akmeemana) said. The universities were closed and 18,000 students were at home.

Mr A C S Hameed (Minister of Foreign Affairs) who had chaired a parliamentary committee appointed to report on student unrest, however said that this was the only Government since Independence that had thought of the difficulties of university students. "There are problems, but if you look at problems of the universities in the last ten years you will see that Professor Kalpage amidst various difficulties has been able to guide higher education in this country very capably. He has seen to the growth of higher education".

(Continued on page 14)

Police vs Politics

"In the past months, the IGP has been pressing for action against some politicians. A District Minister, who was under investigation, reportedly abused a Senior Superintendent of Police and the IGP. A Minister had also been abusive. Another had allegedly travelled in the vehicle of an Assistant Superintendent of Police during the Provincial Council elections reportedly "arresting" supporters of the rival party.

Long before Mr. Cyril Herath reacted against the Ministers, Government MPs have been bitterly critical of his role as the IGP. Many a time during meetings of the Government Parliamentary Group, they have raised the issue. On August 18, last year, the group was discussing the subject in the aftermath of the violence that occurred during the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, when a bomb exploded.

The Police Chief himself caused an inquiry into the violence that led to the declaration of a curfew on the day Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, signed the Accord with President J. R. Jayewardene. The findings were startling. It revealed that the Police were completely ineffective in the Metropolis on that day."

(Weekend - "Situation Report")

A Tale of Subversion

*One was there peeping through the curtain
When I got up and went to the bathroom.
Then I could see another behind the mirror
Watching me lathering my face, and shaving.
I went to give my lecture, they were all there, seated
And as I spoke, they took down notes,
A little too keen, a little too attentive.
When I stopped, they moved towards me
Looking nonplussed, as if they didn't understand me
Slowly, deliberately, and frowning at me.
Then they started shooting questions.
Too many, too involved, embarrassing me.
I ran to the senior common room
My colleagues were chatting inaudibly, almost,
In logical, cautious, conspiratorial tones
Ignoring my flustered entrance, and rattled looks.
I went to the Dean's office, not too far
Imagining he would be alone, and understanding
He was engrossed, looking suspiciously at me.
I retreated, took the first bus to my village.
In the dead of night, I heard them hooting
From the thicket nearby, unseen in the dark.
I closed all doors and windows, and stayed awake.
I left before dawn, not to be seen.
They were watching me from under the culvert
Following me approaching the bus gingerly.
I boarded the bus, avoiding all, silently,
And they were there talking to the driver.
We drove pass people staring at me.
As I stole home, they were watching me at the gate.
While dining, I heard a knock on the door.
I did not open it, and I slipped into bed.
There they were under my bed, and behind the
cupboard,
And peering through the half open door
And I heard a shuffling of feet in the garden
The dog didn't bark, perhaps they killed him.
I screamed for help, called the neighbours by their
names
Screamed louder, and they closed in on me
With menacing looks, with guns pointing at me
I stammered the last yell, and I was dead.*

— Tilak. A. Gunawardhana

US attack

Muslims Protest

The demonstration before the U.S. Embassy by about 200 Muslims was the first overt sign of the growing politicisation of the Moslem community, a direct result of the Island's ethnic strife, events in the eastern province, the establishment of provincial councils, and the introduction of PR. But it was also a clear reaction to the docile political style of the traditional leadership chiefly pro-UNP, with a pro-SLFP stance by a much smaller segment of that leadership. The concrete expression of changing Muslim opinion, especially among younger Muslims, was the formation of the SLMC. Interestingly, the provocation for the 'demo' was an external event — the downing of the Iranian Airbus.

A SLMC statement said:

"The world has witnessed the rape of Vietnam and the subsequent defeat of the U.S. military might; the defeat in China of the American backed Kuomintang force; the intrusion into Lebanon under the guise of Peace-Keeping Force (though not invited) and the consequent ignominious retreat; the unprovoked attack on Libya, the attempt to terrorise and interfere in Nicaragua through Honduras, interference in Afghanistan and Panama and now the Gulf States culminating in the dastardly shooting of the Iranian Airbus A-300 with 290 innocent passengers and crew.

The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress condemns this act of terrorism and calls upon all right thinking people of the world to join hands and demand unequivocally that all military bases, naval power and air bases from the Gulf States be withdrawn and request the United Nations to demand the two warring parties — Iraq and Iran to discuss peace terms."

"Save Kanthasamy" — an appeal

Mr. K. Kanthasamy, an able Human Rights activist, founder-member of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO: 1977), Director, Central British Fund for Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation (CBFTRR, London: 1978), and the prime mover in several outstanding ventures such as the Jaffna-based SATURDAY REVIEW (1982), Tamil Information Centres (London, Madras: 1983, Madurai: 1984), Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRT, Madurai: 1984), Theepam Research Institute (Jaffna: 1983), is known to have been kidnapped by a group of persons from his Jaffna residence on Sunday, June 19. Even after five days, no information is available either about his safety or whereabouts.

The fact that Mr. Kanthasamy is a silent, tireless, self-offering worker and that he shunned office and publicity does not make us forget the fact that no individual had given so much to the promotion of Human Rights in general and in particular to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Tamil Community as he had done for the past eleven years. At the time of the kidnapping, Mr. Kanthasamy, who had under-gone a major heart surgery five years ago, was active in setting up a consortium of Non-governmental organisations to undertake refugee rehabilitation programmes in North-East Sri Lanka.

We the signatories, who have known and appreciated his major contributions and his selfless service, hereby appeal to whoever is responsible for his kidnapping to release him safely so that he can continue his services. We feel strongly that any physical harm done to him will be remembered as an enormous crime against society.

1. Lord Averbury : Chairman, Human Rights Group, United Kingdom. 2. Kumer Rupasingne : International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. 3. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer : Retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India, Cochin, India. 4. Niran Koshy : Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland. 5. Walter Keller : South Asia Bureau, West Germany. 6. Dutch Organisation for Human Rights and Development : The Netherlands. 7. Desmond Fernando : Civil Rights Movement, Colombo, Sri Lanka. 8. Nils Siverson : Norwegian Refugee Council, Norway. 9. N. Ramamurthy : Quaker Peace & Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London, United Kingdom. 10. Michael Hawkes : Christian Aid, United Kingdom. 11. Joe Seemay : "Trocaire" Ireland. 12. Charles Abeysekera : Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRIE), Sri Lanka. 13. Victor Kurunan : Pax Ramona, Geneva, Switzerland. 14. International Commission of Jurists : Geneva, Switzerland. 15. V. Suryanarayan : Professor, Centre for South and South East Asian Studies, University of Madras, India. 16. Martin Ennals : Director, International Alert, United Kingdom. 17. Rev. Fr. Michel de Mortier : Orientis Asian Centre, Belgium. 18. Martin Barber : Director, British Refugee Council, United Kingdom. 19. Rev. Hahn : Director, Bread for the World, West Germany. 20. Y. David : President, Samithaya Samithaya Iyakkam, Madras, India. 21. S. V. Perinpanayagam : Chairman, Central British Fund for Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation London, United Kingdom. 22. R. Sathiyamurthy : Vice-President, National Y.M.C.A. New Delhi, India. 23. P. Rasanayagam : President, Standing Committee for Tamils (SCOT), United Kingdom. 24. T. N. Gopalan : Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Madurai, India. 25. Canadian Council for Refugees : Canada. 26. Justice and Rights : United Kingdom. 27. Henri Tichagne : Organising Secretary, Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Tamilnadu, India. 28. K. Sathyanandan : Non-Violent Direct Action Group, Chavakkalcheri, Jaffna, Sri Lanka. 29. Maheswary Velautham : Secretary, Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriates (MIRT), Madurai, India. former Director, Tamil Information Centre, Madurai, India. 30. S. Sivanayagam : Founder-Editor, Saturday Review, Jaffna and former Editor/Director Tamil Information & Research Unit, Madras, India.

TRENDS

(Continued from page 1)

last week following a habeas corpus application filed by his wife.

N. Wimalasena of Ihala Kosgama had been taken in by the police on December 18, 1985.

The Inspector General of Police a respondent, had not denied the allegation that the man had been detained for the purpose of pressurising him to give evidence against certain people; but had merely stated that he was unaware of it. The Court of Appeal held it as the truth. The man had been detained for two and a

half years; he had not been charged, nor was there evidence of intent to charge.

The affidavit by the respondents did not reveal any material to justify the arrest and detention, the Court held and ordered IGP Cyril Herath and Defence Secretary Sepala Attaygalle to pay the petitioner Rs 1,050 as costs of action.

Father Michael Rodrigo

Apropos my 61st birthday tribute to Fr. Michael Rodrigo (L.G. 01 July), I have been informed by follow-admirers of that brave priest who belong to the Catholic faith that I have, perhaps unwittingly, done both him and his Church some injustice when I said that "he turned his back on the official Church in 1972". I hasten to correct any false impression that metaphor may have engendered, and any spiritual discomfort I may have caused Fr. Mike's confreres. What I should have said and would like to say now is: "I became interested in his unusual career from the moment he decided to depart from a conventional station in the official Church, because he wished to demonstrate its authentic role in society, in a manner not open to him up to then. The real Church, for him, had to be situated among the peasants of the Badulla hinterland". I hope I have now made it clear that Fr. Mike never rejected the Church by "turning his back" on it, because it would have meant turning his back on himself — an ontologically impossible exercise as my resolute Catholic friends have been quick to point out. As I write, however, a rebel French Archbishop, Marcel Lefebvre, appears to have put a conservative Catholic cat among the liberal Vatican pigeons, and virtually turned his back on his Pope and the entire College of Cardinals by a daring act of schism. I was not suggesting for a moment that Fr. Mike had the remotest intention of defying his Church, only pondering the thought that even the most rigid and formalistic of human structures, lay or clerical, does provide an opening for escape, and ultimate defiance.

H. A. I. Goonetilleke
Maharagama

Bravo Comrade

Though a little belated may I add my own tribute and congratulations on the LG's 10th birthday.

I recall your credo, in LG's inaugural issue, as one of commitment to informed discussion in a pluralist democracy, to illuminate the gloom of 'colourless conformism' in the media and, above all, the need to straddle the grey divide of politics and scholarship writing about public policy. All these you have steadfastly pursued with integrity and candour through your mix of perceptive political comment, strident social and cultural analysis and of course, with crumbs of wisdom from Castro's Cuba or Sandinista rebels (and even the old Marxist catechism !) thrown in for good measure for those poor mortals who may be seduced by neo-capitalism and economic rationalism!

We expatriates, particularly those whose vision and hope for peace with justice in their homeland through 'social emancipation' still remains alive, treasure being, entertained and enlightened by LG's superbly crafted, sometimes aerbic wit, cynical comment, and informed insight in a confused and ever changing political scene.

There is still a ray of hope for "a properly functioning pluralist democracy" (LG Vol. 1) so long as you continue to exist. My only plea is that you will in the near future bridge the widening cultural gulf of Sri Lanka intelligentsia and elite and overcome the colonial hangover of liberal bourgeois politics by coming to terms with the realities and legacies of the post 1956 era; and I might add the compelling geo-political realities which LG so clearly foreshadowed.

Bravo comrade! (for the uninitiated in Aussie folk language the latter is a respected term of fraternal greeting in the ranks of 'labor' down under.)

Laksiri Jayasuriya

The University of Western Australia,
Australia.

Objective reporting

Do accept my congratulations for the rare achievement in publishing L.G. for ten long and strenuous years which was undoubtedly a turbulent period in our blood splattered history.

From its inception I have been an avid reader of your magazine which has broadened my outlook through its objective reporting enriching my perception.

Being a former Journalist I have published quite a number of features, poems etc. keeping yours truly in a state of euphoria, but only once I experienced the zenith of happiness when I found my poem, "The spectre of Aggression published in Lanka Guardian".

I wish L.G. long life and sweet success.

Ranjan M. Amarasinghe

Lecturer in Journalism
Evelyn Hons College,
Lusaka, Zambia

Best brains in journalism

Very late though I am, may I offer you sincere congratulations on a really notable achievement. To have kept such a journal going for ten years under difficult conditions is itself remarkable but the greater or better part seems to me that it was always live and kicking and maintained consistently, some of the best brains in journalism. May it continue to inform, educate, criticise and help the public, which alone an independent paper serves, so intelligent and realistic understanding of the issues they are confronted by.

E. E. C. Abayasekara

Colombo 6

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Nuclear bombs in the Region!

"The next time, India and Pakistan go to war, each side must assume the other has a bomb" says a top US expert on nuclear proliferation. Leonard Spector.

NEW YORK

Pakistan has developed as many as four complete atomic bombs which can be carried for delivery by its US-supplied F-16 fighter-bombers, according to western intelligence sources quoted in the *Newsweek*.

Both the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Defence Department officials are convinced that Pakistan has made a complete bomb, the magazine said in its latest issue which contains an extensive report on proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Without suffering the fallout from any test blast, Pakistan has managed to develop a 400-pound bomb that would be easily deliverable by missile or jet aircraft — the bomb is light enough to be

strapped to the belly of its F-16 planes, the report said, adding that earlier this year Islamabad had also tested a small missile that might be nuclear-capable.

Pakistan, it said, had received the blueprint for its bomb from China based on a proven design. Technical advances make it possible not merely to develop bombs without testing but to steadily improve them, according to the report.

The report says that while Israel has between 100 to 200 nuclear weapons, including thermonuclear devices, South Africa has produced enough enriched uranium to build from 13 to 21 bombs.

As for India, the report quotes Western intelligence sources to say that it has produced 20 such weapons mostly in the past three

years. However, it notes that New Delhi has 'strenuously' denied possessing any nuclear weapons.

Prof. Dhirendra Sharma of the Jawaharlal Nehru University is quoted as saying that within two to three weeks 'we could assemble 20 to 40 nuclear weapons'.

Despite the fact that western intelligence reports estimate Israeli nuclear weapons, including thermonuclear devices, at between 100 and 200, the US Ambassador Vernon Walters offered the naming of Israel and South Africa as an excuse for its refusal to sign a draft document at the recent UN session on Disarmament. "We have certain items of national policy which we cannot give up just to get a piece of paper" he said. The reference to the nuclear capabilities of South Africa and Israel were described as "extremely contentious". The consensus among Third World delegates was that the U.S. had ruined all chances of an agreement.

Walters' wrecking operation

UN disarmament session fails

The U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament ended in a dramatic last-minute failure with the United States being accused of "wrecking" it by obstructing a declaration outlining new programme for global disarmament.

India, which voiced its disappointment and distress at the failure, proposed that the session should be adjourned till a more propitious time in 1989.

The proposal received support from Egypt, Mexico and others but in the absence of a consensus on this too, it fell through.

The US refused to accept criticism in the final document of the nuclear weapons capability of

Israel and South Africa and did not want the document to oppose space weapons. It also objected to the stress laid in the document on naval disarmament.

Consensus had been reached on over 59 paragraphs of the 67-para draft final document when Washington refused to go any further with negotiations. The session collapsed at that point.

"It is a great pity", the Indian Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Chinmaya R. Gharekhan, said.

The session was addressed by 25 world leaders.

The month-long session was extended by several hours in an attempt to bridge differences, but, in the end, there was no declaration

but only expressions of hope by delegates that some good will come out.

The Assembly President, Mr. Peter Florin, who is the German Democratic Republic's Deputy Foreign Minister, in his concluding address, regretted the failure to reach an agreement.

"What now matters is to intensify the dialogue in order to reach convergent positions", he said.

"We are very disappointed and distressed that we could not reach a consensus. We were very much hoping that, given international atmosphere, it would be possible to adopt a document of consensus. It is a pity. If the US had shown more understanding, perhaps a

(Continued on page 14)

THE 'HINDU' BOMB

For some years now, the Government of India has worried about the Islamic bomb. Now it is coming to terms with The Hindu bomb. The conservative Madras-based newspaper has, for the last several months, been coming out with one explosive report after another on the Bofors scandal. And just when the dust seemed to have settled, and the Government seemed to be getting away with its stand that there was nothing wrong with the howitzer deal of 1986, the newspaper came out last fortnight with another series of devastating exposes that blew the Government's case sky-high.

The newspaper printed a series of documents which showed that the Bofors payments to its agents abroad on the howitzer deal were commission payments and not 'winding-up charges' — as had been told to, and accepted by, the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) — meant to compensate agents whose contracts had been terminated at the Indian Government's request.

Even more scathingly, the newspaper indicated that Indians had acted as recipients or conduits for these payments — demolishing the claim to the contrary that had been touted by the JPC and the Government.

The Government reacted almost hastily. Within hours of the first expose last fortnight, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was personally chairing a high-level meeting.

Those present included Defence Minister K. C. Pant, Defence Secretary T. N. Seshan, Director of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) Mohan Katro, Enforcement Director Anil Kumar, official spokesman G. K. Arora, and two joint secretaries from the prime minister's office. Rajiv was apparently his usual cheerful self, but some of the underlying tension

showed when he snappily cut short an official labouring to make a point.

Soon enough, the decision was taken to launch fresh investigations into the morning's disclosures — which The Hindu followed up with more documents establishing still further that the Bofors payments were commissions on the Indian deal, that the 'winding-up' story Bofors had spun out over the past year was a cover-up operation carried out with manifestly backdated papers, and indeed that commission payments on the deal were going on till just before Swedish Radio first blew the lid off the scandal, in April 1987.

To the public at large, the new revelations left little room for doubt that the Government's and the JPC's earlier conclusions had been wide off the mark — either because of gigantic whitewash job or because the investigations were characterised by gross incompetence. Red-faced officials last fortnight were putting out a number of explanations for why a single newspaper with a lone correspondent in Geneva was continuously able to unearth facts that the Government, with all the investigative and diplomatic powers at its command, had been unable to do. As for the JPC, its former chairman B. Shankaranand was unavailable for comment. A telexed request to Bofors for a comment also drew no response.

Rajiv himself sought to make light of the latest disclosures, claiming that they showed no politician was involved. But this is a climbdown from the earlier insistence that no Indian was involved, and along way from the initial assertion that no payments had been made. The prime minister's latest assertion is also premature, since the ultimate recipients of the money are still not known.

A Medico. . .

(Continued from page 8)

Mr Hameed added, also: "Before the universities are reopened, probably by August 1, every student in custody will be released if he is not to be charged before court".

Mr Dew Gunasekera (CP — Kalamana): "Today the Government regards the student as a terrorist. There are a number of students in custody. They should be indicted or released".

Mr Richard Pachirana (SLFP — Akmeemana): "In the Magazine Prison there are students including bhikkhus who are detained without cause. I would like a list of students released and those not released. If charges are levied they can be called up before courts. Police shouldn't be allowed to walk into campuses and arrest students".

Mr Pachirana also said that it was futile for anybody to try to prevent university students from participating in politics.

UN disarmament. . .

(Continued from page 13)

consensus could have been possible", Mr. Gharekhan told reporters.

But the US Ambassador, Gen. Vernon Walters, asked to comment on charges that Washington had been obstructionist, replied, "we have certain items of national policy which we cannot give up just to get a piece of paper".

"Next time, they (Third World countries) should be reasonable", he replied when asked what lessons should be learnt from the failure of the session.

He listed the mention of nuclear capabilities of Israel and South Africa as "extremely contentious issues".

The US also disliked the one-sentence reference in the draft declaration to naval disarmament. The draft declaration had stated that, "naval forces should not be excluded from the disarmament process". The Western alliance said it was directed against its needs to protect Atlantic sea lanes

Troubled times ahead for Zia

Jonathan C. Randal

ISLAMABAD

Slowly, but with increasing insistence, Pakistanis are beginning to wonder if President Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, 64, may be losing the combination of cunning and luck that has helped keep him in power for the last 11 years.

Still considered the country's smartest politician, by friend and foe alike, the normally no-nonsense soldier-president seems to be operating without a well-defined plan since startling Pakistanis on May 29 by abruptly firing his civilian Prime Minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo, and dissolving Parliament.

Apparently piqued by Mr. Junejo's attempts to limit his own independence and that of his key military constituency, Gen. Zia nonetheless looked weak to many Pakistanis when he dismantled the system of power-sharing with civilians that he had created.

REBUFFED

Now, within a week, he has been rebuffed twice, adding to the impression of policy confusion generated by his failure to name a date for new parliamentary elections.

One blow was the refusal of the country's major religious leader to endorse his vague Islamisation ordinance. This seemed to involve the expansion of Sharia, or Islamic religious jurisprudence, at the expense of the Anglo-Saxon statutes left behind by the British when Pakistan became a nation in 1947.

Observers said some clerical allies condemned the ordinance as cosmetic because it did not go

far enough. Others were said to fear that it was liable to set the Shia minority against the Sunni mainstream.

Human rights activists and women's groups feared what they saw as the ordinance's implied curtailment of the present legal system's protection.

Then, this week, Pakistan's Supreme Court ruled that Gen. Zia had exceeded his constitutional powers in requiring political parties to register with the Government to contest elections.

The suit was brought by Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, his major political foe. She is the leader of the Inflation-Pakistan People's Party and the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the charismatic Prime Minister whom Gen. Zia overthrew in 1977 and had condemned and hanged two years later.

Technically, the Supreme Court's ruling meant that Gen. Zia could no longer force candidates to run as individuals without party backing, a device to ensure his domination that he used in 1985 when he lifted nine years of martial law and consented to his first parliamentary elections.

Uncharacteristically, he took 11 days to name a caretaker Cabinet. He has not yet found a caretaker prime minister or chief ministers or governors for the unruly province of Sind, where he faces major political problems, or for Baluchistan.

CONVINCED

If he does hold elections, some diplomats and analysts are convinced

that he will abide by the Opposition's reading of his hand-tailored 1985 constitution and call them within 90 days of dissolving Parliament. Others believe he will not hold elections until the end of the year.

That would force Mrs. Bhutto to campaign during the final months of her pregnancy. It would also give Gen. Zia time to recognise the pro-Government Moslem League, which is split between his followers and those of the ousted prime minister.

Already, he has won over crusted aides from martial law days who are considered capable of delivering his native Punjab, constituting 56 per cent of Pakistan's roughly 100 million citizens and the North-West Frontier Province, accounting for a further 15 per cent.

Abida Hussain, an outspoken independent Opposition member of the dissolved Parliament, predicted that "Zia is headed for a very angry autumn."

But if the guerrillas seize Kabul in the next 12 to 18 months, she said, such personal triumph would give him greater manoeuvrability with the centres of power, with friends and allies outside and enable him to continue governing.

"If Zia comes through this one", she said, "he will have proved he has ten lives".

— Washington Post

Afghan rebels fight over spoils

Christina Lamb

The various Afghan resistance groups have now become so preoccupied with dividing up the spoils as the Soviet occupation forces leave that they have started fighting each other rather than the army of President Najibullah's Soviet-backed Kabul regime.

Hostility between the fundamentalist forces of Mr. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the extremist leader backed by Pakistan and the US and less radical loyalist groups demanding the return of the former king, is now so fierce that there are effectively three sides to the war.

Nowhere is this more apparent than Spin Boldak, a vital border post on the road linking Kandahar, Afghanistan's second biggest city, to Quetta in Pakistan, from where supplies and communications are controlled.

Mr. Hekmatyar's ambitions to take quick control of Jalalabad and Khost were thwarted by the refusal of prominent commanders like Abdul Haq to countenance an attack, fearing massive loss of civilian life and the possibility of being unable to hold the towns once taken. Consequently, Hekmatyar was determined to take Spin Boldak to dispel increasing doubts about his party's effectiveness and to rally support.

However, Spin Boldak is the tribal home of the Achakzais led by Mr. Asmathullah Muslim, an unpredictable military commander. Three years ago, unhappy with his share of the arms, he defected from the fundamentalists, to the communist side. In many areas, the Kabul regime has contracted out the country's defence to such tribal militia as Mr. Muslim's 4,000 men.

The Soviet Union sent in Afghan reinforcements to Spin Boldak last week and with the covert support of the royalists, Mr. Muslim was able to force the fundamentalists to retreat after three weeks of intense struggle, despite the assistance that the fundamentalists received from Pakistani forces in Chaman, openly flaunting the Geneva accord.

The recapture of Kalat was a further blow to the fundamentalists who, having claimed credit for its capture, now have to suffer the blame for its loss.

The royalists' first major political step away from the fundamentalists was the holding of Afghanistan's first national *jirga* (meeting of tribal elders and commanders) inside the country since the war began. Five hundred delegates from 28 of the country's 52 provinces arrived at the small town of Darukhan Kaley, just across the border, by jeeps, motorcycles or camels, waving posters of ex-King Zahir Shah.

Some had been travelling several weeks from as far off as Mazar-i-Sharif in the north, to attend the *jirga*, convened by General Sardar Akram Mohammadzay, a cousin of the former king and leader of the National United Tribes of Afghanistan, most of whose 11,200 commanders belong to moderate parties.

Jirgas can continue for days but under Kandahar's baking desert sun it took only six hours of impassioned speech-making for a unanimous resolution to be passed.

The *jirga* demanded that Mr. Diego Cordovez, the UN mediator due in Pakistan next week, should bring back Zahir Shah within two to three months and that in the meantime, Gen. Sardar should form a provisional Government inside Afghanistan.

The situation, both politically and militarily, has reached a stalemate. One royalist commander in Kandahar said "We may not win, but we will do our utmost to ensure the fundamentalists do not either".

The beneficiary of such an internecine struggle between the resistance factions is the Najibullah regime in Kabul.

— *Financial Times*.

What did...

(Continued from page 6)

district, voter turnout was highest in Matara town and in the adjacent and relatively urbanised electorate of Devinuwara. But in Galle district the picture is very different, with only an average turnout in Galle town itself and a very low turnout in the adjacent peri-urban electorate of Akmeemana (see Table 2). It is possible (see below) that these figures reflect a relatively high degree of popular support for the SLFP in and around Galle town and therefore a relatively low desire to vote anyway.

Overall the theory that the military presence made a big difference to the level of voter turnout runs up against a plausibility problem. The JVP threat was of retaliation against those who voted. Potential voter-targets could have had little confidence that the massive military presence on polling day would guard them against future retaliation. In the great majority of cases, the JVP kept the poll low not by closing down polling stations but by making voters fearful of using them.

(To be continued)

Zia's Grand Strategy for Afghanistan

Bhabani Sen Gupta

Zain Noorani, who was minister of state for foreign affairs in the dismissed Pakistan government of Mohammad Khan Junejo, has confirmed that General Zia-ul-Haq was "angry" with him for signing the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan. In the month and more that has passed since Zia-ul-Haq's dissolution of the "elected" government and national assembly, it has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that the president and chief of the army staff of Pakistan assumed full control and direction of the government in his own hands primarily because he wanted to pursue his own policy with regard to Afghanistan in the wake of the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Zia's policy is to give full backing to the more extremists of the seven mujaheddin groups that have been operating from Afghanistan for the last nine years. His target is to enable these mujaheddin to storm Kabul before the end of 1988 and set up a government there which will be under Pakistan's influence. If that objective is achieved, the balance of power in South Asia will be favourable for Pakistan. Pakistan already enjoys more than a modicum of clout in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

A Toronto-based Bangladeshi scholar visiting Delhi recently told me of his experience of Pakistan from where he came to Indian capital. "The Pakistanis are euphoric about their success in Afghanistan. Most Pakistanis believe that it was Zia's policy of giving full support to the mujaheddin that finally brought about the withdrawal of troops. They are now waiting for the mujaheddin to take Kabul".

The fate of Kabul, having been surrounded by the rebel force, would be taken as confirmation

The writer is Research Professor at the Centre for Policy Research, Delhi and author of "The Fulcrum of Asia".

of their hold over the country and sufficient to justify their recognition as the rulers of Afghanistan by the United States.

According to the Viewpoint reports, the time-frame of the assault on Kabul have been laid down by unnamed Americans. "They insist on quick results because they do not want the operation to continue into a possible Dukakis presidency. Also they would like the whole thing to be over before Moscow's frustration and anger over violations of the Geneva Accords reaches a flashpoint and the whole edifice of the recently-structured detente — which the Americans need as much as the Soviets — could be threatened".

There are other reports, however, that discount the American "impatience" highlighted by Viewpoint. These reports suggest that Washington and China have both been telling Zia-ul-Haq that he must not do anything to unduly delay or obstruct the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Once the withdrawal is completed, Zia would be free to pursue his Afghan policy for his enemy then will be the Kabul regime and not necessarily the Soviet Union. These reports indicate that the more or less peaceful condition in which the withdrawal has continued for the first month after the Geneva agreement shows that Zia has no intention to destroy the accord.

The weakness of this second line of argument lies in what Zia-ul-Haq has himself described as "differences" between American and Pakistani thinking. For the Americans, the most important thing is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. For the military rule of Pakistan, it is the installation of an Islamic regime in Kabul which would be under Pakistan's influence. Zia feels that he can blackmail the Americans to continue to supply arms and weapons

to the mujaheddin. "Letting the mujaheddin down" at this juncture, after the losses they have suffered to defend "freedom", would cost the US credibility of all its clients. Or Zia seems to believe. Besides, there are enough Reaganites in the Pentagon, the CIA and even in the State department, and certainly in the Congress who will back the mujaheddin as long as necessary. Reports from Pakistan even suggest that Zia does not believe that if Mike Dukakis is elected president on November 4, he could at once change America's Afghan policy. In other words, Zia seems to be convinced that he has 10 or 12 months to try out his Grand Strategy for Afghanistan. In order to do this, he must keep full control of the government in Pakistan.

General Zia also seems to realise that his Great Gamble may fail. The odds are many, and as a military man, Zia can ignore them only at great peril. As a former corps commander, he has to take into account all the plus points the enemy has in his grasp, together, with all his weaknesses. How much can Zia really depend on the Americans? For how long? For what kind of mujaheddin operations? If the Americans do not wish the withdrawal of Soviet troops to be halted and the Geneva accord to be destroyed, the mujaheddin cannot begin their operations this year. They have to "creep" towards Kabul secretly, without fighting major engagements with the government troops. That seems to be pretty well impossible.

If there are heavy engagements, it remains to be seen who fares how? Is the confidence of the Kabul regime in the ability of its forces to defend the realm no more than bubbles? If that is so, the Grand Design will

(Continued on page 19)

Celebrating 'the Melting Pot'

Izeth Hussain

After he is transformed into a more satisfactory person, he has no difficulties with Janet's two cats. Why cats, not dogs? Probably because cats retain their otherness however much they are petted, whereas the faithful dog could become an extension of one's ego. Liz's brother Ed, a seeker reaching out to the beyond, is at the same time linked to earlier forms of life through his pet iguana the creeping earth-bound saurian. The book abounds in natural life—tree, flower, bird, fruit, cat, iguana, migrant whale—evoked so well that the natural life acquires symbolic force, suggesting that man requires to be in harmony with the instinctual and the non-human to be whole and sane.

There seems to be something that is not quite Western about the mother figures in this book. There is Mrs. Doratis, Liz's mother, with her intense yearning for a grand-child, who of course is a universal type known all over the world. But Phil's neighbour, Mrs. Craven, who heaps food on him and his son imagining that they are starving, seems an Oriental type, the female who insists that men — great hulking brutes though they may be — are in reality fragile and have to be fed, and fed copiously. Janet, to whose sculpture "Mother Hen" repeated references are made, looks like an archetypal mother-figure, even though she is unmarried, an eminently sane person with her practicality and deep intuitive understanding of people. It is difficult to think of comparable mother figures in modern Western fiction. Mrs. Wilcox and Mrs. Moore in *Forster*, Mrs. Ramsay in *Virginia Woolf's To the Lighthouse*, endowed as they are with a mysterious understanding which itself passes understanding, are not comparable.

This analysis of the content of the *Golden Gate* indicates a sensibility, outlook, values, that if not specifically Indian are at any rate those of an outsider to the contemporary West. However, too great an insistence on his Indianness would be mistaken as we see in Seth, obviously enough, the restless modern. This can be brought out by contrasting his book with the fiction of R. K. Narayan, whom many would regard as the quintessential Indian writer of our time. In one of his best novels, *The Man Eater of Malgudi*, an outsider, disturbs the even tenour of life in Malgudi. No question of reverence for life with him, as he views animals as no more than utility objects to be killed and exploited for skin, pelt, or tusk. At the end he kills himself accidentally and Malgudi resumes its placid ways. The reader gets the impression of a millennial civilization with its heritage of ancient wisdom, which changes slowly if it changes at all, and has the capacity to absorb and domesticate, or extrude, the alien, the new, the unwelcome. All this is very reassuring until we begin to notice what is left out, the terrors of existence implied in mass poverty, for instance. Narayan's fiction is not in the tradition of the Western novel, which is essentially one of protest: the great Western novelists used the novel, the art-form created by the Western bourgeoisie, for devastating exposures of the inadequacies of bourgeois civilization. Seth's book belongs to that tradition of protest, as he looks for wholesome ways of life to set against the inadequacies of the way of life in contemporary America.

Too great an insistence on the Indianness of this book would also be misleading as, quite obviously, what makes it so striking is its

transcendence of ethnicity, its universalism. Seth is celebrating the universalism symbolized by America as a 'melting pot'. He is not celebrating the old America of the Founding Fathers, of the Puritans, of the Anglo-Saxon culture of New England, and this can be shown by getting at the sub-text — so to speak — of this book.

In this book there is a deprecation of the WASP — the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant — the backbone of the old American culture. The character who incarnates what is humanly unsatisfactory about contemporary America, John, has a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon name, John Brown. His English father went back to England, after a broken marriage and he too, it is implied, is unsatisfactory as he rarely replies his son's letters. Phil's first wife was Claire Cabot, whose snooty Anglo-Saxon parents objected to her marrying Phil because he is a Jew. The name Cabot reminds the reader of the limerick about Boston, the centre of WASP culture, the home of the bean and the cod, where the Cabots speak only to the Lowells and the Lowells speak only to God. Phil's marriage with Claire breaks up partly because of her liaison with "an East-Coast son-of-a-bitch", the East-Coast standing for WASP culture.

It does not seem to be accidental that, by contrast, all the non-Anglo-Saxon characters are very sympathetic: Phil who is an atheist Jew, Janet who is partly Japanese, Liz and her brother Ed and the whole clan of the Doratis who are Hungarian. It could be significant that Jews, Japanese, Hungarians, are among the later waves of immigrants to America, not the earlier ones such as the Irish, the Germans or Italians.

Such is celebrating non-WASP America, the America of the "melting pot" where people from all over the world — not just Western Europe — conglomerate, where they shed their ethnic particularity after some time and acquire a new American identity.

The story is set in California, the furthest point reached by westering man, where he reaches out across the Pacific to Asia. The Golden Gate, the bridge in San Francisco, is an obvious symbol of the coming together, not just of individuals, but of peoples, in defiance of the gulfs dividing them in splendid assertion of their common humanity.

What makes this book extraordinarily interesting is not the evidence it provides of ethnicity and the power of cultural roots, a common place phenomenon after all, but what looks like a strange case of rootless cosmopolitanism leading to a serious work of literature that successfully engages our deepest concerns. The book suggests that something important is happening in the present-day world.

The rest of this paper will provide some observations on the contrary pulls of ethnicity and of universalism and conclude with some remarks on the significance of Soth's book. A word of explanation is necessary before proceeding further about the term "cosmic" in the title of this paper.

It is taken from Wyndham Lewis' *America and Cosmic Man*, a term he chose in preference to "cosmopolitan" — which has vulgar associations — to denote the universal man of the future who was seen to be taking shape in the "melting pot" of America. "Cosmic" is even more apposite today than in 1948, when Lewis published his book, as we now live in the space age. It provides a perspective from which all that is parochial and tribal looks ridiculous.

It would appear that the most powerful trend in the world today is away from the cosmic and the universal, away from everything

that brings human groups together and towards the ethnic and other small groups. Nationalism, which is a recent development in history and not one of the eternal varieties, a withdrawal in fact from wider religious, cultural, or imperial units, is today threatened in some countries by a microscopic ethnic nationalism. Even where there are no ethnic rebellions, there is a new pluralism with a withdrawal into provincialism and other forms of particularism. It is significant that in America, which stood for human aspirations towards universalism, the ideal of the "melting pot" has been challenged for two or more decades by the value placed on ethnicity, with a new emphasis on the distinctive contributions made to America by different ethnic groups.

All this could be a consequence of an over-valuation of the human group which seems to have begun in the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, with its myth of the Noble Savage. The following century saw the principle of the self-determination of peoples which has since swept the world; and that century also saw the German mystique of "the people" each with its own collective soul, and each regarded as intrinsically and supremely valuable. This over-valuation of the human group just about any group, might be seen among some at least of the anthropologists who have regarded the "way of life" of primitive peoples as virtually sacrosanct.

There has been a cult of the primitive in the West, and the primitive has received his apotheosis at the hands of Claude Lévi-Strauss who has argued, brilliantly and it must be said unconvincingly, that the thought of the primitive has no less a degree of sophistication than the scientific thought which has accomplished the marvels of modern science. There is no doubt that today the group is valued in a way that would have been unimaginable in earlier centuries.

(To be concluded in
the next issue)

Zia's Grand...

(Continued from page 17)

work. If, on the other hand, the mujaheddin forces suffer setbacks at the hands of the government troops, morale of the rebels will sag, inter-faction differences will get acuter, and the Grand Design may begin to fall apart. Will time work for Kabul or for Zia? If the Kabul regime gets eight more months to build up its military strength and push its political and social programmes, will it be able to frustrate the Grand Design? Will time aggravate factional differences between the rebel groups? Also, in the on-going disputes between the extreme right, the middle right and the centre of the Reaganite political spectrum, will the extreme right lose to the centre if no quick success can be shown to them in Afghanistan. What other inducements will Gorbachev give the Americans to strengthen the understanding that has been reached on how to tackle regional conflicts? If the understanding grows, will the Americans be risk detente for the sake of a mujaheddin victory in Afghanistan? Towering over all these questions is a final one which Pakistanis have been asking: at what point would Zia provoke Moscow to the degree that might draw upon Pakistan the full wrath of a neighbouring superpower?

Zia, however, seems to have kept an escape route open. If his Grand Design begins to fall apart, he will hold election and hand over power to an elected regime. And thereafter be remembered as the military leader who himself ushered in democratic rule in Pakistan. Zia, then, has crafted an extremely clever and deft political, diplomatic and military line of action. No wonder people of Pakistan look at him with more awe and admiration than disdain and disapproval in the wake of his dissolution of crippled democracy.

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FUTA and Salaries

Rajan Hoole

The Federation of University Teacher's Associations (FUTA) came into the news in January 1987 when it launched a well published protest calling for a drastic increase in salaries. The formation of this union which consists of University teachers' unions throughout the country has demonstrated that the salary issue at least can cut across regional and communal divisions and bring together University dons from around the country. The fundamental case for them is that if an able person is to devote his energies to academic work, his basic needs such as food, housing, travel and education of children must be adequately looked after. By today's standards, this requires well above Rs 15000/-per month. But what is on offer is about Rs. 5500/-. Because many Universities are closed and because the government is seemingly indifferent about the quality of education, the bargaining power of the academics is weak. Thus if the FUTA is to succeed, the country needs convincing that for its long term health, it needs an academic community as much as it needs a medical health service. This would require tackling the root problems of education, together with building into the academic community, a sense of purpose and a professional élan that is capable of putting its own house in order in matters of standards and integrity. Failure to address these issues will see a splintering of the concept of an academic community, with the different disciplines drifting apart on the basis of bargaining power and the humanities being left behind.

Again the plight of the academics cannot be isolated from that of the products of our universities. If we produce Economics Honours graduates who earn Rs. 350/-per month at recording bars, the academic cannot claim to be making a distinct contribution to

the country. Thus the academic community must ensure that every one of our graduates must have received the kind of training such as will ensure his esteem.

The failure to tackle these problems is likely to result in a painful disintegration of our Universities through creeping privatisation. Then a stable point may be reached. Those with marketable credentials will drift abroad or may join private establishments which will conduct courses on a market oriented basis with attractive salaries. These will not be run on a democratic basis, but by boards of directors who will hire and fire at will. The freedom to think, speak and perhaps influence the course of the country will not be there. The concept of equality and universal free education which the country boasted of will cease to exist. There will be no independent minded academics who have running battles with the authorities and yet survive.

The signs are already there. Government doctors as well as doctors in University service supplement their incomes through private practice. There are pressures on the Sciences and Engineering to go commercial with contracts and extension courses to supplement incomes, medical dons are amongst the chief advocates of private medical colleges many university students who had been idle because of long closures have taken to following private courses in Engineering, Accountancy and Computer programming leading to British Institute examinations.

Thus the first step that is needed is to clarify what education and a national educational policy are about. Only teachers and academics can do this.

EDUCATION

In the present centralised system, the misplaced prejudices of those

on top, creep into the system. One of the prejudices of our present educational authorities is that one of the priorities is to keep up with modern developments in science and technology. This has resulted in a rush in schools for micro-computers and a feeling that even school children ought to know something about Quantum or Nuclear physics. This leads to scrappiness in the absence of conceptualising, which is neither intellectually satisfying nor edifying. This leads to rote learning along the lines of Charles Dickens' Gradgrind system, adding further to our bane of private tuition classes and a debasement of intellects. We have produced a generation of school children who are too busy to have a balanced view of life.

It is intellectually far more edifying to spend several lazy hours contemplating and understanding the implications of Archimedes' Law of the Lever than to be able to rattle off thousands of disconnected facts about Quantum Physics or whatever.

The most important thing that must be accomplished in Education is for a student to be able to master concepts in his imagination and to be able to reason out logically and draw the implications. The rest can be picked up by reading outside. Plato recognised this when he made the study of Mathematics, especially Geometry, a key component of instruction in his Academe. A student with the right training will have no difficulty in mastering the more esoteric theories of modern science.

UNIVERSITIES

Why Universities? Why was it decided to bring trades such as Engineering and Medicine previously learnt through apprenticeship under the umbrella of Universities, which previously confined themselves to the purely academic disciplines such as History, Mathematics and Theology? This is because Universities were meant to be places where a person acquired an integrated outlook that comes through mixing and free discussion with those of other disciplines who may have

a bent to look at the world differently. Besides this, a participatory democracy requires persons to have a mature layman's view of matters outside one's own speciality. Free discussion, openness and observing restraints in pursuing one's own ends are part of this training. It falls upon the academics to uphold the tone and the integrity of university life. This is why a university that voluntarily or involuntarily loses its autonomy and gives over the initiative to the administration and the government ceases to be a university.

The impetus towards isolation of our universities was a consequence of the use of language in education being determined by political fiat. This is a new twentieth century phenomenon — the age of linguistic nationalisms — and is alien to the spirit of university education. Have seen that such nationalism in our country has led to much hypocrisy. Universities were traditionally places where scholars from widely dispersed linguistic backgrounds could mingle together and exchange ideas. Nalanda University, in India where Buddhist scholarship flourished in the early centuries A. D, functioned in Pali. Dharmapala, a man with a Tamil background was one of its eminent scholars. Fa Hian and Tsuan Sang, Chinese Buddhist scholars who visited India in the 4th and 5th and 6th centuries A.D, were able to mingle with scholars in India because of the use of Pali in scholarship. Greek was the language of learning in the ancient Mediterranean world, whether one was Roman, Jew, Ethiopian, or anything else, his language of scholarship was Greek. The once flourishing Museum of Alexandria in Egypt used Greek. The scholarly Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote his "Meditations" in Greek. In Europe down to about the 18th century Latin was the language of scholarship, thus creating far fewer barriers than today between University man. Milton could write poetry in 4 languages. Isaac Newton wrote his "Principia" in Latin.

At a time when world government is talked about as the only prospect for human survival,

our universities should be much more sensitive to their obligation to become institutions that belong to the world. When the time for an international civil service comes, we in Sri Lanka may not be in a position to contribute personnel. At a time which calls for openness we have succeeded in creating a university in the North that is exclusively Tamil and three universities in the South that are exclusively Sinhalese. There is thus little openness within the country itself. It is perhaps fortunate that the Tamil University movement, which was a contradiction in terms, founded because of confusion created by a politician who demanded that it should rather be a Hindu University. It all goes perhaps to show that even leading persons in this country had lost track of the purpose of universities.

THE CULTURE OF FREEDOM

Experience suggests that healthy educational traditions can be built and maintained only if those involved in the profession are inspired by the courage of conviction to uphold the ideals of education and to fight for them. If the teaching profession is seen to be self-seeking and its moral integrity wanting, govern-

ments will find means of encroaching on its autonomy and there may be pressing reasons to do so. The teaching profession must also be sensitive to needs of justice and change must find a rational consensus before a government under pressure forces down short term palliatives. Universal free education which was necessary in the interests of justice, created new challenges. Everyone could not be taught in English at schools and jobs could not be found for everyone overnight. There was a lack of foresight in the matter on the part of educationists and governments. The result has been a climate of social unrest and doubts about education itself.

The educational profession is not going to acquire a new sense of values by government legislation. These values have to come through conviction from within. The UNP government of 1965-70 had alienated the universities. Just before the 1970 elections, students and staff in the universities campaigned actively for the left coalition that won landslide victory to form the new government. There was a feeling that the universities will enjoy a new place of esteem. All that happened was that several dons were given positions of patronage on boards and committees of state corporations. For the rest nothing changed. In early 1971 the universities meekly accepted an overtly racist system of admissions (a matter not yet satisfactorily resolved). The universities sat through the insurgency of April 1971 in which an estimated 10,000 Sinhalese youth (mainly rural, educated unemployed) were massacred, without voicing any protest. With the culture of patronage deeply entrenched, the government treated the university dons substantially as before — once again confirming that in the absence of a will to assert freedom, the alternative to the Czar is the Commissar.

THE AUTONOMY OF EDUCATION

The foregoing suggests that the means to evolving a solution to the present impasse is to

(Continued on page 24)

Corrections in Part I & II

What was sought to be introduced at school level under New Mathematics was "Statistics" and Set Theory. Not Statics as printed.

What Mr. Nesiiah had proposed as an admission requirement to the university was either two subjects done in English at university entrance level or a pass in a special English language paper. This was proposed at a meeting of the Faculty Board in 1958 and not at the Senate.

Under 'the Humanities' a misprint obscures the meaning. It should read: The Humanities are of course judged by very different criteria. The country must feel that they are contributing towards its intellectual health. Starting from 1958 the country has gone through four major bouts of racial violence... This is not to say that the academics of 30 years ago were better than today's academics. Only, the former had fewer excuses for being what they really were.

Cynics and Epicures

S. Pathiravitana

As Thomas Babington Macaulay may have said, every schoolboy knows that Diogenes (403 — 323 B. C.) walked around with a lighted lamp. When asked why, Diogenes replied, "I am looking for man." Some say that he said, "I am looking for an honest man", but that is how legends grow; narrators use Diogenes to their times.

The story that after his walkabouts he went back to live in a large earthenware pot was a legend that grew round the sternness with which his philosophy prepared him to face the physical rigours of life like winter and rough weather. He went barefooted, shirtless and did not give the appearance of being washed.

In spite of that or may be because of it, his fame spread during his lifetime. Alexander the Great called on him and asked him how he could help him. Characteristically Diogenes replied, "Get out of my light". The world conqueror went back to his palace and is reported by Plutarch as having said, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

To stop the story of Diogenes for a moment and divert to a conqueror of a different sort, Alexander's sigh echoes in far away Kapilavasthu where Prince Siddhartha was born. When the astrologers came to see the new born prince they predicted, "If he adopts the householder's life he will become a world conqueror, if he takes to the spiritual life he will make a greater conquest — his self."

Diogenes was in his own way a universal conqueror, that is how the temporal conqueror saw him. Once when told by the servants of Anaximenes that all the furniture in that house belonged to their master, Diogenes asked, Is he not ashamed to be the master of all this, but not of himself? Similarly Gotama the Buddha told those libertines in the park when they came up to him and inquired,

Did you see a woman going this way? "Wherefore young men, which is best, that you should seek a woman or self?"

Unlike the Buddha, however, Diogenes is not recorded as having endeared himself to the people of Athens the way the Buddha endeared himself to the whole of India. On the contrary the Athenians seem to have taken a pretty dim view of what Antisthenes (435 — 370 B. C.) the father of the school of philosophy of which Diogenes is the most colourful representative, was saying: There are five things greater and more august than the Persian empire — Wisdom, Self-sufficiency, Truth, Frankness and Freedom. To secure them one had to renounce wealth, pleasure, fame, position, learning.

What was astounding in the observation was that this was not sophistry or rhetoric, the men were in deadly earnest, they were actually practising what they were preaching. The more solid citizens of Athens were objecting not so much to the substance of what was being said as to the style of expressing that substance.

These ragged looking philosophers were seeing, and saying, so sharply and so bare, things as they are, that the truth and frankness shocked the Establishment. The Establishment reacted by calling them Cynics meaning dog-like, not in honour but in dishonour, but they wore the taunt proudly wearing it like a badge.

Cynicism then is not what it has come to mean today. If you say that President Jaywardena is a cynical politician you are not being true to what Antisthenes preached. For cynicism tore down the conventions that protected society and bared the flesh too uncomfortably close to the bone, it did not hide anything, but spoke the truth when society thought the moment was not right for truth.

The cynical strain in human thought which influenced the West for nearly seven hundred years after it first appeared in

Greece has remained much misunderstood. As misunderstood, for instance as what another Greek thinker Epicurus (341 — 270 B. C.) stood for. Epicurus today means a connoisseur of good food and drink, a good liver and one who is dedicated to a sybaritic existence.

Far from winning and dining at the Capri if ever he was in Colombo, one of his pupils tells us that Epicurus lived on the cheapest and simplest of food. Epicurus and his disciples were 'contented with half a pint of thin wine and their usual drink was water'. Then how did this man with such ascetic ways come to be associated with the pleasure principle?

Epicurus did not strictly belong to the cynical school. Like the Cynics he believed that philosophy was not something for arid discussion, but for practice and realisation, just like what philosophy has always been in the Eastern half of this planet. The multitude misunderstood him because he took pleasure to be *summum bonum* of life.

But he took care to explain what he meant by that, "...we do not mean the pleasure of the profligate or the voluptuary... We mean freedom from pain of body or disturbances of mind. "But the Western world was simply not listening, the powerful popular press had won the day. Pleasure meant only one thing and that was more wine, more women and more song from that pagan world of nymphs and satyrs.

How is it that the cynics and the epicures and the stoics, who were able to pierce the surface of things so acutely and were influential in their times and for several centuries afterwards, never won the acclaim as liberators as their counter parts in the East did? With what veneration, legends tell us, the gods ushered the world weary Prince Siddhartha from the palace to the wilderness, holding out the palms of their hands to muffle the hoofbeats of Kantaka, lest the noise should wake the slumbering palace guards?

Reading the thoughts of these men you begin to wonder how

(The writer is a former Editor of the DAILY NEWS)

ironic it is to taunt the East for its alleged monopoly of spirituality when the West has had an overabundance of it as the quotes below testify: About pleasure and why we seek it Epicurus says: "We need pleasure when its absence gives us pain; when the pain is absent the need of pleasure ceases. That is why we call pleasure the beginning and end of a happy life."

Around the same time or a little earlier the Bhagavat Gita was putting it in a different way: "The man who is not troubled by these, O Arjuna, who remains the same in pleasure and pain... makes himself fit for eternal life." Though Epicurus seems severe in the distinctions he makes between the different kinds of pleasure the modern South Indian ascetic Ramana Maharishi shows a wider tolerance of pleasure.

"There is only pleasure," says the Maharishi, "Absence of pleasure is called pain. One's nature is pleasure — Bliss (Ananda)." Yet there is absolutely no difference in the way both set out to obtain pleasure. As the scetic Ramana points out, "pleasure consists in turning and keeping the mind within; pain in sending it outward."

Regular *Guardian* readers more used to reading the subtle and exquisite differences in tenuous Left movements the world over may wonder where Marx comes into this world of spiritual revolutionaries. Far from dabbling in the spiritual world Marx did not think very much of even the bourgeois philosophers who came before him and summed up what he thought of them in these words:

"Hitherto, philosophers have interpreted the world, the point, however, is to change it." These spiritual tramps, these shirtless ones and shoeless too, who were found in every big city of the vast Roman empire were in no way interested in changing the world. They saw through its shams and never hesitated to say so even when it happened to be a sacred Athenian cow like 'justice.'

"Suppose something is enacted by law," Epicurus once said, "but does not tend to the interest of a society, this enactment has no longer the characteristic of justice. "Nor were they interested in holding interminable arguments about the virtuousness of virtue or the justice of justice, but offered proof of their ideas by living them. The point, as they may tell Marx, is first change yourself and then watch the world change.

Whatever happened to that tradition begun by the cynics, the stoics, the epicures in the West of looking for peace and happiness not outside one's self but within? Listen to the stoic Epictetus (50-130 A.D.) as he draws for us a picture of a cynic:

"Look at me: I have no house or city, property or slave: I sleep on the ground, I have no wife or children, no miserable palace, but only the earth and sky and one poor cloak. Yet what do I lack? Am I not quit of pain and fear, am I not free? When has any of you ever seen me failing to get what I will to get, or falling into what I will to avoid?

When did I blame God or man, when did I accuse any? Has any of you seen me with a gloomy face? How do I meet those of whom you stand in fear and awe? Do I not meet them as slaves? Who that sees me but thinks that he sees his king and master?"

As St John of the Cross, (1542-1591 A.D.) a later representative of this mystic tradition that surfaced in Greece put it:

In order to arrive at possessing everything

Desire to possess nothing

And there are enough Vedantists to be picked up from English literature from any of its periods, like the 17th century Robert Herrick who wept to see his daffodils fade away soon, or Shakespeare who saw it all from sad mortality overruling everything to the collapse of the cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces and how

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on; and
our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

FUTA and...

(Continued from page 22)

reverse the process by which sycophancy of the educationists and the increasing role of the state have reinforced each other. Thus the teaching profession itself must be given the opportunity to throw up leaders who are men of vision. The ultimate aim should be to hand over to the schools, classrooms and local associations of parents the task of determining the content of education. Only that can be compatible with the dignity of ordinary persons that is the basis of democracy. A primary school teacher is no less deserving of academic freedom than a university don, and her labour must be accorded no less dignity.

Experience suggests that governments are likely to allow the present impasse to drag on, because to make radical changes will require touching politically sensitive issues. One way out that readily suggests itself is to drastically decentralise education to the envisaged provincial councils. New consultative machinery can be set up in the provinces to integrate school education, University education, public examinations and employment policy on a provincial basis. This would remove sensitive irritants such as language and admissions policy. Instead of one system where mistakes are covered up, there will be rival systems that can learn from each other. The centre can then take on a role that monitors standards without interfering with the local genius. This will require from the regions strong men with vision. Once English is restored to a substantial place in the universities, a student in any part of the country can apply to a university of his or her choice. The system may come to resemble that in Britain. Perhaps the 6 years that it took Britain to formulate the Butler Act of 1944 remains a model of democratic participation in the making of educational policy.

(Concluded)

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